S. A. GOUT & POLITICS

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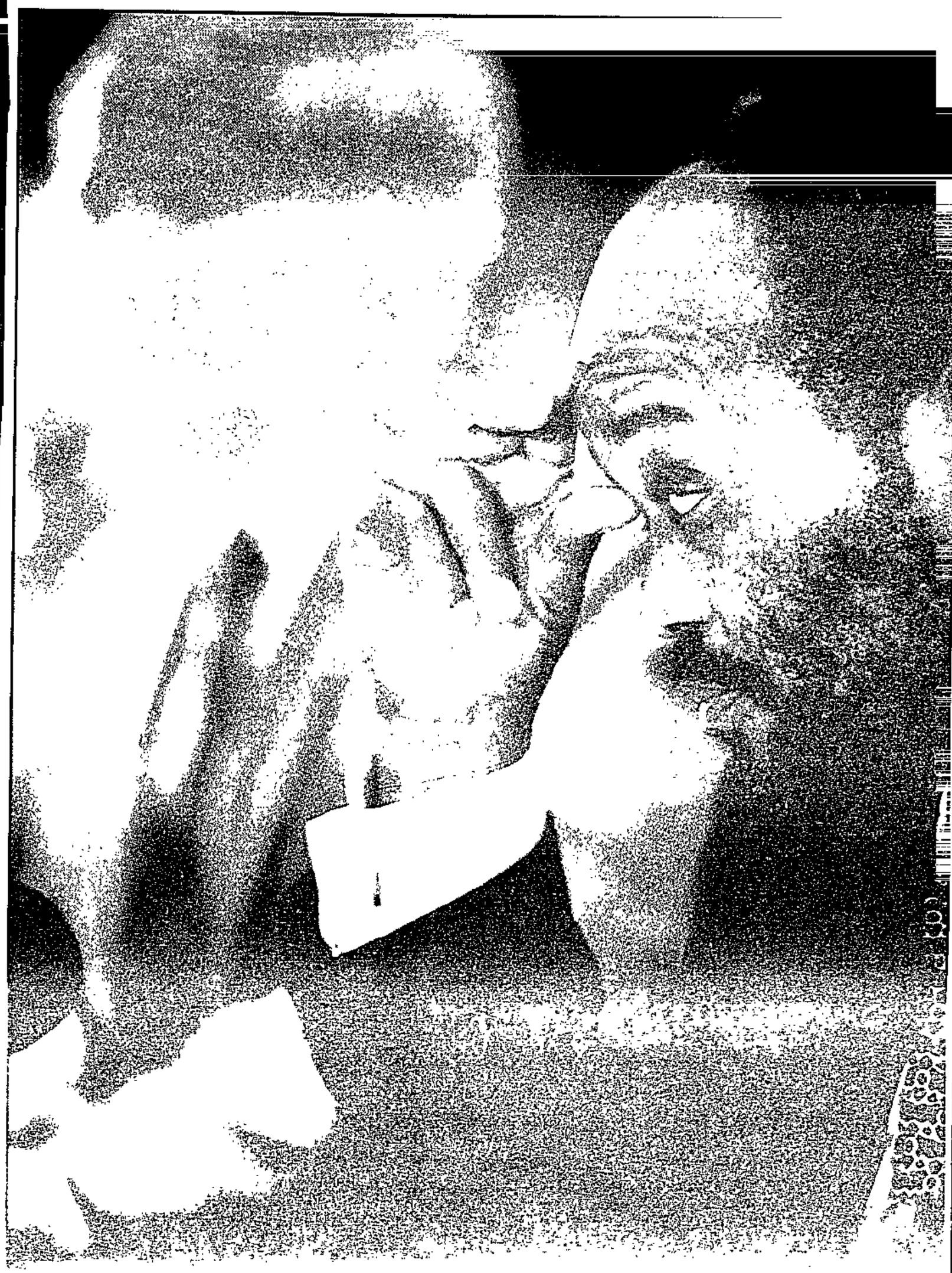

Failed attempt . . . but ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma stresses at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the postponement of the signing ceremony was not the "end of the road".

PICTURE: JOAO SILVA

ANC-Volksfront agreement delayed as FA deal fails

Star 22/12/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Failed attempts to include the Freedom Alliance in the negotiated settlement have led to the postponement of an agreement between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront. (FA) (304A)

The signing of the agreement was postponed after it became clear that talks between the Government, ANC and FA were not progressing in Cape Town.

The "Memorandum of Agreement" was endorsed by the top six ANC leaders, including the organisation's president Nelson Mandela. It is understood that it had also been approved by the FA.

Betrayed

The proposed agreement included provisions for the AVF — an FA member — to have considered taking part in the Transitional Executive Council and the April election should a final settlement have been reached by the end of January between the AVF and the ANC.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma stressed that the postponement of the signing ceremony was not the "end of the road".

The two delegations are scheduled to meet today.

Announcing the decision not to sign the document, Viljoen said: "The attitude of the people in the Cape may have dashed the last opportunity of finding a peaceful settlement for South Africa, at least for the time being. We feel betrayed."

The AVF leader said that signing the agreement yesterday could have resulted in a rift within the FA.

A second reason was the Government's refusal to submit AVF amendments to the Interim Constitution to Parliament. "For reasons which are not clear to me, the Government has decided, after discussion with certain representatives of the ANC, not to enter these amendments into the Constitution.

"This to me is a red light and I get the impression that the people are not taking us seriously and that there is very little regard for the efforts that we as a joint negotiating team made."

Zuma told the press conference that the agreement sent "a clear message that we can reach a solution without going the route of a bloodbath".

Viljoen repeatedly stressed that the only solution to the country's constitutional problems was negotiations.

In terms of the "Memorandum of Agreement" between the AVF and the ANC, a working group would be established to examine the viability of a volkstaat; the civil rights of Afrikaners outside the volkstaat and those of non-Afrikaners within the volkstaat; and the white homeland's relationship to central government. The group is to report to the leaders by January 20.

■ Asked whether he could control his followers, Viljoen said: "Up to now we have really succeeded in exercising a sense of responsibility. I will call on our supporters to remain calm and to be wise in their attitude. I am worried because of the degree of impatience."

Commenting on the possibility of civil war, he said: "It is not my policy to threaten war. Tension is arriving at breaking point."

Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu face threats of tough action

Double blow for SAG from TEC

15/12/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council bared its teeth yesterday, threatening legal action against the KwaZulu police commissioner and ordering the freezing of a large loan to Bophuthatswana.

There were also dramatic hints that the KwaZulu police (KZP) hit squad scandal could deepen, with a TEC management council report suggesting that two witnesses known to the SAP could give evidence about the "involvement of political and other senior office-bearers".

Yesterday the TEC considered KZP commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During's refusal to hand over documentation on an alleged five-man hit squad which had operated within the KZP's ranks.

The information had been requested urgently by the TEC after the Goldstone Commission last week reported that "hard evidence" suggested the existence of the hit squad.

During informed the TEC that he had been "directed" to refuse on the grounds that the KwaZulu government had not taken part in the establishment of the TEC.

The TEC unanimously adopted a resolution noting that the request for information was directed at During — who was "obliged to co-operate with the TEC in terms of the (TEC) Act" — and not the KwaZulu government.

It resolved to immediately correct any uncertainty arising from During's obligation to the TEC and the irrelevance of his instructions from the KwaZulu government in this regard.

The TEC management council was mandated to take all steps, including legal steps, to

TEC has moved swiftly to clearly demonstrate it will be far more than a rubber stamp in the run-up to April 27

(304A)

ensure the resolution of the TEC is complied with.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, introducing the motion, said the issue should be pursued urgently.

There was "nothing more relevant" to a free and fair election — the TEC's objective — than the possibility that people had been murdered and that there "might be other hit squads operating there".

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa supported the motion.

In another resolution which could become a test of the TEC's political will, the council ordered that a R216 million Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) loan agreement with Bophuthatswana be suspended.

The TEC resolved that the fact that this loan could be in contravention of the TEC Act should be brought to the attention of the DBSA. It would also inform the DBSA that "this loan agreement should not be proceeded with without prior discussion in the council".

Therefore "this loan should be fully suspended until fully discussed with the council in terms of the TEC Act".

Ramaphosa said during debate on the motion that he believed "matters of this nature where astronomical amounts are involved should be processed through the TEC".

It is understood that the DBSA has agreed to hold back on the loan until clarity is achieved by the TEC.

War of words over who did what in Oslo

THE African National Congress and the National Party yesterday continued their argument over events at the recent Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo at which ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk were jointly honoured with the award.

In a statement the ANC accused De Klerk of churlishness and pettiness over his criticism of the organisation's conduct at the ceremony.

The NP retorted that the ANC was twisting the truth in its "sour and petty attack" on De Klerk.

The ANC then released a letter to De Klerk by the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa stating as untrue his claim that ANC supporters hung protest posters in the hall where he and Mandela received the award on December 10.

When De Klerk returned to South Africa on Tuesday, he said he had felt ashamed on behalf of South Africa over the "bad manners" of a group of ANC supporters who, he said, had put up posters and tried to hijack proceedings by shouting ANC slogans.

See Editorial on Page 8

His criticism came after Mandela earlier in Oslo had labelled almost all members of the South African Government "political criminals".

The ANC said yesterday that De Klerk was hardly in a position to criticise other people's bad manners, listing several objections to the presidential couple's own behaviour during the Oslo visit.

"At the Nobel committee's official dinner for the Nobel Peace Prize laureates, Mrs de Klerk refused to respond to Mandela when he greeted her, resulting in guests, who witnessed the slight, expressing shock at such petulant and unpleasant behaviour."

The ANC also accused the couple of disrespect for talking to each other while a traditional torch march honoured Mandela by singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

A spokesman from the State President's office denied the ANC accusations.

"At no time during the festivities in Oslo surrounding the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize did Mrs de Klerk refuse to greet Mandela," the spokesman said. "Quite the contrary. The president and Mrs de Klerk met Mandela on a number of occasions during the two days they were together in Oslo and, as befits a presidential couple, they were consistently gracious in their dealings with the ANC leader."

The NP statement suggested the ANC should have advised Mandela "to act responsibly and with dignity at the Nobel Peace Prize Forum". This would have salvaged Mandela's "diminishing stature".

"The ANC's effort to taint President de Klerk's statesman-like image will, in actual fact, contribute to President de Klerk's stature," the NP said.

The NP said Mandela had attempted to damage South Africa's reputation "by his untrue statements regarding children in jail and his slanderous remarks about 'political criminals' in government, in the same week the convicted Winnie Mandela was elected president of the ANC's Women's League".

The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa's letter to De Klerk said the customary torch march in support of human rights was organised by eight Norwegian non-governmental organisations to highlight their "Democracy for South Africa" campaign. The council's Kristina Medin said the ANC had not been involved in organising the march.

"Nobody was prevented from carrying pictures of you in the march, but naturally, most of the people attending the torch march had their sympathies with Mandela. Democracy and freedom of expression also means that any participant or group of participants in the march were free to express their views by singing, chanting slogans, etc. Nobody 'hijacked' the march by doing so," she said.

The ANC said De Klerk must have been aware that he was not the popular choice for the peace prize and should have realised "that in the eyes of the world, the Nobel Prize was not awarded to two equals". "By squandering a unique opportunity with petty politicking and meanness, he only confirmed that the people of Norway and Sweden were correct in their support for Nelson Mandela and the ANC," the organisation said. — Sapa.

Last push for 'a miracle' after long talks fail

Star 21/12/93

NEGOTIATORS emerge empty-handed after FA refuses to commit itself to the electoral process

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Prospects for a peaceful transition looked bleak today as the Government-ANC-Freedom Alliance task force gathered for their final attempt to reach agreement on the new constitution.

This followed yesterday's marathon 10-hour talks session which ended in deadlock.

The special 15-man task force — five members from each organisation — left the parliamentary complex empty-handed shortly before 11 pm after they failed to agree on an ANC demand for an FA commitment to take part in next year's elections and to participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Exhausted negotiators were grim-faced today as they gathered at 8 am back at Parliament. As talks resumed this morning it was clear that both the FA — which includes the CP and the IFP — and ANC had not shifted from their positions which led to last night's stalemate.

Time pressures are mounting: the draft constitution which the FA wants changed before it will become part of a settlement is due to be voted on by Parliament tomorrow. This makes a breakthrough extremely unlikely.

Government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said: "We need a miracle."

At separate press conferences last night the FA put the blame squarely on ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, while De Villiers signalled exasperation at the FA's intransigence (304A) (HA)

FA chairman Rowan Cronje said Ramaphosa had introduced new demands — including one insisting that individual FA leaders commit themselves to the process in writing.

He said that, with a few amendments, the FA could live with the Government position but not with the ANC's demands. "I have never been as disappointed and as sad as I am now. I appealed on several occasions that we have an awesome responsibility on our

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◀ From Page 1

shoulders," said Cronje.

But De Villiers said the ANC had softened its demand for an unconditional commitment by the FA to participate in preparations and the election — including the TEC.

The ANC had in effect adopted the Government position — that the commitment should be conditional to agreement being reached, said De Villiers. "I don't think, in essence, that our position differs fundamentally from what the ANC required."

The mammoth round of talks yesterday barely touched on substantive issues as the parties became bogged down on the commitment issue. (304A) (HA)

In essence the ANC and the Government — wary that the FA's leaders may renege on any deal — are demanding an up-front commitment to the transitional process from the FA.

The FA says it has in effect given that commitment, but it was clear last night that the alliance is showing some reluctance about becoming part of the TEC.

Observers suggested a special session of Parliament might be called next month to accommodate further amendments — leaving a gap for the FA but others say neither side was willing to budge and the issue now was really about "attaining the moral high ground".

Govt-ANC-FA task force retires empty-handed after hours of talks

Last push for 'a miracle'

Star 21/12/93

Statement underplays role of rivalry in violence - Kriel

'Get the ISU out of townships'

Star 2/12/93

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

The police's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) was drawn into the centre of a political storm yesterday after a summit of black political, church, business and community leaders demanded its immediate withdrawal from the townships.

The call was made at the end of a two-day, high-powered meeting called by the SA Council of Churches to find ways to stop township violence which has claimed more than 12 000 lives since July 1990.

A post-summit statement by church leaders — including Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, Methodist Church president Bishop Stanley Mogoba and SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo — said the meeting, after hearing "compelling testimonies", had concluded that the violence was a "deliberate strategy of socio-political and electoral destabilisation inherent in apartheid".

POLITICAL leaders call for replacement of ISU with UN-trained force

304

It charged that President de Klerk's "inability to make use of the considerable resources at his disposal" had led to the refusal by the ISU to deal with the violence.

"Instead, (the ISU) has actively carried out acts of aggression against our people. It should therefore be immediately withdrawn and replaced by accountable community policing," said the statement.

The leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela and representatives of the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation, called for the involvement of the UN and other international agencies in the training and command of the proposed national peacekeeping force.

The summit statement provoked a strongly worded reaction from the Ministry of Law and Order, which described it as "a masterpiece of evasion".

"(The statement) deliberately underplays the central role of political rivalry and intolerance in the violence.

"No amount of blaming the Government and the SAP will make it go away," it said.

Alliance must join talks - Mandela

High noon for FA over TEC

Star 3/12/93

LAST-DITCH attempt to come to an agreement before launch of council on Tuesday

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — South Africa will know today whether the Freedom Alliance will finally become part of a constitutional process leading to next year's general election.

FA negotiators, armed with fresh mandates from the FA's summit in Ulundi yesterday, will meet their Government counterparts today in a last-ditch attempt to reach agreement before the launch of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in four days' time.

After their meeting last night, FA leaders were tight-lipped about the line they might take at today's negotiations, except to say they would demand "a more federal state". Spokesman Rowan Cronje reiterated the FA's rejection of the draft Interim Constitution and the planned establishment of the TEC.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the FA would do everything in its power to ensure that its objectives were achieved in a peaceful manner.

Before yesterday's meeting, Cronje had said FA and Government negotiators were close to agreement on clause 118 of the Interim Constitution — the section that deals with the powers and functions to be allocated to regions.

Given the mounting pressure to get the Interim Constitution through the current sitting of Parliament — expected to end on December 22 — it now seems increasingly unlikely that agreement can be reached with the FA in time.

However, should progress be made today and endorsed by the FA within the next few days, the new agreement could be included in the Interim Constitution before it is voted on by Parliament.

Earlier yesterday, Government spokesman Dave Steward said there was "cautious optimism that the two sides are getting closer together".

The Ulundi meeting, called to thrash out a fresh response to Government constitutional proposals, was attended by Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen.

Issues on which the negotiating teams are reported to be close to agreement include the powers of taxation to be ceded to the provinces.

Increasing the pressure yesterday on the FA to make a decision, was news that work has begun on preparing the Interim Constitution for tabling in Parliament.

The opening of debate on the document is scheduled for Tuesday, but this appears to be somewhat ambitious. It is believed that the current sitting of Parliament will end only on December 22 — by which time the Interim Constitution will have been passed — and it is unlikely that amendments could be made after that date.

Meanwhile, speaking in Rustenburg last night, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC was still committed to persuading the right wing to join negotiations, but it would not tolerate rightwingers remaining outside the process and threatening civil war.

NEWS

DP may vote against interim constitution

Storm over last-minute changes

Star 2/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Democratic Party (DP) last night warned it might vote against the interim constitution when it is presented to Parliament next week because of a clause accepted at the World Trade Centre late yesterday.

Upset by the acceptance of a Government-ANC proposal watering down the deadlock-breaking mechanism in a constitutent assembly, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said his party might seriously consider voting against the interim consitution.

He said in terms of the accepted clause 73 of the interim constitution, a referendum could be held within two months after next year's April 27 elections, possibly leading to another election within a year.

The clause says if the new constitution has the support of 51 percent of the constituent assembly it can then be referred to a panel of constitutional experts who will be required to give their advice within 30 days, notwithstanding the other parties' unhappiness with the document.

An amended draft of the proposed constitution recommended by the panel of experts would then be passed.

But if the experts should not agree then the constitution would be adopted by a simple majority in the constitution-making body and be presented to the public through a national referendum.

THE Government has given in to the ANC in return for the retention of features of the status quo, say the DP and the PAC

(HP) (304A)

The DP would like this option to be available not earlier than two years after next year's elections, fearing that a majority party might not try hard enough to reach broad agreement with the other parties in the constitutent assembly.

However, the DP had earlier won a major victory when it got negotiatiors to defeat a joint Government-ANC proposal that members of the proposed 90-member senate should be able to represent regions without necessarily living in them.

But the DP and the PAC lost the battle on a similar clause with regard to members of regional legislatures.

This was despite the party's plea for uniformity for both the summit and regional legislatures.

In terms of the amendment, people placed on a party's election list need not necessarily live in those regions.

This contrasts with an earlier proposal that members of regional legislatures should be "ordinarily resident" in those regions.

"This means you can have someone being the premier of, say, Natal-KwaZulu without living in the province," said one source.

DP and PAC sources accused the Government of having made a number of important concessions to the ANC in the twilight of negotiations in return for the retention of a number of salient features of the present status quo, such as the predominantly white civil service.

The sources said this amendment had been suggested by the ANC to enable it to accommodate most of its senior members who would be hoping to hold senior positions in the national and regional governments next year.

The DP has begun to seriously question the ANC's commitment to strong regional government, and sources within the party fear that Nelson Mandela's organisation might be seeking to weaken regional government.

At the time of going to press negotiators had just begun the debate on the final draft of the interim constitution which will be spirited away to Parliament in Cape Town as soon as it is concluded.

Opposition leader in Bop joins NP

Star 20/12/93

■ POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The secretary-general of Bophuthatswana's opposition party, the National Seoposengwe Party, has joined the National Party.

This means that the NP will actively start campaigning in the homeland after the restoration of South African citizenship to residents of the TBVC states on January 1. (BSA)

Stoffel Rapula said on Friday that the NP had changed its constitution and since 1990 had shown it wanted democracy in South Africa.

He expressed doubt that "the ANC can govern the country as the ANC is not prepared to clean its house". (BSA)

Rapula said that although the Government had used "inhuman behaviour" against its opponents and "began the violence", the NP had changed since President de Klerk came to power.

Rapula said he had been working as a Cosatu organiser in Bophuthatswana but would now campaign for the NP in the homeland.

KwaZulu and TEC on collision course

Star 13/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A fierce clash is looming between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government and the multiparty Transitional Executive Council following KwaZulu's decision to defy a TEC injunction last week.

The TEC has called on KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy During, to report by today on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a five-member hit squad — allegedly responsible for the murder over the past two years of at least nine people, including ANC members — existed within the KZP.

During and SAP Brigadier E S du Preez, who conducted the investigation into the KZP at During's request, had been requested to make available to the TEC any information at their disposal by today.

However, During told the TEC on Friday that he could not comply with its injunction because the KwaZulu government, which was not party to agreements leading to the installation of the TEC, had ordered him to ignore the order.

The looming confrontation comes amid encouraging signs at the weekend that the Freedom Alliance (FA), of which the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is part, might be close to taking its seats on the TEC, and contesting next year's April 27 elections.

Following an FA meeting in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, FA chairman Rowan Cronje said only "half an issue" remained to be resolved, while the IFP's central committee said it would recommend to the party's general conference that it should contest the elections "if well-defined minimum conditions" are met.

Another indication the alliance was moving closer to cooperation was Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's confirmation at the weekend that he was planning to take part in the transition process.

TEC sources said yesterday that tough action was contemplated against KwaZulu. Observers said this might include a massive deployment of SAP and South African Defence Force personnel in Ulundi to search KZP headquarters.

Buthelezi has slammed the Goldstone Commission, dismissing its report as an attempt to gain favour with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission.

(304A)

Final sitting of whites-only House

MPs vote new deal for us all

Star 22/12/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A glimmer of hope has emerged, but today's historic vote takes place without the backing of the Freedom Alliance

Cape Town — Parliament resolved to place the interim constitution on to the statute books today amid the tantalising prospect of an all-inclusive political settlement.

In ANC/Government/Freedom Alliance (FA) talks finishing moments before midnight last night negotiators from the dissenting FA agreed to take a proposal to be put to their leaders that would pave the way for further talks in the New Year.

It would also embrace the "commitment" required by the Government and ANC before they are prepared to discuss changes to the constitution demanded by the FA.

Although the more than 30 hours of exhausting and tense talks ran too late to have amendments included in the constitution that will go before Parliament, the proposal does make provision for another sitting of Parliament late in January to give legal effect to any agreement.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described the talks as "very constructive".

FA chairman Rowan Cronje expressed disappointement that a deal could not be concluded in time to get agreements included in the constitution before it was put to the vote, but said the proposal meant "that an open door has been made possible".

This means that today's landmark vote will go ahead, with the historic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill likely to be passed with CP and Inkatha — two FA members — dissent.

The vote is scheduled to follow a ceremonial final sitting of the whites-only House of Assembly — the chamber in which apartheid was hatched and given legal effect.

Crucial to future participation by the FA is an endorsement by its leaders of the Government/ANC proposal on the way forward in talks with the FA.

They will have to decide whether they are prepared to commit themselves to abide by the constitution — as amended in terms of any agreement struck with the FA — and adhere to the "laws, rules and regulations governing the transition as well as the elections and related processes".

The phrasing amounts to an ANC concession — it had wanted an explicit commitment to the TEC, a provision rejected by FA negotiators.

In return the Government and ANC have agreed that talks should continue with a January 24 deadline. Should these bear fruit amendments to the constitution would be put to the Negotiating Council and then a special session of Parliament.

The commitment required of the FA had vexed the task force's negotiations spanning two days. Although the proposal was billed as coming from the ANC and Goverment, it originally arose out of a subcommittee including FA members — an indication that at least some members of the alliance look favourably on it.

A Government negotiator said that in spite of the frustrating negotiations the proposal amounted to a "fantastic achievement". Should a deal be struck it would amount to a staggering accomplishment — an all-inclusive agreement from parties from across the spectrum in the Republic.

▶ **Deal delayed — Page 3**

Response over KwaZulu awaited

TEC braced for test of credibility

Star 14/12/93

TOUGH challenge awaits new council as it decides what to do about an intransigent homeland following Goldstone report

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council today faces its first test of credibility when it decides how to deal with the KwaZulu Police's refusal to send it a report.

The country's first representative statutory body last week requested KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to give the TEC a report on the Goldstone Commission finding of a hit squad operating within its ranks. The commission found that the hit squad had killed nine people, including ANC members.

When the TEC meets for the third time in Cape Town today, it is expected to announce its response. (1031) (3044)

TEC member Dr Dawie de Villiers has indicated that the body might obtain legal advice on KwaZulu's refusal to meet the request.

Constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday that TEC decisions were legally binding on self-governing states, including KwaZulu. But these decisions would be binding only on those homelands — Transkei and Venda — that had accepted the TEC Act.

Sources close to the TEC also noted yesterday that During could be transgressing the law for not complying with the TEC request which was specifically made to him.

The meeting will also hear what the outcome was of talks between Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and a TEC delegation comprising Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa about proposals for the withdrawal of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit from the East Rand and the Durban squatter camp of Bhambayi.

It is further likely that loan agreements totalling R216 million between the Development Bank and Bophuthatswana could come up for discussion at the TEC.

Roodepoort voted 'part of AVF state'

Star 10/12/93

If the Afrikaner Volksfront could not get a volkstaat of their own by negotiation, it would take land to form a state by the "only other method possible".

This was said by Jurgen Prinsloo, CP MP of Roodepoort, as he chaired an Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) meeting attended by about 1 000 supporters in Roodepoort last night.

Prinsloo said opinion polls undertaken in several municipal areas showed 78 local authorities in the Transvaal wanted to be part of the AVF state.

The supporters then accepted a motion that Roodepoort become part of the AVF state.

■ The CP MP for Maraisburg, Piet Delarey, attending the meeting, said the AVF should not accept the South African Breweries and Coca Cola's decision to drop Afrikaans wording from its products. — West Rand Bureau.

(304A)

Local govt concession is undemocratic - DP

'Bill contradicts Constitution'

Star 11/12/93

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The Local Government Transition Bill hit a sharp bump in the Negotiating Council yesterday when the DP woke up — belatedly — to the possibility that the formula for demarcating electoral wards might be unconstitutional.

Democratic Party representative Jasper Walsh argued that by guaranteeing minorities in racially defined areas a certain proportion of wards, the Bill was loading the value of the individual vote.

This was "in conflict with the ethos and spirit" of the constitution's democratic principles, and the equality clause in the Bill of Rights, he said. (3044)

The contentious method of demarcating wards, acknowledged as an attempt by the African National Congress to placate the right wing, forms part of chapter 10 of the constitution. The Bill and the constitution provide that, in new amalgamated local authorities, 60 percent of council seats will be filled by ward representatives.

Regardless of population ratio, former white, coloured and Indian local authority areas will get half of these wards, and remaining areas the other half.

The Negotiating Council decided yesterday to refer this provision to the technical committee on constitutional affairs for expert legal opinion.

The ANC's Thozamile Botha conceded that Walsh was right "in saying that the whole power-sharing arrangement has a discriminatory element in it". But, he added, this applied equally at a national level, as the constitution guaranteed minor parties a place in the Cabinet.

He accused the DP of accepting compromises to the democratic ideal where it could profit from them.

Long days ahead for MPs

Star 9/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD

Cape Town — Parliament is to sit on Saturdays and throughout the day for most of the remainder of the special session in a bid to finish a mammoth legislative workload before Christmas (304A)

Daily sittings will start at 10 am instead of the normal 2.15 pm and are expected to run into the night, particularly once debate on the Interim Constitution begins.

Both the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party yesterday opposed the proposed longer sittings in a debate in the whites-only House of Assembly.

However, the motion tabled by leader of the House Adriaan Vlok was eventually carried by 87 votes to 45.

In a fiery debate, the CP charged that this critical piece of legislation should not be rushed through and that Parliament should sit again next month to finalise it.

"It is unacceptable, it is in conflict with democracy, it is dictatorial, and typical of the NP's contempt for Parliament," said CP chief whip Frank le Roux.

The party's MP for Losberg, Fanie Jacobs, said: "We are not busy with the constitution of a tennis club, we are busy with the constitution of a country."

DP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said his party wanted an assurance that MPs would have a full day to consider the Interim Constitution before it came before Parliament.

The Government did not give this assurance during the debate and the DP voted against the proposal.

ho and What's What of the TEC

Star 8/12/93

POLITICAL Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba reports on the body which has ushered in the beginning of South Africa's joint rule

(304-A)

The inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in the old esident's Council building in ape Town yesterday marked e first time in South Africa at blacks have been involved the highest level of national cision-making.

The TEC is intended to level e political playing field and en re that no party, organisation government has an unfair adntage in the coming election. will have seven multiparty b-councils.

In terms of agreements ached at the World Trade Cen-e, all the 26 parties which parcipated in multiparty talks ice their resumption on April 1 this year are eligible to nominate a representative and his/her alternate on the TEC.

This includes those members of the Freedom Alliance which were once in the process and have since walked out, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government, the Conservative Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, which was in the process until the November 17 plenary session which formally adopted the package of World Trade Centre agreements, has decided against taking its seat.

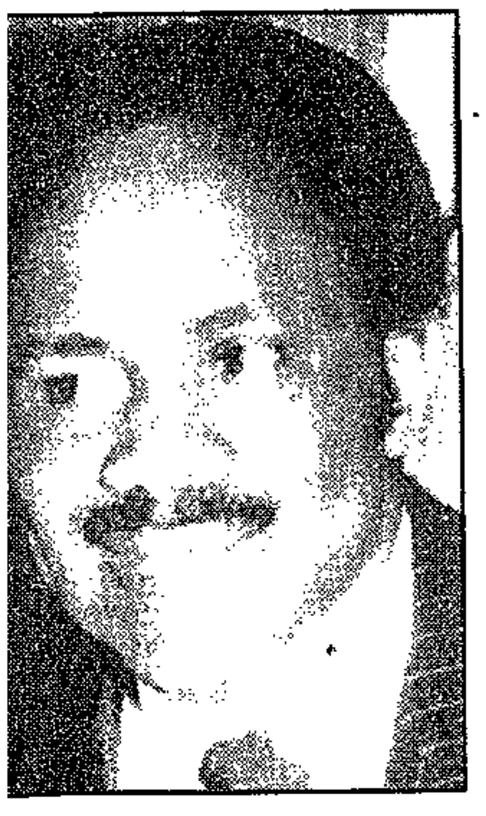
For now, the Pan Africanist Congress is also out of the TEC, even though indications are that the organisation is gearing itself for participation once its president, Clarence Makwetu, has held talks with President de Klerk some time next week.

This leaves 19 parties. Three groups representing traditional leaders were understood yesterday to have opted for observer status.

Those represented on the TEC yesterday were KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party, QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party, the Democratic Party, the ANC, the Labour Party, the National Party, the Government, the National People's Party, the Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Solidarity Party, the South African Communist Party, the Transkei government, Lebowa's United People's Front, the Venda government and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA (ANC): A former trade unionist who beat the then incumbent Alfred Nzo to become secretary-general in July 1991. Ramaphosa — whose star in the ANC is rising fast — is an able negotiator respected by friends and foes alike. He is destined to be a key figure in the new government.



NELSON RAMODIKE (Lebowa): One of two party leaders serving on the TEC, Ramodike is Chief Minister of Lebowa, the homeland against which Pretoria had to take action because of allegations of corruption. He is a member of the ANC-led "patriotic front".



AMICHAND RAJBANSI: Leader and sole MP of the National People's Party, Rajbansi talked much more than any other politician at the World Trade Centre. An astute politician, he is now rumoured to be keen to join the ANC, even though he is consolidating his own position within the Indian community in Natal.



COLIN EGLIN (DP): A former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Eglin was a member of the talks facilitating planning committee. He and his colleagues put up a brave fight at the World Trade Centre whenever they believed democratic ideals were in danger of being subverted.



JOE SLOVO (SACP): formerly regarded by many white South Africans as public enemy number one, Slovo is the architect of the GNU which will have a five-year term. An able debater with a penchant for the ringing phrase, he is very popular in the ANC-led alliance.



PRAVIN GORDHAN (Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress): A former "Operation Vula" operative and talks planning committee member, Gordhan was an outstanding chairman at the World Trade Centre. He, too, is popular within the alliance.



LEON WESSELS (NP): The first Cabinet Minister to apologise publicly for apartheid, Wessels will alternate with De Villiers on the TEC. Like Meyer, he has his critics within the conservative wing of the NP, but the new South Africa is likely to be kind to him.

About the TEC members

There are a total of 16 members on the Transitional Executive Council. Above we have highlighted nine of the most prominent figures, including Leon Wessels, who is one of 16 alternate members.

The other eight serving TEC members are H J Hendrickse of the Labour Party, N J Mahlangu of KwaNdebele, S A Moeti of Venda, T J Mohapi of QwaQwa, E E Ngobeni of Gazankulu, D S Rajah of Solidarity, S S Ripinga of KaNgwane and Z Titus of Transkei.

The other 15 alternate members are K Andrew, C Saloojee, I Richards, Q Vilankulu, S S van der Merwe, S Makhuvha, S O M Moji, P T Shilubana, J N Reddy, O Ganie, M Maharaj, M J Mahlangu, F S Baloi, T Mtintso, and N B Jajua.

De Klerk to meet top UK leaders

BY GARNER THOMSON
STAR BUREAU

London — President de Klerk will be taking just two hours today to help make another little bit of history.

He will be meeting Britain's three most influential leaders: Prime Minister John Major, opposition leader John Smith and Queen Elizabeth II.

His meeting with Major will doubtless be a combination of congratulations on progress to date, a report-back on the violence and the forces that still threaten peaceful transition to democracy, and encouragement on the last, difficult haul to the election.

Labour Party leader Smith, having recently met ANC leader Nelson Mandela and pledged his support for the new South Africa, has to be seen to welcome Mandela's fellow Nobel laureate and change-maker.

The Queen, who has granted De Klerk a 15-minute audience at Buckingham Palace, is expected to meet the National Party leader more as head of the Commonwealth.

It is no secret that she has long regarded South Africa's abrupt withdrawal from the Commonwealth at the hands of Hendrik Verwoerd — the last South African leader she has met — as a tragedy and a personal loss, and she is expected to make her approval of readmission loud and clear.

De Klerk may also expect the promise — or the hint, at least — of a royal visit, possibly by the Queen herself.

'Outrageous' pay is out

No Govt pay for TEC members

Star 7/12/93

LET US live on the breadline and not on the "cake-line" for the following four months, suggests Joe Slovo

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Members of the Transitional Executive Council — which has its first historic sitting today — will not receive salaries other than what they are being paid by their respective organisations.

But the last sitting of the Negotiating Council last night agreed that TEC members would not be unduly penalised financially.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo revealed that his "take home pay" was R3 200 a month. There was no reason for TEC members' salaries to be topped up by taxpayer money, he argued.

Negotiating Council members have not been remunerated from the State. "For the next four months, let us live on the breadline and not on the cake-line," Slovo said.

(304A)

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who also takes home R3 200 a month, supported Slovo. He revealed that some submissions arguing for a R217 000 annual salary for TEC members had been received. It was "outrageous", Ramaphosa said.

Debate within ANC and SACP circles is focusing on the possibility of new MPs donating the differences between their present salaries and new salaries to their organisations.

Thumbs up from 100 leading businessmen

Nod for Mandela and Keys

Star 3/12/93

SOME 68 percent want the ANC leader to be president and 89 percent want Keys to continue in his present job

■ BY STEPHEN CRANSTON

Top businessmen want Nelson Mandela to be the next president, and would like Derek Keys to remain as minister of finance.

These are two of the findings of Business in Transition, a survey of 100 top business people, commissioned by Sacob, the Weekly Mail & Guardian and the SABC's Agenda programme.

It found that 68 percent of the sample wanted Nelson Mandela to be president, with 94 percent of the 18 blacks in the survey supporting him.

FW de Klerk was supported by 32 percent of the sample and enjoyed 80 percent support among 15 Afrikaans-speakers.



Derek Keys ... overwhelming support.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi received no support.

Some critics of Buthelezi said it was his non-participation over the last couple of years that had been damaging.

He was described by 36 percent of the sample as "power-hungry", "irrational" or "controversial".

A further 23 percent saw him as a spoiler, disrupting the nation-building process.

By contrast, Mandela was praised for "immaculate personal qualities" such as nobility by 27 percent of the sample.

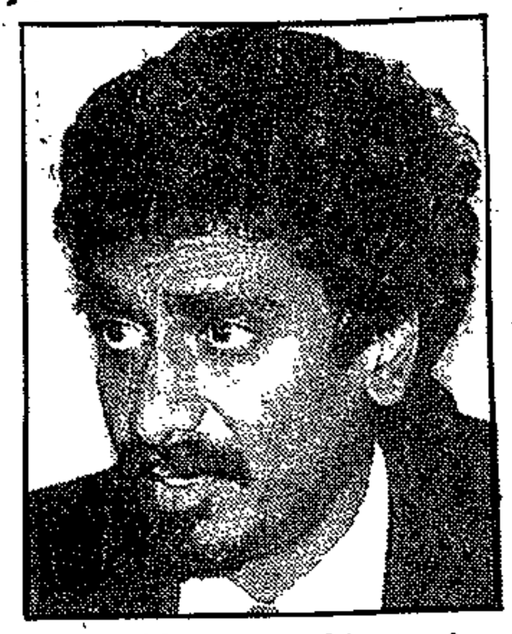
Others described him as a statesman and a representative of peace and stability who had the majority behind him.

Support for Keys was overwhelming. He was supported by 89 percent of the sample and half the black respondents.

Of Keys's admirers, 30 percent felt Trevor Manuel should be his deputy. A further 10 percent thought he was "good".

The survey showed that 87 percent of respondents felt the business outlook was improving, but 71 percent felt it would be even more favourable after the election — most citing the opportunities and investment that would flow from it.

There was far more anxiety about the right than the left.



Jay Naidoo ... cabinet minister.

304A

Just 19 percent of respondents took the SACP seriously, but 39 percent were concerned about the Freedom Alliance.

Respondents saw unemployment and job creation as the most important problems to tackle after the election.

Other tasks cited were education and training (14 percent), violence (13 percent), housing (12 percent) and economic growth (10 percent).

There was great confidence in the ANC's realistic economic policy. Just seven percent saw nationalisation as a real threat.

There was disagreement on the issue of forced unbundling to reduce the concentration of economic power.

Sixty percent of whites opposed it, while 83 percent of blacks favoured it.

Opponents argued that unbundling was futile, or would fail, or that power was not unduly concentrated, in any case.

Proponents looked to anti-trust legislation and urged that it should be equitably applied.

The prospect of Jay Naidoo being a cabinet minister was welcomed by 52 percent of English-speakers and 56 percent of black.

The fiery former Cosatu boss, however, still has to woo Afrikaners, with only 27 percent of Afrikaans respondents approving of him.

Formal negotiations end

Star 11/2/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The multiparty negotiation process which began in December 1991 is scheduled to formally end today with a debate on the Interim Constitution and the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa.

The end of the talks will mark the beginning of another phase as the multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC) — which will co-govern South Africa up to next year's election — takes office next week.

The TEC is scheduled to meet in Cape Town on Tuesday. It will effectively run the country with regard to seven areas of jurisdiction. 304A

These are law and order, defence, foreign affairs, local and regional government, finance, intelligence and women. Top of the TEC's priorities will be the establishment of the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission.

Although most of the parties still left in the talks will serve on the TEC and its subcouncils, the Afrikaner Volksunie announced yesterday that it would not be part of the TEC.

Whether the PAC will finally take part in the TEC will depend on the outcome of a meeting between the PAC and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

FA's leaders in the hot seat

Star 11/2/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Government and Freedom Alliance (FA) negotiators have made considerable progress towards resolving major issues dividing them, but there is growing concern over the hardline attitude of some of the FA's leaders.

FA negotiators will meet with their leaders tomorrow to discuss recent developments.

Given the pace of progress in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through Parliament during the current sitting, the meeting will almost certainly be the final opportunity for the FA to espouse a political settlement.

An FA negotiator said yesterday that negotiating teams had virtually reached agreement on the clause in the Interim Constitution on powers to the provinces in a new dispensation.

It is, in effect, the section defining federalism.

Another sub-committee was close to resolving differences on the taxation powers for provinces.

Describing tomorrow's meeting with his leaders as "critical", the FA negotiator said: "We are going to present to them the latest negotiated position and they are going to have to come to a decision." 304A

Plea to 'bleeding' nation

Summit urges end to violence

Star 11/12/93

304

ANC president Nelson Mandela tells church leaders not to waste time seeking causes of the strife, but to come up with solutions

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

Black political, church, business and community leaders yesterday decided at a summit that the nation was tired of the unabating violence and it was time to bring it to an end.

The high-powered meeting, which was called by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) near Jan Smuts Airport, was attended by leaders of major political organisations, except the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Among them were ANC president Nelson Mandela, Azanian People's Organisation president Itumeleng Mosala, PAC deputy-president Johnson Mlambo and Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

The United Nations was represented by head of the observer mission in South Africa Angela King and her international delegation.

The summit, which included a visit to the battle-scarred East Rand townships by church leaders, was convened to address the issue of violence in black communities.

Mandela urged church leaders not to waste time by discussing the causes of the violence but to come up with solutions.

"There is no use us sitting here and trying to find the causes of violence. What we need is action. This is a time for us to take a decision to stop the carnage.

"A resolution should be prepared stating our views as to how to stop the violence," Mandela said.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Methodist Church head Bishop Mmutlanyane Mogoba and SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo made impassioned pleas to a "sad and bleeding nation" to end the violence.

Mogoba said he believed the violence did not emanate from within black communities.

"This problem is bigger than all of us as individuals. However, this problem is not bigger than all of us together.

"We are not thinking of scoring points. There are no winners or losers. All of us can be winners or losers," the Methodist leader said.

FW stars in Nats' election campaign video

Star 18/12/93

TOS WENTZEL

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has started to move its election campaign into top gear with a video projecting President de Klerk and his reform moves as the central theme.

It is the precursor of the intensive final phase of the party's election campaign, which will start in the middle of January.

Appearances by De Klerk, including "road shows" throughout the country during which he will make whistle-stop visits similar to last year's referendum campaign, will be the centrepiece of the initiative.

The NP is building up De Klerk as its star attraction and the man who can draw support from many people from all race groups who are not traditional supporters of the party.

The projection in the campaign will also be that this is the new NP which has totally abandoned its apartheid past.

On Tuesday De Klerk, as leader of the party, will give more details of the campaign (304A)

NP director of information Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday that the election campaign would move fully into top gear from the middle of January through to April. He added the NP was not unduly concerned about opinion polls that had shown a huge drop in support for the party.

Internal polls carried out by the party showed that the tide was turning. Many of those who had drifted away could be won back, in addition to new supporters the party was gaining.

The video has been planned by the local affiliate of Saatchi and Saatchi, the British advertising firm which played a crucial role in a number of Margaret Thatcher's election victories.

It has been sent to party organisations in the four provinces and will be used extensively, especially at smaller house meetings.

The 12-minute video, entitled "The People's Leader", has an upbeat approach to the reform moves De Klerk set in motion in February 1990.

In between scenes of many of De Klerk's public appearances, including some of his visits to 40 foreign countries, it switches to appeals by him for support for the NP.

It maintains that the reform moves have prevented a revolution and that international isolation has now been broken down.

De Klerk stresses that the new South Africa has not yet arrived: it would do so only when a new constitution and a government of national unity were in place, he says.

He punts his party as the only one that can ensure peace, prosperity and "a good future in a wonderful country".

He also urges voters not to waste their vote.

This appears to be the line that the National Party will be taking with supporters of parties such as the Democratic Party.

Seeks provincial role

Bartlett is bowing out

Star 21/12/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs George Bartlett announced yesterday he was bowing out of the national political arena to concentrate on KwaZulu/Natal politics.

Speaking in the parliamentary debate on the transitional constitution, Bartlett, leader of the National Party in Natal, said that by the time the general election took place on April 27, he would have served 20 years as an MP — 10½ as a member of the Opposition and the rest as a member of the NP.

"I will lead the NP in Natal into the election, and my name will be on our candidates list, but not for the national legislature. I have decided that I will stand for the new provincial legislature of my home province, KwaZulu/Natal.

"I have discussed my views with the State President. Indeed, I raised this subject with him as far back as April last year, so it has not been a sudden decision.

304A



Bartlett . . . it's been a rough year.

"I believe that there are great challenges facing KwaZulu/Natal as a regional government in the new South Africa — not just constitutional challenges, but also administrative and developmental challenges."

Bartlett said he had enjoyed the 20 years he had spent in Parliament.

"I must admit, though, that the past year has been the roughest for me. But I can stand the heat in the kitchen even when, at times, the heat is truthfully not of my own making."

Nominations no surprise

TEC leaders announced

Star 2/12/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEGOTIATORS who headed their delegations in the multiparty talks will again deal with each other

South Africa's top negotiators who headed their respective delegations in the multiparty talks which were scheduled to end last night, will once again deal with one another in the Transitional Executive Council.

Constitutional Development Minister and Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, Public Enterprises Minister and NP chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will represent their various delegations in the TEC which will hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday.

The Government and the NP announced their nominations for the TEC (304P) night, and there were no major surprises.

Alternating with Meyer and De Villiers on the TEC will be Government chief constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels respectively.

People nominated to serve on the seven subcouncils, with Government nominees first and NP nominees second, are:

- Defence: retired Army Chief General Kat Liebenberg and Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach.
- Law and Order: Lieutenant-General Louw Malan and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh.
- Intelligence: G H Rothmann and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman.
- Foreign Affairs: Dr Brand Fourie and Leon Wessels.
- Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities: Deputy Local Government Minister Yakoob Makda and Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer.

Status of Women: Advocate Francis Bosman and Dr Tertia King.

The Democratic Party has yet to announce its nominees.

De Klerk warns AVF, FA

Star 1/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President de Klerk has issued a blunt warning to the right wing: break the law to further your cause and you will face "firm action".

His comments came amid increasing tension over right-wing activities and after a warning by ANC president Nelson Mandela to the Freedom Aliance that he would call for the deployment of an "anti-fascist front" if it tried to destabilise the negotiated settlement. (304A)

After a meeting with US Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown yesterday, De Klerk was asked to comment on Mandela's statement and the Afrikaner Volksfront's (AVF) threat to establish a volkstaat and to hold elections exclusively for Afrikaners.

"I want to say, from the Government side, that there will be firm action against anybody breaking the law," said De Klerk.

"The law will be upheld and anybody trying to advance their cause with violence will be acted against," he warned.

He described the AVF announcement, made on Monday evening, as irresponsible. De Klerk was also cool towards Mandela's "anti-fascist front" suggestion.

■ Sapa reports that the Afrikaner Volksunie announced yesterday that it would not take part in the Transitional Executive Council.

Disgrunteld members of MK 'have joined NP'

Star 31/12/93

An unspecified number of Umkhonto we Sizwe members have joined the National Party due to deep dissatisfaction with the ANC's leadership, the NP claimed yesterday.

The NP Federal Council said in a statement MK members had joined the NP for reasons ranging from the ANC's dictatorial leadership style and favouring of Xhosas, to corruption.

MK members were also dissatisfied that R10 million promised to them was still in ANC president Nelson Mandela's London bank account.

The NP said animosity existed between MK commander Joe Modise, a Tswana, and deputy head of military intelligence L W Ngculu, a Xhosa. (304A)

The ANC's top structure was overwhelmingly Xhosa, said the NP, and Xhosas received preferential treatment.

According to the NP, MK members were shocked by the widespread corruption within the ANC, among ANC supporters and pro-ANC homeland governments.

Auditors had identified financial mismanagement in the ANC's southern Natal and Border regions. The Transkei region had also suffered massive mismanagement.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night that the NP claims should be treated with "contempt and disgust".

"The ANC and the public in general are aware that people joining the NP do so not out of convictions but for pecuniary gain," he said. — Sapa.

Scrap 205, says Soal

Star 23/12/93

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The controversial Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act was amended this week, but Democratic Party MP for Parktown North Peter Soal called today for its scrapping from the statute book.

Before its amendment, Section 205, which has mainly been used against journalists, entitled the police to bring anyone before a magistrate if they believed that person to have information which could lead to the breakdown of law and order. Contravention of the section carried an obligatory prison sentence (304-A)

It has been amended to allow for a person to appear before a judge, regional magistrate or magistrate. A prison sentence is no longer obligatory, if the presiding officer finds that there is a good reason for not divulging the information.

Soal said he supported the amendment, but still felt that Section 205 should have been scrapped.

TEC subcouncil members named

Star - 15/12/93

304A

The Transitional Executive Council yesterday announced its final decision on who would serve on its subcouncils:

SUBCOUNCIL FOR REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: M Malatsi — Transvaal Traditional Leaders, Chief G S K Nota — Transkei government, Yacoob Makda — SA Government, Billy Cobbett — ANC, Tobie Meyer — National Party, J S S Phatang — Dikwankwetla Party.

SUBCOUNCIL ON INTELLIGENCE: Luwellyn Landers — Labour Party, Colonel W M Ndzwayiba — Transkei government, Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers — Democratic Party, Brigadier M W Mokoena — United People's Front, G H Rothman — SA Government, Alfred Nzo — ANC, Fanus Schoeman — National Party, Mo Shaik — SACP.

SUBCOUNCIL ON LAW AND ORDER: Major-General J Nembambula — Venda government, Peter Gastrow — Democratic Party, Lieutenant-Colonel Bohlolo — United People's Front, Lieutenant-General Louwtjie Malan — SA Government, Sydney Mufamadi — ANC, Gert Myburgh — National Party, Krish Naidoo — Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress, M S Gininda — Inyandza National Movement.

SUBCOUNCIL ON DEFENCE: Professor D M D Mahlangu — Ximoko Progressive Party, Brigadier L Bengu — Transkei government, Brigadier Gabriel T D Ramushwana — Venda government, S J Maake — United People's Front, General Kat Liebenberg — SA Government, Joe Modise — ANC, Wynand Breytenbach — National Party, Ronnie Kasrils — SACP.

SUBCOUNCIL ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS: G T N Hetisani — Ximoko Progressive Party, Princess Stella Sigcau — Cape Traditional Leaders, O Ganie — National People's Party, Professor C J A Barratt — Democratic Party, Aziz Pahad — ANC, Leon Wessels — National Party.

SUBCOUNCIL ON STATUS OF WOMEN: M Y K Bassier — Labour Party, M T Moroke — Free State Traditional Leaders, N S Mtsweni — Intando Yesizwe Party, Mavivi Manzini — ANC, Dr Tersia King — National Party, E Gandhi — Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress.

SUBCOUNCIL ON FINANCE: John Douw — Labour Party, J N Reddy — Solidarity Party, Dr Theo Alant — SA Government, Tito Mboweni — ANC, T J Ndaba — Inyandza National Movement, S O M Moji — Dikwankwetla Party.

No preconditions, says FA

Star 14/12/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Freedom Alliance yesterday accused "certain elements" within the Government and the ANC of being against the attainment of an all-inclusive political settlement in the country.

It appealed to the two major groups to approach talks with the FA with a view to reaching an inclusive settlement without preconditions.

In a statement issued last night after a marathon meeting in Pretoria, the FA recommitted itself to the attainment of an inclusive constitutional settlement through peaceful negotiations.

The FA said no party or organisation involved in the World Trade Centre multiparty talks had ever been asked, as was the case now, to commit itself to the transitional process and agree to participation in elections without first being aware of the outcome of the negotiations (3014A)

The preconditions set for further talks with the FA were not only unreasonable, but also unnecessary.

However, the alliance also released a 14-point list of constitutional conditions which would have to be met before it could embrace the package of agreements and fight elections.

Of the 14 issues, only four — the powers, functions and boundaries of regions; regional governments' powers of taxation; provincial constitutions; and the role of the Constitutional Court in constitution-making — had been agreed upon in principle in negotiations between the Government and the FA.

They now have to be agreed upon in multiparty talks, including the amendments that would be necessary to the Interim Constitution.

Outstanding issues included a two-ballot voting system as opposed to the agreed-upon one ballot system; the requirement that members of regional legislatures should live in those regions; that only South Africans should be entitled to vote; and the containment of violence.

High drama as new Constitution voted in

SA turns back on apartheid

Star 23/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — South Africa got its new Constitution at 4.48 pm yesterday.

The moment the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill was voted on to the statute books marked an irrevocable step into a democratic future — in which blacks will take their place in Parliament. (30L A)

"By accepting a new Constitution we took South Africa over the threshold of history into a new era with all its dangers, opportunities and challenges," President de Klerk said in a final speech before Parliament closed at the end of the special session.

The vote on the document was marked by a Conservative Party protest in which its 35 MPs stood to attention and sang *Die Stem*. They were joined by a group in the public gallery.

A protester was ejected from the gallery after he had shouted that the NP was "busy with treason". And four CP MPs were expelled from the main chamber after the vote for calling Government members traitors.

The Interim Constitution — which will have effect for five years while a final Constitution is being written — was approved by 132 votes to 42 in the House of Assembly, 72 to one in the House of Representatives and 33 to two in the House of Delegates.

NO going back — South Africa accepted the new Constitution yesterday which puts apartheid firmly among the has-beens

The vote required a 66 percent majority in each House for the Constitution to be passed, and was comfortably achieved.

The decision will see the tricameral Parliament abolished after the April 27 election.

But, if accord is reached between the Government, the Freedom Alliance and the ANC on the amendments to the Constitution demanded by the alliance, another session of Parliament will be held.

The proposed amendments were the subject of considerable emotion in the declarations of vote on the Constitution.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said that if the Constitution was not changed, the CP would not recognise it and the transitional structures, and would not take part in the April election.

It excluded a "whole bloc of South Africans" and "it does not make provision for people who want to be free", he said.

Hartzenberg's prediction that a new volkstaat would one day be created with its own anthem, *Die Stem*, sparked the protest singing by his party's MPs.

CP MP for Randfontein Corné Mulder warned that the freedom struggle would begin more seriously than ever if the FA's demands were not accommodated.

IFP MP for Vryheid Jurie Mentz said the organisation would make things "impossible" for the Government if it did not accept the amendments.

Constitional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje had indicated that they would recommend that their organisations support a proposal in terms of which negotiations on amendments could start again in the new year.

De Klerk, during his speech, said all parties should strive for greater accord on the Constitution in coming weeks.

Earlier — during his question time — De Klerk indicated that the Government was prepared to look again at the boundaries of provinces in a bid to accommodate minorities "who do not want to be dominated".

■ The sitting also passed other significant Bills, including the Electoral Bill — in terms of which the April 27 election will be held — and the Transfer of Walvis Bay to Namibia Bill.

Building a democratic culture

HEARING about films or books which we will not be able to see or read because they are banned under the country's censorship regulations is part of life in South Africa.

Or we see censored versions of films and wonder exactly what was cut out.

We are only beginning to get used to the notion that it is now legal to openly state certain political affiliations. Not too long ago one would be thrown in jail simply for supporting certain parties.

While we may now join any party of our choice, we have sadly yet to accept the choices others make.

Because we are not used to the open identification of people with parties, we react negatively towards those whom we expect should support the same parties we do but do not.

This shows our democratic values are still under-developed.

In a true democracy citizens enjoy many personal freedoms. They can decide who to vote for, which books to read, whether to join a political party or not, etc.

Government does not dictate what citizens may do, provided their activities don't break the law.

There are many organisations other than political parties which play a role in upholding civil rights and liberties.

Trade unions are vital to ensure workers have safe working conditions. Employees may not always know their rights and what minimum wages or salaries they are entitled to.

Unions protect workers from unfair dismissal and deter employers from unfair labour practices.

Probably the best-supported organs of civil society in South Africa are the various religious institutions — churches, mosques, synagogues and temples.

The church has played a meaningful role in assisting people under apartheid rule. The church declared apartheid a heresy.

Churches were venues for commemorative services and meetings during the days of struggle.

Church leaders have spoken out against apartheid. Ministers were often at the forefront of protest marches, hoping to deter violence.

There are many other organisations — such as civic, residents and ratepayers' associations , professional associations, student associations, educational bodies.

South Africans are fortunate to already have a vibrant civil society. Many people in South Africa have fought courageously for their rights. This gives us a head start in making a future democracy work.

Unlike in the past, these structures are now able to work freely and openly without fear of retribution and harassment.

Organs of civil society can concentrate on ensuring that human rights and freedoms enshrined in the interim bill of rights and the constitution are implemented.

Already these structures are working all out to prepare voters for the forthcoming election. By the time a new government is in power, civil structures will long be familiar with what the Bill of Rights guarantees and how the constitution both sanctions and limits government power.

This is an advantage for people in this country. Whether individuals keep themselves informed or not, civil structures will bring crucial issues to their attention.

There will probably be a tremendous boom in the cultural life of our society.

Freedom of expression will allow the performance, viewing and reading of plays, films, videos and publications which were previously banned.

In all areas of society there will be freedom to explore new ideas and to decide what art, literature, films or theatre one likes.

People will be exposed to a broad cross section of opinion, facts, art, literature, social, political and economic trends in their society.

There will not be a censor deciding whether people are adult enough to be exposed to certain language, images or political ideas.

Nor will suppression of information about developments within society be tolerated.

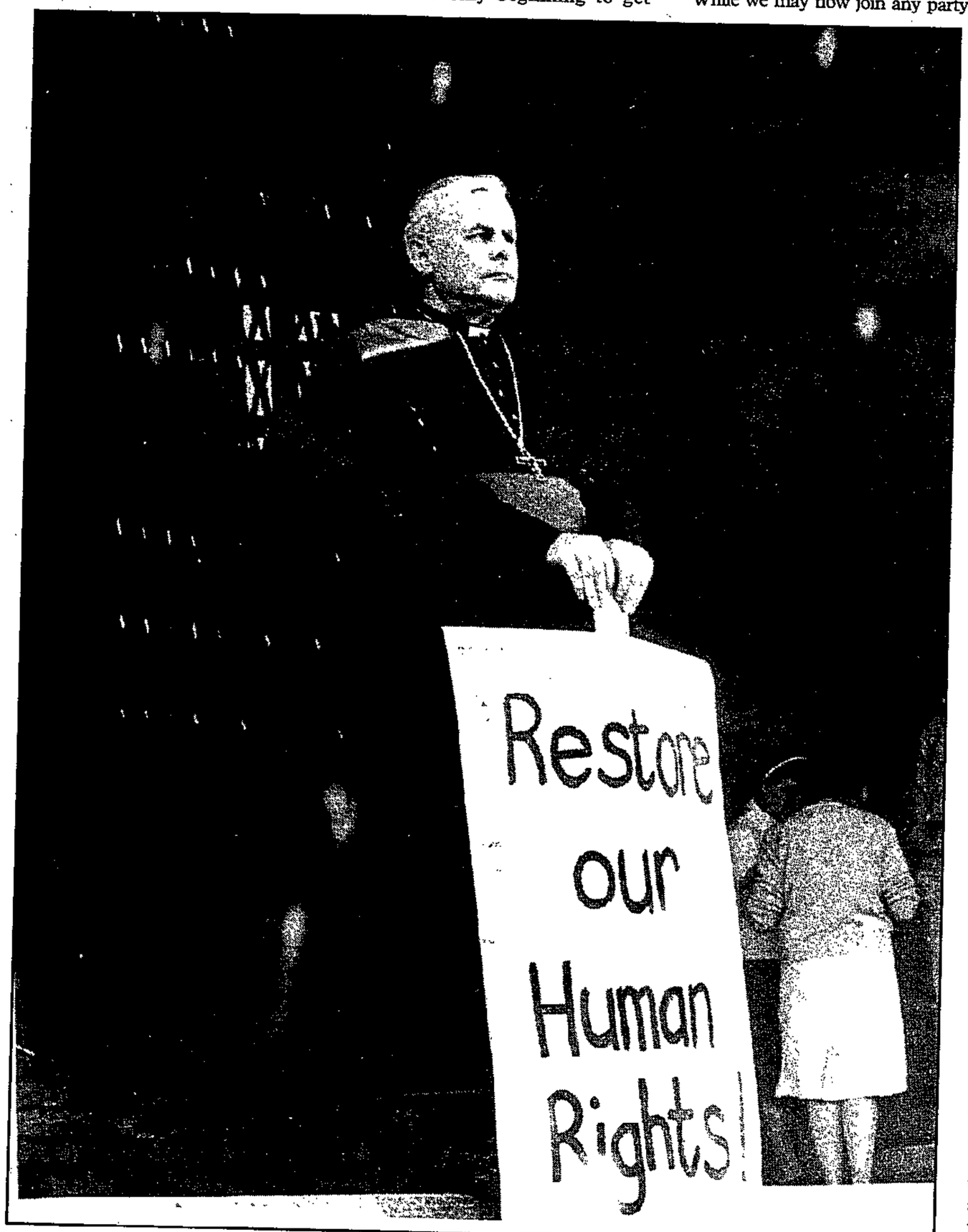
People who grow up with these freedoms have every opportunity to be socially aware and independent thinkers. They can participate in the political, social and economic activities of their society from a well-informed perspective.

Such citizens are the best safeguards a democracy can have. They are fully aware of their human rights. They know when an intended action, by government, a company or interest group, threatens these rights and are informed enough to know how to counteract it.

The value of such a vibrant, socially-aware civil society, is summarised in the words of Edmund Burke who said: "Evil only flourishes when good men do nothing."

A government elected to power by citizens who are fully conscious of their rights would think twice before abusing its authority.

It would know that the consequences would probably mean being voted-out of power.



UPHOLDING CIVIL RIGHTS: Churches were among the many organisations other than political parties that played a great role in the fight against apartheid

UDI of AVF tragic yet laughable says FW

Sowetan 11/12/92

■ INVESTMENT BOOST State President hails trade agreement with United States:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Afrikaner Volksfront's intention to unilaterally declare an own volkstaat was tragic although it should be dismissed as laughable, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk was also critical of Mr Nelson Mandela's recent verbal attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Chief Lucas Mangope. De Klerk was speaking at Tuynhuys during a joint Press conference with visiting United States Secretary of Commerce Mr Ronald Brown.

Hailing the clinching of a trade agreement to boost investment entered into with the US yesterday, De Klerk said: "This shows that we are on the same side of the bank of the Rubicon with the international community."

On the AVF's UDI plans he said the Government was awaiting a report from the Freedom Alliance (in which the AVF is represented) on constitutional proposals. (304A)

This was after a meeting between the Government and the FA on Monday. In a joint statement on Monday AVF leaders Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen said plans were afoot to declare an Afrikaner volkstaat and its own transitional government until elections.

"It is untimely of the AVF to declare such plans."

But, De Klerk said, he did not think the AVF's stance was a threat as the question of the FA being part of the Transitional Executive Council was being raised in bilateral meetings. However, agreement on constitutional transitions was going forward at multiparty level.

Responding to a question whether he agreed with Mandela's reference to Buthelezi and Mangope as "fascist" and black surrogates on the right he said "I do not think Chief Buthelezi or President Mangope are fascist". Regarding the increasing threats of war from the ultra-right De Klerk warned that the Government would deal with violence from whence it came.

● Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys and Brown signed a deal which would facilitate US private sector investment in South Africa. This would be brokered by a US private sector company which promotes investment in Third World countries.

Parties go into campaign mode

South 3/12 — 7 Apr 93

POLITICAL parties and organisations can be expected to swing into full-scale election mode soon. But what exactly are different parties doing to ensure success at the polls?

The Democratic Party's (DP) election strategy is simple: "Strong branch organisation, know who will support you and get them to the polls on election day."

Mr Stuart McLoughlin, regional director of the DP predicts that other political parties will use "mass impersonal mobilisation" — they will focus on the movement side of things by marketing their images or changing their identities through the mass media.

"The DP is taking a more personal route. Branch members have embarked on an intensive training process which will enable them to go out on door-to-door drives, getting to know communities face to face and hosting house meetings and public meetings.

"It is important that we get involved with community issues, have a high profile in the community and be sure that we can address people's needs.

"Our strength is our structures on the ground — they will fight the election for us on the ground."

Ms Zou Kota, the ANC's regional assistant election co-ordinator, says that branches are continually recruiting volunteers to canvass.

Each branch decides which method is best for approaching people in the area.

The branches use a method called blitzing which involves volunteers going from door to door and canvassing for the ANC.

The branches often have house meetings which are attended by six to 10 people. (11A) (304A)

"We generally invite people who are not ANC members," says Kota.

Another team, headed by Mr Cameron Dugmore, also does blitzing on a larger scale.

"Members from different branches come together and blitz a certain area. Areas such as Delft and Mitchells Plain have already been targeted in this way," says Kota.

"This drive has been very successful so far. It has aroused excitement within the ANC and new people are getting involved all the time."

The National Party has a dual election strategy.

"We are still in the pre-election phase," says Mr Tommie Immelman, regional secretary of the ANC.

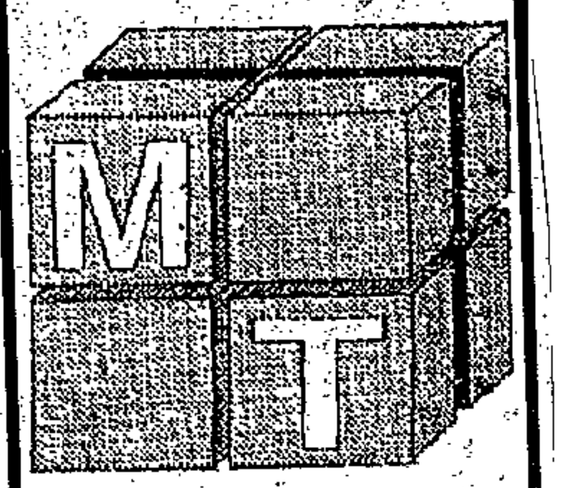
"We are busy with a deliberate campaign to create a suitable climate for electioneering through advertising, the media, pamphlets and rallies such as the one in Stellenbosch.

"Our strategy is a gradual build-up towards the election and we hope to peak on election day."

Immelman says the NP will not target specific groups of people, but will "approach different groups in accordance to their specific needs and styles".

He says the NP has been "pleasantly surprised" by the number of people who voluntarily come to NP offices to present themselves as workers for the party.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



Parties ponder TEC positions

South 3/12 - 7/12/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

WITH just a week before the formal institution of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils, political parties are caucussing on which of their leaders will be elected to sit on these bodies.

The TEC's role is to prepare the ground for the smooth transition to the new democratic South Africa.

And moves are afoot to ask for at least one more sub-council on the preparation of the new parliament.

According to the TEC legislation to be promulgated by "The Government Gazette" this week, each of the 21 parties at the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park will have one seat on the TEC main body.

(3044)

Sources close to the ANC predict it is unlikely that their secretary-general and chief negotiator, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, would be allocated to the TEC, due to his key role in the organisation of the movement.

The issue is still under discussion.

Other parties are weighing up the benefits of having strong politicians on the councils, which often means sacrificing their best campaigners.

Although state president FW de Klerk insists that the TEC is an administrative body, it is widely accepted that three sub-councils, on defence, intelligence and finance, will have sweeping powers to override government decisions.

The TEC's role is to prevent the government taking any decision that would favour or disadvantage any party during the election run-up, such as the way state money is spent and the deployment of troops.

The three security sub-councils — law and order, defence and intelligence — will each have eight members chosen from the 21 negotiating parties.

The other sub-councils are those on finance, regional and local government, foreign affairs and women, with six or seven members each.

Decisions in the main body and the sub-councils on security will be taken by a 75 percent majority, while in the others only two thirds are needed.

Draft legislation on the electoral commission and the constitution isexpected to be passed by parliament during its current session.

The electoral commission will set up a Special Electoral Court, to resolve disagreements in the TEC or between the TEC and government.

'Time to end the killings'

Sowetan 1/12/93

BLACK political, church, business and community leaders yesterday said at a summit that it was time to bring the unabating violence to an end.

The meeting, near Jan Smuts Airport, was called by the South African Council of Churches and was attended by leaders of major political organisations, except the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Among them were African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, Azanian People's Organisation president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo and Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

(304A)

The United Nations was represented by the head of the observer mission in South Africa, Mrs Angela King.

The delegates visited the violence-ridden East Rand townships.

Mandela urged church leaders not to waste time by discussing the causes of the violence but to come up with solutions.

"You as religious leaders are used to preaching to the converted. There is no one here who is not aware of the causes of the violence. All of us here are convinced that this violence must be ended, but in spite of all the efforts, the violence continues," he said.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Methodist Church head Bishop Stanley Mogoba and SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, made impassioned pleas to a "sad and bleeding nation" to end the violence.

Tutu said the collective credibility which had been built as a result of a noble struggle against "vicious" apartheid, had been considerably dented.

Mogoba said he believed the violence did not emanate from within black communities.

Govt 'is still in control'

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE 21 parties at the World Trade Centre talks have until midnight on Friday to nominate candidates for the Transitional Executive Council which is to have its first sitting next week. Sowetan

However, President FW de Klerk yesterday cautioned that the TEC was not taking over Government functions but would level the playing fields for free and fair elections on April 27 next year. BOHAD

"The Government will continue to govern the country," De Klerk told journalists at Tuynhuys after his meeting with United States Secretary of Commerce Mr Ronald Brown.

He dismissed as propaganda statements that the TEC would be an interim government. 11/2/93

"We are not liquidating the system in order to disappear from the scene but are changing it to build in value systems," he said.

He said the Government would be in power until next year's elections for a government of national unity. Also, this did not mean he would disappear.

A last long night for negotiators

Sowetan 2/12/93

■ **NEW ERA** ANC says 'flawed' deal necessary to smooth the way:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

IT WAS all smiles yesterday afternoon at the World Trade Centre as multiparty negotiators prepared to sum up two years of bargaining and haggling over the country's new constitution.

Handshakes abounded as many men and women who did not know one another prior to the negotiation process exchanged greetings with the familiarity that came from months of working together.

Yesterday was the scheduled end of the process, to see South Africa into a new era of multiparty governance, with its flaws and all.

Security men stood around the gates with automatic rifles, not taking chances. And as they all smiled for the official group picture, many of them were thinking of the olden days, of animosities and the untouchables.

The friendship and smiles were, however, short-lived, for as soon as the council went into session, the knives were out. Accusations flew around that the ANC and the Government, in an effort to woo the rightwing town councils into the new deal, had legislated for racism. (304A)

Entrenched racism

The Democratic Party and the Pan Africanist Congress waded into the ANC with relish, saying the new South Africa was being built on entrenched racism.

ANC negotiator Mr Thozamile Botha said while this might be so, the deal was necessary to smooth the new deal in.

After the objections were noted and the bill adopted, SACP leader Mr Essop Pahad said his party had serious qualms about the bill but had agreed to let it go to facilitate progress.

With more amendments to the constitution in the offing, and the bill on the transfer of Walvis Bay, the men and women who have literally lived at the WTC were preparing themselves for one more long night.

But it was a night that they would withstand, for it was to be the last long night.

focus on UDI

While some think the true import of the 'unilateral declaration of independence' by the Afrikaner Volksfront is a threat of real action, others see it as empty bluster. Political editor **Mathatha Tsedu** suggests another possibility:

THE announcement on Monday by the Afrikaner Volksfront of a unilateral declaration of independence should be seen more as an attempt at extortion than a serious cessation move, say political commentators.

Political commentators and spokesmen for organisations have said the move is proof that the right wing has mastered the art of guerilla warfare: strike or threaten to strike while you continue negotiations.

The AVF, as part of the Freedom Alliance, is involved in bilateral negotiations with the Government and only this week its spokesman, Mr Rowan Cronjé, said substantial progress had been made in the talks.

The AVF itself has set up a joint committee with the African National Congress to look at its demands for a white homeland. The committee is less than two weeks old.

The AVF's proposals, save for the mobilisation of Afrikaners, are themselves unclear as no map of their envisaged white homeland has been published, despite the idea being years old.

Sources close to the negotiations have however said a proposal given to the Government earlier this month includes areas in all four provinces.

Pretoria is the envisaged capital, apparently excluding the black townships of Mamelodi, Attridgeville, Laudium, Eesterus and Mabopane that surround it.

The Eastern boundary would stretch to Northern Natal and Thabazimbi in the northwest. These areas would be linked through Warmbaths and extend to the Eastern Transvaal.

Other key points in the plan are Lichtenburg, home of Terre'Blanche, Ventersdorp, Potchefstroom, Wolmaransstad and Klerksdorp.

The Free State would be divided into three areas for Tswanas, Sothos and whites. The Far North and Nelspruit would also be included.

The AVF has said all this could be done without forced removals of blacks, a notion that seems impossible given the diversity of communities in the areas.

An international peace observer said yesterday the AVF plan was impractical as the international community would not recognise the UDI.

"What government will it be that does not interact with other states? Will it only deal with KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana? The fact that they are making all this noise while continuing with the bilateral negotiations is proof that they have not closed the door to negotiations and it could well mean that it is a ploy to put pressure on the negotiators," the observer said.

However, the right wing's battles go on at all fronts. The Afrikaner Volksunie is the only element of the ultra-right to remain in the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, thus pushing the struggle from that end.

As this goes on, the noise from the more militant members of the alliance is one of war.

"One has to see the far right as natural allies of the Government and their actions in the end strengthening the hand of the Government ... to get a more white-tilted deal. The black surrogates only want their bantustan fiefdoms to remain intact"

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has said a civil war is inevitable, and called on whites who do not or cannot own guns legally to steal them.

As a result of this, the defence force last weekend cancelled all leave for soldiers, almost putting them on a war footing to deal with the problem.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is training people who will be deployed anywhere in South Africa where "Zulus are attacked". His threats to wreak havoc if his idea of regions and federalism are not acceded to are now commonplace. All this adds up to a war psychosis.

And so, as they speak, they fight, or threaten to fight.

The National Party chief negotiator and Constitutional Affairs Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the move to declare a counter Transitional Executive Council by the right wing was "strange and incomprehensible".

With talks still going on about an Afrikaner homeland, he could not comprehend their actions. State President FW de Klerk has said the AVF action would be laughable if it was not so serious.

But, says the Azanian People's Organisation, this is nothing strange. "The white right and their black surrogates have mastered the art of warfare. The threats of war, and the accumulation of armaments, are part of a psychological strategy to instil fear and extract gains.

"They are looking for concessions from the negotiating partners in the bilaterals. Their demands are not removed from the demands of the Nats and by pushing outside the forums they aim to get more at the table.

"One also has to see the far right as natural allies of the Government and their actions in the end strengthening the hand of the Government in negotiations, especially with the ANC, to get a more white-tilted deal. The black surrogates only want their bantustan fiefdoms to remain intact," a spokesman said.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, also agreed. "It is not clear what they aim to get tangibly. Do they really want to fight, or are they just threatening to fight in order to strengthen their negotiators? I think the latter is the case and we are already seeing this happening, with Cronjé saying the Government is giving them more on powers of regions and taxation than the deal that was signed by some parties at the World Trade Centre the other Thursday morning.", the spokesman said.

The ANC has said the AVF's attempts were ludicrous as many of their followers did not believe in the *Boerestaat*. "Talk of creating alternative government structures and a 'people's army' is clearly so much pie in the sky."

The Government should however deal sternly with the rightwing if it carried out its threat, the ANC said.

That Cronjé has said he did not know of the move to declare UDI has been seen as just another trick by the FA to keep the negotiators out of the way of criticism for negotiating in bad faith. And so Cronjé is able to say "I know nothing about it, I am negotiating", while at the same time he is able to use this as a stick to extract concessions.

And South Africa may know today, when the FA leaders hold their meeting to consider the gains made in bilaterals, whether the AVF is bluffing or if we are about to enter into the summer of white discontent.

No sparks fly as the TEC meets

'The real test ahead is to translate the piles of documents into action and turn the words into democracy'

Sowetan 8/12/93

■ TRAIL BLAZING *Beginning of the end of white minority rule:*

y Themba Molefe
olitical Correspondent

IF YESTERDAY can be described as having marked the beginning of the end of minority rule, it certainly did not feel like it. There definitely were no sparks in the ir surrounding the venue of the trail-azing meeting of the Transitional Ex-cutive Council.

The only difference, perhaps, was he poetic irony" referred to by Mr Joe lovo when he noted that the meeting as taking place in the old President's ouncil chamber in the grounds of arliament.

"A chamber built to prop up apart-eid," was how Slovo, chairman of the outh African Communist Party, de-cribed the venue which used to house ie discredited and now defunct Presi-ent's Council.

nthusiastic

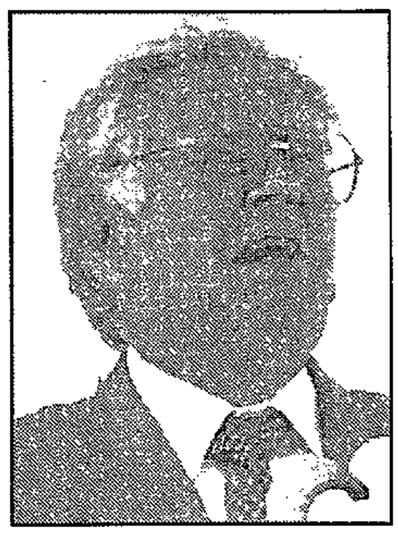
Jo, the lack of excitement in spite of ie enthusiastic remarks by some inter-ational observers present, was caused y the feeling that the TEC was not nything new.

It was the multiparty negotiating ouncil in a different guise — a statu-ory body but with powers to keep the resent and still ruling National Party lovernment in legal check.

The faces were the same except that 6 parties, instead of the original 26 nd until recently 21, were involved.

The Afrikaner Volksunie was not issed since its founder and leader bandoned it to the hands of idealistic tudents in October.

The Pan Africanist Congress did not ake its seats because it was not al-owed to do so. The reason: it had not enounced violence by the time the neeting started in compliance with TEC provisos.



Joe Slovo (304A)

So, as the meeting continued the PAC and Government were holding a bilateral discussion elsewhere to "sort out" their differences. It sounded like Kempton Park all over again as a negotiator whispered in my ear: "The PAC is up to its theatrics again."

Well, back to the PC chamber in the Good Hope Building. Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress and the NP's Dr Dawie de Villiers co-chaired the opening session as they had usually done at the World Trade Centre.

Gordhan, considered by his fellow councillors as the engine of the process, invited the parties to take two or three minutes for opening remarks. Still no sparks flew as the politicians verbally patted each other on the back for their perseverance, dedication, long hours, and so on and so forth. Adjectives were thrown around.

But it seemed again to journalists present that they had heard it all before. Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the African National Congress' secretary-general, and Slovo, seem to change the mood of occasions each time speeches are made.

Remember how Ramaphosa stole the thunder from the PAC during the special debate in which Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was grilled by negotiators for raiding PAC leaders in May, and the Government for the Umtata raid on November 8? He started by belabouring the fact that only one woman was sitting on the TEC after all the talk about women's rights...

On the whole, Ramaphosa's remarks yesterday were sobering: "It is something to sit here with our pretty faces and speak piously about our achievements. The TEC must resist being reduced to a toothless advisory body of the Government..."

Slovo supported his comrade: "The real test ahead is to translate the piles of documents into action and turn the words into democracy."

The final word came from Transkei government law adviser and chief negotiator Mr Zamindlela Titus: "The final thunderbolt is the election on April 27." He rounded off by quoting a Latin expression: "Out of Africa always something new." And here's hoping — sparks or no sparks — that the "new" thing really works.

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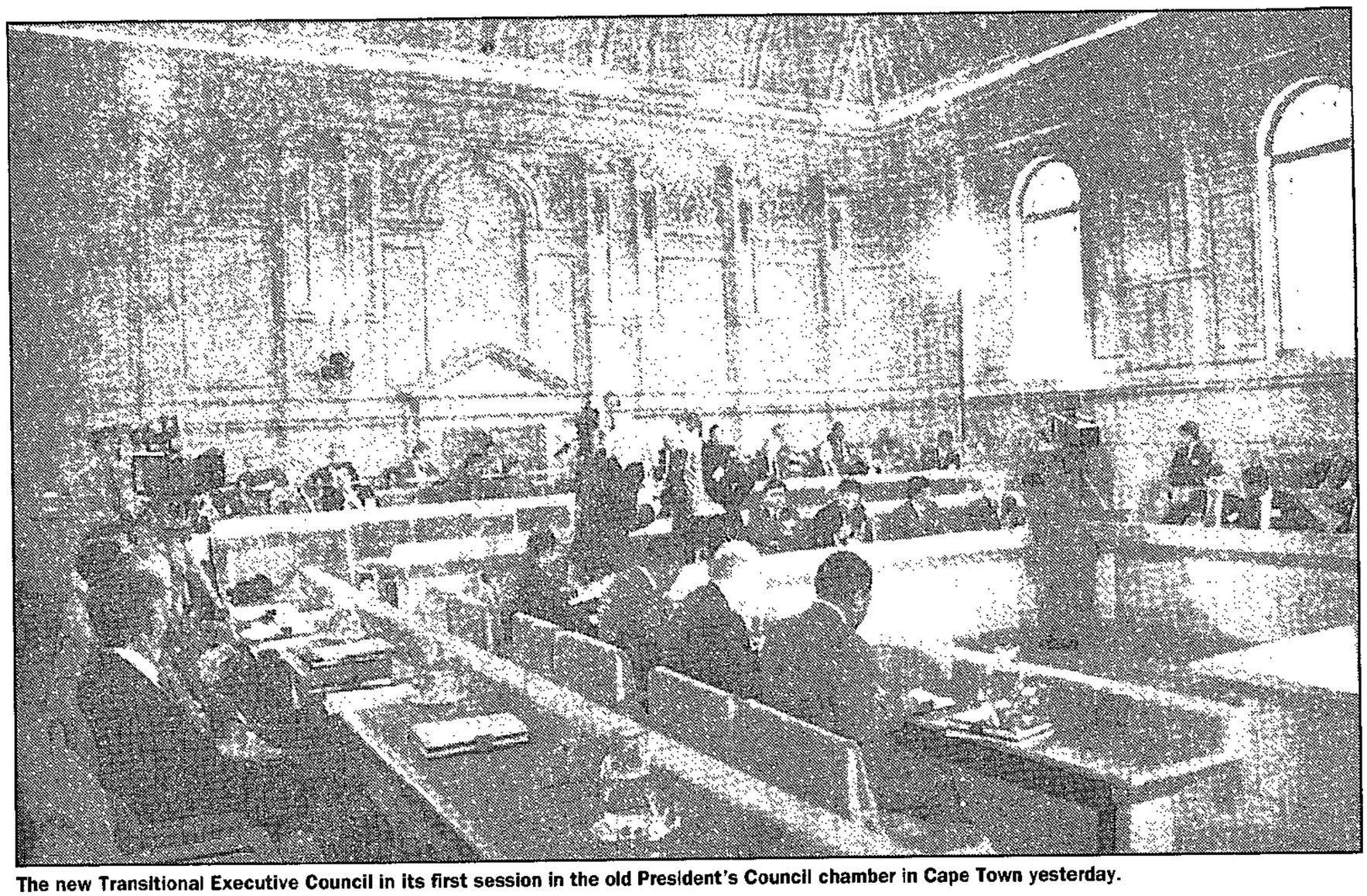
The new face of South Africa

Sowetan 8/12/93

(304A)

Members of the TEC are (with alternate members in brackets):

DJ de Villiers (L Wessels), National Party; CW Eglin (KM Andrew), Democratic Party; PJ Gordhan (C Saloojee), Natal-Transvaal Indian Congress); HJ Hendrickse (I Richards) Labour Party; NJ Mahlangu (Q Vilankulu), Intando Yesizwe Party; RP Meyer (SS van der Merwe), South African Government; SE Moeti (SS Makuvha), Venda government; TJ Mohapi (SOM Moji), Dikwankwetla Party; EE Ngobeni (P T Shilubana), Gazankulu Progressive Party; DS Rajah (JN Reddy), Solidarity; A Rajbansi (O Ganie), National People's Party; C Ramaphosa (M Maharaj) ANC; MN Ramodike (M J Mahlangu), United People's Front; SS Ripinga (FS Baloi), Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe; J Slovo (T Mtintso), SACP; Z Titus (NB Majula), Transkei Government.



The new Transitional Executive Council in its first session in the old President's Council chamber in Cape Town yesterday.

VOTER EDUCATION Job to ensure April 27 elections are free and fair

It's not yet Uhuru!

Voter education

Sowetan 6/12/93 (304A)

PHASE ONE

The TEC, Independent Electoral and Media Commissions assist in the running of the country. Their task is to ensure free political activity and peace towards the first democratic elections. Elections on April 27.

PHASE TWO

After the elections the interim constitution comes into power and South Africa is placed under an elected non-racial government of national unity.

PHASE THREE

The Government of National Unity draft a new constitution. The president and deputy comes from the majority party and the other deputy comes from the second largest party.

PHASE FOUR

A new constitution is adopted and paves the way for truly democratic elections. How long it takes to adopt the constitution will depend on how quickly agreement is reached on a number of issues.

PHASE FIVE

The new constitution has been adopted and regional and other government structures are put into place. The GNU continues to hold power for five years.

PHASE SIX

1999: Elections under the new constitution and the GNU hands over power to the majority party. The majority party can still form a coalition government, but this will be the first full majority rule.

TEC meets for the first time

TOMORROW THE 21-member Transitional Executive Committee meets for the first time in Cape Town.

The TEC was chosen from the 21-parties that took part in negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The major task of the TEC and its seven sub-councils would be to ensure that the April 27 elections are free and fair.

The foundation for this historic gathering was laid a few weeks ago at Kempton Park when South Africa took its first faltering steps towards a new dispensation.

The adoption of a new constitution, the ratification of the Transitional Executive Bill and other major decisions taken after years of deliberations, gave renewed hope to a lot of people, especially democrats.

Unfair advantage

The TEC will begin its work to ensure that no party receives unfair advantage in the elections.

The TEC is not officially a government, but it will have wide powers to tell the present Government what to do.

It will set-up sub-councils on securitry and financial matters to ensure the SAP, the SADF and the National Intelligence Service and other government departments do not favour any party.

The Independent Electoral Commission, with the help of the joint National Peacekeping Force, will ensure the elections themselves are fair.

The Independent Media Commission will ensure radio, TV and government publications are fair. South Africa will be headed by a President and two deputy presidents.

Bill of Rights

Also adopted where a Bill of Rights; nine regions; 11 official languages; universal franchise for all South Africans; a Constitutional Court, an independent judiciary, a three-tier representatition system for traditional leaders; a single police force and a single defence force.

In terms of the agreement the party with the most votes will have the president and one of the two deputy presidents.

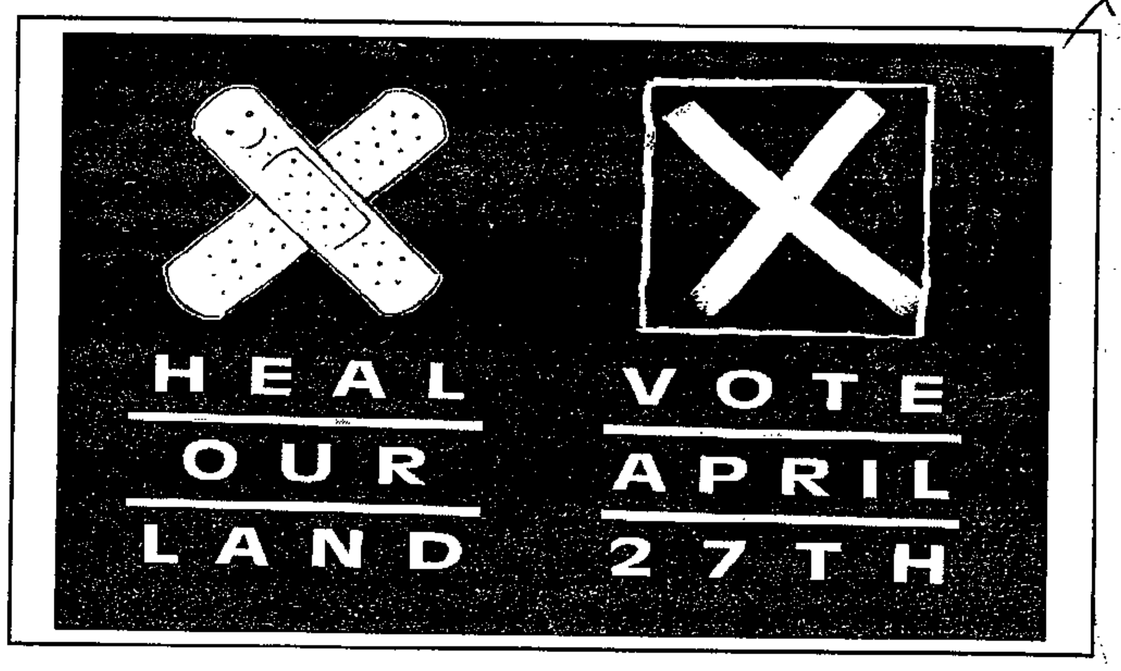
The runner-up party will have the other deputy president who is merely consulted but has no veto power.

The majority party will have most cabinet ministers.

On April 27 South Africa will elect 400 members to a National Assembly comprising 200 representatives from a national list and 200 from a provincial or regional lists.

The senate will comprise of 10 representavives each from the nine provinces. The Assembly and Senate will draft the final constitution. Cabinet will comprise of parties with at least 5 percent support.

Arriving at the historic decisions was not easy. There were a number of sticky issues like a time-frame for a government of national unity; the number of ballot papers; deadlock-breaking machanism on the new constitution; boundaries and powers of regions; regional constitutions and decision-making of the cabinet.



This voter education page is a joint project of the *Sowetan* and Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education

LETTERS *Here's how this nation can make peace ● ANC is a black organisation*

Dear editor

Short letters are preferred and none is considered unless it is signed, with the writer's full address. You may indicate if you want to use a pseudonym but these are not encouraged.

Write to: The Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg, 2000

Go away, leave us alone, please

I AM appealing to all South Africans, especially blacks, to stop the NP and DP from intimidating our illiterate mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, who work for them as domestic servants.

They prepare tea and sandwiches to lure them to meetings or rallies.

This really stinks because now they use their backyards as meeting places.

And they still expect us to call them baas and missus.

At the same time we are told that apartheid is dead. Are we really so cheap and simple?

Threats

Finally, they threaten to fire us if we do not vote for them.

NP and DP, leave us alone like you did all these years.

Bad christians

You should not really be bad Christians for taking advantage of people who suffered for so long in your hands and still are suffering even to this day.

To those who are going to respond to this letter I say:

"Call it propaganda or allegations or what have you. God knows it, too, it is very true.

" We, or I for myself, know who to vote for. So please, Christians, leave us alone."

MP PITSO, Braamfontein



Thank you for the talks

WE are jumping with joy and hope after the end of the multiparty talks. We are very grateful to those who stayed in the negotiations to the bitter end. South Africa needs to move forward for the benefit of all.

Our special congratulations to the ANC and the NP, and of course, to all who laboured in every single way with the aim of building a new South Africa.

We thank many people whose talents and energy were exhausted for the sake of a promising future.

We also thank *Sowetan* for the part it played in restructuring the fallen structures of this beloved country.

Congratulations once again to Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Roelf Meyer.

We trust that the forthcoming elections will be free and fair and that our country will finally make do with the new order.

CHRISTOPHER UOANE, Tshiaweloc

Let's care about our needy people

I AM MAKING A PLEA to my brothers and sisters to make peace in our land because I am sick and tired of the killings.

I don't have to save the rhino or St Lucia in order to be a worthwhile human being. Come to think of it, I have nothing against the endangered animals. I care about our people who are dying every day like flies.

I want to especially warn those who drink because they walk the streets forgetting that killers are around.

Let's prepare ourselves for the new South Africa.

One of my pastimes is to sit and watch people, especially at music festivals, when they are relaxed and beautiful.

This is where you see all shapes, colours and sizes.

Having mentioned that, I still think there is a difference between a friend and an acquaintance. There are friends I have known for more than two decades. These friends have become brothers and sisters.

Then there are new animals who don't offer me the opportunity to build a new and exciting relationship in our country. Let them come so that we can pray for the new South Africa and not kill.

Ladies and gentlemen, now is our time to concentrate on making our country beautiful without killing each other for no reason. The unemployed must stop drinking, children must go to school. They are the future and must avoid shebeens and taverns which they frequent.

I suggest all South Africans help Mr Mandela in the new government and forget about the people who do not know what democracy is all about.

I recently had the opportunity of attending a training session for peace monitors organised by the Wits Vaal Peace Secretarial. It was encouraging to see such a wide cross-section of people committed to peace.

PETRUS KHOSA, Evaton

Column displays abysmal ignorance

I AM responding to Sy Makaringe's Whispers column which appeared in *Sowetan* of November 24.

He wrote: "Azapo made a 180-degree turn when they committed themselves to helping black liberation movements win next year's democratic elections."

He further asked: "Which black organisations are they referring to"? He added that the ANC was not a black organisation. Regarding the PAC, he said that being an African or Africanist did not necessarily mean that one was black.

Maybe I should also mention that the question asked by Makaringe displays his abysmal ignorance. (I'm saying this with due respect to him).

Sir, I don't wish to speak for the ANC, but as far as I'm concerned the ANC is a black organisation. Maybe what confuses Makaringe is that the ANC accommodates white people.

Coming to the question of an African being a black person, I wish to suggest that Makaringe should check the definition from any dictionary. The word has often been used to mean blacks. To support my argument, let us look at the black Americans. They now call themselves African Americans, meaning black Americans.

Makaringe, check the article on the Focus page on elections which was in the same newspaper in which your column appeared. African has been used to mean blacks.

I cannot believe that such ignorant statements are written by a person of Makaringe's calibre. I'm now starting to doubt his intelligence and also question his academic qualifications.

Lastly, I wish to suggest that in future Makaringe researches his stuff because he is misleading society.

Hoping that this criticism will build but not destroy you.

GLEN NKOSINATHI MASEKO, Pimville

No need to worry

I DO not understand why whites, who have been harassing and killing our black brothers and sisters, should worry about black majority rule.

Why do they anticipate that blacks will not be able to govern South Africa? They have not been able to do so themselves for the past 300 years.

They killed, jailed and harassed black people who tried to show them that apartheid was wrong. They harassed Winnie Mandela. Do they think she will forget those things easily?

They killed an innocent Steven Biko. He was only trying to make them understand that they were wrong to practise racial discrimination

JM MAVIMBELA, Modderfontein

Words of Faith

Though one wished to dispute with him, he could not answer him one time in a thousand times

Job 9:3

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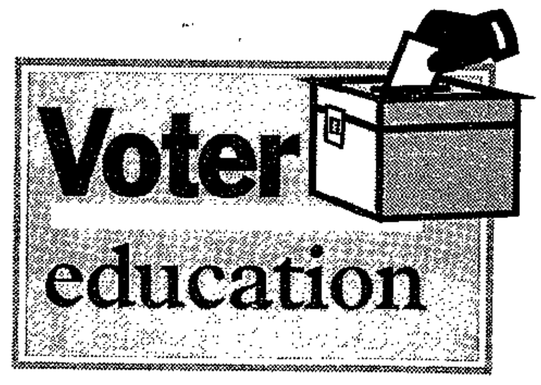
VOTER EDUCATION Council must deliver or loose credibility

The end of white minority rule

Sowetan 15/12/93



LAST WEEK THE Transitional Executive Committee met in Cape Town for the first time..

The TEC , which may also just be called "the Council"is NOT a new government.

The old government of Mr de Klerk and his cabinet stays in place until a new government is formed after the elections.

(The cabinet is made up of all the different Ministers like the Minister of Foreign Affairs, etc)

In the elections all South Africans will vote together to choose a new government.

The TEC will stay in place until that has happened.

As soon as a new cabinet is in place after the elections the TEC will cease to exist.

The TEC will have no power in the TBVC states unless the governments of those homelands make it part of their own law.

This applies to all the new laws *about elections and the interim* constitution.

We know that Transkei and Venda have said they are going to give up their independence and be part of South Africa again. We do not yet know whatBophuthatswana and Ciskei will do.

All political parties must be able to hold meetings anywhere they want to.

There must be no "no-go" areas.

But, all these laws apply to all the other homelands which have never taken "independence."

The Transitional period

The time between now and the elections is called the "transitional period." Transition is an English word which means a change from one form to another.

South Africa is changing from apartheid rule to democratic government. We are in a time of change or a time of transition.

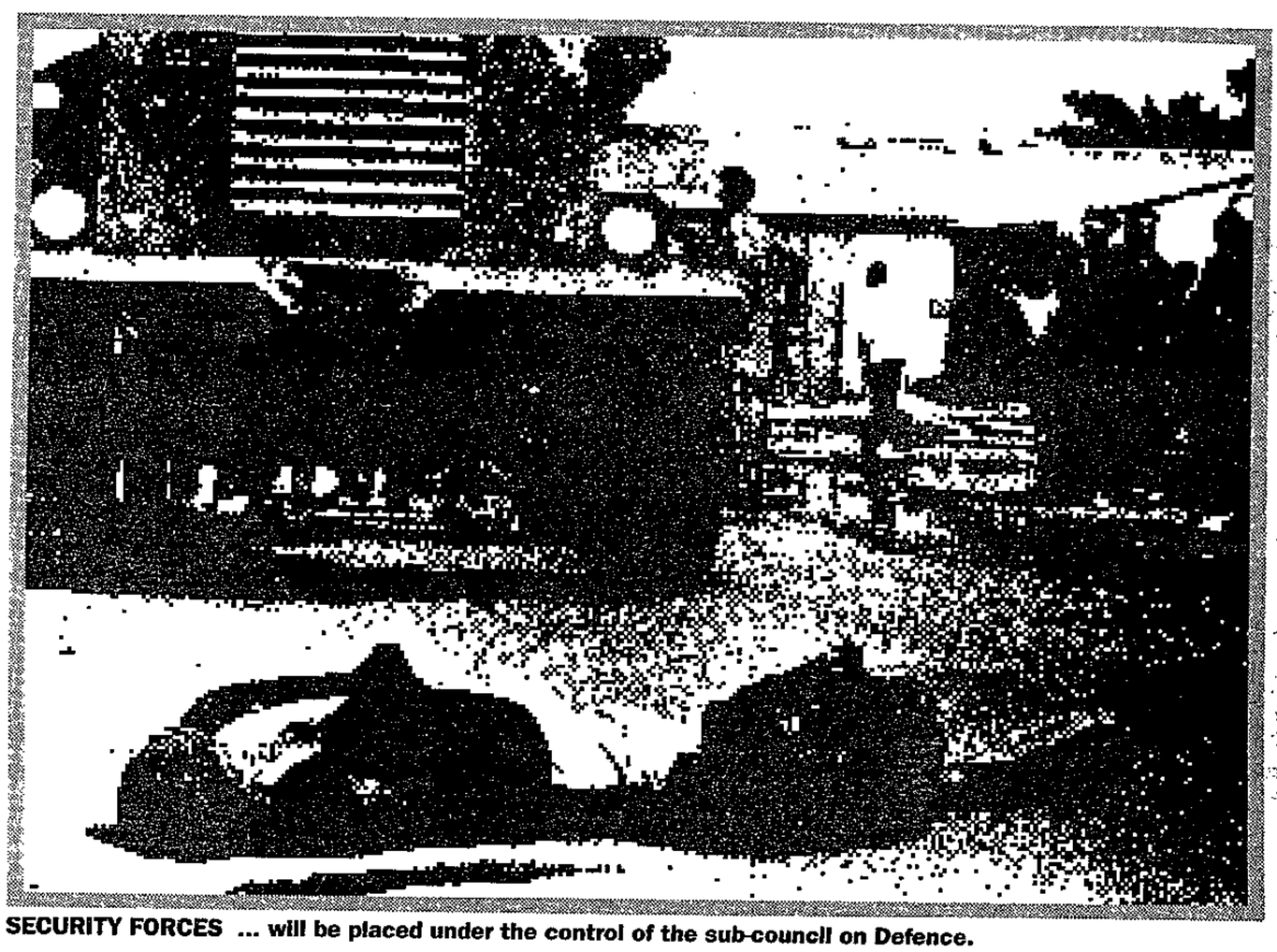
The TEC is called "transitional" because it will see us through this time of change.

Although the TEC is not the government it has some very important powers.

It must work with the government to make sure that the people of South Africa are free to make their choice of a new government.

It must work with the government:

- To stop intimidation.
- To make sure that all political parties are able to hold meetings anywhere they want to. There must be no "no-go" areas.
- To make sure that all political parties can talk to people and to try to persuade people to vote for them in the election.
- To make sure that women can take full part in the discussions about a new government in the elections and in the organisations set up to run the elections.
- To make sure that the present government or any homeland government or any government department does nothing that will give an unfair advantage to any particular political party in the elections. The old government of Mr de Klerk and his cabinet stays in place until a new government is formed after the elections.



SECURITY FORCES ... will be placed under the control of the sub-council on Defence.

Who will be members of the TEC?

- Every political party or government or organisation which has taken part in the negotiations at Kempton Park can appoint one person to represent it on the TEC.
- The TBVC states cannot take part in the TEC unless their governments make the new laws about the transition period and the elections part of their own law.
- A party that has not been in the negotiations but wants to be in the TEC can apply to join.
- All the parties wanting to be represented in the TEC must renounce violence as a means to achieve political ends.
- Every party in the TEC must commit itself and all its organisations and armed forces to bring about free and fair elections.

The TEC is called "transitional" because it will see us through this time of change.

- Every party must name an alternate to its representative .

A party can be suspended by the Council if it refuses to keep to its undetaking not to use violence or if it refuses to comply with any provision of the TEC Act.

This suspension can only happen after the party has been warned in writing and if its actions are serious.

Powers of the TEC

Sowetan 15/12/93

It is important that people know about the seven sub-councils so that they can make proposals and protests to the correct subcouncil.

- Subcouncil on Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities
- Subcouncil on Law and Order, Stability and Security
- Subcouncil on Defence
- Subcouncil on Finance
- Subcouncil on Foreign Affairs
- Subcouncil on the Status of Women
- Subcouncil on Intelligence.
- The TEC can appoint other subcouncils but the TEC Act will have to be amended by the State President if any other subcouncils are to be established.

Government Gazette

The names of people appointed to the subcouncils will be published in the Government Gazette. These people do not need to be members of the TEC. (30(4)

This will mean that members of the subcouncils can be chosen because they are experts in a particular field.

No party in the TEC can have more than one representative on any subcouncil.

The members of the subcouncils must work full-time for the Council.

A subcouncil can ask any person or organisation to do investigations for it and can appoint subcommittees to assist it. Members of these subcommittees do not have to be members of the TEC or of a subcouncil.

A subcouncil will be able to get all the documents and information it needs to do its work . This subcouncil is very important and has a lot of power to control military forces and the actions of members of any military force. Today we will deal with the DEFENCE Subcouncil. We will deal with the others in subsequent weeks.

Military forces

"Military forces" means the SADF as well as homeland armies and the armed forces of any of the parties who are in the TEC such as MK and APLA.

If any army refuses to acknowledge the authority of the TEC and the subcouncil it will not be recognised as a military force. This means its activities will continue to be dealt with in terms of the criminal law.

The Defence subcouncil

It will oversee and co-ordinate all military forces in South Africa in the transitional period in anything to do with the elections and ensuring free political activity.

- It will investigate any conduct of any member of a military force which might damage the transitional process and will recommend the disciplinary action which should be taken.
- It will draft a Code of Conduct which will be binding on all military forces.
- It will conduct research into the organisation of a future SA defence force.
- It will oversee the plannng, preparation and training for a future defence force.
- It must also keep the public informed about defence-related matters. Assembly points for the armed forces will be set up. People who are members of any armed force must register with the office of that armed force so that their names are included in a list of personnel which will be given to the subcouncil.

The Peacekeeping Force

The subcouncil must establish a National Peacekeeping Force - NPF.

The NPF will have members taken from all the different military forces in SA in equal numbers as far as this is possible. It will also include members of the different police forces.

The NPF will be under the command of a National Peacekeeping Force Command Council which will be made up of representatives of all the military and police forces which are part of the NPF.

The NPF will have its own uniform and special markings on its vehicles.

Not SADF

It will NOT be the SADF or the SAP.

It will be a peacekeeping force to keep peace and public order at the elections and in the time between now and the elections.

It will be like the UN peacekeeping force in Namibia but it will be made up of South Africans, not foreigners.

It will be our own.

This voter education page is a joint project of the *Sowetan* and Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education

Article written by the BLACK SASH, an IFEE member organisation

Private sector aims to set up a R50m election fund

By SHARON CHETTY

AN election fund set up by commerce and industry has raised R10-million within a week of its launch.

The Independent Business Elections Fund (IBEF), with some of the country's leading businessmen at the helm, will be that sector's contribution to next April's election. ST Times

A target of R50-million has been set. So far, eight large companies have each donated R1-million or more, and the target is expected to be reached within the next month. 19/12/93

A working party co-ordinated by Mr Bertie Lubner of PG Glass and also comprising Dave Brink (Murray and Roberts), Bokkie Botha (AECI), Mike Sander (AECI), Attie du Plessis (SANKORP), Graham Barr (BPSA), Spencer Sterling (SAMCOR), Michael Spicer (Anglo American) and Colin Coleman (Consultative Business Movement) has already started work. (3044)

The IBEF will work with the Independent Electoral Commission and the National Peace Secretariat to provide "practical assistance", Mr Coleman said this week.

His organisation facilitated the formation of the fund, which will appoint a secretariat at its January meeting.

Details of what exactly will be done have not been worked out, but the aim is to promote a free and fair election, tolerance and peace while encouraging the electorate to go to the polls.

A high-profile media campaign similar to that run by the private sector during last year's referendum by the private sector will highlight the rewards of a successful election and the implications should the process break down.

Mr Coleman said the fund would remain non-partisan.

"This is proof that business is part of the whole process, and doing its share to make things work," he added.

The IBEF will function as an independent Section 21 company, with shareholders appointing a governing body. The secretariat will execute policy decisions.

Alliance slams ANC, Government

Sowetan 14/12/93

■ MARATHON TALKS FA says ANC and Govt are against inclusive settlement:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Freedom Alliance yesterday accused "certain elements" within the Government and the ANC of being against the attainment of an all-inclusive political settlement in the country.

The alliance appealed to the two major groups to approach negotiations with it with a view to reaching an inclusive settlement without preconditions.

In a statement issued last night after a marathon meeting in Pretoria, the FA recommitted itself to the attainment of an inclusive constitutional settlement through peaceful negotiations "by exploring all possible avenues to assure long-lasting peace".

The FA said no party or organisation involved in the World Trade Centre multiparty talks had ever been asked, as was the case with it now, to commit itself to the transitional process and agree to participation in elections without first being aware of the outcome of the negotiations.

The preconditions set for further talks with the FA were not only unreasonable, but also unnecessary.

Constitutional conditions

The alliance also released a 14-point shopping list of constitutional conditions which would have to be met before it could embrace the package of agreements and fight next year's regional and national elections. (304A)

Of the 14 conditions, only four had been agreed upon in principle in negotiations between the Government and the FA.

They now have to be agreed upon in multiparty talks, including the amendments that would be necessary to the interim constitution.

NEWS President defends NP decision ● 'God has a

FW in emotional farewell

Sowetan 23/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday bade the last white parliament farewell in an emotional address to the joint sitting of the tricameral institution.

At the end of the speech, Speaker Mr Eli Louw said: "That concludes the history of the day."

De Klerk defended the National Party's decision to engage in constitutional negotiations, saying the party had risen above politics.

"I realise that many South Africans are deeply concerned. There is also fear. Fear of change. Fear of sharing. Fear of their fellow South Africans. Fear of the future."

"The parliamentary traditions (of democratic debate) will continue, but this time without the albatross of injustice, exclusion and discrimination hanging around its neck. (3044)

"By accepting a new Constitution we took South Africa over the threshold of history into a new era with all its dangers, opportunities and challenges.

"This decision is the last which any Parliament in South Africa will take with the completely unfettered powers which I have described."

De Klerk said that henceforth, all decisions would be taken by all legislatures and within the rules of the Bill of Rights.

"We are agreed that the status quo cannot continue — that the time for fundamental change has inevitably arrived. That places all of us irreversibly on the road to renewal, no matter at which milepost along that road whatever party finds itself."

He appealed to all political parties to make a "serious effort" to strive for greater accord on the transition to a new dispensation.

There was no other way of ensuring justice in South Africa than offering all South Africans participation in government. "Every form of racism and discrimination has to be opposed. There is no better way to avert the threat of leftwing or rightwing radicalism — communism or Nazism — than to do it democratically at the polling booths".

Last-minute bid to woo FA parties

Sowetan 20/12/93

Sowetan Correspondent

WITH time rapidly running out, Government and Freedom Alliance negotiators met in Cape Town last night for a last-minute attempt to bring the dissenting grouping on board a political settlement.

A Government source described the meeting as a "moment of truth" for the alliance and the country.

At the time of going to Press last night the meeting was still continuing (304 A)

The stakes were high. FA spokesman Mr Rowan Cronje said the meeting would decide whether the new South Africa was born with all parties playing a constructive role or "in division, enmity and antagonism".

In effect the meeting will probably decide whether the country can move away from the threat of civil war.

The meeting followed one on Saturday between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and FA members. Meyer was accompanied by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, Regional Government Minister Andre Fourie and officials from the Department of Constitutional Development. It is understood that Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport was also scheduled to take part.

In the FA team were the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Ben Ngubane, Mr Farouk Cassim and Mr Jurie Mentz, the Conservative Party's Frank le Roux, Cronje and constitutional advisers.

t system ● Court rejects evidence of journalists

Last lap to polls

Sowetan 14/12/93

■ ELECTORAL BILL Single ballot system centre of debate:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE final lap to a legislated transitional government began in Parliament with the debate on the Electoral Bill, which is to determine how and who votes in South Africa's first nonracial election next April 27.

The second reading of the Bill, part of the Kempton Park negotiations package, was tabled for discussion in the joint sitting of the tricameral Parliament yesterday. Debate centred again on whether there should be two ballot papers or one in the poll.

The smaller parties, such as the Democratic Party, argued strongly for a double paper ballot system which proposes that there be simultaneous elections for provincial and national legislatures.

The African National Congress and the Government again came under attack for allegedly entering into a constitutional deal which they wanted to ram down other parties' throats.

It was perhaps DP MP for Groote Schuur Mrs Dene Smuts who summed up the mood of the smaller parties against the single ballot paper system — for a national assembly.

She raised the point that with the election of Mrs Winnie Mandela as president of the ANC Women's League, "we have two Mandelas (in Parliament) for the price of one". Smuts said the two-paper ballot would curtail the ANC's strength in government and inferred that Mrs Mandela could be confined to provincial government level while her estranged husband, Mr Nelson Mandela, would obviously be in national government. (304A)

The Electoral Bill is the last but one piece of legislation to be put before Parliament before the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993 is passed before the end of the current session on December 22.

Alliance 'will not be intimidated'

(3049)

EGB 1/12/93

Political Staff

THE Freedom Alliance would not be intimidated into reaching a deal with the government in spite of the looming deadlines for finalising the constitution and setting up of a Transitional Executive Council.

Conservative Party MP Mr Tom Langley said last night although there had been glimmers of hope in talks with the government last week, it still seemed that the Alliance's demands were not being taken too seriously.

However, Mr Langley's confirmation that the Alliance would continue to talk to the government today was interpreted yesterday by government sources as a sign that the CP was taking a less intransigent approach ahead of the first meeting of the TEC in Cape Town tomorrow.

The government-Alliance talks have focused on four main issues: The two sections of the constitution dealing with regional powers and regional finances, the interim constitution's deadlock-breaking mechanism, the regional boundaries and the number of votes to be cast on April 27.

Meanwhile, the constitutional package will be presented to the joint standing committee on constitutional affairs in Parliament today.

3 000 defend Radio Right

SITimes 12/12/93

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

RADIO Pretoria has become a symbol of Afrikaner unity, a binding factor worth protecting at any cost, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

He was addressing about 3 000 rightwingers who gathered round the Donkerhoek transmitters of the pirate radio station. (304A)

In an earlier broadcast, Radio Pretoria board chairman Dominee Mossie van den Berg said the station rejected the authority of the Transitional Executive Council and Independent Broadcasting Authority.

Supporters gathered at historic Donkerhoek, near Bronkhorstspruit, from early yesterday after reports that the police would seal the transmitters.

Access was strictly controlled by heavily-armed AWB guards. By last night, the station was still transmitting. (260)

Talks with ANC, govt collapse

Hopes fade for election deal with Alliance

BIDay 7/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Last-ditch attempts to secure an agreement guaranteeing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the elections failed yesterday.

Government had proposed a package of constitutional amendments to satisfy the alliance's demands, but prospects of these changes being included in the constitution faded after the talks collapsed and the alliance scuppered a planned meeting with both the ANC and government. Government and ANC negotiators questioned whether the alliance was serious about reaching an all-inclusive settlement.

Government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the alliance had been asked to agree to validate the interim constitution, participate in transitional structures and take part in next year's election, once outstanding constitutional issues — such as regional powers — had been resolved.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a commitment from the alliance would infuse confidence into the negotiations process, even though important issues would still have to be thrashed out.

"That commitment would put us all in a stronger position. If the Freedom Alliance is prepared to be part of the process, they must respond by making a commitment to us and to the people of this country."

But alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje said the organisation's commitment to negotiations was illustrated by its formation, as well as by the time and expense it had put into meeting the other parties.

He said negotiators had a mandate to discuss the few outstanding issues but not to commit the alliance to the interim constitution, transitional arrangements and the elections. That commitment would have to be referred back to the alliance's principals who would meet today.

Almost all the issues were close to being settled. "We have reached finality on all but half an issue." But there was no guarantee that agreements reached with government would be respected by other parties, so the alliance was not prepared to confirm its eventual participation in the transitional process and the elections.

"We are totally committed to negotiations and finding solutions, but not irrespective of the outcome of those negotiations or irrespective of the final product."

Cronje said it was "most unfortunate" that the proposed trilateral meeting had not taken place as "a lot of progress" could have been made.

NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers told a news conference addressed by the three parties that he did not know whether the alliance "really wanted to find solutions".

Ramaphosa said it had become clear that while the alliance claimed to be committed to reaching a settlement, it was "not prepared to live up to that".

☐ To Page 2

Alliance

BIDay 7/12/93

☐ From Page 1

The alliance had only hours to come back with proposals. "Time is running out if indeed it has not already run out."

TIM COHEN reports that President F W de Klerk emphasised the reasonableness of the proposals made to the Freedom Alliance, saying an alliance decision not to accept the package would be "absolutely unreasonable". Speaking before the talks, he said government had gone a long way to meet the alliance's demands.

It was the alliance's democratic right to decide not to take part in the elections, "but a political party or leader taking that option would be making a very bad choice".

English version was available lay and 56 pages of the Afri- ersion were available yester-

se pages contained mostly ons of words and could have iscussed informally without to take any decisions."

Shake-up at wildlife body

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE Wildlife Society, which is in a financial crisis, is to restructure its top management by the end of the year.

CE Tony Ferrar will stand down and management responsibilities will be devolved to regional branches. Ferrar will take up a position on the society's board of directors.

A society spokesman said yesterday that membership had declined steadily during the past two years of recession. Membership contributions were an important source of income.

Management consultant Peter van Ryneveld would be responsible for the organisation's business management on a contract basis, she said.

injured by bomb in the same attack.

FW will support shift in amnesty cut-off date

B1Day 7/12/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk indicated yesterday he would reluctantly agree to shifting the cut-off date for granting amnesty for politically motivated crimes until not later than end-1992.

He said the reason for shifting the date was that some parties argued they were not part of negotiations at the existing cut-off date, October 1990.

The existing October 1990 cut-off date was only really in the view of these parties, a consequence of negotiations between government and the ANC.

He criticised the way the issue was presented in the media. SA was involved in a process of reconciliation. The worst possible way to do that was to say that there should first be a process of retribution.

"Reconciliation means starting with a clean slate," he said, adding that what was being suggested was really "rounding off" something that was already in place.

Setting the cut-off date at the end of 1992 was justifiable because full multiparty negotiations had begun by then, and therefore the moral basis for violent political activities fell away at that point.

Sapa reports from Durban that DP leader Zach de Beer said the party would fight a proposal, expected before the negotiating council over the next two days, for an amnesty cut-off date to be extended to December 1 1993, as speculated by weekend newspaper reports.

Addressing a DP meeting, he said this new move threatened to further undermine the interim constitution. The NP government wanted the date to be December 1 1993 and did not want the crimes of the people concerned to be disclosed.

"To allow criminals, who have caused innocent people harm and suffering, to be released without disclosing their crimes on top of it, is not acceptable to the DP."

MARIANNE MERTEN reports Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said yesterday a general amnesty for politically motivated offences could be resolved only by a democratically elected government. (BOHA)

He said it was inappropriate to hold discussions regarding a general amnesty for politically motivated offences on the eve of the Transitional Executive Council's inauguration. Currin reiterated the organisation's call for the establishment of a truth commission to investigate who was responsible for past atrocities.

Popcru task group explores merger with Sapu

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) established a task group last week to explore unity talks with the SA Police Union (Sapu), Popcru deputy president Enoch Nelani said yesterday. B1Day

Acknowledging that differences between the two unions existed, Nelani said Popcru had decided the SAP needed a single, strong union to build a credible police force with a composition which reflected that of the community. 7/12/93

"There are stark differences between those who benefited under apartheid and those who didn't, but we must rise above these. Popcru is committed to looking at forming a single union, although we would never force Sapu to merge with us," Nelani said. (SAPU)

Sapu national secretary Maj Peter Brandt welcomed the Popcru move, saying the two unions differed on two matters of principle. However, these could probably be resolved through discussions.

He said the biggest difference was the matter of political affiliation, which Sapu opposed as it served to divide the police force.

The other point of dispute was the right to strike.

"Sapu believes the police are an essential service and we therefore have no right to strike. Under the new regulations, we can address unfair labour practices in a responsible manner," Brandt said.

Sapu was launched in Welkom at the end of last month with mostly white members, unlike Popcru, which has mostly black members.

Constitution debate halted

BIDay 7/12/93

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday successfully halted an attempt by government to have the standing committee on constitutional affairs debate the new constitution.

At the start of the committee meeting, the CP said it was not prepared to debate the constitution Bill until it had been translated into Afrikaans and tabled in Parliament.

Committee members were given a roughly bound draft version of the constitution on Friday — apparently not all members received it — and the debate was scheduled to start yesterday morning.

The CP objected, however, when it was given the first five chapters of the constitution, which had been printed in both official languages, arguing that it could not debate a Bill until it had been tabled and translated into both languages.

Government then proposed that an informal discussion take place. This was rejected by the CP after it had consulted its leadership. The CP will

Political Staff

also not take part in an informal discussion on the Bill scheduled for today. (3044)

The effect of the CP opposition means that the standing committee will now receive the printed and translated bill only on Thursday or Friday, when it will start to discuss the 260-page document.

It is understood the CP may also want to call expert witnesses to give evidence to the committee.

If the Bill reaches the Standing Committee only at the end of the week, it is unlikely it will be presented to Parliament for debate before the start of the following week, allowing a maximum of eight days' debate if Parliament is to finish its business on December 22 as planned.

Meanwhile, it was learnt yesterday that the controversial Local Government Transition Bill should be tabled on Friday.

Sapa reports the chief whip of Parliament, Alex van Breda, said yesterday that the informal handling of concept legislation in joint committees was not a new principle and had been done "time without number" in the past.

"This has been done on numerous occasions in the past to save time," he said in reaction to accusations by CP MP Fanie Jacobs that government was attempting to start an important parliamentary debate without following proper procedures.

Van Breda said that at a House of Assembly whips' meeting last Thursday — attended by the CP chief whip — he had said that, with their agreement, they would start informal discussions on the legislation on Monday.

The English version was available on Friday and 56 pages of the Afrikaans version were available yesterday.

"These pages contained mostly definitions of words and could have been discussed informally without having to take any decisions."

TEC holds first meeting with powers still murky

B/Day 6/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) meets for the first time in Cape Town's parliamentary complex tomorrow morning with the full extent of the council's powers still unclear and untested.

While the ANC has claimed the council, during its short five-month tenure, will be able to prompt or reverse government decisions on issues such as finance, foreign affairs and defence, President F W de Klerk reiterated last week that government would not be bypassed.

According to the TEC Act, the council's primary objective is to "promote the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in SA".

Associated with this central objective are a number of powers such as its access to information.

From the deployment of troops to applications by town councils for loans, the signing of new international treaties or the functioning of SA's arms industry, the TEC must be informed and involved.

The TEC is also at liberty to investigate any matter connected with its duties and has the authority to summon officials to answer allegations.

Even this fundamental power is, however, limited. The council is not entitled to information, the Act states, if it invades the privacy or endangers the life of any person "when weighted against the need or necessity for disclosure".

The need or necessity clause also applies to information that could lead to currency or property speculation.

The TEC has no access to any government "special or secret account" unless the auditor-general has found unauthorised expenditures.

Other powers are scattered throughout the seven areas — defence, intelligence, finance, local and regional government, foreign affairs, law and order, and status of women — which will be overseen by the TEC and its subcouncils.

Local councils cannot dispose of assets without TEC consent. (304A)

All policing agencies will be subject to a TEC code of conduct and backed up by an independent national complaints body. The TEC also has the power to overturn a decision by President De Klerk to impose a state of emergency.

Any military force can be restricted to barracks or suspended, and the subcouncil is at liberty to investigate "the future of the arms and related industries".

All armed forces are required to register all members within 21 days and then provide monthly updates.

The TEC can review the deployment of any force and may, subject to Defence Ministry consultation, "order the discontinuance of such deployment".

The TEC's finance subcommittee takes on a number of watchdog duties and powers. These include representation on all regional and government budgeting committees, perusal of all fiscal transfers, investigation of corruption and inefficiency, consent to the appointment of senior public servants, and an advisory function with regard to government privatisation initiatives.

The level and composition of any taxes to be collected by "any government" during 1994/95 is also subject to TEC scrutiny.

MMF not viable, says auditor-general

CAPE TOWN — The annual report of the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund for 1991/92 was tabled in Parliament on Friday, just over a year after it was finalised and officially accepted by the MMF executive committee.

It included a qualified report from the auditor-general, referring to his special report on the MMF, published earlier this year, which indicated the possibility of fraud involving millions and a massive surplus of liabilities over assets.

"In the light of the potential fundamental influence of the above issues on the financial statement, I am not able to express an audit opinion on the financial statements," he said. B/Day

The auditor-general said there was a R2,999bn surplus of liabilities over assets, and an underwriters' loss for the year of R663m. 6/12/93

This, together with the increase in annual losses, indicated indisputably that the fund could not continue to exist as a viable undertaking unless urgent rectifying steps were taken.

According to the fund's balance sheet, its liabilities increased from R2,1bn at the end of its 1991 financial year to R2,999bn on April 30 1992. — Sapa.

Local govt Bill is held up by DP

B1Day 1/12/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Local Government Transition Bill failed to get past the negotiating council yesterday because the DP objected to what it called "racist" provisions.

The constitutional committee will consider the DP's objections today, specifically that elements of the Bill clash with the constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Schedule Three of the Bill, which deals with ward delimitation, makes provision for the allocation of half the wards on a nonracial council to wards that make up the existing white local authorities.

The effect of this will be to reserve at least 30% of council seats to white areas, although voters in these wards will not be restricted according to race. This was one of the compromises reached to entice right-wing councils to accept racially integrated councils.

Without some form of weighting, it is likely many small towns will not have any white representatives under a proportional representation system only. However, the system will have the opposite effect in the western Cape, where blacks form a small minority in many towns.

DP local government spokesman Jaspar Walsh said it was possible the clause would lead to prolonged legal action because it could fall foul of the constitution and the Bill of Rights, both of which explicitly prohibited racist legislation.

However ANC negotiator Thozamile Botha said the principle was merely a reflection of what was happening at national level — that power sharing with minority parties had been accepted to smooth the process of change. (30(4)A)

Clause three had been negotiated in the Local Government Negotiating Forum, which included representatives from DP controlled councils. Johannesburg City Council management committee chairman Ian Davidson, a DP member, had been party to the agreement, he said.

The Cape Town City Council warned yesterday that it would take sections of the deal on local government to the Constitutional Court in an attempt to have them overturned, if they went through Parliament.

Executive committee chairman Clive Keegan's motion, expressing concern at the racial basis of the election of transitional councils, was passed unanimously by the 25 councillors present.

The council's resolution was conveyed to negotiators at Kempton Park yesterday.

Popcru accepts new police union rules

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) yesterday accepted the new police labour regulations and agreed to apply for registration as an official union. B1Day

The new regulations, promulgated this month after consultations with the multiparty Police Board, prohibit strikes and the affiliation of police unions with political parties. 1/12/93

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe met a Popcru delegation led by Gregory Rockman in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the regulations.

In what were described as "open-hearted discussions", Popcru had agreed to the principles set out in the new regulations and would apply for registration as an official union, Van der Merwe said.

Popcru's application would receive serious consideration, he added.

Earlier, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the new regulations provided a framework which balanced the rights of individual police officers with the rights of the community to professional and impartial protection.

"No excuse remains for anyone under the pretext of union activity to launch actions not only detrimental to the interests of police officials but to the community as a whole," Kriel said. (25(1))

Biehl detective denies coercion

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A detective yesterday told the Cape Town Supreme Court he had not coerced a suspect on trial for the murder of American exchange student Amy Biehl into making a statement.

Det-Sgt Stephanus Jooste, a member of the unrest and violent crimes unit, was giving evidence in the trial of Mangezi Manqina, 21, Mzikhona Nofemela, 22, and Vusumzi Ntamo, 22, who have pleaded not guilty to murdering Biehl in Guguletu on August 25.

Manqina has challenged the admissibility of his confession as evidence and has claimed he was assaulted.

A trial within a trial is under way.

Jooste said he had first seen Manqina on August 26 at Manenberg police station charge office. He and two colleagues had been asked to interrogate Manqina and had taken him into a Casspir in the yard.

At no stage during the interrogation had they assaulted Manqina or placed undue influence on him to compel him to answer questions. Manqina had asked to make a statement, Jooste said.

Det-Sgt Anton van der Merwe said Manqina had been placed in his care at Manenberg police station and he had been asked to take him to the murder and robbery unit at Bellville South to make a statement and then to the Bellville South police station where he was detained.

Van der Merwe said he had neither applied pressure on nor assaulted Manqina. He had also not seen him assaulted.

Under cross-examination by defence counsel Van der Merwe said Manqina had also been questioned in a parade room off the charge office and that members of his unit had gone into the parade room.

FA leaders to meet chief

Star 8/12/93

Mmabatho — The principals of the Freedom Alliance left for Ulundi yesterday to hold urgent talks with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi did not attend yesterday's alliance meeting in Mmabatho, which was a follow-up to the alliance meeting on Monday with the Government and the ANC.

The trilateral failed, with the alliance rejecting proposed concessions and refusing to agree to take part in transitional structures or the coming election. — Sapa.

(HB) (304A)

Govt-FA talks collapse

Star 7/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Talks designed to bring the Freedom Alliance (FA) on board a political settlement collapsed yesterday, making it increasingly likely that a new dispensation will get under way without the FA.

Hopes now hinge on a change of mind by a meeting of FA leaders on what was effectively an ultimatum by the Government and the ANC.

Frantic efforts were last night being made to have the five FA leaders gather today. Yesterday a planned three-way meeting of the FA, Government and ANC in Cape Town never came off when the alliance refused to give a commitment to take part in transitional structures — such as the Transitional Executive Council — and the April 27 election.

Last night, Government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said that he did not know "whether they seriously want to find solutions" (304A)

But, FA spokesman Rowan Cronje said the alliance was committed to a solution. (4B)

A meeting between the FA, the Government and the ANC had been scheduled for 2 pm in the parliamentary complex.

De Villiers said the Government had indicated separately to the FA that "it seems to us there is a preparedness of the ANC to discuss some of the proposals on key elements of the constitution".

But, the Government and ANC indicated they would require the commitment that once there was agreement on constitutional issues there would be participation by the FA in validating the constitution, the transitional structures and the election.

The Government's position was that the door should not be closed on the FA but that "time is running out".

Pessimism about Buthelezi coming aboard

FA meets in Ulundi today

Star 2/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Freedom Alliance (FA) leaders and their negotiators will gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months.

The FA negotiators will arrive for the 2 pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with Government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from FA sources that considerable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on their ratification by the FA leaders.

Although Government negotiators have been encouraged by the progress in recent talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain FA leaders dug in their heels.



Buthelezi . . . his attitude is causing concern.

There is particular concern over the recent attitude of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and considerable pessimism over the prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The FA has rejected the negotiated Interim Constitution from the World Trade Centre talks and said it would not contest an election unless changes were made.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through Parliament during the current sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today's meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the FA to come on board a political settlement (30 4A) (1)

Before the resumption of talks with the Government, an FA negotiator stressed yesterday morning that all elements of the FA were in on the talks and party to agreements.

This follows speculation of divisions in the FA and the extraordinary announcement by alliance member the Afrikaner Volksfront that it would be forming an alterantive government for Afrikaners.

The FA source described today's meeting of FA negotiators with leaders as critical: "We are going to present to them the latest negotiated position and they are going to have to make a decision."

The decision will be conveyed to the Government at another meeting of negotiators tomorrow.

It is understood that the FA might delay making a public announcement on its intentions until well into the new year.

There is continuing speculation that the FA intends to contest elections on a national basis as an alliance with the individual parties contesting provincial polls.

KwaZulu Police told to submit report on alleged hit squads

TEC flexes muscles

Star 10/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

TWO resolutions will test the enforceability of decisions taken by the Transitional Executive Council

Cape Town — The Transitional Executive Council flexed its muscles for the first time yesterday, effectively challenging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi with two resolutions that could brush aside his authority.

One of the resolutions called on the SA Police to act immediately in violence-racked areas of northern Natal and KwaZulu to provide security and protect property and lives.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking in debate, said some of the areas involved were part of KwaZulu and "the KwaZulu Police (KZP) have just been standing by when people's house are being torched and people are being killed".

He said the SAP had nationwide jurisdiction and ought to be instructed immediately to protect residents of the area.

Another resolution demanded that KZP Commissioner Roy During report directly to the TEC within three days regarding the Goldstone Commission's report that "hard evidence" indicated a hit squad of KZP members had killed nine people, including ANC members.

Given that Buthelezi is also KwaZulu's Minister of Police, the resolution amounts to a call to circumvent his authority. The resolution promised "urgent further steps" once the KZP commissioner's report was received.

The resolution on northern Natal could prove a critical test for the TEC in view of Buthelezi's rejection of the body, and will test the enforceability of its decisions in KwaZulu.

Responding to the Goldstone Commission report on the SAP's controversial Internal Stability Unit, the TEC agreed by consensus to probe the ISU's continued deployment on the East Rand and in the Bhambayi settlement, north of Durban.

The TEC ordered a delegation — comprising Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Ramaphosa — to meet the SAP on the removal of the ISU from the two areas (304A)

They met Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in Cape Town after the TEC sitting.

A report on the talks will be given at its next sitting on Tuesday.

Another resolution that will test the powers of the TEC is its call on Bophuthatswana to allow Lawyers for Human Rights to celebrate Human Rights Day in the self-governing territory today.

After the TEC meeting, Ramaphosa, responding to questions, said: "We're not running the country. We are just attending to problems people are experiencing. If the TEC is to enjoy confidence it has to attend to problems."

Meyer said the resolutions were "perfectly in line" with the TEC's objectives.

■ In terms of a resolution taken yesterday, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission will be formally established when the TEC meets again next week.

A fine crop of Santas



Ho, ho, ho, ho ... students of Berlin's Santa Claus "university" assemble in a lecture hall for their fin duating" on Tuesday. The 400 students are now ready to go out to visit Berlin homes at a price of DM38 (£ be rewarding all children who have been good during the year with sweets and Christmas goodies.

Star 4/12/93

Alliance

● FROM PAGE 1.

dom Alliance to become party to agreements.

Meyer said last night that alliance leaders, at a meeting in Ulundi on Thursday, had "responded to the extent that they remain committed to a peaceful negotiated agreement.

"This did not bring us much further as far as what we want to achieve," he commented.

The Government believed that to "sell" any agreement to other negotiating parties, the alliance would have to commit itself to taking part in transitional structures and the election, Meyer said.

Cronje indicated that alliance leaders were unable to make a commitment because they had not seen any final agreement. However, they hoped soon "to present something substantial and final to our leaders in order for them to reach agreement".

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday criticised the Freedom Alliance for abandoning South Africa's democracy process, saying the move had made peace difficult to achieve.

4/12/93

Zwelithini — who has previously strongly aligned himself with the IFP, a key Alliance member — said the conservative group had missed opportunities to negotiate an acceptable constitutional settlement for the country. 304A

The alliance, composed of the IFP, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands and the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront, walked out of democracy talks in July to demand strong federalism and a separate white homeland.

"Although walk-outs express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," he said in a speech to public relations staff of the Government in Durban.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult."

The king said negotiations had been marred by the failure of different parties to get to grips with each other's policies.

Alliance's position not yet clear

Star 4/12/93

Chris Whitfield, Political Correspondent and Sapa-AFP

CAPE TOWN — Black South Africans will take their seats in the old President's Council building for the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) next week.

Last night it remained unclear whether Freedom Alliance parties would be part of a political settlement. After four hours of talks, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and the alliance's Rowan Cronje announced that key parts of a "package" of issues being discussed remained in dispute. Talks were scheduled to continue this weekend.

If agreement is reached, alliance negotiators will report to their leaders and convey their response to the Government on Monday morning, allowing any agreement to be discussed at a Negotiating Council meeting on Monday evening. 304A

Potent symbol

On Tuesday the TEC's meeting in the parliamentary complex will provide the most potent symbol yet of South Africa's transition to a new order.

The TEC will be entrusted with monitoring the activities of governments, political parties and organisations during the election campaign. It will have the power to act, in consultation with the relevant Minister, against any body it finds is frustrating free and fair elections. However, the extent of its powers has been the subject of heated discussion.

The CP, in a special House of Assembly debate yesterday, charged that this would reduce Parliament and the Government to a secondary role and, in effect, give the council control of the armed forces.

Flurry of activity

President de Klerk and Meyer bluntly rejected this, saying the council's functions were limited and that the Government would operate as normal in all areas except those relating to elections.

Meanwhile, a flurry of activity has begun in the parliamentary complex as negotiators and MPs battle to complete the 520-page Interim Constitution before Christmas. The document, submitted to Parliament yesterday, will be considered on Monday by the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional issues.

Although debate on the document is scheduled to begin in Parliament on Tuesday, the end of the week seems to be a more likely date.

Parliamentary sources say they expect a rush to finalise the Interim Constitution after "non-World Trade Centre" legislation is dealt with.

Officials are on standby to work through the night to get documents ready for debates.

Time appears to be running out for the Free-

● TO PAGE 2.

Talks between FW, Makwetu last hurdle

PAC set to end armed struggle

Star 4/12/93



KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

ONLY a single meeting, between President de Klerk and Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu, now stands between the PAC's formal suspension of the armed struggle and its participation in the multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

According to well-placed PAC sources, this follows another round of talks between the PAC and the Government in Pretoria yesterday, in which they say a firm foundation was laid for "a mutual cessation of hostilities".

The meeting, in which the respective delegations were led by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, agreed that the first phase of an accord reached in the two parties' previous meeting in Harare last month should now be implemented.

That agreement was a declaration of a "moratorium on violence". (304A)

The latest round of talks paves the way for the PAC's participation in the TEC, which will hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Unauthorised raid

Although the PAC has so far had problems with the TEC — especially with the body's sub-council on defence — World Trade Centre agreements also stipulate that TEC participants should renounce violence and agree to be bound by the decisions of the council.

In another development, Kriel yesterday apologised to the PAC delegation for an "unauthorised" raid on the home of the organisation's political affairs secretary, Jaki Seroke.

The raid, conducted by about 20 policemen whose leader allegedly said they had been informed there was "something hidden in the house", took place at around 5 am.

Seroke, who did not attend the Government-PAC meeting because of the raid, told Saturday Star he had been informed that Kriel had apologised to the PAC delegation. Not only had the raid not been officially sanctioned, but the affected police officers also did not know that Seroke stayed in the house, Kriel is reported to have explained.

'Mere formality'

Seroke, who was arrested during the May countrywide swoop on PAC leaders and later acquitted on a charge of illegally possessing a firearm, said the police yesterday took new padlocks to his home to replace the ones they had damaged during the raid.

Reliable sources within the PAC said the delegates had agreed yesterday on "a mutual cessation of hostilities" that would lead to the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle in a matter of weeks, and that the planned talks between De Klerk and Makwetu would be a mere formality.

The sources said the Government, which had been hammered by the ANC in successive bilateral talks, had agreed to effective joint control of the security forces and that this addressed the PAC's reservations about the TEC's sub-council on defence. This meant that the PAC would soon take its seat on the TEC.

Saturday Star understands that the only issue not "adequately addressed" at yesterday's meeting was the Defence Act.



CHIPPING OUT: Nick Price plays from the bunker at the 18th hole during the Million Dollar Challenge at Sun City yesterday. See sport pages for details. ● Photograph: GARY BERNARD

SA potential 'just awesome'

WASHINGTON — US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, on his return to the United States from his fact-finding visit to South Africa, has reitcreated his positive view of South Africa's economic future.

Appearing on nationwide television hours after his return to Washington on Thursday, he said South Africa was the key to the future of Africa and its potential was "just awesome".

He went on to tell reporters that several major US companies were planning to invest in South Africa following the first US presidential trade mission in two decades.

"Companies like IBM and IT&T and Apple Computer, to name a few, were very interested in reopening their operations in South Africa," Brown said.

A number of investment-oriented organisations, such as Lehmann Brothers and Equitable, "a indicated strongly that they ar going to be moving towards advi ing investors and making inves ments themselves in South Afr ca", Brown added.

Some companies have alread made a firm commitment to i vest in South Africa, Brown sai and "I would expect within th next 30 to 60 days we'd be havin some specific announcemen

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NEWS

Increase in violence predicted

20% didn't know about election

Star 2/12/93

A SURVEY around the country turns up some unpalatable facts ahead of the April general election 30HA

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

Nearly 20 percent of people questioned recently about the general election had no idea it would take place.

A report by Human Sciences Research Council researchers says that such ignorance of the election or general voter illiteracy could give rise to misunderstandings at the polling booths.

The countrywide survey represented 79 percent of potential black voters, and 57 percent of all voters.

Dr Chris de Kock and Dr Charl Schutte said in the latest edition of Strategic Review for Southern Africa that the survey results indicated that "the likelihood of violence will be greater than ever before" next year.

Various factors could play a role if there was violence at the polls.

"Events surrounding the assassination of (SACP leader) Chris Hani and the education crisis confirm once again the fact that the leaders of most political parties do not have strong control over their followers, particularly the youth," the researchers said.

It is also suggested that the election be held over more than one day, possibly with a paid public holiday being declared.

The researchers also said the amalgamation of private armies with the SADF should take place before April because, if it were not done, and election results were questioned by one or other party, violence could result.

Voter education programme to be aired today

Star 10/12/93

BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH



The SABC's voter education programme takes to the air today, with regular advertisements, documentaries, game shows and a soap opera to be used as vehicles for the campaign.

The programme, to be called Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative (Debi), is the product of three months of consultation with 50 organisations from civil societies — none of them political or profit-making.

Ruth Teer-Tomaselli, an SABC board member and convener of the working group on voter education, said this week that Debi had been structured in such a way to reach as large a section as possible of South Africa's future electorate and to achieve the highest possible degree of voter literacy.

Particular emphasis would be placed on reaching women, the youth, rural communities and people in townships, hostels and informal settlements.

She said attempts were being made to break down apparent barriers in society and the voter education broadcasts would be conducted in all 11 national languages.

In addition to black actors speaking English and Afrikaans, white actors would speak in black languages.

Teer-Tomaselli said the SABC and the Department of Home Affairs were financing the initial phase of the voter education campaign, but the bulk of the money would come from the Transitional Executive Council once the Independent Electoral Commission had been established.

According to current schedules, Debi will occupy R63 million worth of SABC air time and production costs are about R9,5 million. Existing material from the Matla Trust and Idasa are also being used.

CP rejecting democracy — De Klerk

ARG 3/12/93

(3044)

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk today attacked the Conservative Party in a fierce special debate, accusing it of turning against the democratic will of even the majority of white voters.

He said most of elected representatives of whites had endorsed the Transitional Executive Council, but the CP was resolutely refusing to accept "the democratic expression of its own people".

"You are becoming a revolutionary party," he declared to a barrage of interjections from the CP benches.

"You are rejecting the most basic principle of democracy."

He accused the CP of seeking to create the false impression that Afrikaners were being denied political rights "so that they can justify their attempts to urge their supporters to commit acts of aggression".

Mr De Klerk said the government had "created room" for negotiations with the Freedom Alliance in the hope of trying to include them in the negotiated agreements.

"This is how serious we are about inclusivity and about avoiding unnecessary confrontation."

But he warned: "We will not concede to a return to race discrimination."

Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Willie Snyman launched the often heated debate by saying his party would have nothing to do with the TEC. It had been brought about undemocratically and was the end of a revolutionary process.

The Afrikaner had reached the crossroads of survival and freedom on the one hand and subjection to foreign authority on the other. The Afrikaner demanded a fair share of the country as a volkstaat.

Mr De Klerk had handed the Afrikaner's freedom to a communist-dominated ANC government.

Dr Snyman had to withdraw a remark that Mr De Klerk was receiving a "Judas prize" for his peace efforts.

Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said it was sad to see how the CP appeared to want to be prisoners of the past instead of accepting the exciting challenges of the future.

Talks pave the way for PAC to join

ARG 4/12/98 (304A)

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Political Correspondent

ONLY a single meeting, between President De Klerk and Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu, now stands between the PAC's formal suspension of the armed struggle and its participation in the multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

According to well-placed PAC sources, this follows another round of talks between the PAC and the government in Pretoria yesterday, in which they say a firm foundation was laid for "a mutual cessation of hostilities".

The meeting, in which the respective delegations were led by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, agreed that the first phase of an accord reached in the two parties' previous meeting in the Zimbabwean capital Harare last month should now be implemented.

That agreement was a declaration of a "moratorium on violence".

The latest round of talks paves the way for the PAC's participation in the TEC, which will hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Although the Africanist organisation has so far had reservations about the TEC — especially with the body's subcouncil on defence — World Trade Centre agreements also stipulate that TEC participants should renounce violence and agree to be bound by the decisions of the council.

In another development, Mr Kriel yesterday apologised to the PAC delegation for an "unauthorised" raid on the home of the organisation's political affairs secretary, Jaki Seroke. The raid, conducted by about 20 policemen whose leader allegedly said they had been informed there was "something hidden in the house", took place around 5am.

Mr Seroke, who did not attend the government-PAC meeting because of the raid, told Weekend Argus he had been informed that Mr Kriel had apologised to the PAC delegation. Not only had the raid not been officially sanctioned, but the affected police officers also did not know that Mr Seroke stayed in the house, Mr Kriel is reported to have explained.

Weekend Argus understands that the only issue not "adequately addressed" at yesterday's meeting was the Defence Act, and this was because Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee was not present.

However, a meeting about joint control of the security forces of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the SA Defence Force will take place outside SA early next week.

A new defence force, known as the National Defence Force and the South African Police Services, with nine regional police forces, will be formed after the election on April 27.

● PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti obtained a doctoral degree in law this week.

The LLD in Procedural Laws, finished in 18 months at the University of Pretoria, where Mr Seriti graduated on Thursday, comes after master's degrees in law from the universities of the Witwatersrand and South Africa — all obtained within six years.

CP refuses to discuss interim Bill

AN attempt to get the draft interim constitution processed by parliament failed today when the standing joint committee was abandoned after Conservative Party objections.

The CP objected to the Bill being discussed because it was not yet officially tabled, nor printed in the two official languages with an accompanying memorandum as required by law.

CP MP and constitutional negotiator Fanie Jacobs accused the government of attempting to start one of the most important parliamentary debates "on a footing that violates the rules of parliament".

"What we have before us has no legal standing. They have transgressed the very law they want to make," said Mr Jacobs.

"The attempt by the government was a slap in the face of Afrikaans. ARG 6/12/93

"Also, as far as we are concerned, everything should be done according to the rules of parliament," he added.

Mr Jacobs said the CP had also refused a request from the government — whose chief negotiator Roelf Meyer chairs the committee — to discuss the draft interim constitution informally. (3049)

The CP left the meeting when remaining committee members began to discuss the interim constitution informally.

Members reportedly adjourned — Sapa.

Freedom Alliance warned by ANC leader: 'We will continue without you'

30UA ARG 15/12/93

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has warned the Freedom Alliance to join the transitional process and not hold out for more constitutional concessions or accept the process would proceed without them.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Oslo, Norway where he received the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize jointly with President F W de Klerk, Mr Mandela said although the ANC would continue to hold talks with rightwing groups, it had already made many concessions to the Right.

"If they want more concessions they must accept we will continue without them," he said.

Mr Mandela, who was met by about 200 supporters and the ANC's choir, said "enormous progress" had been made in the negotiations process in spite of rightwing threats of civil war.

The ANC's decision to engage the right in dialogue was precisely aimed at preventing such a war.

The ANC leader condemned the killing of two blacks by people alleged to be members of the rightwing in Randfontein on Monday and again accused Mr De Klerk's government of not doing enough to bring such perpetrators to book.

"We are dealing with a lame-duck government with no will to maintain law and order.

"These atrocities will continue until there is a democratic government, but a start will be made by the Transitional Executive Council," said Mr Mandela.

He disagreed with Mr De Klerk that the armed struggle was not responsible for the government's decision to change tack in 1989, and said most people generally accepted that the armed struggle and sanctions had played an important role.

Mr Mandela said the December 10 ceremony at which he and Mr De Klerk were awarded their coveted prizes was "exciting and dignified."

He said he hoped it would encourage all those who worked for democratic change in the country.

The ANC leader's high-powered delegation included Nobel Literature laureate Nadine Gordimer, well-known human rights lawyer George Bizos — both on the ANC Youth League's list of nominees for parliament — and leaders of the various components of the ANC-led "patriotic front."

Sub-councils for the TEC to be appointed today

ARG 9/12/93 (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council emerges in sharper profile today when it appoints the sub-councils tasked with helping to shape decisions in key areas of government activity.

The election "watchdog" will carry out its chief function — to ensure a free and fair election and equitable treatment for all participating parties — through the sub-councils.

Appointments are expected to be made today to the seven sub-councils, as well as to the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission.

The seven sub-councils, whose members need not be members of the TEC, cover regional and local government, law and order, stability and security, defence, finance, foreign affairs, the status of women and intelligence.

The TEC's second meeting in the old President's Council chamber today comes as parliament prepares to begin a gruelling two weeks of extended debates and even sittings on Saturdays.

A motion to this effect by Leader of the House in the House of Assembly Adriaan Vlok sparked fierce debate in which the Conservative Party accused the government of seeking to "steamroller" the constitution and other legislation through parliament before Christmas at the behest of its ANC and SACP talks partners.

CP Chief Whip Frank le Roux led the charge, declaring: "It is unacceptable, it is in conflict with democracy, it is dictatorial and typical of the National Party's contempt for parliament."

But the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer — described in interjections as "Ramaphosa's piccanin" — said a completed constitution was the best Christmas present parliament could give to the country.

The motion was eventually carried by 87 votes to 45 — with the DP also opposing it because it had not had an assurance during the debate that it would have a full day to consider the 270-page interim constitution before it came to parliament.

South Africans called on to promote peace

Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council today called on all South Africans to promote peace.

In a resolution adopted at its second meeting in Cape Town it also called on all those, who had a role to play, to support its objectives.

It asked all organisations who qualified to join the council, especially those who had at one stage taken part in negotiations.

A representative of the traditional leaders joined the council today, bringing the membership to 19.

Today the council dealt with procedural matters, the appointment of its executive staff, its budget and the budget of the Independent Media Commission.

DP campaign to rewrite flaws in constitution

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party today launches a "Write it Right" campaign aimed at rewriting "major flaws" that remain in the interim constitution.

The campaign is aimed not at altering the interim constitution, but at making sure the "flaws" are not translated in the final document to be drawn up the legislators who are elected on April 27.

"Write it Right" is to be a central part of the DP's election drive, the party said in a statement.

The DP election fight will be for:

- Stronger provincial powers for "real" federalism.
- Two ballots "to give voters the right to choose"
- No further amnesty for political criminals "to secure our streets from killers and thugs".

The DP said it wanted to "beef up" provincial powers.

POLITICS

TEC shows resolve in handling hot potatoes

☐ Kwazulu high on list of priorities for action

ARGUS 10/12/93 (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council has swung into action with resolutions on controversial law and order issues, indicating its determination to put its stamp on the pre-election political terrain.

Resolutions that could be critical in testing the limits of the TEC's authority and its effectiveness in exercising its statutory powers included two on problems in Kwazulu, which could challenge the authority of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Contrary to earlier expectations, the TEC did not appoint any sub-councils yesterday but got down to immediate business.

Signalling its intent to be assertive from the start, the TEC unanimously:

● Called on the police to act immediately to protect life and property in violence-riven areas of Natal, including Kwazulu.

● Ordered a full report within three days from Kwazulu police chief Lieutenant-General Roy During and Brigadier E S du Preez on the Goldstone Commission findings of a hit squad in the Kwazulu Police.

● Called on the Goldstone Commission to provide any further information it might have, and promised "urgent follow-up steps".

● Ordered a delegation, including Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, to meet SAP officials to discuss policing and, in particular, the proposal that the members of the controversial Internal Stability Unit should be withdrawn from violence flashpoints.

● Called on the Bophuthatswana government to allow Lawyers for Human Rights to celebrate Human Rights Day in the homeland today "without any interference".

Earlier, SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo told the TEC: "It is vital at this first substantive discussion of an issue by the TEC that it asserts its statutory power".

Immediately after yesterday's business-like meeting Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa went into a meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The sub-council on law and order, security and stability — scheduled to be established on Tuesday as a matter of priority — is expected to develop a co-operative relationship with the police.

When the nearly two-hour session ended at 4pm, Mr Slovo said: "The TEC has begun to act like a statutory body. The indication is that it will assert its powers. It is not a toy telephone".

Mr Ramaphosa noted: "While the body is not running the country, it is attending to problems people are experiencing. If the TEC is to enjoy confidence it has to attend to problems."

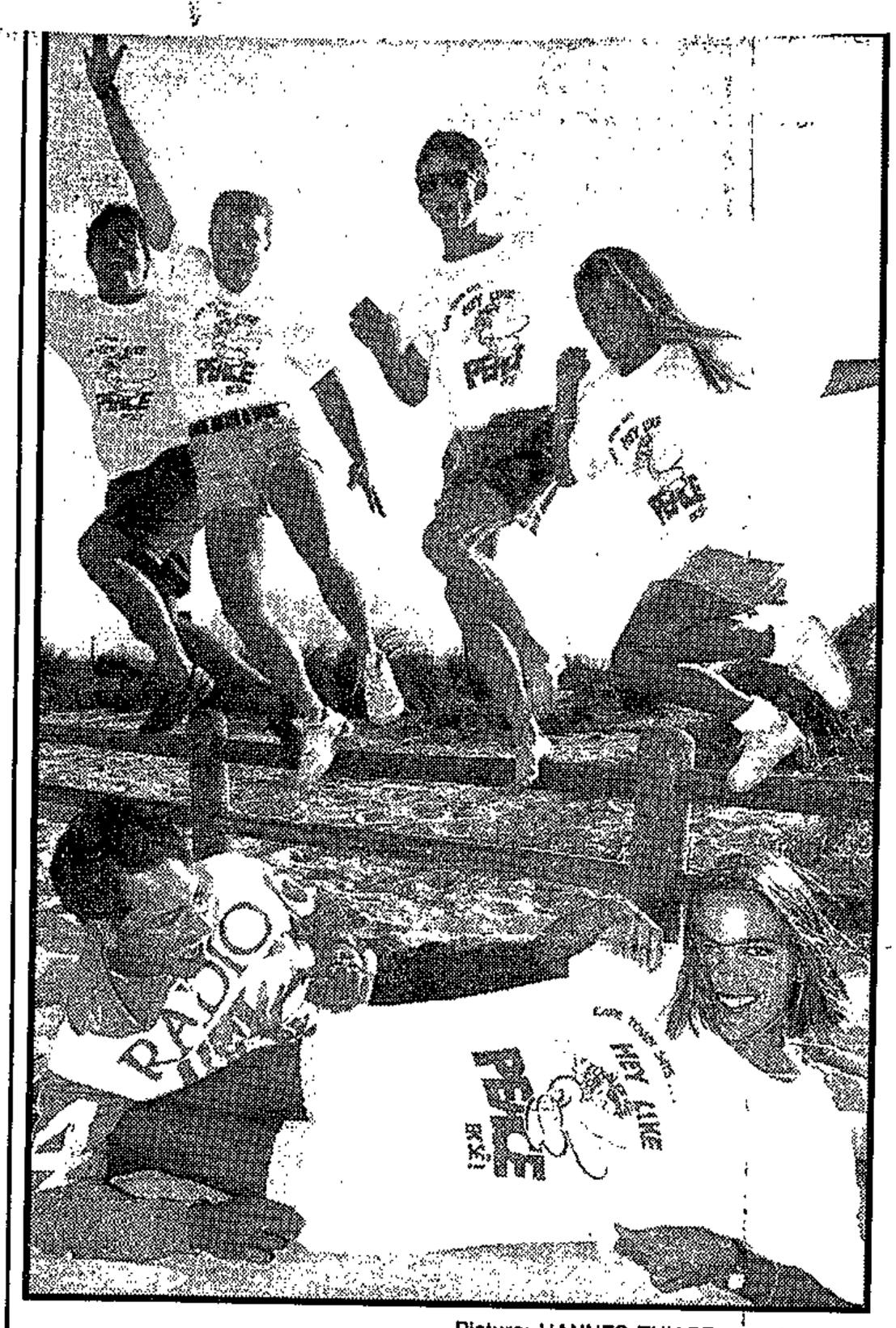
Mr Meyer said the resolutions were "perfectly in line" with the objectives of the TEC.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan acknowledged that "we are beginning to cut our teeth in the South African political reality and getting the measure of what it takes to cope with the challenges and expectations."

● Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel today dismissed as "totally untrue" a report that there had been a sharp clash between Mr Meyer, Mr Ramaphosa and himself.

"The discussions were very cordial. I am considering the resolution of the TEC and will have further discussions with the delegation next week.

"I am prepared to work with the TEC," said Mr Kriel.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

PEACE, THE CAPE TOWN WAY: Showing off new peace T-shirts are Radio Good Hope disc jockey Paul Kay and Nicky Rossi, in front, while Deon Basson, Sean van Wyk, Colin Strain and Juliette Mauve jump for joy. A summer peace drive has been launched by a trio of businessmen, who will donate a part of the profits from their T-shirts — "Hey like Peace, ek sê" — and bumper stickers to the Western Cape Peace Committee.

Alliance faced with decisions on transition

Political Staff

TWO meetings over the next three days are shaping up to be critical to the prospects of a peaceful transition in South Africa.

Today the Freedom Alliance leaders meet in Pretoria for what its chairman, Rowan Cronje, described as D-Day.

The meeting will consider the preconditions set by the ANC and by the government for the alliance to resume discussions on the interim constitution.

As things stand, the dissenting alliance parties — some of whom have indulged in increasing "war talk" over the past few months — have rejected the document thrashed out in talks, but were close to resolving differences after nearly two months of talks with government negotiators.

However, the alliance has refused to accede to a government demand that it commit itself to taking part in the April 27 election and preparing for polling in the likelihood of an agreement being reached.

The alliance argues that the ANC's demand is different in that it wants the alliance to make the commitment irrespective of whether agreement is reached in talks or not.

Also critical to the process will be a meeting of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee, an Alliance member, on Sunday.

An IFP source has said this will be a "crunch" meeting.

Although he declined to elaborate, growing tensions between those in the IFP who want to contest elections and those who want to stay out could come to a head.

ARG 15/12/93

Top names agree to help organise poll

Political Staff (30qA)

A group of prominent South Africans have agreed to serve on the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which has the critical task of effectively running next year's elections.

The commission will be chaired by Mr Justice JC Kriegler, recently appointed an Acting Judge of Appeal. His deputy will be Dikgang Moseneke, former PAC deputy leader and a senior counsel.

Among the best-known names are South African Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, former Inkatha chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former Dutch Reformed Church Moderator Johan Heyns and long-serving former MP and human rights campaigner Helen Suzman.

Others are R Jaeger, D Mokhobo, Charles Nupen, the Independent Development Trust's Ben van der Ross and Zac Yacoob, a Durban advocate.

Coloureds choose NP in poll

Despite being victims of the NP's apartheid policies, coloured people in the Cape are likely to vote for the party in the election, writes Gaye Davis in Cape Town

A NEW poll has shown that coloured people in the Western Cape, themselves victims of apartheid, are likely to vote for its perpetrators — putting the National Party in the lead in the election race in the region.

Just why coloured people would vote for a party responsible for policies which routinely discriminated against them in the past is answered, to an extent, by responses to questions on which party respondents thought would be best at forging economic growth, delivering services and other issues likely to form the basis of election campaigns.

More coloureds than whites felt the NP would be better at enforcing law and order, forging a climate of peace, governing efficiently and delivering health, welfare and education services.

The ethnic factor — the shared language of Afrikaans — was not probed but might be in a subsequent poll planned.

Carried out for the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy during November and December, the poll surveyed 2 500 people — 1 425 (56,7 percent) coloureds, 582 (23,2 percent) whites and 493 (20,1 percent) blacks — living in both urban and rural areas.

The results were then weighted to proportionally represent the estimated 3,7-million Western Cape residents who will be eligible to vote: 2,1-million coloureds (57 percent), 833 000 blacks (22 percent) and 769 000 whites (20 percent).

The results, released this week, show the National Party ahead with 35,5 percent of the vote. In second place, seven points behind, is the ANC/SACP alliance, with 28,3 percent of all votes. Trailing far behind are the Democratic Party with 6,1 percent support, the PAC with 1,9 percent, the IFP (0,8 percent) and the Conservative Party (0,7 percent).

While significant in that it is the first comprehensive survey of voter attitudes carried out since electoral districts were demarcated, the poll also shows the election contest in the region is far from settled.

More than 14 percent of all voters and 20 percent of coloured voters are still undecided, while 3,6 percent of all voters indicated they would not vote and seven percent would not reveal who they would vote for.

Much will also depend on whether the elections are free and fair. Violence, for example, could result in a 30 percent drop in coloured voter turnout at the polls — thus thwarting the NP's bid for regional supremacy.

Nevertheless, the poll underscores the political importance of the so-called coloured vote. According to the survey, 45,2 percent of coloured voters in the region currently support the NP, while only 17,5 percent back the ANC and only 3,6 percent the DP.

Of Western Cape whites, 46,6 percent support the NP, 14,7 percent back the DP and only 3,3 percent the ANC/SACP. Among black voters, the ANC/SACP alliance draws the support of 77,1 percent and the PAC only 8,2 percent.

While the DP draws 4,3 percent of the black vote, the NP manages only 0,7 percent. Not a single black squatter in the sample supported the NP.

The study found more than 88 percent of the total voting population in the Western Cape already had ID documents, while just over 20 percent of blacks said they had no IDs yet but were applying, or intended to apply for them.

Black voters felt much less threatened by election violence.

While coloured and white voters, asked who would be most likely to start violence if it occurred, cited the ANC, followed by the AWB, for blacks the AWB was seen as the major potential source of violence, followed by the IFP, then the police and finally the ANC (4,2 percent).

Significantly, the ANC has more support among coloured people in rural, rather than urban areas — 22,5 percent rural and 14,4 percent urban.

The NP's support among urban coloureds (46,2 percent) is only slightly higher than its rural support (43,8 percent).

While black squatter communities give the ANC blanket support (86 percent), the PAC appears to have more support among blacks in formal housing (10,5 percent) rather than in squatter settlements (4,6 percent).

However, the survey also showed that about one-third of ANC supporters evinced strong sympathy for the PAC, indicating it as their second choice.

This would show that the PAC could make significant gains in the run-up to elections if it boosted its campaigns.

Interestingly, the ANC fared better than the NP on the question of which party would best be able to deliver in terms of housing and education — largely because it drew support from white voters who felt it better equipped than the NP to do so.

Even supporters of parties whose leaders are opposed to the election indicated overwhelmingly that they wanted to vote: 88,5 percent of CP supporters, 80 percent of IFP supporters and 40 percent of the AWB.

Supporters of the PAC, which at the time was wavering on whether or not to take part, came out 93,4 percent in support of voting.

Most people believed the elections should go ahead, violence or no.

Lost in the translation

304A
WM 3-9/12/93

The AWB and IFP may have a common cause but their languages are very different, writes **Jan Taljaard**

MYEZI TWALA was a worried man. Looking decidedly uncomfortable on the makeshift stage atop a flatbed truck, he was slowly moving his head to and fro. No, no, no, he seemed to be muttering.

The object of his silently expressed chagrin was merrily translating away in Zulu, interpreting freely as he went along: "We are called upon to form hit squads with the AWB and self-protection units in our fight against the ANC."

Poor Mr Twala, regional organiser of the IFP in the Vaal Triangle. Not only was his national leadership distancing itself from the pact signed with the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, but now the translator was taking liberties.

Twala had merely said that the unity between the IFP and the AWB should be built up "on the ground, above the ground and even underground". And now the translator was saying what he thought was meant by underground.

The regional organiser turned his painful expression away, lifting his eyes above the assembled gathering of AWB and IFP members sitting in neatly segregated groups on the grass in front of the Vereeniging Civic Centre.

Floating on the fringes was a group of five camouflaged whites milling forlornly underneath two multi-hued flags in shades of pastel. They belonged to the White Liberation Army, military arm of the Springs Israelvision Sect. They do not believe that black people have souls.

Ah, but there was one person on the stage enjoying himself immensely. Smiling smugly from behind his mane sat the die-hard Lion of the Western Transvaal himself, Eugene Terre'-Blanche well-known attender of court cases and signatory of non-aggression pacts.

A little while later he was to put his feelings into raucous bellows of belligerence: "The Boer and the Zulu have now decided that we will fight to the last drop of blood! We are not here to enter into an election pact, but to mould a military force!"

This seemed to perk the translator up considerably after he had just been softly berated by Twala.

Grabbing his cue at the end of a lengthy, traditional song of praise in Zulu, he translated for the benefit of the AWB faithful who had been staring in wide-eyed amazement: "That is a song of praise for the king. It is a signal that we are going for a war."

The faithful cheered, Terre'-Blanche positively glowed, even Twala's spirits had lifted. As the AWB members broke into their familiar chant, Twala rhythmically pounded the air with his fist: "Aaa, Wee, Bee!", he smiled.

The combined gathering came to an end, on a much more magnanimous note than an AWB member that morning would let on was possible.

Asked when the march was going to start, he shrugged his shoulders: "Don't know. The kaffirs are late as usual."

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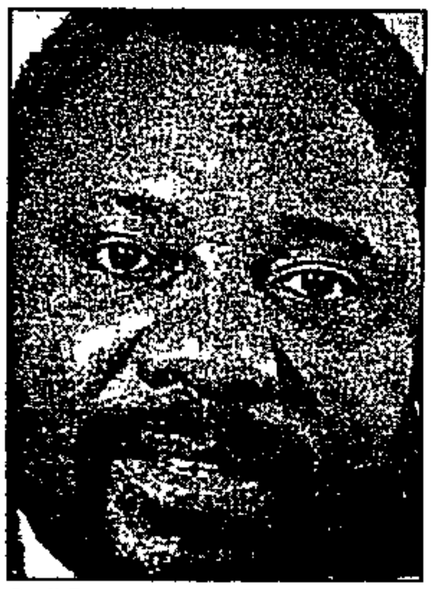
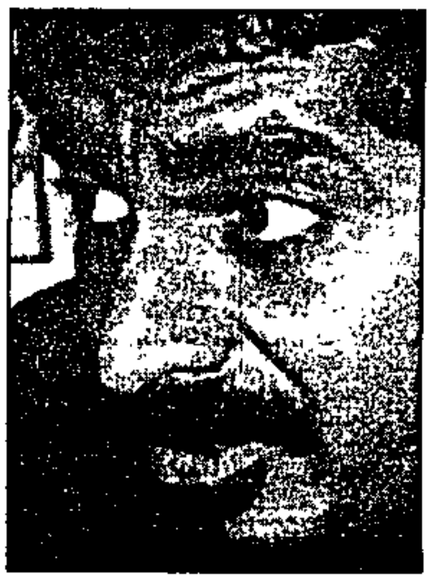


Cyril Ramaphosa ... Could take over the constitutional affairs portfolio



Derek Keys ... May still get the job of finance minister



Jay Naidoo ... Will probably head the department of manpower



Tony Leon ... DP member who could join cabinet as minister of justice



Peter Mokaba ... Speculated that he could become the minister of tourism

to join the coalition cabinet

WM 30/12/93-6/1/94 (304A)

An ANC government will not only face an Afrikaner problem, but also Zulu dissent. Jacob Zuma, a Zulu — former head of the ANC's intelligence department — may become the new minister of law and order.

The all-important defence portfolio may go to MK head Joe Modise, although indications are that Modise may prefer a line-function, such as defence force head. In that case there is an outside chance that Joe Slovo — depending on his health — may become the responsible minister. Whether the soldiers in the defence force will accept this is another question.

Finance has long been seen as the preserve of Derek Keys, appointed from the private sector by De Klerk to put the country's faltering economy back in order. Keys built a good working relationship with the ANC's economic department and has had a strong influence on Mandela's economic thinking.

But recently tension has developed between the ANC and Keys. There is a feeling that he claims credit for things that are not his due, and that his planning does not take into consideration vital structural changes that the ANC feels are needed to redress apartheid imbalances.

Keys may still get the job. Although he recently announced that he would fight the elections on an NP ticket — he was not a member of the party when he joined the cabinet — he still is the man best qualified for the job.

Other contenders are Trevor Manuel and Tito Mboweni.

Much will depend on the support the NP gets in the elections, as this will determine its representation in the cabinet.

Those vying for positions in the new cabinet, include — apart from De Klerk — Meyer, De Villiers, Wessels, Pik Botha, Keys and Danie Schutte (current minister of internal affairs and broadcasting).

Nationalists who won't be seen in the new cabinet are Hernus Kriel (law and order), Tertius Delport (local government) and Kraal van Niekerk (agriculture).

They will retire from national politics but will stand for regional government and their respective areas.

It is not difficult to speculate on the new minister of local government. There is little doubt that the job will go to Thozamile Botha, who conducted the negotiations on third-tier government on the ANC's behalf.

If Namibia's example is followed, agriculture will go to a white person in order to placate farmers. Roelf Meyer's brother, Tobie, is tipped for the job.



Joe Slovo ... Outside chance he'll become defence minister

The ANC's regional lists are still being drawn up. These will have a direct bearing on who will serve in central government and eventually in the cabinet. The PWV's Tokyo Sexwale, for instance, looked a certainty for a senior cabinet post, but will probably head the regional government in what will be the most powerful province in the new South Africa.

The country's racial composition will also have to be reflected in the ANC's appointments, and there is no doubt that place will be made for women to serve in the executive.

Ex-Cosatu leader Jay Naidoo will probably head the department of manpower, and the chances are more than even that Barbara Masekela will become minister of culture. Carl Niehaus, presently the ANC's official spokesman, could become minister of information.

If a ministry of women's affairs is created — as is expected — an intriguing choice awaits Mandela. He can either appoint his estranged wife, Winnie, who heads the ANC's women's league, or give the job to the highly respected Baleka Kgositsile.

Either way, there is bound to be controversy.

Mandela will also have to create space for the present youth league leader, Peter Mokaba.

It is speculated that Mokaba may become minister of tourism — a choice that is certain to elicit strong opposition from the tourism industry and will do little to encourage visitors from abroad. It may be wiser to direct his energies towards youth affairs.

Other top ANC figures for whom cabinet positions will have to be reserved include Mac Maharaj, Dr Essop Pahad, Professor Kader Asmal, Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota and Cheryl Carolus.

The sport portfolio poses few problems — only the pipe-smoking Steve Tshwete is a serious candidate.

After ensuring South Africa's return to international competition, he enjoys the trust of the country's sport establishment, including the powerful but conservative rugby hierarchy.

One or two members of the Democratic Party could also serve in the new cabinet — likely candidates are Zach de Beer, Colin Eglin, Ken Andrew and Tony Leon.

Many people feel that Leon will make an excellent minister of justice. His argumentative style and sharp criticism of aspects of ANC policy would not make make him a popular choice with the new establishment, however.

in the provinces



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Key player

reservations at the decision to sideline her.

This has lessened the prospect a confrontational relationship in the largest region.

Sexwale and Mandela: the two could be the ANC's main vote-catchers in the PWV.

In Natal/kwaZulu, it is less clear who will be the main power-brokers of the future.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the firebrand ANC Natal Midlands chairman Gwala spring to mind but both, being captives of South Africa's turbulent past, could be eclipsed.

The ANC's obvious candidate for the premiership would have been Gwala, as its longest-serving activist in Natal/kwaZulu, having joined the ANC almost half a century ago.

He initially indicated that he he did not want to serve in the provicial legislature, let alone stand as a candidate for the premiership.

Gwala now finds himself lined up against ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe who, while lacking the stature of the Midlands chief, could still pull off a victory in the ANC's internal elections next week.

He is the chairman of the ANC's largest region in Natal/kwaZulu, Southern Natal, which has almost half the province's voting population, 2,2 million.

The two are markedly different: a short man, Gwala is a hardliner. A tall man, Radebe is a moderate.

Believing he would bring stability in Natal/kwaZulu— and in some ways to ensure the success of the transitional phase at a national level — the ANC head office would prefer to see Radebe at the helm in the province.

He supported the negotiation process, spearheaded peace initiatives with the Inkatha Freedom Party and could lead the ANC into a government of regional unity with the IFP in Natal/kwaZulu.

Gwala's emergence at the helm would have the opposite effect — he might criticise the actions of the government of national unity and undermine improved relations between the ANC and IFP.

A third ANC candidate for the premiership is deputy secretary- general Jacob Zuma. He would be more successful then Radebe in improving relations with the IFP, but he may pull out of the race to focus on nomination for the national list.

But Gwala — even if he is not elected for the top job — could still be the ANC's kingpin in Natal/kwaZulu.

Dubbed the "The Lion of Natal", he

■To Page 6



VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Centre for Southern African Studies

As a result of a generous grant from the Ford Foundation, the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape is able to invite applications for Visiting Fellowships. These are open to scholars from other countries in the Southern African region who are interested in studying aspects of South Africa's future role in this area, particularly in the economic field.

The Centre already has extensive working relations with scholars in the region as well as regional organisations and local researchers concerned with regional issues. Visiting Fellows, resident in SADC or PTA member countries and already involved in a relevant study project, will be offered the opportunity to join the Centre's network on the same basis as other members of staff.

The Fellowships will run for 3 months, and the first Fellowships, taken up at the beginning of April 1994, will provide the sought-after opportunity to observe South Africa's first democratic election. Travel and subsistence costs will be met.

Applications, including a CV, references and an outline of the applicant's proposed research project, should reach the Director, CSAS, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Republic of South Africa, by 28 February 1994.

University of the Western Cape

AD MARK (CAPE) 75993

Volksfront canvasses support for volkstaat

BIDAY 12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront had approached white town councils across the Free State and Transvaal to determine whether they would be willing to become part of a volkstaat, an AVF spokesman said yesterday. (3014A)

Following the announcement earlier this week that the AVF would push ahead with its plans to establish a volkstaat, in defiance of government and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) if necessary, spokesman Stephen Maninger said the organisation had already embarked on a programme to determine the volkstaat's borders.

"We realise from the colonial past that you can't sit in an office and draw boundaries," he said.

Instead, referendums were being held in towns in the Free State and Transvaal to see whether the AVF had the mandate to include them in a possible volkstaat.

Maninger was unwilling to disclose how many towns had indicated they would like to join but said there had been an "overwhelmingly positive response".

He said the AVF conceded the possibility the volkstaat could include towns spread over a wide area.

"It would not be the end of the world if the volkstaat ended up looking like Bophuthatswana or KwaZulu," he said.

An AVF study group had been dispatched to Belgium and Switzerland to find out about canton systems and how the two countries dealt with ethnic differences.

"We are looking for ways in which minorities or people of colour within our areas can be accommodated in a constitution," he said.

The executive committee and general council of the AVF and the mobilisation directorate would "act on behalf of Afrikaners" until a political body could be elected.

"Forms of resistance" would be undertaken if government or the TEC tried to interfere.

Sapa reports Maninger said the AVF was concerned that ANC president Nelson Mandela and the ANC/SACP alliance were laying the foundation for "something that could be avoided".

The AVF was not prepared to become part of the ANC/SACP's experiment in trying to revive an outdated ideology and make SA the last Marxist state in the world, Maninger said.

● Comment: Page 10

UDI proposal irresponsible, says FW

CAPE TOWN — The proposed unilateral declaration of independence of an Afrikaner volkstaat was tragic, irresponsible and untimely, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"If it wasn't so tragic it would be amusing. How can you think of a UDI if you cannot say where the borders of such a state will be?"

Sapa reports that AVF media officer Stephen Maninger said the AVF was astonished that its determining a volkstaat's border through referenda was interpreted as a unilateral declaration of independence. "When and if we declare UDI . . . the President will be one of the first people to be made aware of the fact."

NP calls for candidates

THE NP's Transvaal region yesterday called for applications from prospective candidates for next year's election. BIDAY

Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha said candidates would compete for placement on the NP's list for the central parliament, and for the provincial parliaments of each of the planned four new Transvaal provinces — the PWV, the northern Transvaal, the eastern Transvaal and the North West. (30-4-A)

LLOYD COUTTS

He invited aspirant candidates to submit nomination forms to the party's chief secretary in Pretoria by December 15.

"The new NP represents all South Africans and intends fielding a strong team of men and women under the leadership of President F W de Klerk.

A party spokesman said the NP would prefer applications from members, but would also consider non-members. 1 12 93

Afrikaners, Zulus urged: fight to be free

B/Day 17/12/93

AFRIKANERS and Zulus yesterday celebrated the Day of the Vow with appeals for self-determination, while the ANC and government warned of the consequences of a laager mentality and sabre rattling. (304A)

At the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg called on Afrikaners to commit all they had to the battle for an independent volkstaat. And at the Battle of Blood River monument in Natal, Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners were again facing a "dark night" and had to prepare "physically and spiritually" for the struggle for freedom.

There were large turnouts at both venues and, although weapons and uniforms were visible, the proceedings were solemn and religious.

Nearly 80 000 people flocked to the Voortrekker Monument on horses and in ox-wagons waving the vierkleur flag. The kappie kommando entertained the crowds with freedom songs. Heavily armed AWB kommandos stood guard over the proceedings, making sure everyone stood to attention during the singing of Die Stem.

"Again, dark days have come to our people," said Hartzenburg-and, just as at the time of the Battle of Blood River, Afrikaners stood to lose everything. SA was undergoing a revolution from a Christian nation to a communist-dominated one. The majority of the Transitional Executive Council's parties were communists.

It was as though Satan was taunting God, saying: "Test them to see if they remain religious."

KATHRYN STRACHAN and GAVIN DUVENAGE

The world did not understand that Afrikaners were given their freedom by God, and therefore it had to be preserved. Nothing was too costly for their freedom, their own state, government, defence force and education system. "We will never, never, never give it over. We cannot be the slaves of others," Hartzenberg said.

At Blood River Viljoen said the Afrikaner was threatened by communism and wanton brutality and was suffering from disunity in its ranks. Afrikaners needed to rededicate themselves to God if they wanted to win the struggle for freedom.

However, it was important to note that their forefathers had not tried to exterminate the Zulus but had fought for freedom.

Viljoen repeatedly called for Afrikaners to be disciplined in their struggle for freedom. He said he was confident that conflict could be averted.

At Isandlwana Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded self-determination for the Zulu nation following the same call by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini who ordered his subjects to defend KwaZulu with their lives.

Sapa reports that the Inkatha president and his monarch broke down in tears as a soothsayer chanted that the Zulu kingdom's future was at stake.

Citing attacks on Zulus and the removal of the word KwaZulu from the constitution by government and the ANC, Buthelezi and Zwelithini told about 10 000 supporters,

☐ To Page 2

Day of the Vow B/Day

☐ From Page 1

most in ceremonial dress and brandishing traditional weapons: "We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy, either for us or anybody else in the country. 17/12/93

"I will die rather than insult the memory of my great ancestoral kings by handing over the land of their people to our political enemies. (304A)

"Until we get what is justly ours, there can be no rest for any true Zulu.... Resist, I command you. Resist, I implore you."

Buthelezi said he had been told by ANC legal department head Matthew Phosa and SACP chairman Joe Slovo that "army tanks will roll". "Let them roll," he said.

LLOYD COUTTS reports ANC president Nelson Mandela told a Soweto rally in commemoration of Umkhonto we Sizwe's 32nd anniversary that incessant sabre rattling and threats of civil war by right-wing elements were cause for concern and called for the TEC's undivided attention.

The ANC would not countenance secret agendas, but was convinced that to assuage feelings and boost confidence in the future, it had to engage continuously in discussions "even with those who seek to put the clock back".

Umkhonto had to be in the forefront of efforts to improve standards in new defence structures.

"Today, as we stand on the threshold of an epochal transition into a new democratic order you must justifiably feel proud of your noble endeavours. But always remember to live by the dictum made famous at the close of the Second World War: 'In victory, magnanamity'," Mandela said.

The ANC and Umkhonto also had a responsibility to ensure peace during the elections. But, in a reference to the Freedom Alliance, he said there were "witches" who did not want to see SA free.

JOHANNES NCGOBO reports that Umkhonto commander Joe Modise said any future democracy would be meaningless if SA's armed forces were not democratised. It was imperative that Umkhonto prepared itself to be an integral part of the new defence force.

● See Page 3

Alliance demands disappoint govt

BDay 15/2/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Government yesterday expressed disappointment at the Freedom Alliance's latest set of demands, which threatened the substantial progress that had been made between the parties.

The new demands, submitted by the alliance this week as a precondition for its involvement in next year's elections, included non-interference in the TBVC states and self-governing territories, a two-ballot voting system, and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination.

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer said the addition of new demands was "clearly unhelpful and not conducive to the attainment of an all-inclusive settlement".

The alliance justified the extra demands on the grounds that last-minute changes to the draft constitution had included new issues. Government denied this, saying the most significant progress in talks with the alliance had been achieved only after the draft constitution had been approved by the negotiating council last month.

In a letter to alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje, Meyer said it would "obviously be difficult to negotiate the inclusion of any of the new matters that have been raised by you". But, even though the alliance's position had become "even less accommodating", government was not opposed in principle to trying to include some of the issues. Even at this late stage, government was prepared to meet the alliance "to explore possible means of attaining the objective of an all-inclusive settlement".

The ANC is to discuss the latest alliance demands at a national executive committee meeting today. (30 EA)

Meanwhile, the constitution, which was tabled in Parliament this week and is being discussed in committee, is due to be debated for the first time on Friday.

NP election ad swipes at Winnie Mandela

WILSON ZWANE

THE NP has taken a swipe at ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela in its election campaign.

In full-page advertisements in Johannesburg dailies this week, it insinuated Mandela was unfit to be elected to Parliament as she had been convicted of "kidnapping a child, who later died from his wounds".

The advertisements said: "After April 27, Mandela could be your new Law and Order Minister, or even Child Welfare Minister ... only your vote can stop this."

However, the advertisement was seemingly not well-researched, citing Mandela's conviction date as 1993 when it was in fact 1991. BIDON 17/12/93

The league has denounced the ads as being "shallow politics" and the SA National Civic Organisation's southern Transvaal branch said they would anger the masses instead of attracting more support for the NP.

Mandela was elected to her present post in the Women's League in Durban on December 8. Her election has been criticised by the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Women's Brigade. (304A)

Mandela is also SA National Civic Organisation deputy president and a member of the ANC PWV executive committee. It is known she will be among the ANC nominees for a seat in Parliament.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation had no comment to make on the NP ad campaign.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said his estranged wife's government role would hinge on whether her crimes had been politically motivated.

Bill 'designed to ensure free and fair elections'

B1D04 14/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The Electoral Bill marked a watershed in SA history, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said in Parliament yesterday.

As the foundation for a free and fair election, the Bill would be instrumental in efforts to build a new SA on the principles of true democracy, freedom and justice.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Bill, Schutte said the code of conduct contained in the Bill would apply to all political parties whether or not they had registered for the election or intended to participate. "It shall apply to every other organisation ... which supports or opposes the policies, candidates or cause of any registered party, or which propagates non-participation in the election."

The severe penalties and sanctions proposed by the Bill were necessary to create conditions for a free and fair election, Schutte said.

These included vote reductions, candidate disqualification, registration cancellation, termination of state funding and the prevention of parties entering specified electoral districts.

DP MP Ken Andrew said the Bill had been skewed to favour party leaders at the expense of the electorate. The lack of a constituency-based system meant new MPs would not be accountable to voters while the proposed single ballot paper for regional and national legislatures disallowed voters' free choice. (B01HA)

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said: "The paper has been wasted in the writing of this Bill." While it intended that political intimidation should end, that the SABC be unbiased and voter education neutral, all of these had been compromised, he said.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe complained that the standing committee considering the Bill had not been given sufficient time, that it signalled a triumph of ideology over ethnicity and that the Bill was simply "bad and dangerous".

Jannie Momberg (Ind-ANC) said tolerance had to be drummed into people at meetings leading up to the election, Sapa reports. He said the ANC fully endorsed the electoral code contained in the Bill. The election would not succeed unless there was a climate of tolerance.

Our Political Staff reports that the interim constitution was tabled in Parliament yesterday. The document will be discussed behind closed doors today and tomorrow by the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs and debate on its contents is likely to begin on Friday.

TEC takes a tough stand on violence

BIDay 10/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) yesterday took a hard line on violence, calling for the removal of the internal stability unit from East Rand townships, the deployment of the SAP and SADF in northern Natal and parts of KwaZulu, and all information of alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

In a signal that it intended acting decisively to restore law and order, the 19-member council agreed at its second meeting that it had the statutory power to take on the Goldstone commission — which this week recommended that the internal stability unit remain in the townships — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Bophuthatswana government.

Chairman Pravin Gordhan said: "The TEC is beginning to cut its teeth on the realities of the SA situation."

He said the self-governing states were "very much part of SA". The resolution made it clear that immediate action had to be taken to secure the "lives and property" of all SA's people.

Government and ANC representatives Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa met Kriel to discuss the internal stability unit's withdrawal from the East Rand and Bhambayi near Durban, and its replacement with SADF troops. They also discussed the despatch of additional SAP members to strife-torn northern Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Kriel would report back to the TEC next Tuesday.

All resolutions were unanimous with no signs of the government, ANC clashes that marked the first meeting on Tuesday.

In the discussion on the withdrawal of the internal stability unit, Meyer said government had no problem with one police unit, which acted in a supporting capacity to the uniformed branch, being replaced by the SADF at the request of the communities involved. (304A) (~~167~~)

The TEC agreed the replacement would occur only after consultation with the Minister and senior regional police officials.

The TEC's law and order and defence subcouncils would be established as soon as possible to consider the unit's involvement in other townships.

Dismissing Judge Richard Goldstone's recommendations on the internal stability unit, Ramaphosa said "the Goldstone commission clearly misdirected itself" by omitting to mention the dozens of people killed or injured on the East Rand since the unit's deployment there.

The TEC ordered the commission and the KwaZulu Police to forward "within three days" all information on the investigations into alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

The TEC also agreed to ask the Bophuthatswana government to allow peaceful activities in its territory in celebration of today's international Human Rights Day. Lawyers for Human Rights had written to the TEC saying its efforts to organise marches and activities were being hampered by the Bophuthatswana government.

☐ To Page 2

TEC

BIDay 10/12/93

☐ From Page 1

Meanwhile, LLOYD COUTTS reports that Buthelezi said the Goldstone commission's allegations of KwaZulu hit squads were an attempt to gain favour with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission. He said the commission had moved a long way from its brief to inquire into public violence and intimidation and was becoming a political body. (304A)

The report had come at a time when the Inkatha Freedom Party and others were at loggerheads with government and the ANC on many political issues. The ANC was also being openly hostile toward the Freedom Alliance and right-wing groups. (167)

"Not least, the timing coincides with an emergence of the old rhetoric of absence of free political activity in some selected self-governing states, notably KwaZulu, and talk about the unilateral reincorporation of those states into SA."

Allegations of hit squad activities in the KwaZulu Police had been made before and at no stage had such evidence been able to stand the test of cross-examination.

"Now, suddenly, without any of the so-called 'reliable evidence' having been tested, such evidence is suddenly elevated to the status of giving cause to accept a 'high probability' of such alleged hit squad activity within the KwaZulu police."

Inkatha spokesman Ziba Jiyane said his party condemned the operation of any hit squad, and supported investigations into hit squad activites "wherever evidence of these might emerge".

The impetus for the investigation which led to the Goldstone disclosures had come from the KwaZulu Police, showing that it was committed to impartial policing and would act against any member involved in illegal acts.

However, Inkatha believed Goldstone had adopted trial by allegation. "The investigation into the alleged hit squad is not complete, nor have any trial proceedings begun to decide on the guilt or innocence of three suspects. Yet the commission has chosen to make this information available, as well as to pronounce on their probable guilt," Jiyane said.

☐ The TEC also approved an R18,5m budget for itself, covering the nine-month period to next June.

● See Page 5

Homelands face the axe

Star 2/12/93

(304A) (1st)

THE "homecoming" symbolises the final collapse of the Verwoerdian dream, says Joe Slovo

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre today marked a historic turning point for the country, approving the return of South African citizenship to residents of the four "independent" national states on January 1, and the reincorporation of the territories into South Africa on the day of elections, April 27.

The Negotiating Council's decision to approve a draft Bill authorising the "homecoming" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which will allow these citizens to vote in the elections — was hailed by SACP negotiator Joe Slovo.

He said it symbolised the final collapse of the Verwoerdian dream of the fragmentation of SA and it gave the birthright back to millions of South Africans, Sapa reports.

But the right-wing Freedom Alliance, which includes the leaders of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei who oppose reincorporation, is expected to be enraged by the step and strongly resist it.

Freedom Alliance leader and Bophuthatswana government representative Rowan Cronje said today the decison would hold no weight without the support and approval of the alliance and the national states concerned. "It's just another decision," he said.

The draft Bill will be submitted to Parliament for approval before the sitting ends some time this month.

The reincorporation will coincide with election day when the interim constitution — hammered out in months of negotiations at the WTC in Kempton Park, takes effect.

Exhausted negotiators battled in vain to reach final agreement yesterday, which they had set as the deadline to complete the interim constitution and other outstanding issues.

Champagne

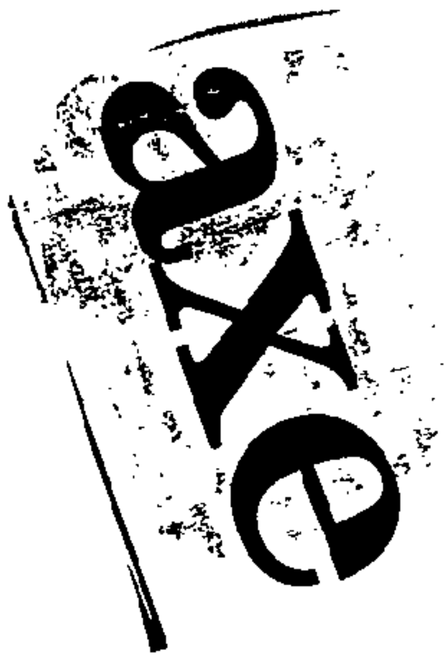
Official negotiations were finally concluded just before dawn when a champagne breakfast was planned to mark the end of the marathon 15-hour final sitting.

However, one outstanding issue is a "reconciliation clause" proposed for the interim consitution which will be discussed in a "last" Negotiating Council sitting in Cape Town on Monday.

Other major decisions finalised by the Negotiating Council last night included the transfer of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands to Namibia.

The controversial Local Government Transitional Bill, criticised by the IFP and the PAC, was also approved and will be sumbitted to Parliament.

▶ To Page 3



Star 2/12/93

Homelands are facing the axe

◀ From Page 1

Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba reports that the ANC's chief ally, the South African Communist Party, also expressed "serious qualms" about the Local Government Bill but said it had decided against opposing the Bill to avoid delaying progress.

The council also approved the repeal of discriminatory legislature as well as of laws impeding free political activity in South Africa, including the six self-governing homelands (Star 30/4A)

Also consigned to the scrapbook of history was Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, in terms of which many political activists have been detained without trial.

Sapa reports that the Transitional Executive Council, which has to ensure a free and fair election on April 27, holds its first meeting in Cape Town next week.

The venue for both meetings will be the old President's Council building in the Mother City.

The "citizenship clause" agreed to at the WTC will be called the Restoration and Extension of South African citizenship to certain citizens of the republics of Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Territories Act, 1993, "and shall come into operation on January 1 1994".

THE Prize



NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS '93

The road to Oslo

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

Men of destiny: The lives and times of two sons of South Africa

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff delves into the personal histories of ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk

ARG 9/12/93 (3049)

FREDERIK Willem de Klerk is 57. He was born in Johannesburg on March 18 1936.

He came from a political family: his great-grandfather was a senator, his grandfather twice stood for parliament (unsuccessfully) and his aunt was married to Prime Minister J G Strijdom.

His father Jan de Klerk was Transvaal secretary of the National Party from 1948 to 1954 and he became a senator in 1955 and then Minister of Labour and Public Works. He subsequently held other portfolios including National Education and in 1968 he became president of the senate, a post he held until retirement in January 1976.

President De Klerk's school career was mainly spent in Krugersdorp where he matriculated at Monument High.

His early training in politics was through membership of the Jeugbond, the youth section of the National Party.

He studied further at the University of Potchefstroom where he graduated with a BA LL.B (*cum laude*) in 1958. He was awarded an Abe Bailey scholarship in the same year and travelled to the United Kingdom.

While at university he played a leading role in student affairs and was an executive member of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), vice-chairman of the SRC and editor of the campus newspaper.

It was at university that he met his wife-to-be Marike Willemse whom he married on April 11 1969.



MOMENT OF TRUTH: Referendum elation for President de Klerk, his wife Marike, and Cabinet colleagues after an overwhelming vote backed the government to continue negotiations for constitutional reform.

he responded to student protests on some university campuses by announcing that the state would cut university subsidies unless the universities themselves maintained order.

In a subsequent court application by universities the court ruled that the conditions attached to university subsidies were out of order and De Klerk was ordered to withdraw them.

On February 2 1989 Mr De Klerk became leader of the National Party when P W Botha resigned after a stroke.

He was often at loggerheads with Botha who clung to the presidency until September.

After Botha resigned in a huff, alleging that his Ministers were no longer willing to work with him, De Klerk became president on August 15 1989 and State President

Since then he has undertaken many overseas trips including several to the United States and also to Eastern Europe, Russia, South America, and the Far East including Japan. He has visited a number of African states including Nigeria, Kenya and Zambia.

He led his party in a complete somersault on apartheid, announcing that it was being abandoned because it had not worked and had wronged and hurt people of colour. At times he qualified this by saying there had initially been high ideals about the policy.

In the 1991 session of parliament most apartheid statutes were rescinded including the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

The security branch of the SA Police was incorporated into the detective branch

NELSON Rolihlala Mandela is 75.

He was born at Qunu, near Umtata in Transkei on July 18, 1918, the son of Nonqaphi Nosekeni and Henry Mgadla Mandela, chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu.

In his early childhood in Transkei he was being groomed to become a chief.

The young Mandela, a Methodist all his life, matriculated at Healdtown Methodist boarding school and then attended Fort Hare University College where he became involved in student politics.

It was here that he met Oliver Tambo, later his predecessor as leader of the ANC. They were both expelled in 1940 following a student strike. They later became partners in Johannesburg's first black firm of lawyers.

Mandela left Transkei, partly to avoid an arranged tribal marriage, and moved to Johannesburg where he became a mine policeman.

Shortly afterwards he started taking articles with a legal firm while continuing to study for his BA degree.

With Walter Sisulu and Tambo, Mandela took part in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944.

It was in 1944 that Mandela married Evelyn Ntoko. They had two sons, one now dead, and a daughter. They were divorced in 1957 and in 1958 he married Winnie Mandela. They have two daughters. In April 1992 they announced that they had agreed to separate.

By 1948 Mandela was national secretary of the youth league.

In December 1952 he and a number of others were arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism



MANDELA '52: Nelson Mandela was arrested in December that year and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act.



THE WALK TO FREEDOM: Nelson Mandela — hand in hand with wife Winnie — leaves Victor Verster prison in February 1990 after 26 years in jail.



HIGH HONOUR: With President Clinton at the Fourth of July celebrations during which Mandela and De Klerk received the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.

ferred to a warder's house in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison at Paarl. It was there that he walked out of the prison gates in a blaze of publicity on February 11 1990.

From July 1986 onwards Mandela had contact with government leaders, first the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee and later with the then Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In July 1989 he met President P W Botha in Tuynhuys and in December 1989 he met the new president De Klerk there.

He was also allowed to have meetings with senior members of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other political groups.

After his releasse he started his foreign travels with a visit to Lusaka to meet the ANC's national executive committee where he was appointed deputy president.

He then travelled to Sweden where he had an emotional reunion with ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He has made numerous trips to Africa, Europe, the United States and the Far East since then.

Mr Mandela has been showered with foreign awards and prizes.

He has shared four with President De Klerk — the UNESCO Houphouet-Boigny Prize for Peace and the Prix du Courage Politique Internationale, in France in 1992, the Philadelphia Liberty Medal and now the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

This year he also received an honorary doctor of laws degree at Clark Atlanta University and the WEB du Bois medal of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the J William Fulbright prize in the US.

In Scotland he became a freeman of Glasgow and eight other cities, boroughs and districts.

Mr Mandela has shown both pragmatism as well as tolerance as a politifal leader.

Although he spent such a long time in jail, he is remarkably free of bitterness. He has constantly called for reconciliation and for the fears of minorities to be taken into account. He has been willing to talk to rightwing hardliners while calling for peace.

In his contacts with influential foreign business interests and political leaders he got the message about their antipathy to socialism. He has indicated that the ANC has shifted from its economic thinking on nationalisation. It is no longer an ideological imperative but merely a limited policy option.

He has continued to stress the need to redress economic imbalances but he has made it clear that the ANC is aware of both local and international business hostility towards nationalisation.

Mr Mandela is showing astonishing stamina for a man in his seventies. He is an extrem ely early riser, about 4am, which is a habit he acquired in jail — and does daily exercises including early morning walks.

two sons and a daughter, a... of them adopted.

De Klerk served his legal articles in Klerksdorp and Pretoria and thereafter practised as an attorney in Vereeniging from 1961 to 1972. He became chairman of the party's local divisional council.

In 1972 De Kerk very nearly became an academic instead of a politician. He was appointed to the chair of Administrative Law at Potchefstroom university with effect from January 1973. In 1972 the MP for Vereeniging, Blaar Coetzee, was appointed ambassador to Rome and De Klerk succeeded him as MP in November 1972.

In the 1974 general election he was returned to parliament unopposed and in 1975 he became information officer for the Transvaal National Party.

In April 1978 he became Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. Subsequently he held the portfolios of Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning, Energy and Internal Affairs.

Following the 1982 split in the National Party he became Transvaal leader of the NP.

In September 1984 he became Minister of Home Affairs and National Education. In July, 1985, he also became chairman of the Minister's Council of the House of Assembly and Minister of the Budget under the tricameral system.

In December 1986 he became leader of the House of Assembly and in the 1987 election he again won his Vereeniging seat.

At that time he was generally regarded as a conservative.

As Minister of Education year.

His style of government soon showed differences from that of his predecessor.

He permitted peaceful mass marches by extra-parliamentary groups. In October 1989 he released eight long-term prisoners including Walter Sisulu, former secretary general of the ANC.

He announced his intention to initiate negotiations with all political groupings at a "great Indaba".

On February 2 1990, De Klerk, still with a conservative image, made a dramatic announcement at the opening of parliament which prepared the way for negotiations on a new democratic constitutional system. These negotiations ended last week.

He announced that the ANC, the PAC, the SA Communist Party and a number of other organisations were being unbanned.

He said that "the season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived".

He also announced that political prisoners were to be released and media restrictions largely lifted.

In February 1990 ANC leader Nelson Mandela was released after 26 years in jail.

A few days before that the two had met at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

Talks between an ANC delegation led by Mandela and a government delegation led by De Klerk were held at Groote Schuur in May.

Later that month De Klerk started travelling abroad, visiting nine European countries including France, West Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Spain and Italy.

sive elements of the Internal Security Act were repealed.

He also opened the ranks of his party to people of colour in 1991.

In that year he brought about a peace accord and had leaders of other political organisations sign this but one of his disappointments has been that violence has often escalated since he started the reform moves.

Another disappointment has been that he has not succeeded in wooing the rightwing into the negotiation process and that he has also not been able to do a deal with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In March 1992 he dealt the rightwing what appeared to be a crushing blow in a referendum of white voters where the majority voters voted for the continuation of negotiations.

Since them his political fortunes, internally, have waned again. Opinion polls show that electoral support for the National Party is as low as 15 percent.

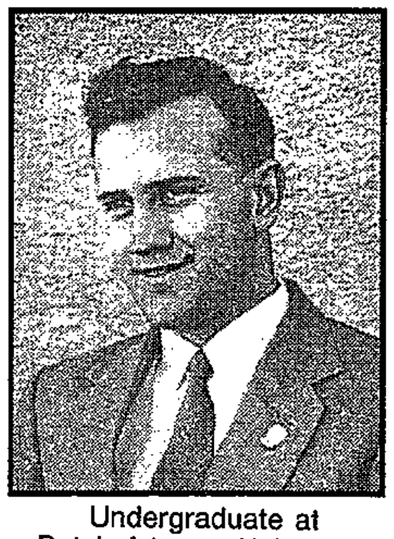
At times there is a parallel between De Klerk and General Jan Smuts. As in the case of Smuts he enjoys great international esteem but at home rightwingers are successfully exploiting the image among many Afrikaners that he has turned his back on his own "volk".

De Klerk has received a number of prestigious international awards with Mandela.

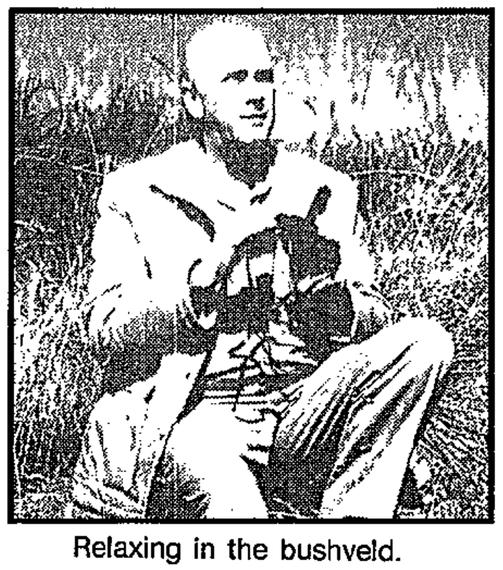
These are the UNESCO Houphouet-Boigny Prize for Peace in France in 1992, the Prix du Courage Politique Internationale, also in France in 1992, the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in the United States and the greatest prize of all: the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo this week.



FW at four.



Undergraduate at Potchefstroom University.



Relaxing in the bushveld.

□ Pictures from *FW de Klerk — The Man In His Time* by Willem de Klerk, published by Jonathan Ball.

to the months imprisonment suspended for two years and was also served with banning orders which were renewed for the following nine years.

He continued to work with small groups of ANC members, planning the break-up of ANC branches into cells with a view to possible underground activities.

In December 1956 Mandela was one of 156 political activists who were charged with treason. Four and half years later, in March 1961, all the accused were found not guilty.

Shortly afterwards both the ANC and the PAC were banned and a state of emergency was declared.

During the emergency about 1 800 political activists including Mandela were detained.

It was after this that Mandela's "Black Pimpernel" days started. He went underground and travelled secretly around the country organising a strike to coincide with South Africa becoming a republic on May 31 1961.

It was then that it was decided to form a military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe with Mandela becoming its first commander.

Early in 1962 he was smuggled across the border and on May 11 he attended the Pan African Freedom Movement conference in Addis Ababa. During this trip he also had guerrilla training in Algeria and met opposition leaders in Britain.

On August 5 1962 he was captured near Howick in Natal and in November he was sentenced to five years for incitement and illegally leaving the country.

While he was in prison the police raided the ANC's underground headquarters at Rivonia and found Mandela's diary of his African tour and copies of a draft memorandum, "Operation Mayibuye", outlining a strategy for guerrilla struggle.

On June 12 1964 all eight accused ANC leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of sabotage, conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution and assisting an armed revolution of South Africa by foreign troops.

The following night Mandela was taken to Robben Island where he was held until April 1982 when he was transferred to Pollsmoor prison.

By the time he turned 70 in 1988 international pressure was building up to have him released as he had by then become the world's best-known political prisoner.

After being treated for tuberculosis in a Cape Town clinic in 1988 he was trans-

...ily office hours on 5

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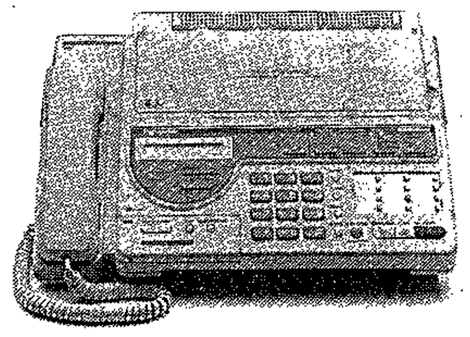

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INVESTMENT INDICATORS

December 6 — 12
From Peter George

JINGLE BONDS, JINGLE BONDS JINGLE ALL THE WAY

Oh what fun it is to ride on Stal's inflation slay

"The truth will set you free." — John ch 8 v 32.

★ **If it takes a "Stalsjacket" and a padded cell to stop monetary madness and economic self-mutilation, so be it.**
— Business Day

★ **Within 18 months of the New Zealand Central Bank becoming independent, inflation was down to 1%.**
— The Economist

★ **Minister of Finance, Derek Keyes, confounds critics with a budget deficit way below expectations.**

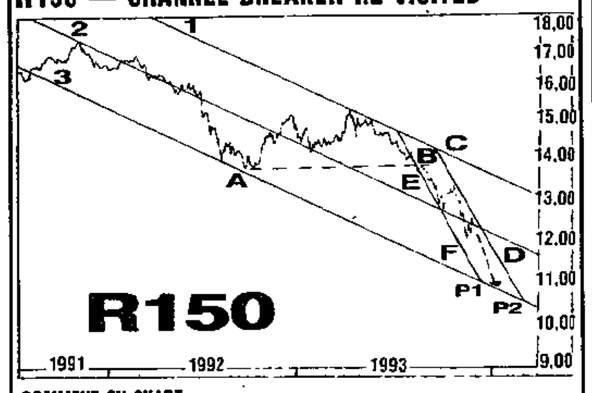
★ **The equity market and particularly the bond market, have already been powerfully affected by foreign buying.**
— Rob Lee, Board of Executors

★ **Effective economic and political management could conceivably produce "the problem" of excessive capital inflows rather than outflows within a relatively short period.**
— Rob Lee, Board of Executors

COMMENT:
Inflation and permanently unbalanced budgets are a theft and a fraud on the body politic. The British Government is now aiming to eliminate all fresh public borrowing by the year 2000. South Africa should aim to do the same. It is amazing how quickly progress can be made when men of integrity take the helm.
Inflation and the printing of money only result when politicians and economists are too cowardly or too dishonest to tell their people the truth. Expectations and aspirations are no excuse. In real terms "I want" never gets.

NB: A strong currency is good for a Bond market. It is interesting to note that the Commercial Rand has just given a major long-term buy signal at 3,3750. The 40 day moving average has conclusively broken down below the 100 day. An imminent move to 320 can be expected. The Bond market continues to reflect growing foreign confidence that the new South Africa will be run with financial integrity.

R150 — CHANNEL BREAKER RE-VISITED



COMMENT ON CHART
The measured move across neck line AB gives a downside count to 10,9%, with a further extension to 10,4%, being points P1 and P2. Since our earlier chart on 15 November, the new channel defined by lines CD and EF has begun to form. The rate could reach lower channel 3 at point P2 by the end of February 1994. It would then be 10,4%. There is a very big **down move** in the offing. A test of the previous low of 12,08% is imminent.

"IN THE MONEY OPTIONS" — STRATEGY MODIFICATION
The most profitable way to have benefited from booming bond markets, rising Gold, and a **strengthening Commercial Rand** has been through the purchase of deep "in the money" options on Long Term Government Bonds. We now suggest a modified strategy for existing investors wishing to add to their positions or ensure that they participate to the full extent of the run to 10,5%. These new options are also available as **Syndicators** or shared options.
The new strategy is set out below the list of prices.

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Benefit from Fin Rand appreciation as gold resumes its long-term upward trend and political developments ease the way for foreign investment. Earn a double whammy. Outlay 3 375 pounds for one option. Expect 25 000 pounds back 4 months down the line.

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For R2 000 minimum per person you can buy a **small stake** in a **big option.** This is much safer than trying to go it alone. Each big option is on R1-million nominal value. **You can make up to 500% on a March 15 extender if the rate moves down to 10,5%.**

Yesterday's midday rates were **12,23% (R150)** and **12,44% (R153).**
NB: Our next objective is 11% for the R150 and 11,20% for the R153.

NOVEMBER CLOSE OUT
The average cost of these options was R8 500.
The average gross realisation per option sold on November 4 was R60 250.

STRIKE	INTRINSIC VALUE	PROJECTED VALUE	PRICE	EXPIRY
14%	R97 700	R212 000	N/A	Feb'94 expiry (R150)
14%	R97 700	R212 000	N/A	May'94 expiry (")
14%	R103 000	R245 000	N/A	May'94 expiry (R153)
14%	R103 000	R245 000	N/A	Aug'94 expiry (")
13,75%	R87 700	R230 000	N/A	Aug'94 expiry (R153)
13,50%	R71 900	R215 000	N/A	Aug'94 expiry (")
13,25%	R55 700	R203 000	N/A	Aug'94 expiry (")
12%	—	R114 000	N/A	March 'Extender' (R153) Feb Fixer

Wiese now in control of Boland Bank

ARG 9/12/93

TOM HOOD, Business Editor

THE INDEPENDENCE of Boland Bank has been secured against takeover bids by marauders.

This is the thinking of bank executives and retailing chief Christo Wiese, who has emerged as the controlling shareholder of Boland Bank after a third of its share capital changed hands for R86 million on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday.

The bank maintains the view that there is a place for niche banks and that the alliance with Mr Wiese as a dominant shareholder will safeguard it from being absorbed by bigger groups.

Mr Wiese, chairman of Pepkor Group and a director of the bank, previously owned 20 percent of the bank's shares and market speculation is that be bought many of the 8 million traded yesterday.

More than 4,6 million ordinary shares worth R43 million were sold for R9,20 a share, up 20c on the day. Another 4,5 million preference shares worth R43 million were sold at R9,60 each.

Mr Wiese said he wooudl make a full statement later today about his motivation.

His stake in the Paarl-based bank is believed to exceed the combined 32 percent of the shares held by Sanlam, Rembrandt and Absa.

Sanlam was previously the largest single shareholder, with about 11,3 percent.

Bankers see his controlling shareholding as a powerful safeguard against a new takeover bid for the medium-sized bank.

Amalgamated Banks of South Africa, under its previous management, was earlier thwarted in attempting a takeover.

A bid by The Board of Executors was sunk a year ago when Boland's major shareholders got together and fought off the BOE.

Earlier, Mr Wiese said he was not seeking control of Boland. The bank had lacked a "directional shareholder", but he had no firm plans to influence the running of it.

At the latest count, Rembrandt held 10 percent of the shares, Absa 9,7 percent, Momentum 9,3 percent, Sechold 7 percent and the Mineworkers Pension fund 3 prcent.

The bank's interim results last month disclosed total income of R121 million, up from R104 million, for the half-year to September.

Net profit jumped from R10 million to R16 million before the payment of R4,7 million in preference dividends.

The ordinady dividend was raised to 25c from 23c, while a 56c total was paid out last year.



A TRADE agreement has been reached between Louisa Kotze, left, owner of De Hoop Brickfields, and Mike Ingram, director of Corobrik Western Cape, to boost De Hoop's sales in the Cape. Corobrik's sales network will market products from De Hoop, which claims to be the only brickfield in the Western Cape able to produce natural red clay bricks. Its products have been used in Cape Town's St George's Mall, the V & A Waterfront and the new President Hotel in Sea Point, as well as in Somerset Mall. De Hoop was established in 1928 and the family business is run by Mrs Kotze and her husband George.

Swedish drug firm in joint venture

ARG 9/12/93

Business Staff

PHARMACIA has become the first Swedish pharmaceutical company to invest in South Africa.

The group has set up a joint venture with Adcock Ingram — Pharmacia Healthcare — with an estimated turnover of R41 million.

Adcock has distributed Pharmacia's products on an agency basis for the past 25 years.

The venture will run until September, 1999 and

Rembrandt Group beats market's expectations

ARG 9/12/93

MARC HASENFUSS
Business Staff

THE Rembrandt Group beat market expectations to post a solid 17 percent increase in earnings in the half year ended September.

The interim results were accompanied by the traditional silence on group and divisional performance.

In the absence of commentary, it

from associate companies to R118 million bolstered net income from normal business operations to R531 million.

This translated into earnings a share of 101,70c (previously 87,20c) for the interim period. As announced in August, an interim dividend of 17,04c a share and a special dividend of 14,52c a share was declared. Divi-

were paid out October

US funds drive gold through $380 barrier

ARG 9/12/93

☐ Banks unlikely to sell reserves

The Argus Correspondent

LONDON. — Gold has soared through a key resistance level of $380 an ounce as large United States funds decided to drive precious metals higher, dealers said.

The catalyst was silver, dealers said, and as the price surged through a key chart point of $5 an ounce, fund money poured into the market.

Gold stocks followed suit in Europe and the US with some South African counters jumping by 5 percent.

Swiss and German gold dealers said physical demand from European and Far Eastern jewellers and hoarders had waned considerably when gold prices recently rose above $370. Purchases from the Italian jewellery industry, the biggest in the world, was particularly slack, they said.

"Yet the buying power of the funds is presently the most critical factor in the market," said George Milling-Stanley, a first vice-president at Lehman Brothers. "They were aiming at penetrating $380 and succeeded," he said.

Moreover, some European gold banks had lost market share to US firms, he said. Thus sizeable amounts of gold were still being shipped from the US to the Far East.

Mr Milling Stanley, who was attending a conference on central banking, said central banks were unlikely to take advantage of the gold rally and sell any of their reserves.

He and Robert Guy, a director at N M Rothschilds & Sons, said central banks were lending gold to the market, writing options and swapping the metal for foreign exchange. Yet they were generally leaving their reserves unchanged. Canada was one of the few exceptions in recent months and so far this year had sold 109 tons.

At the same conference, Federal Reserve Governor Wayne Angell suggested that central banks should "target gold" as an indicator of inflationary expectations.

He refused to comment on views of other Federal governors, but intimated that the Fed and other central banks should consider tightening money if gold surged.

Investors would then be encouraged to believe that inflation and sound currencies were here to stay, he said. In those circumstances there would not be any point in holding gold, he said.

Mr Angell refused to comment on his voting intentions this month on a Fed discount rate hike. Yet he said that he consistently voted against reductions below 4 percent. He hinted strongly that a rate of 3 percent was too low.

"I don't know if inflationary pressures are building up (in the US)," he said, "I just have to worry about it."

Shareholders slam Decor management at AGM

STEPHEN CRANSTON

JOHANNESBURG. — At a heated AGM, minority shareholders in Decor Investment Holdings voiced their disillusion with the management of chairman and majority shareholder Charles Graham.

But Mr Graham and other directors stopped an attempt by minorities to choose their own representative on the board.

Issy Goldberg, the champion of minorities, who represented holders of 20 percent of the share capital, said shareholders' funds had fallen from R5,5 million to R1,043 million. Every attempt Mr Graham had made to diversify had failed.

Geis, it had lost goodwill and custom.

Its problems were aggravated by the introduction in Britain of quality control laws making retailers legally liable for defective products.

A shipload of three containers to Texas Homecare, a British furniture chain, was rejected because quality was so poor.

The factory tried to diversify into case goods, but quality problems and lack of productivity ensured that Decor never made money from this.

Mr Graham said that as Decor had reverted to its core business, it had a chance to return to acceptable profitability in the near future, a point Mr Goldberg accepted with some reservation.

RECOMMENDED BUYS
Those of you with Feb 14%'s now worth over R100 000 each, should consider taking a March 31st, strike 12% "ENDER," on the R153, so that your Feb contract can be sold when the rate falls below 11,5%. The "ENDER" will then enable you to take in the full move to 10,5% whilst banking a major part of your profit on the original contract.

Those of you with May and August 14's showing substantial profits can afford a modified Feb "FLYER", but extending to the END of February. This market is moving quicker than anticipated and warrants a change of strategy for those making substantial profits. They are justified in adopting a more aggressive approach. Ask us to explain. The same would apply to new clients but for them we would recommend the more cautious March 31 "ENDER" giving extra time.

To find out how this can be done, telephone or arrange an appointment:
Peter George, BA (Hons) Oxon (PPE) MBA (UCT)
CONSULTING ECONOMIST at (021) 761 4911

Pharmacia was formed out of a merger of the Swedish-based Kabi Pharmacia and the Italian Farmitalia.

It is currently 53 percent-owned by the Swedish government, but it will be privatised next year.

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sume that the mainstay tobacco operation put in another satisfactory performance. The results also indicate a stronger showing from associate companies.

Directors, however, did report that group turnover moved up 10 percent to R2,2 billion in the period under review.

Rembrandt's operating income came in 7,7 percent higher at R532,5 million. This was supplemented by a 10 percent increase in dividend income to R143 million — pushing net income before interest up 8 percent to R666 million.

A drop in interest paid to R24 million, a reduction in the tax rate and a 16 percent jump in the contribution

brandt acquired a 15 percent partnership interest in the cellular telephone network group Vodacom. The group's investment for the current financial year will be about R41 million.

The group also invested another R28,3 million in the Lenco Group.

Rembrandt's balance sheet has also been strengthened. Interest bearing debt totals R354 million — down 37 percent from last year's R562 million. Gearing remains negligible.

The group also has ample cash resources of close to R590 million.

Directors made no forecasts for the second half of the year — but pointed out that income did not necessarily accrue evenly throughout the year.

tunity to sell its timber factory in Bophuthatswana to its divisional managing director Bugs Berland for R650 000 in mid-1991.

The division subsequently lost R3,5 million before being sold earlier this year.

Mr Graham said he thought it was in the best interests of shareholders to get the timber division right.

The factory was expected to be eligible for the export incentive scheme (Geis), but Graham said that because of incompetence at the factory when Mr Berland was managing director, the operation did not receive full Geis until December, 1991.

By the time Decor was granted full

Adonis Knitwear

ADONIS Knitwear, which manufactures and markets Dino Milano, Pierre Cradin and Lyle & Scott products locally, showed a R52 000 pre-tax loss (previously R280 000 profit) in the year ended September. The group reported a disturbing R291 000 trading loss — well off last year's R73 000 trading profit. Other income was slashed by 40 percent to R271 000 in the period under review. Tax losses of R83 000 realised net income of R31 000 at bottom line. However, an extraordinary write off almost R1,5 million (tax due on film investments) resulted in a net loss of R1,4 million for the year.

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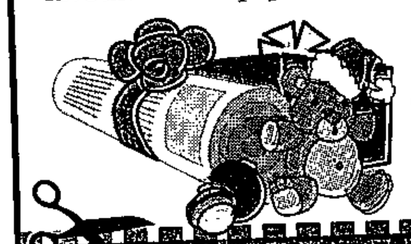

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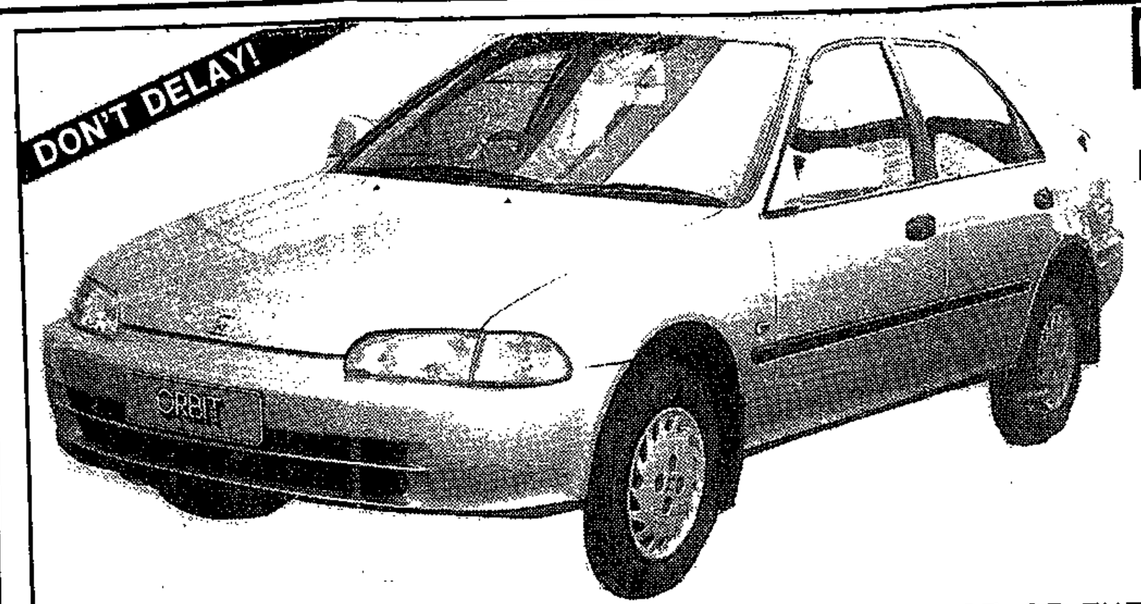

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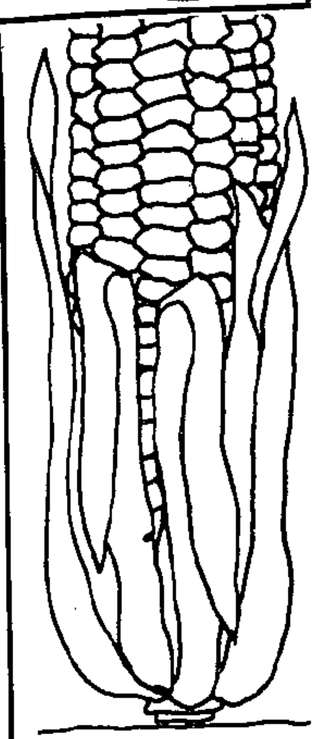

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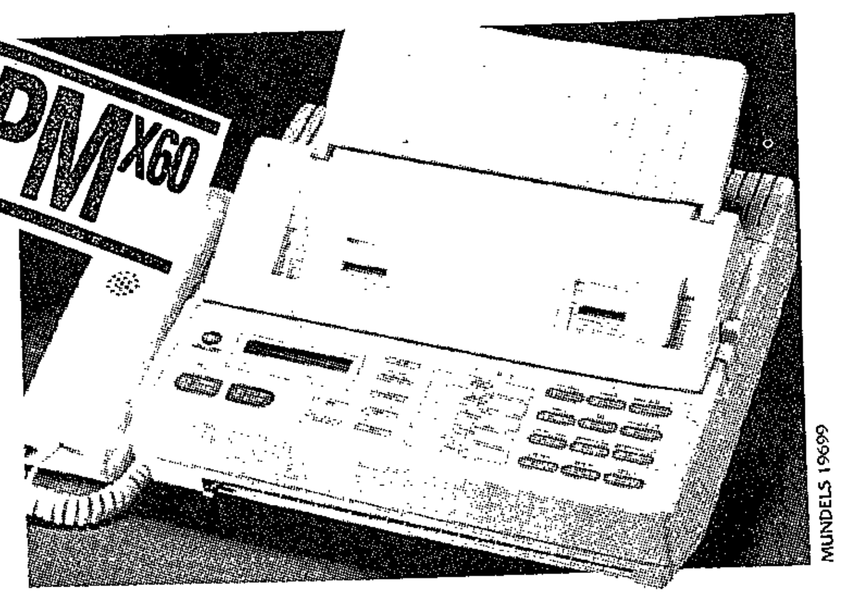

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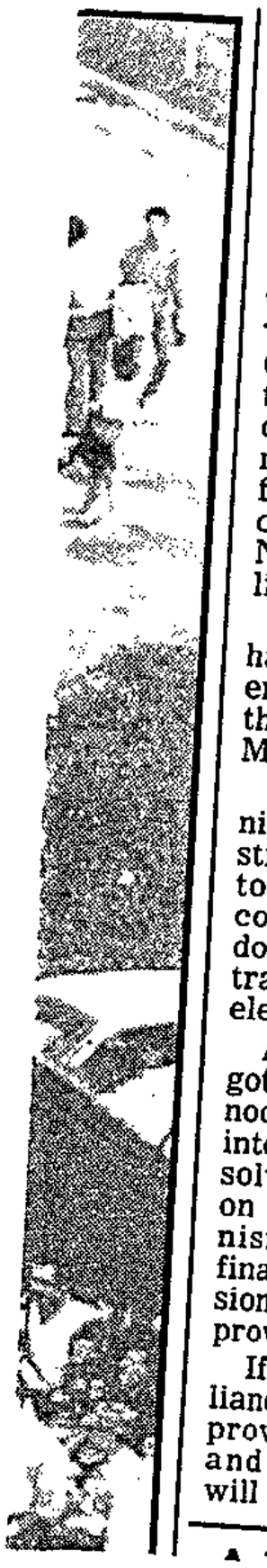


Gap with Alliance may be narrowing

B04A ARGT 4/12/93

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

CRITICAL differences between the government and the Freedom Alliance appear to be narrowing in the countdown to the final rounds of debate on the constitution next week in the Negotiating Council and in parliament.

But the Alliance leaders will have to be consulted this weekend and further talks between the two sides are expected on Monday.

A settlement hinges on technical amendments to the constitution which are acceptable to all sides, as well as on a commitment from the Freedom Alliance to participate in transitional structures and the election.

Alliance and government negotiators met yesterday afternoon and talks continued late into the evening in a bid to resolve outstanding differences on deadlock-breaking mechanisms in the writing of the final constitution, and on provisions governing the drafting of provincial constitutions.

If there is agreement, the Alliance leaders will have to approve it during the weekend and suggested amendments will then have to be put to the other parties in the talks process.

The draft interim constitution, delivered to parliament yesterday, will be debated by parliament's joint committee on constitutional affairs on Monday morning, as well as by the multi-party Negotiating Council — meeting for the first time in Cape Town — on Monday night.

Last night, talks delegation leaders, constitutional development minister Roelf Meyer and Bophuthatswana foreign minister Rowan Cronje, emphasised the commitment on both sides to negotiate a mutually acceptable settlement.

However, Mr Meyer repeatedly stressed that changes to accommodate the Freedom Alliance must be coupled with a commitment from the Alliance to participate in the interim process and the election.

One outstanding issue not addressed in yesterday's talks was the Alliance's demand for a double, rather than a single, ballot — which it insisted was fundamental to a democratic choice at regional level.

Mr Meyer said the government had given notice that it would not change its mind on this, and suggested that the Alliance approach the ANC about it.

Banda's party claims it still controls Malawi

ARG 6/12/93

Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE. — President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party government says it remains in full control of the country.

Its claims come after its armed wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, was routed in bloody clashes with the army over the weekend in which at least 22 died and more than 100 were wounded.

But military sources said there was a possibility of the army seizing power in what would be this country's first coup since independence in 1964.

The sources said elements in the army were unhappy that the MCP had remained in power after being overwhelmingly defeated last June in a referendum on whether the country should switch from one-party rule to multiparty democracy.

The dissident elements were also said to be dissatisfied with the army commander, General Isaac Yohane.

A list of grievances is reported to have been handed by dissident soldiers to the government.

General Yohane yesterday reiterated his loyalty to the government, which claimed still to have the backing of most of the armed forces.

The government rejected demands by opposition party members in the National Consultative Council (NCC) that it resign and that General Yohane be dismissed for failing to control his troops in the weekend violence.

The NCC was set up to give the opposition a role in government after the June referendum but the real power is in the hands of the three-man Presidential Council that was set up by the ruling party to take over President Banda's functions after he went to South Africa for brain surgery in October.

President Banda is believed to have been sidelined. The two most powerful figures in the country now are Presidential Council chairman Gwanda Chakuamba and Minister of State John Tembo, who is also a member of the council. It is not clear which of them wields more power.

After riding high immediately after the October referendum, the opposition parties have lost the initiative through squabbling and disunity.

Zimbabwe, SA friends again

ARG 6/12/93 (304A)

ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — While formal diplomatic relations have yet to be restored, the meeting between the South African and Zimbabwean foreign ministers means that Pretoria and Harare are friends again.

Pik Botha and Nathan Shamuyarira are pictured on the front page of the main newspaper, The Herald, with headlines proclaiming a new chapter in relations between the two countries.

The editor, Tommy Sithole, went to Messina to cover the meeting.

Diplomatic ties were broken by Zimbabwe soon after independence in 1980 and in the decade that followed there were no harsher critics of South Africa than President Robert Mugabe and Mr Shamuyarira.

Mr Shamuyarira said yesterday thatZimbabwe was vigorously pursuing a policy of good neighbourliness.

Mr Botha said he was glad the bitterness was over and he hoped the meeting would lead to greater unity in the whole of Southern Africa.

(304A). ARLG 9/12/93

☐ F W in historic meeting with Queen

From apartheid to the Palace . . .

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service and The Independent

LONDON. — President De Klerk has met the Queen, the first South African leader to do so since Hendrik Verwoerd met her in 1961 just before South Africa became a republic and left the Commonwealth.

At that time South Africa was heading down the apartheid cul-de-sac and Dr Verwoerd told the Commonwealth prime ministers that in the light of other members' threat to leave the organisation if South Africa pursued apartheid, he would withdraw its application to stay in the organisation.

Mr De Klerk had been expected to discuss with the Queen South Africa's return to the Commonwealth but apparently did not do so.

The Queen has already met Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, and yesterday's meeting with Mr De Klerk is a sign that South Africa has been re-admitted to the international community.

The 15-minute audience was sandwiched between meetings with Labour leader John Smith and prime minister John Major.

Mr De Klerk, who is on his way to the Nobel Prize ceremony in Oslo tomorrow, arrived at Buckingham Palace in driving rain. He said afterwards that the meeting had been "very constructive, warm and friendly". The Queen, smiling broadly, received him and his wife, Marike, "with grace, great friendship and warmth".

"I enjoyed meeting her. It was a very positive discussion," he said.

The Queen had been "deeply interested in Africa and specifically in the developments in our country".

After the meeting, Mr and Mrs De Klerk chatted with the Queen on the steps outside the Palace's main entrance before leaving to see Mr Major.

Mr De Klerk said the issue of South Africa's possible return to the Commonwealth was not discussed during the Royal audience, nor with Mr Major, although the subject had come up in his earlier meeting with Mr Smith.

"We believe that South Africa, after the election and now that it is returning fully to the international fold, will look at all options, and the major test must be what is in the best interests of all South Africans," he said.

"I have an open mind with regard to the Commonwealth."

A combination of bad weather, inordinately tight scheduling and London rush-hour traffic delayed Mr De Klerk's arrival at No 10 Downing street by nearly 10 minutes.

He was warmly greeted by Mr Major, and the two leaders spent nearly an hour discussing a wide range of issues.

Afterwards the South African leader said: "I used the opportunity to inform him in detail about exactly where we stand, of the stumbling blocks we still have to overcome, the problems with regard to some significant parties not having decided to participate as yet and in general about the months ahead."

The discussion also covered the role of the international community in the April election, including the question of observers and the need for co-ordination."

After a private dinner last night, Mr De Klerk was due to leave early today for a series of high-level meetings in Scandinavia.



Flashback to 1961

THE South African prime minister, Dr H F Verwoerd (second from left) with other Commonwealth prime ministers at Buckingham Palace in March, 1961, the last time the Queen met a South African government leader.

Dr Verwoerd went to London to apply for South Africa to remain a commonwealth member although it was becoming a republic on May 31 — a decision taken in a referndum among whites in 1960.

Some days after their meeting, in a move that came as a severe blow to the Queen, Dr Verwoerd withdrew the application after resistance from other members.

The Queen is said to have retained a great interest in South Africa, which she toured for several months in 1947 with her parents, King George and Queen Elizabeth. On her 21st birthday that year she broadcast to the Commonwealth from Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

She met Nelson Mandela at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare in 1991.



GREETINGS: The Queen says goodbye to President F W De Klerk and his wife Marike after their visit to Buckingham Palace yesterday.



OLD PALS ACT: British prime minister John Major greets President F W De Klerk yesterday.

Election pitfalls

Experts warn electorate of hazards at polling booths

ARG 11/12/93 (3024A)

With the Transitional Executive Council in place, the next major step in South Africa's transition to nonracial democratic rule is the election on April 27. Experts warn that the path to the election will be perilous — and riddled with pitfalls for South Africans of all races.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

WHILE expectations are rising for a smooth transition to democratic rule, researchers have warned that early danger signals need to be watched.

These include a possible build-up of tensions through further political violence and intimidation, threats to disrupt voting and disillusionment of voters over a new government's inability to "deliver the goods" on election promises made.

The analysts warn that once the result of the election is known and an interim/transitional government has been formed, South Africa could enter one of the most dangerous periods in its history.

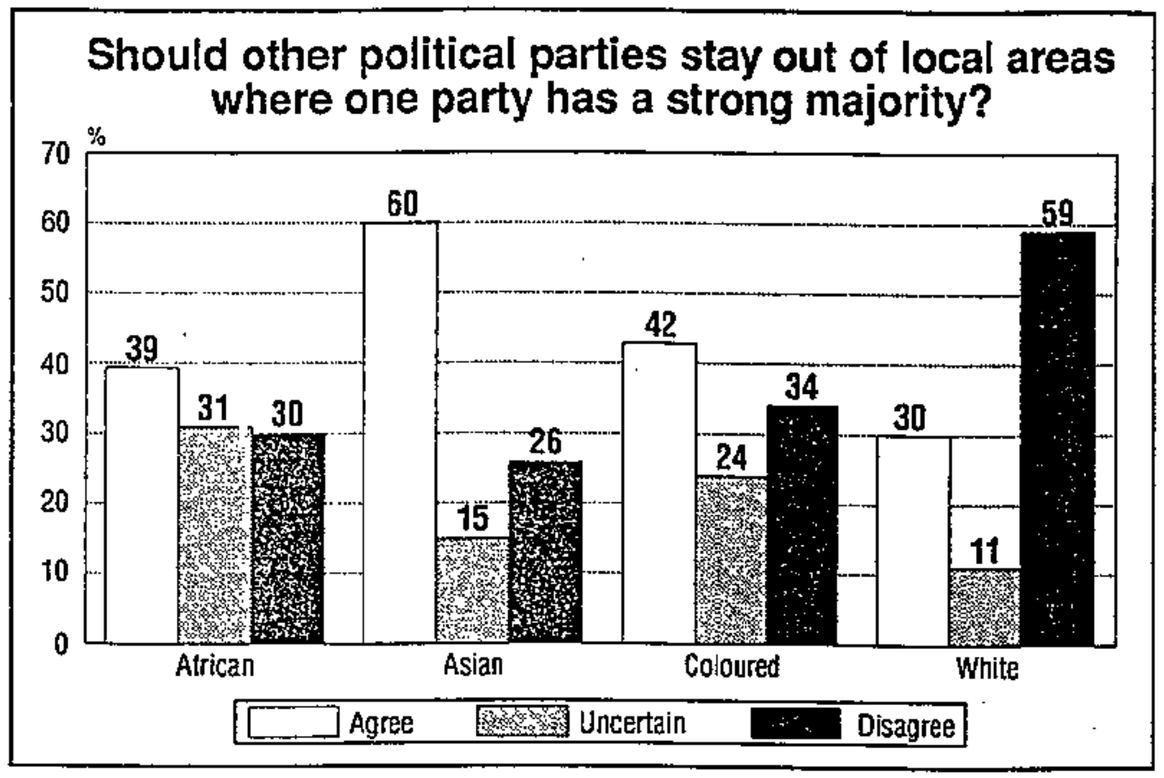
Factors that then could increase the likelihood of political violence already should be receiving attention now, they say.

Findings in a research report emphasise the importance of ensuring the legitimacy of the election results, as perceived by all South Africans and the world.

"Every deed of coercion, intimidation and violence between now and the result of such an election will place yet another question-mark over the result and decrease its legitimacy," say the researchers.

A detailed analysis of election danger signals and recommended remedies is contained in a report made available to Weekend Argus by the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria. The research was conducted by Dr Chris de Kock and Dr Charl Schutte of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

They warn that violence or threats of violence against polling stations can render an entire election invalid. Such action can deter prospective voters from casting their votes, cause chaos at polling booths and can become a catalyst for escalating violence.



NO-GO AREAS: Some of the high levels of political intolerance in South Africa are reflected in this opinion poll result.

Guidelines recommended to safeguard the election process include:

- A code for political behaviour should be strictly enforced;
- Political parties should maintain maximum control over their followers;
- A voter-literacy programme should be launched urgently;
- Crowd processions to the polls must be disallowed;
- Neutral areas should be established around polling booths; and
- Different armed formations and private armies must be successfully integrated and put under multiparty control before the election.

In a key recommendation, the researchers propose that a national congress be held soon on election expectations against the background of South Africa's realities. This should be followed by a national information campaign. The initiative should involve academics, researchers and senior politicians across the political spectrum.

The researchers recommend that politicians should make every effort not to arouse voters' expectations, but rather to dampen them and shift attention from material to idealistic goals.

A recent analysis of 16 surveys conducted among black people since 1990 shows that most of the political violence plaguing SA is due mainly to party-political competition and/or power struggles.

The analysts propose the code for political behaviour as laid down by the National Peace Accord should be revised. All political parties involved in the multiparty negotiations should commit themselves to the revised code. Any transgression of the code by any party or its followers should be severely punished.

Another danger signal is identified as a close relation between political power and territory in some parts of the country. This has its origin partly in the strategy of ungovernability followed by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the mid-1980s.

The high level of illiteracy among potential voters also is seen as a danger signal. A large proportion of new voters will be illiterate and many have never voted before.

The researchers warn that on election day large numbers of aspirant voters may arrive at polling stations — in many instances after long distances on foot or expensive journeys by vehicle through dangerous areas — only to hear for the first time that they cannot vote if they have not been registered as voters or if they don't have valid ID documents or if they are not at least 18 years old.

Mistunderstandings and friction also can ensue merely as a result of poor communication between the prospective voters and voting officials.

During a recent countrywide survey, it was found, for example, that 43 percent of more than 8 000 respondents thought it was not necessary to register as a voter, or were not sure about the matter.

Other danger signals — and proposed remedies — include:

- A weakening of central social control could result in more violence by radical and criminal elements. Political leaders are urged to help restore confidence in the agents of central social control, like the security forces, as soon as possible;
- Increases in levels of violence during the run-up to the election will tend to increase public fears and cause people to arm and organise themselves against attack. To counteract such a build-up, a system of rumour-control centres, linked to local dispute resolution committees, should be established;
- Crowd dynamics at large gatherings could become dangerous as election fever mounts. Politicians should help to control unruly crowds by toning down emotional and irrational tirades against their opponents;
- The typical crowded "bazaar atmosphere" at polling stations in the past caused some friction and should be avoided this time. A neutral area of about 500 metres surrounding polling booths should be allowed in which voters can make up their minds with a sense of freedom; and
- Because all political parties will not accept the result of the coming election, as many of the existing armed formations as possible need to be integrated before the election. This would help to avoid serious and new dimensions of violence should any of the parties question the election result.

Tough Ulundi talks for Freedom Alliance hawks

ARG 2/12/93 E04A

Political Staff

FREEDOM Alliance leaders and their negotiators gather in Ulundi today for a meeting expected to set the political climate for the next few months.

The alliance negotiators will arrive for the 2pm meeting fresh from a series of talks with government counterparts in which efforts have been made to close the gap between the organisations.

There have been indications from alliance sources that considerable progress has been made on key issues, but the success of these talks now depends on ratification by alliance leaders.

Although negotiators have been encouraged by progress in recent talks, they point out that in the past such progress has been dashed when certain leaders dug in their heels.

There is concern over the recent attitude of Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthtu Buthelezi and pessimism over the prospect of getting him aboard a settlement.

The alliance has rejected the negotiated interim constitution talks and said it would not contest an election without changes.

Given developments in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through parliament during the present sitting — now apparently due to run to December 22 — today's meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the alliance to join a political settlement.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that negotiating teams had almost reached agreement on the clause in the interim constitution on regional powers.

Another sub-committee was close to resolving differences on taxation powers.

A critical alliance demand is for a two-ballot votng system, with one vote for the national legislature and another for provincial parliaments. The exisiting agreement is for one ballot paper.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that he was "bullish" about progress in bilateral talks with the government.

This follows speculation of divisions in the alliance and the extraordinary announcement by the Afrikaner Volksfront, an alliance member, that it would form an alterantive government for Afrikaners.

'Boerestaat' is out, says ANC

(BOA) ARG 8/12/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE African National Congress will listen to the Freedom Alliance, which it calls the "fascist alliance", but it will never agree to the creation of a Boerestaat, says the movement's spokesman on sport, Steve Tshwete.

He told about 2 000 people at an ANC "people's forum" in Khayelitsha yesterday that the ANC had asked the right wing where it planned to have a volkstaat and what would happen to blacks in this area. Rightwing representatives did not give the ANC satisfactory answers.

"We told them they were dreaming if they thought we would give them a volkstaat because in so doing we would go back to apartheid. We are opposed to bantustans."

Mr Tshwete said the rightwing, which was supported by "black surrogates", was theatening the country with civil war.

"We will listen to whatever the Freedom Alliance — which we call the fascist alliance — has to say. We'll try to answer them — but we'll never give them a Boerestaat."

He said rightwingers had warned the ANC that they would fight.

"We are not warmongers. But if they want to fight, we'll crush them."

National executive commitee member Cheryl Carolus said education would get off to a chaotic start next year.

"We'll have elections only on April 27 and a new government by May. (President) De Klerk is doing a lot to ensure apartheid will stay with us even if Nelson Mandela is president."

Mr De Klerk was changing white schools to model C schools.

"You need money if you want to send your children to model C schools. Blacks don't have money, which means white schools will stay white."

Communist Party member Reggie September said it would be a historic day when Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Ms Carolus and Mr Tshwete marched up parliament's stairs.

But he warned that "putting our people into parliament will not put food into our stomachs".

DP warns it may vote against constitution

(30#A) ARG 2/12/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has warned that it might vote against the interim constitution when it is presented to parliament.

Upset by the acceptance of a government-ANC proposal watering down the deadlock-breaking mechanism in a constitutent assembly, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said last night his party might seriously consider voting against the interim constitution.

He said in terms of the accepted clause 73 of the interim constitution, a referendum could be held within two months after next year's April 27 elections, possibly leading to another election within a year.

ELECTION FACT FILE

VOTERS

The latest figures for registered voters in the newly demarcated Western Cape region are:

COLOURED.....1 288 500
WHITE.....662 300
BLACK.....404 000
INDIAN.....19 400

Loyalty to Cosatu: Workers' votes may go to ANC

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

WORKER loyalty to Cosatu could be decisive in delivering the coloured vote in the Western Cape to the ANC.

This is the opinion of Cosatu's former general secretary and ANC election candidate Jay Naidoo.

In a wide-ranging interview, he acknowledged that there were "problems" in winning the confidence of coloured voters, but "the important thing is that there is a tremendous loyalty to Cosatu because it has delivered the goods to people in the past and has advanced their cause".

Mr Naidoo said: "The fact that a number of Cosatu people have been nominated to the ANC election lists is part of the process of making people confident that the ANC will do the same (in fighting for their cause)."

Mr Naidoo, in the Western Cape for a series of ANC/Cosatu worker election rallies, said the alliance was assessing the expectations and demands of people to formulate appropriate government programmes.

"The expectations of the coloured people are similar to others who have been disadvantaged . . . and this will make them open to ideas and programmes to meet their expectations and deal with their fears."

It was significant that Cosatu had "one of the most organised machineries" in the region.

"As we begin to deal with the content of what a future government will be doing, we are making people more confident about its capacity to govern and that it is genuinely non-racial.

"This makes it easier to win the coloured vote."

Mr Naidoo also spelled out his vision of the ANC alliance broadening after the election into a "national partnership" geared to "repair the nation".

● See pages 5 and 13

Political Staff

THE battle is on for the coloured vote, with all parties claiming increasing support, but the National Party particularly confident it will do well.

Coloured voters, by far the biggest group in the Western Cape, are becoming the most courted in the election campaign in this region.

The ANC has claimed increasing coloured support while the Democratic Party aims at between 30 and 40 percent of this vote.

But, in spite of its apartheid past, it is the National Party which is most confident.

Gerald Morkel, Minister of the Budget and of Education in the House of Representatives, claims that the National Party will draw not less than 60 percent of this vote.

He estimated that the DP and the ANC might each get about 20 percent.

The latest figures show there are 1 288 500 coloured, 662 300 white, 404 000 black and 19 400 Indian registered voters in the newly-demarcated Western Cape region.

As a member of the NP's national information and organisation committee, Mr Morkel is closely involved in the planning of its election campaign. He defected to the NP from the Labour Party in 1991.

"We as a party have learned from our mistakes. We have scrapped apartheid and we have put it behind us.

"We have become a truly nonracial party and people of all race groups mix with ease within its ranks.

"Coloured people saw that even under the tricameral system a lot was done for them in education and housing and in pensions parity.

"Many of them now have the attitude of 'rather the devil we know'.

"There is also the factor of the cultural and religious background of the coloured people being so similar to that of the Afrikaner," Mr Morkel said.

Then there was the credibility of President De Klerk who was seen as a man who had never gone back on his word.

Mr Morkel said that there was also great interest in the NP among blacks but many could not openly indicate support for the party for fear of intimidation.

Along with other movements the party had launched a voter education programme. The priority was to convince people that the vote was secret.

Unike previous elections, next year there will not be a number on the ballot paper and the counterfoil.

To ensure fairness, parties will draw lots to decide on the order in which the party's name will appear in the ballot paper. Mr Morkel said unsophisticated voters had tended to support candidates appearing at the top of a ballot paper.

Referring to the NP's fight against the ANC, Mr Morkel said that many coloured people were apprehensive about issues such as the lack of control of young blacks.

Their undisciplined and sometimes violent behaviour, and their lack of response to calls on them by their leaders, were turning coloured people against the ANC. Black occupation of houses built for coloured people had also turned many toward the NP.

Support for the party was also growing among better-off coloured people who had since 1948 refused to vote in any system.

"In the Western Cape the ANC is in for the shock of its life," Mr Morkel said.

Coloured people saw the NP as the only party which could stand up to the ANC. The party's many years in power and its experience in government was another plus factor.

The ANC's association with the SA Communist Party was also being exploited by the NP — described as legitimate electioneering by Mr Morkel.

"Our people are deeply religious. You need not tell them about communists. They equate it with atheism."

He dismisses the chances of the DP.

"This party is seen as liberal 'haves' who have done little for the coloured people."

60 Coloured votes could be decisive, says Cosatu
Sowetan Mar 3/12/93

Judge Kriegler to chair new electoral body

Free and fair poll 'in interest of all'

Star 21/12/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town — If the Independent Electoral Commission believed the April 27 election was not free and fair, it would have no hesitation saying so, newly appointed IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said yesterday.

But he was confident the IEC would succeed in convincing all South Africans that it was in their best interests to have a free and fair poll.

"The alternative is unthinkable. It is too ghastly to contemplate ... It would be armed violence," Judge Kriegler said.

The IEC is charged with setting up the election, educating voters, monitoring the political campaigns and ensuring parties adhere to an electoral code of conduct. Afterwards, the IEC must also assess whether the election was free and fair.

Local and regional tribunals and an Electoral Court will assess and judge alleged breaches of the electoral code and impose sanctions. (20 of A)

Speaking to the media after the IEC's first meeting at the old President's Council chamber in Cape Town, he said the IEC would establish central and regional offices and seek to have the highest possible public profile.

While the IEC's budget had still to be finalised and certain further appointments were expected in the next few days, Mr Justice Kriegler expected it would be "all systems go in monitoring and education" by the end of next month.

All organisations willing and able to help in voter education would be welcomed, "but it would be unrealistic not to recognise that there are many organisations which have political rows to hoe and it is our statutory duty to ensure that it is properly done".

"I will recommend that we use a system of certified agencies."

The IEC would draw heavily on the skills and experience of Home Affairs election staff, but would ensure it was not merely "the old Department of the Interior dressed up as something else". It would ensure its staff complement was fully representative of the population.

Row over constitution adverts grows

Star 29/12/93

The brouhaha surrounding the Government's constitutional advertising campaign intensified yesterday with the Government saying it would step up the drive next month and the Conservative Party demanding it be terminated.

The campaign might eventually cost up to R21 million.

Constitutional Development and Communication Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said the Government would spend more money on a comprehensive second leg to the campaign from the middle of next month, using television, radio, newspapers, billboards, pamphlets and booklets.

CP broadcasting and information spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said the campaign favoured the National Party and should be discontinued.

Schoeman, speaking at a media briefing, said the National Party had had nothing to do with the drive. (301(4)(A))

It was a Government campaign, and the Government had the right and responsibility to inform the public about the constitution.

■ Political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said yesterday the campaign was unlikely to enlighten 17 million people who were voting for the first time.

"These people are politically illiterate in South African terms, and whether this method (of advertising) is the most fruitful or the best way in which to enlighten them is suspect," Kleynhans said. — Sapa, Pretoria Bureau.

AVF pulls out of PAC talks

Star 13/12/93

■ PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

The meeting between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), scheduled for Pretoria today, has been called off.

An AVF spokesman confirmed his organisation had pulled out of the meeting but said there was a possibility that discussions between the two organisations could take place at a later date.

"From our side, a meeting with the PAC at this stage will serve no purpose," he said. "We definitely won't meet this week."

It is understood the PAC, which is worried about the prospect of a civil war initiated by far-Right white farmers, had asked for the discussions.

Historic (304A)

The face-to-face meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and the AVF's General Constand Viljoen would have been an historic first gathering of the two organisations.

The AVF spokesman said his organisation considered such a meeting useful if the purpose was to discuss attacks on white farmers by the PAC's military wing, Apla.

However, it was believed the PAC wanted the discussions to be more wide-ranging, including constitutional issues and the AVF's demand for an ethnic Afrikaner state.

'88% of whites are in favour'

OFS is part of Afrikaner state – CP

Star 16/12/93

304A

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IN A SURVEY of whites in the Free State, a vast majority are opposed to being part of the new South Africa, party claims

Cape Town — In its most radical step yet, the Conservative Party has declared the Orange Free State part of an Afrikaner state and threatened to defend it with violence against the ANC and National Party.

The bizarre but chilling announcement yesterday followed a CP and Afrikaner Volksfront poll of 36 841 whites in the province which found that 88,63 percent would choose to live in a Afrikaner state.

OFS CP chairman Abrie Oosthuizen, the MP for Smithfield, said that in the light of this information, the provincial party council was now declaring the entire OFS part of the "Afrikaner Freedom State".

"The OFS will therefore not be part of the NP-ANC unitary state," he added in a statement.

If President de Klerk or Nelson Mandela wanted the OFS to be part of the "so-called new South Africa, they will will have to come and take it from Freestaters with violence", said Oosthuizen. "This places the onus of violence on the NP and ANC.

"In such an instance we will defend the Free State with violence," he said.

Asked by The Star whether the CP had the structures in place to defend the region, Oosthuizen said "yes", but declined to elaborate.

CP chief secretary Dr L Theron confirmed from Pretoria that the statement reflected the party's position.

It followed extensive surveys done by the AVF and CP.

But he said the right wing had made it clear it was not going to allow people to "lay claim to it (the OFS) without doing anything about it".

Defending the poll, and particularly the fact that it did not represent the sentiments of the black majority in the OFS, Oosthuizen said other factors such as history and land ownership had to be taken into account.

"We calculate that the Afrikaners in the OFS are the owners of most land in the province," he said. The 36 841 whites surveyed are 12 percent of whites in the province.

In towns or cities where a total poll could not be made, every fifth, 10th, 15th or 20th person in the telephone directory were approached.

While the survey appears to be highly unscientific and also open to question because it was conducted by political organisations, the CP action is by far its most radical step to date.

Govt ads 'not abuse of taxes'

Star 28/12/93

Criticism of a Government advertising campaign aimed at introducing the new negotiated constitution to South Africans has been rejected as "invalid" by Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman.

He was reacting to reports last week in which the Conservative Party called the campaign "an abuse of taxpayers' money in the interest of National Party propaganda" and "an exploitation of Christmas" (304-A)

Schoeman said yesterday the campaign had been launched as the level of knowledge about the new constitution was "still extremely limited" despite intensive media coverage of the constitutional reform process.

"This results in a certain level of fear and uncertainty among South Africans regarding the changes taking place in the country. The Government regards it as its legitimate duty and responsibility to inform the population about constitutional changes and related legislation."

He said the advertising campaign consisted of two phases: a short introduction immediately after approval by Parliament, followed from early next month by a more comprehensive, participatory phase.

"Care was taken throughout to ensure that the campaign will be managed on a strictly apolitical and objective basis.

"No party-political interpretations of the constitution are reflected in this campaign."

He said the assumption that the campaign was designed to exploit Christmas as a Christian festival and to secularise it was incorrect.

"Neither printed nor electronic advertisements carry any reference to Christmas as such. Any such reference would have been irresponsible as not all South Africans adhere to the Christian faith."

In addition to this campaign, the SA Communication Service planned a multifaceted and wide-ranging liaison campaign.

— Sapa.

FA demands unhelpful, says Govt

Star 15/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Government has hit out at the Freedom Alliance's new set of demands for changes to the Interim Constitution, saying they are "clearly unhelpful" and not conducive to reaching a settlement.

However, it kept the door open by agreeing to further meetings to explore "possible means" which would bring the FA parties on board the political settlement.

In a statement issued last night, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer expressed disappointment at the FA adopting a position that would require amendments to the Interim Constitution "going far beyond the positions that the parties have been able to negotiate during their bilateral discussions" (304A)

The Government was "concerned that new demands of this nature have the capacity to threaten the substantial progress that has been made . . ."

In talks with the FA, Meyer rejected the FA leaders' submission that the new issues were the result of last-minute changes to the Interim Constitution, saying some of the points did not even relate to the constitution while others "have been under discussion for a considerable time".

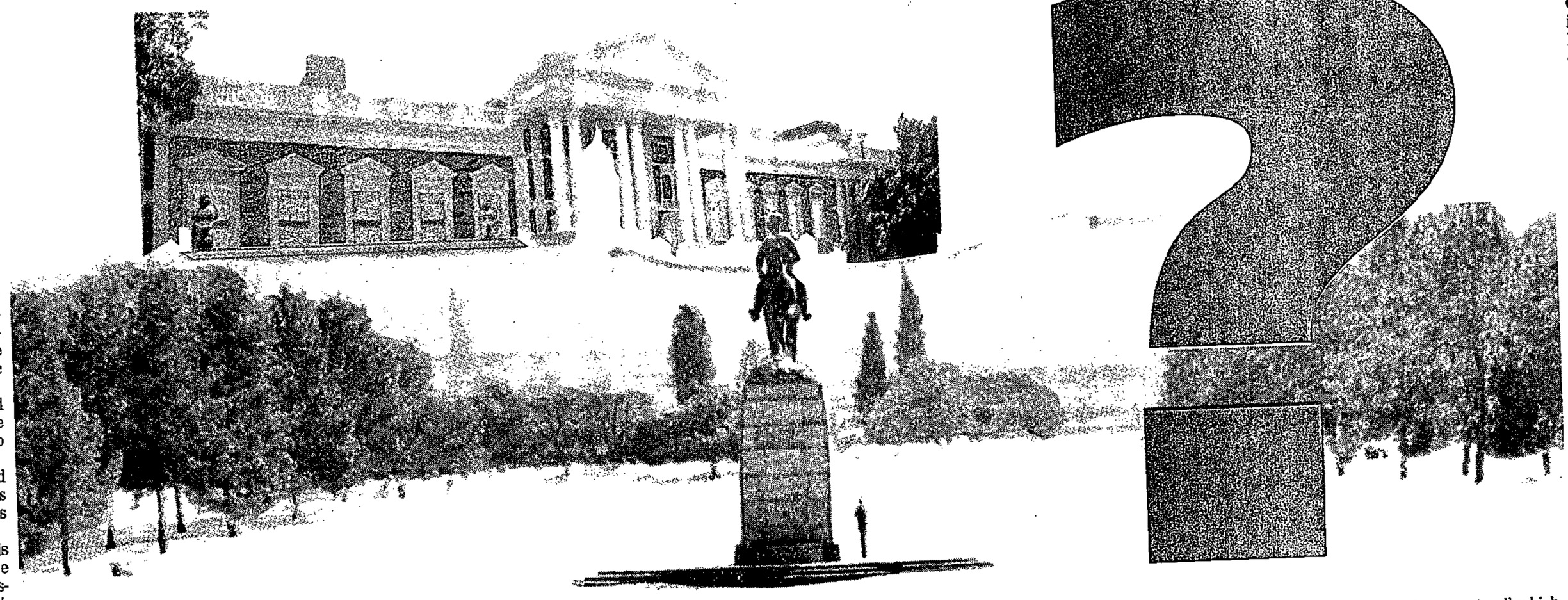
He also referred to the FA's continued refusal to commit itself to take part in preparations for the April 27 election and the election itself if agreement were reached, saying it was regarded as "unreasonable".

Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party MP for Jeppe Hennie Bekker yesterday submitted to the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional matters a range of proposed IFP changes to the 223-page Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill.

Roelf Meyer had only to hint at one capital for the new South Africa, and Pretoria and Cape Town got more than the twitches. And then there's Midrand as the third player, write ***Shirley Woodgate*** *and* ***Norman Chandler***

The fight is on to be the sole capital

Star 15/12/93



Alarm bells rang in two major South African cities last week after Roelf Meyer hinted at the scrapping of the present dual capital system in favour of a single seat of government.

The Constitutional Development Minister said consolidation would be necessary when Parliament started round-the-year sittings as recommended in the Interim Constitution Bill.

For the time being, it has been agreed that Parliament will sit in Cape Town or any other city which the Speaker believes necessary for the duration of the Interim Constitution, which will be in force for five years after the election.

There is a strong likelihood that, for practical reasons, Cape Town will eventually lose out to Pretoria.

The Mother City anticipated this threat more than two years ago when it first defended its right to retain Parliament.

Pretoria, on the other hand, is fighting for Parliament to be based permanently in the Transvaal, arguing that it is economical and practical to unite the legislative and executive arms of government in one city.

Waiting in the wings is a third player, Midrand.

There has been speculation for several years that it is ideally situated for the a legislative building, possibly near the SA Development Bank off the Pretoria-Johannesburg highway.

It seems inevitable that the new South Africa will have one capital city.

If Cape Town wins, Pretoria's loss in rates and taxes alone from official State buildings could touch R40 million annually, ignoring the devastating loss of civil servants who will relocate, said a spokesman.

A vote for Pretoria would have a snowball effect, attracting more residents, boosting business and industry and, ultimately, the council coffers.

The same scenario applies to Cape Town, and property experts believe the loss of capital status could dramatically affect prices.

Pretoria claims it has the infrastructure, and the rapidly increasing number of embassies opening offices in the city is one indication of trust and faith in its future political role.

Pretoria City Council has embarked on a major public relations and advertising campaign to market the city as the one which should remain capital of South Africa.

The decision by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to have its headquarters in the city was widely welcomed by the council and business leaders.

Another factor apparently in Pretoria's favour is that its infrastructure (transport links, business, etc) is closely linked with that of Johannesburg and the PWV. (304A)

Easy access to the city by air, rail and road is a feature.

Jan Smuts, Wonderboom, Lanseria and Grand Central airports serve the city (with the possibility of Waterkloof Air Force Base being privatised).

Sensing battle, Cape Town City Council agreed in February last year to co-ordinate efforts and lobby to retain its role as legislative capital, sharing No 1 status with Pretoria as the country's administrative hub in a post-apartheid South Africa.

This decision resulted in the council commissioning an in-depth document, "Project Geneva", to halt what management committee chairman Clive Keegan termed "a loss with devastating financial and international consequences".

The council's aim is to stop Cape Town being marginalised and sinking into "domestic provincialism".

It hopes to promote the city as an "academic, cultural, intellectual and diplomatic capital metropolis of southern Africa".

The council points to the Mother City's historic claim as the country's oldest seat of government, dating back to 1834.

Points in favour of keeping Parliament in the shadow of Table Mountain, the report argues, range from the western Cape being the fastest growing metropolitan economy in southern Africa to the fact that the region has vast technological potential.

Mindful of a recent poll which found Cape Town top of the five most desirable diplomatic postings in the world, Keegan said the loss of status alone would be immense.

"The financial implications of rebuilding Parliament elsewhere after nearly 85 years are immeasurable, particularly when considering the decreasing cost of shuttling staff between Pretoria and Cape Town, thanks to improved modern communication technology.

"The removal of the age old institution has serious historic and symbolic implicatons for Cape Town, which is known for its tolerance, the place where Mandela was released from prison, and, unlike Pretoria, has never been labelled the "apartheid capital of South Africa", Keegan said.

Captour chief executive and former mayor Gordon Oliver said the city's high profile international political and social record would be severely dented, and the backlash would be felt by business and the entire hotel industry.

His views were echoed by deputy director of the Cape Chamber of Industry, Colin Boyes.

"Recent upgrading of parliament buildings has placed the structure on a par with the best in the world.

"You don't just walk away from that kind of capital investment, when money is needed elsewhere for housing, education and infrastructure," he said.

Boyes added that despite its location at the southernmost tip, Cape Town was headquarters to the insurance, retail, oil, clothing and printing industries.

Midrand is watching developments.

Outspoken former Midrand mayor Alan Dawson is confident his town is the ideal venue for a new Parliament, offering proximity to Pretoria and Johannesburg in the heart of the PWV economic hub housing 45 percent of the population.

Into the bargain, Midrand offered the Government the choice of some of the best building sites in the country, and enough prime land for the parliament building and all official government buildings in one place.

ANC criticises FW's 'Hollywood campaign'

Star 23/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday accused President de Klerk and his Government of having no answers to the serious problems facing South Africans.

It also accused De Klerk of seeking to turn the campaign for the April 27 election "into a Hollywood affair in which the people are merely observers".

Commenting on the launch of the NP's election campaign in Cape Town this week, the ANC said De Klerk's quest for a public debate with Nelson Mandela was an attempt to hide the NP's lack of answers for the myriad of problems facing the country.

"De Klerk and his party are getting too used to joint international awards for achievements pioneered by the ANC, and they hope to perpetuate this by continuing to hang onto Mandela's coat-tails



De Klerk ... accused of having no answers to SA's problems.

(304-A)(HA)

during the election campaign.

"This is to be expected from a party whose time to bow out and allow democracy to take its course has come," said the ANC.

Making his challenge to Mandela on Tuesday, De Klerk said he had no restrictions about the debate which should take place as close as possible to the election and be "open, free-ranging, fair and free".

In its response, the ANC said it would not be diverted from its programme to ensure that pertinent and serious issues facing the majority of South Africans formed the basis of the election campaign.

The election was essentially a contest between "the NP's corrupt white minority rule and mismanagement on the one hand, and democracy, reconstruction and development on the other, for which millions spared no effort under the leadership of the ANC", the ANC said.

However, the ANC said it was not opposed to debates among leaders of parties contesting the election. Given its concern about the plight of the people, media events of the type suggested by De Klerk would be "a cherry on top of a serious campaign — not the starting point", the ANC said.

More staff for auditor-general

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The auditor-general hired 50 extra staff members, at a cost of R2,89m a year, because of the increased work load following the office's independence from executive control and in auditing the homelands' books. 8/Dec

In the auditor-general's first annual report since its independence tabled in Parliament, Auditor-General Henri Kluever said yesterday 50 additional auditors and managers had been appointed this year.

The appointments included 14 state auditors, 11 senior state auditors and 13 assistant chief auditors. 4/12/93

The policy of seconding auditors from self-governing territories had been revised because of "endless problems concerning training, continuity and divided loyalty".

The need to use the office's own auditors, the great volume of work required in the homelands and increased responsibilities due to the office's new autonomy had made the expansion unavoidable.

The "final emancipation" of the auditor-general's office had followed the passage of the Audit Arrangements Act in April. Prior to this, the Commission for Administration and the State Expenditure Ministry had retained the final say on certain "crucial administrative matters", including appointing auditor-generals. This had been replaced with multiparty parliamentary supervision of the office and statutory independence for the auditor-general.

The report also showed that there was a backlog of 706 unfinished audits. This was 54% of the 1 320 audits in the 1992/93 financial year. Last year 897 audits, 74%, had not been dealt with. (30HA)

Auditing of the 708 local authorities would soon be centrally co-ordinated, the report said. "It is a proactive step in the light of the role visualised for local government in which there will be maximum devolution of authority to lower levels of government with minimum political and administrative control from the centre."

The auditor-general's office also audited 33 government departments, three own affairs administrations, four provincial administrations, 22 agricultural boards and 37 regional services councils.

'Poll hinges on Indians, coloureds'

DURBAN — The Indian community in Natal could hold the key to an outright victory by the ANC alliance in the April election, according to the latest issue of Africa Confidential. (B10a)

The London-based publication says that, although many Indians fear blacks and recall the 1949 attacks against them by Zulus, they are more likely to back the winners in the election than the more sceptical coloured community. 30/12/93

It says the Indian community, which is more affluent than the coloured one, is also less fathomable in its political tendencies.

Own Correspondent

Africa Confidential says the 2-million coloured voters are the most strategically important in the ballot, particularly because as many as 45% of them are undecided or apathetic.

How the coloured electorate votes, it says, will determine: whether the NP or the ANC wins the vital western Cape region; whether the ANC can claim to be more than just a black party; the future of the NP and the future of the DP.

The newsletter says the DP has failed to match its liberal track record with dynamic and charismatic leadership and the image of a multiracial party.

It says the party will be finished unless it makes substantial gains among the coloureds. (30/4-A)

"Recent opinion polls suggest most of the 55% of coloureds who intend to vote want a substantial white presence in the post-apartheid transitional government, despite the bitter legacy of apartheid.

"If the NP fails to woo these voters, its claim to be a multiracial party will be a sham and other contenders will be left to fight over its corpse," according to Africa Confidential.

Bill lays down law for April elections

ADRIAN HADLAND B/Day

CAPE TOWN — Legislation governing the conduct and duties of political parties and voters during the election was tabled in Parliament at the weekend. 13/12/93

The Electoral Bill sets out who is entitled to vote, registration requirements for political parties, the handling of ballot boxes, counting procedures, an electoral code of conduct and other details related to SA's first democratic election. (30(-A)

The Bill states that parties standing for election to the national assembly are required to lodge a deposit of R25 000. Provincial legislature deposits are R5 000.

Parties that fail to gain a single seat in the provincial or national election will lose the deposit.

According to the code of conduct, parties are required to allow all election participants to canvass, erect banners and placards, hold meetings and express divergent opinions in all areas. Failure to adhere to the code could lead to a fine of R100 000, the forefeiture of a deposit or expulsion from the election.

Government also introduced the Regulation of Gatherings Bill to Parliament last week, described in its explanatory memorandum as "an essential instrument in maintaining order and peace in the pre-electoral period".

To regulate gatherings, a convenor must be appointed who must notify a "responsible officer", appointed by a local authority, that a gathering is to take place. The convenor is responsible for appointing enough marshals and ensuring gatherings comply with guidelines.

The Bill sets out general conduct at gatherings, lays down police powers, provides for civil liability and defines offences and penalties.

The Bill defines a demonstration as having up to 15 participants, with more than 15 constituting a gathering. It provides for fines of up to R20 000 or a year's imprisonment and prohibits gatherings close to Parliament, the Union Buildings in Pretoria or courts of law.

The wearing of masks, disguises or clothes similar to those worn by the security forces is also prohibited.

Constitution translated into Afrikaans

CAPE TOWN — A team of five translators worked around the clock this week preparing an Afrikaans version of the 270-page interim constitution. B/Day

On Monday, CP members of the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs blocked consideration of the Bill because it was available only in English. They complained that parliamentary rules had been breached. 10/12/93

By yesterday the translators had completed the job, working under the guidance of the parliamentary legal adviser's office.

ADRIAN HADLAND

But the translated document still needed to be checked for consistency, proofed and printed before the standing committee could consider it again, a spokesman said.

Senior sources indicated that the finished version, in both official languages, would be ready at the weekend in time for the committee to sit again on Monday.

They also said that CP committee members were likely to insist that every clause in the constitution be discussed in committee before the constitution could be finalised and passed on to the three Houses for debate. So the Bill was unlikely to be introduced before Wednesday, with its final passage likely only three or four days later.

Government has accused the CP of deliberately trying to stall the Bill, while the CP claims government is trying to steamroller the legislation through Parliament.

MPs have refused to comment on the prospect of considering Bills in the 11 official languages in the new SA (3044)

Alliance concern over ANC's preconditions

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Freedom Alliance said yesterday it would discuss government overtures on conditions for the alliance's inclusion in the multiparty process, but said the ANC's prerequisites were especially important.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said government's statement that it did not expect the alliance to accept the interim constitution or commit itself to the Transitional Executive Council and next year's election before a settlement was reached would be discussed by the alliance today. B1594

Cronje was replying to Wednesday's letter from government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer. 10/12/93

Cronje told Meyer the alliance had virtually concluded its negotiations with government on Monday. However, at another meeting on Wednesday, the ANC had said it would be prepared to negotiate only if the Freedom Alliance was prepared to commit itself to accepting the negotiations process and structures, whatever the outcome of such talks might be. (3044)

"What is therefore at issue, to give the negotiations further momentum, is not only your preconditions, but especially those of the ANC/SACP.

"Your letter will be presented to our leaders for negotiation on Friday, December 10. I will convey their decision to you."

Cronje said the Freedom Alliance remained unshakable in its determination to negotiate, and its bilateral meetings with government and the ANC alliance attested to this.

"I pray that the prerequisites, as well as the other outstanding issues, will be addressed and resolved through negotiation in the interests of the whole of SA."

In his letter, Meyer told Cronje government was prepared to try to negotiate a package acceptable to the alliance with other parties.

"But then only if the alliance is now prepared to give the assurance that, if such a package should be accepted, it would recognise the constitution and participate in preparations for the election and the election itself."

Cronje said he regretted that Meyer's letter had been released to the media.

IMF loan application approved

Minority rule ends with first sitting of TEC

B/Day 8/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The first sitting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) yesterday was hailed by delegates as one of the most important events in SA's history, marking the start of a new era and the end of minority rule.

One of the TEC's first acts was to endorse unanimously SA's application for an $850m IMF loan, effectively binding the country to an economic system based on free-market principles.

The TEC authorised co-chairmen Dawie de Villiers and Pravin Gordhan to countersign the letter to the IMF with Finance Minister Derek Keys.

Keys said the loan's approval would contribute significantly to SA's economic well-being and growth prospects. Higher import costs and lower export earnings for agricultural products had led to balance of payment difficulties in the year to July.

A condition of the loan, which will be considered by the IMF board on December 22, was that multiparty support be given to the application and to the letter of intent committing SA to broadly sound macro-economic and monetary principles.

However, the consensus on the IMF loan apparently did not extend to the envisaged powers of the TEC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the council would have to fight for its right to exert substantial influence on matters of state. There were elements in the NP and government who wanted the TEC to become a "toy telephone" acting only as a toothless advisory body. This should be resisted while the TEC carried out its duties with dignity, determination and courage. (304A)

"If we have to act against decrees and laws of government we must do so courageously, fearing no foe and favouring no friend," he said.

President F W de Klerk said while the functions, powers and authority of the TEC had been clearly set out, its responsibilities covered only a small proportion of what government was about. "The government has not stopped governing and the TEC is not the new government."

Government TEC member Roelf Meyer said the TEC was not perceived in government circles as a toy telephone and full governmental co-operation would be forthcoming for the body, but it was not an alternative government. In ensuring free and fair elections and overseeing transitional arrangements, it was essential that the council was effective.

Sapa reports that before he left for Oslo, De Klerk warned that government would resist anyone trying to misuse the TEC for

□ To Page 2

TEC

B/Day 8/12/93

□ From Page 1

party political purposes.

Reacting to Ramaphosa's statement, he said: "The TEC will not be a toy telephone, neither will it be the new government. It does not belong to Mr Ramaphosa or anyone else."

The Daily Telegraph reports from Oslo that ANC president Nelson Mandela said the TEC was "a victory for all South Africans. I am confident the move towards democracy cannot be stopped. There is no force that can prevent the SA of our dreams. We are strong enough to bring about a new South Africa." (304A)

SACP representative Joe Slovo said the impossible had been achieved, while Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress member Cassim Saloojee said the TEC marked "one of the great moments in SA history". All parties called for organisations still outside the TEC to join its deliberations.

The TEC took care of technical matters yesterday, such as the approval of standing orders, a management committee and chairmen. It also discussed its budget. It meets tomorrow to set up the Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission, the Special Electoral Court, and the seven TEC subcouncils.

Taxpayers' bill for TEC estimated at R18,5m

B1 B84 19/11/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The estimated cost to the SA taxpayer of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) for the nine months to next July would be R18,5m, it was announced yesterday.

The 19-member council, which met for the second time in Cape Town yesterday, said its major expenses would include R7,24m for the salaries and allowances of administrative and security staff, R3,22m for office rental and R1,57m for air fares.

The TEC agreed at its first meeting earlier this week that delegates would not receive a salary from the council unless the relevant party had difficulty meeting its obligations.

If this happened, the TEC would pay the same salaries and allowances the delegates had received from their own parties, subject to an application to its management committee.

The budget also included R1,27m for fax and telephone expenses, R3,35m for office and security equipment, R1,22m for private and public transport and a R15 000 entertainment allowance (30(4A)

The TEC recommended appointments for a number of key posts yesterday.

These included Development Bank executive Renosi Mokate as chief executive officer of the Independent Electoral Commission, Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn as commission co-administrator and peace secretariat official and Foreign Affairs Department official Deon Rudmann as TEC executive director.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said there was a "technical possibility" that TEC recommendations would not be adhered to by the organisations concerned. The council also agreed that the appointment of members for its seven subcouncils would take place next Tuesday.

Government pays off debts in townships

Sowetan 21/12/93

A TOTAL of R150-million owed to white city councils by black local authorities would not be paid in one lump sum, a Government spokesman said yesterday. (304A)

The spokesman said the amount would be paid off over a period of time.

He said the R1,8-billion black residents owed their own city councils would not be paid by the Government.

The money used by the Government to settle the debt would come out of the National Housing Fund.

The Pretoria City Council has welcomed the decision as Mamelodi and Attridgeville owe it about R60 million.

— *Sapa.*

Day of the laager,

ST Times 19/12/93 (304A)

By DIRK VAN EEDEN and JOCELYN MAKER

ON THE banks of Blood River 155 years ago, some 320 Voortrekkers formed a laager with their wagons and took on the cream of Zulu king Dingaan's warriors.

At the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria on Thursday, thousands of rightwingers formed another laager — unseen, but almost tangible in its potency.

The protective circle from which the Afrikaner zealots will wage their next battle is a psychological one, formed in faith and reinforced by the assurances of their leaders that religion, freedom and the Fatherland are the greatest assets of the *volk*.

That common purpose impelled those who filled the amphitheatre — organisers set the size of the crowd at 70 000, though they had hoped at least 200 000 would attend — was beyond all doubt.

A short distance away, the AWB's elite Ystergarde were engaged in a mass display of unarmed combat.

"This is the cream of the cream," said a man with an excited, high-pitched giggle. "You only have to look at them to see they are razor sharp."

"Yes, those are real guns," a father told his son dressed, like all the family members, in full AWB camouflage gear. On the father's hip was a holstered and very real firearm. On his son's, a toy pistol.

On the eve of the solemn Day of the Vow, the atmosphere was jovial around the edifice to the Afrikaner pioneers. Children played cops and robbers, their parents shared *padkos* from brightly coloured cooler boxes.



SACRED MOMENT ... Children gather as the sun's rays light up the inscription on the Voortrekker cenotaph **Picture: JON HRUSA**

But when AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche stepped up to the podium, the full import of the occasion descended on the crowd.

As the "Boere Laurence Olivier" recounted the events leading to the Battle of Blood River, silence fell. On a balmy night, a stone's throw from one of the forts erected by the Boers to defend Paul Kruger's capital in the South African War, the descendants of those "driven from Europe as a result of their religion to take root on this southernmost and stormy tip of Africa" listened intently.

In the front row, an AWB matron stood to attention, her right arm raised in salute to "*Die Leier*".

On Thursday, the rhetoric of the night before gave way to religious solemnity on a scale seldom seen this century.

As the Afrikaner zealots humbled themselves before their God, heads bowed in prayer, Dominee Mossie van den Berg took his scripture reading from Exodus 14 — which chronicles the flight of the Israelites from their oppressor, Pharaoh, and the destruction of his soldiers through divine intervention after the parting of the Red Sea.

Ironically, the same chapter was long favoured by liberation theologists to justify the left-wing freedom struggle.

For the Afrikaners at the monument, the deliverance they seek is from the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the government. The guidance they implore is a path through the "dark days" ahead.

On the surrounding hillsides, the Vierkleur, the AWB flag and the Volksfront flag fluttered limply on an uncomfortably hot day. Talk of civil war was on the lips of women in Voortrekker dresses and traditional *kappies*, while their men spoke confidently of the "snipers" deployed in the koppies to protect the *volk* at prayer.

As an SAP helicopter hovered briefly overhead, an elderly man brandished his walking stick — with AWB pennant attached — angrily.

"You rubbish, you are not wanted here, go away, traitors," he yelled at the receding chopper.

And as Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told the crowd, sheltering from the noonday sun under a sea of brightly coloured umbrellas, that one day they would be free again, because "God is our most powerful weapon, our spiritual atomic bomb", a group of teenagers played a game of cards in the shade of an undercover parking lot.

On Thursday, some 2 000 modern-day zealots made a pilgrimage to the area to pay homage to their forefathers and commit themselves to their new fight for freedom.

Armed AWB supporters, elderly women in long dresses and *kappies* and younger people in designer jeans prayed, listened to speeches and gathered around the braai fires.

Some supporters had waited several days for Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen to arrive, camping out in tents or caravans. When the former SADF chief assured them that God had brought the Boers "through the darkest night" 155 years ago, and would do so again, they sat in silence, hanging on his every word.

Directly linking events leading to the 1838 battle with those prevailing at present, the general reaffirmed the covenant made by Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius and prayed solemnly: "If you give us a victory over the darkness, in a peaceful way or not, we will reaffirm the vow."

THE elderly woman dressed in traditional Voortrekker garb was eager to share her memories of many visits to Blood River.

She has made a pilgrimage to the site where some 320 Boers and 120 "Christianised" Zulus took on the might of Dingaan's forces — more than 20 000 warriors — on December 16, 1838, more than 60 times.

"I do not want to give my name, but I will say that I will visit this place on this day even if it is not an official holiday in future.

"I remember coming here for the centenary in 1938.

"I was about eight years old then, and I placed a stone on the old cairn to mark the battle. All the children brought rocks to place on the pyramid.

"At that time, there were no big monuments like there are now, the ox-wagons came much later."

The 64 bronze ox-wagons at the battle-site have become the symbol of survival for right-wing Afrikaners.

NP kicked out rebel hit-man

ST Times 12/12/93

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

SELF-PROFFESED hit-squad leader Pat Hlongwane was expelled from the NP in July this year and had "no ties with the NP whatsoever", party spokesman Dr Gerrit Koornhoff said yesterday.

He said Mr Hlongwane had been expelled after it became clear that his views were incompatible with NP policy.

Mr Hlongwane issued a statement on Thursday claiming that he and other members of the "SA Republican Army" were responsible for the deaths of nine ANC members in Natal.

In July this year he said he had been appointed NP Soweto information officer, but was "militarily" linked to the AWB. In September he said he was still a member of the NP, but the NP had problems with his AWB links. (304A)

The ANC demanded that Mr Hlongwane and "his ilk" be arrested, and a broad investigation into his claims on Friday.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe agreed to a joint SAP/ANC investigation into Mr Hlongwane's claims following a meeting with ANC legal department head Matthew Phosa on Friday.

They agreed to refer the matter to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Diplomats stand ready for looming changes

ST Times 19/12/93

Peace to all

By PETER MALHERBE
London

AS South Africans go to the polls in April, a group of them 10 000km away will await the result with more than just a passing interest.

Diplomats and other employees at the embassy in London know that the outcome could signal one or two changes in their lives.

The election — and its likely ramifications — have already sparked feverish speculation in the corridors of South Africa House.

As the country's largest and most important embassy, the London office is likely to be the first in line if changes are made.

For Ambassador Kent Durr, that could mean a golden opportunity to represent the country's first non-racial government — or an early recall to Pretoria to make way for a new appointee.

The position is, without doubt, the jewel in South Africa's diplomatic crown.

The embassy occupies one of the most glorious sites in London — a stone's throw from Whitehall, Buckingham Palace and the West End.

As the pressure on the country has eased, Mr Durr has been able to put South Africa's case to a host of once antagonistic organisations and bodies, even attending the British Labour Party's annual congress.

In the past six months, he has seen more than 700 representatives of government and commerce, hosted a business conference in London attended by Finance Minister Derek Keys and ANC leader Nelson Mandela and presided over the historic meeting between Britain's Queen Elizabeth and President F W de Klerk.



WILLING TO SERVE . . . but Ambassador Kent Durr's future depends on a new government

South Africa's presence in London remains vitally important to the government and has for many years been its window on the world.

And so it will be for the new government.

As embassy staff ponder how quickly the wind of change is likely to sweep along the Pierneef-lined passages of the imposing building, all eyes are on Ambassador Durr. With four months to go, he remains unflinching.

"In these uncertain times I am often asked by young diplomats whether there is a future for them," he said.

"My stock reply is that we have opened some 20 missions in the past 18 months and there will be more than enough work for everyone.

"There is a great future for dedicated people."

But what of Mr Durr himself?

In April, he will have another 12 months to run on his four-year contract — and he makes no bones about wanting to see out his term.

"I have no ambitions in public life, but it would be strange if I were not prepared to serve the new South Africa which I have worked so hard to bring about," he said.

"Those of us who served a government of reform must be prepared to serve a reformed government. Whether we will be required to is a decision for the new government of national unity."

What that body will decide remains imponderable (304A)

If the ANC emerges victorious at the polls, will there be a clean sweep of embassies or will the incumbents be allowed to see out their terms before a new front line emerges?

ANC officials in London maintain that no decision has been taken and no names are being touted as likely candidates.

A new government would be hard pressed to replace the hundreds of officials in embassies throughout Europe and around the world. A growing number of black South Africans are being accepted as diplomats and a group of ANC officials has been trained in British civil service traditions, but sweeping changes remain unlikely.

However, there is a feeling among officials that Mr Durr and his counterpart in Washington, Mr Harry Schwarz, could be among the first to make way for symbolic new appointees.

If that happened, Mr Durr said he would opt out of public life and concentrate on a career in business "and turn my attentions to my long-suffering family".

But, while he would dearly like to be part of South Africa's return to the Commonwealth and serve as the country's High Commissioner to Britain, there will be no regrets.

"We have achieved an enormous amount against the background of a changing South Africa, rebuilding bridges and building new ones."

Meyer sets a limit for FA on election

Sowetan 9/12/93

■ DISTORTED VIEW Minister wants an unambiguous commitment:

Sowetan Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has told the Freedom Alliance bluntly that negotiations on changes to the interim constitution would only continue if it gave a commitment to participate in the election and preparations for the poll. (304-A)

However, he stressed in a letter to FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronjé yesterday that the Government had never expected the dissenting alliance parties to make the commitment "regardless of the outcome" of the negotiations with the alliance.

He accused Cronjé of "statements in public that project a distorted view of the course of the discussions between the Government and the alliance".

Meyer made the letter public yesterday, saying he was of the opinion that "it is in the public interest for the contents ... to be known".

The FA's leaders are scheduled to meet on the issue tomorrow. FA members of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee meet at the weekend for what one source said would be a "crunch" discussion.

Although he did not elaborate, differences between those in the FA who are anxious to fight elections and those who reject the process may be aired at the meeting.

Meyer said in the letter to Cronjé that on November 12 a proposal was made to the FA that attempts would be made to reach agreement "on the understanding that the alliance would commit itself to accepting the constitution and taking part in the preparations for the election and the election itself, in the event of an agreement being reached and given constitutional form".

In spite of "the fact that the Government was largely able to satisfy the alliance (demands) and notwithstanding repeated consultation with your principals, you have until now been unable to give an unambiguous answer to the Government's insistence on a commitment".

"The Government never expected the alliance to commit itself to participation regardless of the outcome of the negotiation processes that had to be gone through in order to give effect to the alliance's claims.

"Your public utterances do not reflect the state of affairs as I have set it out here," said Meyer.

FA stops launch of TEC over a 'small issue'

Sowetan, 7/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE launch of the Transitional Executive Council was hampered yesterday by the failure of last-minute attempts by the African National Congress and Government to lure the Freedom Alliance into the fold.

The first meeting of the TEC is scheduled for Cape Town today to usher in a new era in South African political history.

What would have been a champagne ending in the negotiating council meeting in the old President's Council chamber last night had to be called off.

This means that what was to have been the last meeting of the 21 parties after two years of political bargaining may now not be the last.

The TEC, comprising the 21 parties, is to ensure a smooth transition in the build-up to the elections on April 27 next year. A meeting between the FA and Government failed to conclude their seven weeks of bilateral talks which, it was hoped, would ensure the alliance's inclusion in the transitional structures and next year's election.

Disappointed ANC, South African Communist Party and Government spokesmen told journalists in separate Press conferences that the ball was now in the FA's court. It had to decide whether it wanted to remain outside or participate. (3044)

Call of duty

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "They now have to return to us within a matter of hours with a response from their principals."

SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo said: "We have now gone beyond the call of duty."

The FA said its main concern was the Government's and ANC's insistence that the alliance commit itself to the transition and outcome of the election. The Government and ANC, on the other hand, said the FA had indicated it would bring a firm mandate of commitment to yesterday's meeting.

FA chief spokesman Mr Rowan Cronjé said leaders of the parties in the alliance would be briefed today and decide on a course of action.

He said their leaders were prepared to negotiate "to the end" and that yesterday's problem did not necessarily mean that there would be no further discussion in the future.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said: "The Freedom Alliance is not prepared to make a commitment." His colleague and National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said there had been no progress since the meeting with the FA last Friday.

Ironically, Cronjé admitted that only a small issue "of no major importance" was outstanding following the seven weeks of talks.

55 positions up for grabs in the TEC

Sowetan

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent 9/12/93

THE Transitional Executive Council is to consider nominations for positions on various sub-councils and executive positions when it meets again today. (30(4)

About 55 positions, including those of executive director and deputy executive director, should be filled in terms of the TEC Act.

However, it is believed the duties of executive director would be wholly administrative and similar to that of the administrative head of the multiparty negotiations process.

Therefore, the 16-member TEC has to nominate from its parties to fill positions on the sub-councils on defence, law and order and security, finance, foreign affairs, intelligence and status of women.

Each sub-council should have up to six members each except defence and finance which should have eight members. At today's meeting the TEC will finalise appointments to the Independent Electoral Commission and Independent Media Commission which are to ensure fair and equitable treatment to parties during the campaign for the country's first nonracial poll on April 27.

There is agreement that aid be sought from the international community to monitor and assist in managing the election.

The TEC held its first historic meeting on Tuesday, heralding what has been largely described as the end of white rule in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress has reserved its seat in the TEC pending an outcome of a meeting between its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the South African Defence Force scheduled for tomorrow outside the country.

This meeting is likely to decide the PAC's future on the TEC as the organisation cannot be allowed to participate because it "has not renounced violence" in terms of the TEC Act. PAC negotiations team leader Mrs Patricia de Lille said this week the TEC was largely the outcome of a deal between the Government and the ANC.

HE

White rule ends

LINICS

Sowetan 23/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA HAS A NEW Constitution — the first to be jointly written with the majority of its citizens.

However, emotions ran high in Parliament when Conservative Party MPs rose and defiantly sang the Afrikaner national anthem *Die Stem* in protest against the adoption of the new interim Constitution.

After State President FW de Klerk has signed it into law, this Constitution will become effective until 1999. (304A) (s12)

"We will not recognise the Constitution, we will not take part in the interim structures an l we will not recognise the result of the election," said CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg in his address.

Hartzenberg said the struggle would intensify and that revolution was inevitable.

"This is a communist takeover," said Hartzenberg. The words "traitors" reverberated in the CP benches as its MPs attempted to disrupt the voting process on the Constitution.

During the voting, a CP MP shouted: "The traitors will press the blue button (meaning 'Yes') and the fighters will push the red button."

CP MP Mr Jan Hoon was ordered out of Parliament and left the chamber while MP Mr Leon Louw refused to withdraw a "traitor" remark and defied Speaker Mr Eli Louw's order to leave.

The division was clear as tradition was broken: National Party MPs sat as CP Members rose in unison to sing the anthem.

Hartzenberg said the constitution proposed forceable reincorporation of Freedom Alliance members Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, a leading component of the FA, rejected the report of the joint committee on constitutional affairs recommending the adoption of the Constitution.

IFP MP Mr Jurie Mentz said the party, however, would contest the election. The FA proposed amendments that exclusive powers be given to provincial/regional governments and a two-ballot paper voting system. The IFP also wants its region to be known as KwaZulu/Natal.

The FA's objections in Parliament came against a backdrop of a stalemate between itself and the African National Congress and Government over the FA's refusal to commit itself to the outcome of the constitutional process and participate in its structures.

FA leaders have to confirm their commitment not later than January 24 to facilitate a meeting of the multiparty negotiating council to discuss the five-member group's proposed amendment to the constitution.

All agreements thereater will be included in the interim Constitution.

Also passed yesterday were the Electoral Bill, Transfer of Walvis Bay to Namibia Bill and the Local Government Transitional Bill.

De Klerk, who addressed "the last white Parliament" yesterday, was poised to sign the new Constitution into law last night.

●See Page 3.

TEC on the road

South 10/12 - 14/12/93

By Quentin Wilson

HOW SUCCESSFUL will the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) be in smoothing the road to the democratic elections?

The "watchdog" council sat for the first time on Tuesday to start the job of overseeing the country's transition before elections.

Although not able to legislate new laws, the council is expected to have sufficient clout in influencing parliament to lay the groundwork for free and fair elections.

Ms Patricia de Lille, a member of the PAC's national executive committee, says she expects the TEC to have a "good chance" of succeeding in its aims, but warns of "serious" pitfalls. (304A)

"One of the most critical factors for the transition period will be stability. There can be no free and fair election while voters are threatened with violence," De Lille said.

She warned that the TEC sub-council on defence lacked the necessary power to effectively control all armed formations during the election build-up.

"There will be no joint control of the security forces with the present make-up of the TEC," De Lille said.

Mr Jimmy Yekiso, publicity secretary for Azapo, was less optimistic. He argued the TEC was the result of an "undemocratic process" and was therefore incapable of delivering democracy.

"The TEC is intended to level the playing fields for an election on the basis of a constitution which is not the result of the participation of the people."

Mr Lizo Nkonki, Western Cape SACP secretary, said that while the TEC was "an encouraging step forward", democratic formations should "remain on guard" as the tricameral parliament was still intact and had not yet dissolved.

Hinting at a right-wing backlash, Nkonki said it would be "the mobilisation of ordinary people" which would be effective in defending democratic transition.

AWB A-plan exposed

Sowetan 20/12/93

Sowetan Reporter

AN Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging civil-war plan document which talks of wiping out "kaffirs" and burying them in mass graves was disclosed in Parliament on Saturday, a Sunday newspaper reported yesterday.

Police have confirmed the secret document as real.

The battle plans call for rightwing members to gather at specific points in response to a specific signal. They are then to kill all blacks in "liberated" zones and take control of towns.

Racism and Nazism

Senior National Party MP Dr Johan Steenkamp, who is a member of the National Peace Secretariat, said the plan smacked of racism and Nazism. "It is macabre to believe, but Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is making pacts with people who see Zulus as kaffirs and are busy with their funeral arrangements." The Inkatha Freedom Party is in political alliance with the Volksfront in the Freedom Alliance. The Volksfront is a representative of the AWB.

304-A

Mass graves

Steenkamp said the plan says sites should be chosen for mass graves ditches in which "to bury kaffirs".

It also says "no kaffir or non-white will be allowed" in special camps which the AWB is to establish.

Roads to towns will be blocked with tractors and trailers. Then other patrols will enter, "wipe out blacks and bury them so that no internal attack can be launched".

Govt, ANC, Freedom Alliance meet on eve of TEC's fir

FA moves close

Star 6/12/93

to TEC's first sitting

THREE major political blocs meet for the first time since FA withdrew from negotiations

■ BY PAUL BELL

The Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance are set to meet in Cape Town today for trilateral discussions.

This is the first such meeting of the three major political blocs since the FA's constituent organisations withdrew from constitutional talks just more than five months ago and a significant step by the FA towards taking part in the April 27 election.

Today's meeting will take the form of a presentation to the ANC of the progress made between the Government and the FA — described by an FA source as "a package of virtually consensus decisions" — in talks on Friday.

Among the trade-offs the FA will be seeking is a reversal of the single ballot paper decision, upheld by the Negotiating Council last week despite the opposition of smaller parties including the PAC and DP.

The very fact of the meeting, to be held on the eve of the first sitting of the Transitional Executive Council, holds out a major possibility that the FA might return to the constitutional process as full partners and take part in elections.

At least one of the FA's major constituents, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been forced to do some serious soul-searching on the continued advisability of staying out of elections.

The FA itself is clearly of the belief that it has made what senior negotiators yesterday described as "considerable progress on most aspects" of its discussions with the Government.

The agreement of the Afrikaner Volksfront, in doubt until late yesterday, was regarded as the major hurdle to the FA's participation today. News of it was greeted by other members with genuine relief.

The FA took 13 points of disagreement to the Government. Of those, the major areas to be discussed today are:

■ A one-phase approach to ratifying the constitution — considered "problematic" in terms of securing ANC agreement but in terms of which the FA will argue that the next parliament should to all intents and purposes merely ratify the Interim Constitution.

The FA might be forced to rely simply on assurances from the ANC that it will make no radical departures from existing formulations.

■ Exclusive powers for regions, as well as clear demarcation of, and constitutional protection for, regional borders.

■ The right of regional governments to levy their own taxes and raise additional funds autonomously — another area where agreement has largely been reached with the Government, say FA sources.

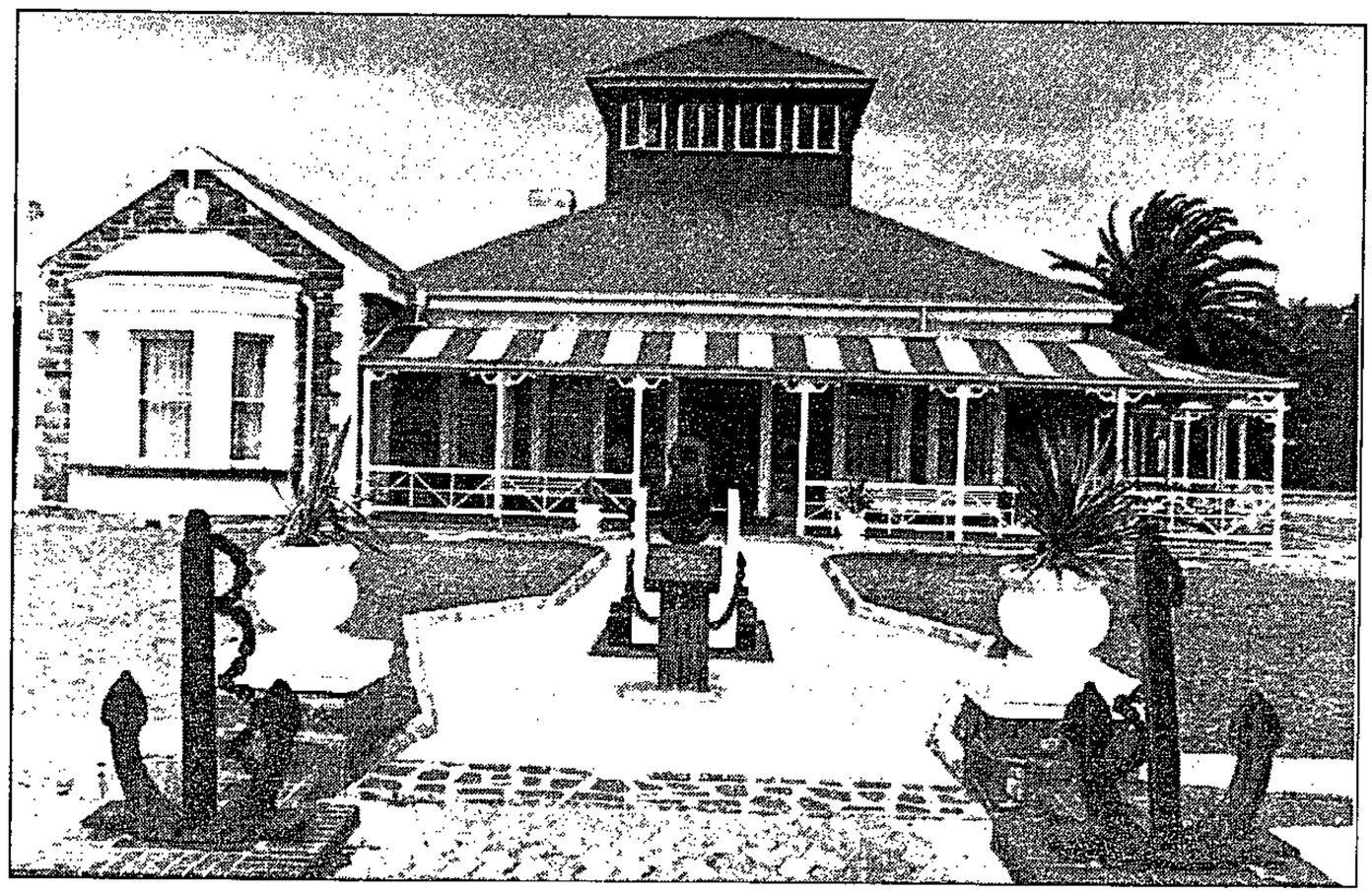
■ The right of regional governments to write their own constitutions, provided they are consistent with the Bill of Rights and the main provisions of the national constitution.

Here the FA is seeking agreement that the Interim Constitution's guiding principles be the benchmark, to insure itself against any negative consequences if the national constitution is rewritten.

■ A revisiting of the single ballot paper decision. The FA accepts that the Government was forced to trade this off for other concessions in the Negotiating Council.

The Afrikaner Volksfront's General Tienie Groenewald would not be drawn on the likelihood of the FA going forward to elections, saying only that it had always been the AVF's position that if its demands were met, it would.





Learning from the past ... Monuments such as those in Kruger Square, Pretoria, (left) or on Robben Island present a challenge in how to portray history

ROBBEN ISLAND PHOTOGRAPH: ZANELE MASHININI

Recasting the past in our new image

WM 30/12/93-6/1/94 (30-4A)

Most of South Africa's monuments celebrate the country's white past. **Stephen Laufer** looks at which heroes will be commemorated in the future — and which memorials will be consigned to the scrapheap

IMAGINE a country twelve months from now in which all the DF Malan Drives have been replaced by Chris Hani Avenues, Pietermaritzburg is called Luthuliville, eGoli's SAP headquarters is no longer known as John Vorster Square, but as Ahmed Timol Plaza, in memory of one of the Special Branch's earliest victims there. Verwoerdburg has been renamed Sobukwe City, the statues of Strijdom and Hertzog and Van Riebeeck have made way for bronzes depicting Steve Biko, Solomon Mahlangu, Hector Pietersen.

Imagine Rhodes University renamed for Ruth First (as many students and academics have demanded), the Somerset Easts and Victoria Wests and Harry and Ladysmiths replaced by the names of those who resisted rather than furthered British colonialism. Imagine landing at the airport in George, no longer named PW Botha, but Matthew Goniwe. Or visiting a large stone memorial to the victims of apartheid and militarism on a hill outside ePitoli, once known as Pretoria.

Imagine spending the Heroes' Day long weekend, not in the Kruger Park, but in the Sekhukhune National Reserve, named for the Pedi chief whose motto in resisting the Boers and the British was "the land belongs to us".

Imagine ... Because there is little likelihood of many of these musings becoming reality in 1994, say historians and others involved in thinking about a future monuments and memorials policy. The reason is simple: one person's dream is another's nightmare, and any changes to the names of localities or the occupants of plinths risks antagonising as many people as it pleasess.

In the current climate, with its motto of "try to please all the people all the time", redressing imbalances in the public depiction of the country's history and heroes is too hot a potato. Like those involved in formulating a monuments and memorials policy in most political parties, the experts nominated by the African National Congress have distinguished themselves by inactivity. The guiding principle appears to be "let sleeping dogs lie".

Changes will arrive slowly, if at all. They will be preceded by debates among historians battling to evaluate figures as complex as Shaka and Smuts. Politicians will extol the merits of historical figures in whose tradition they see themselves, and express scepticism about the contribution of others. Local residents will also make demands.

"There is a clear over-representation of whites in South African iconography," says historian Cynthia Kros, "but I don't believe the remedy lies in creating a new group of heroes. Heroes can be dangerous, because of how they are often misused for narrow ethnic and nationalistic purposes." And elevating people to hero status can be a disincentive to thinking critically about them, their deeds and their motives, believes Kros.

Social historian Luli Callinicos, a member of the ANC sub-committee on monuments, says heroes tend to drift in and out of fashion, but argues for their judicious use in giving shape to a new South African national consciousness. "Leaders have been important because they give direction, and I believe we must accept that people need heroes and role models."



Ready to fall? ... JG Strijdom's bust in Pretoria PHOTO: GUY ADAMS

In some cases, argues Callinicos, this may mean recasting historical figures before they become symbols for a South Africa attempting to balance the older multiracial ideals of the Congress movement with the newer demands of ethnic pride and multiculturalism. In Shaka's case, much intellectual effort will be required to recast the Zulu king from the narrow icon Inkatha has made of him into the broader figure of a nation-builder.

The ANC is determined that the Voortrekker monument should stay, says Callinicos, because it has tremendous meaning for some and carries lessons for others. Enter Kros, who argues for a new-style visitor's centre at the monument, and at other predominantly Afrikaner sites, equpped to place the edifices in their historical context. "They should become places of reflection, neither overpowering the visitor nor idealising" a particular version of the past, says Kros.

But for all the experts' readiness to accommodate what is cast in stone, there are limits, they say: "There is a tendency to gloss over the past in the interests of nation-building," says Callinicos, but "we should consider renaming some very offensive places." Asked for examples, she hesitates, mentioning only Verwoerdburg.

Photographer David Goldblatt, who has spent a decade recording the icons and emblems of the country, also opposes a policy of demolition or major alteration. "Being able to see and refer to the values and passions which led to the construction of monuments will remain important in the future."

Money, too, will play an important role in deciding what is changed and — perhaps more importantly — which symbols of South Africa's hidden heritage are unearthed and preserved.

Gandhi is one of several strong candidates for commemoration, with Tolstoy farm and his house in Johannesburg's Troyeville begging for attention. There are plans for a bronze to be erected in his memory in the precincts of a new museum of working life in Johannesburg's Newtown.

Consisting of a migrant black labourers' hostel, the cottages of skilled white artisans, and a domestic worker's abode, the museum will endeavour to present Johannesburg in the making from the worker's point of view. To succeed, the organisers must find R1,5-million, despite help from the city.

Much of what needs to be remembered, says Kros, is no more, or is controversial: the Bushman culture which left rich rock art for which nobody seems really to want to take responsibility, or areas like District Six and Sophiatown, devastated by forced removals.

Many argue, says Kros, that commemorating the ravages of apartheid does blacks a disservice by portraying them as the eternally passive victims.

Robben Island, central to understanding the brutality and human cost of apartheid, presents a particular challenge. The task facing a future monuments commission is to avoid the extremes of a day-trip from Cape Town which is either a solely upbeat depiction of heroic struggle or a morbid view of a prison with little hope.

But aside from the large and obvious places and historical figures, there is much in the everyday environment which deserves to be remembered. "We do need descriptive plaques wherever things have happened," argues Callinicos.

"We should be researching places like the non-racial Congress school; we should have a plaque on Father Huddlestone's church which is still standing in Sophiatown, or on the Grays Building, which was the Special Branch headquarters in Johannesburg before the move to Vorster Square."

Many memorials to the past are likely to be less consciously placed: with the names of towns and streets often remaining unchanged, South Africans will be confronted daily with their recent history, from DF Malan via Verwocrd to PW Botha.

There will, it seems, be no repeat of the decapitation of Lennox Sebe's bust on the Ciskei national monument or the British destruction of the Boers' Paardekraal monument after the 1902 war. Up to 8 000 Afrikaners had gathered there before the war, vowing with Kruger the liberation of the Transvaal.

Each laid a stone to signify allegiance to the vow. Having defeated the Boers, the British took every stone by ox-cart and railway to Parys, where they were dumped in the Vaal River.

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SOUTH AFRICA IN THE YEAR 2000: It couldn't happen here — or could it? ... We present three imaginary, sometimes

Eleven ways to make a fast buck

THE YEAR AHEAD '94

With 11 official languages, there's money to be made in insisting whitey learn the lingo. Here's the plan, says **Bafana Khumalo**



THE gravy train has just blown its whistle. Never before has there been so much potential for the black rand to flourish. The catalyst for this economic empowerment consists of the 11 official languages agreed upon at the multiparty negotiating forum. I bet you Cyril Ramaphosa had something to do with this — being a former township boy, he knows how to hustle. This has got to be the hustle of the decade.

Soon black people will no longer have to spend the whole day being abused by some whitey. Instead, black people will be teaching whitey how to abuse them in their own language — and getting paid for it.

Black people will not only be able to make money, but will also possess impressive titles — they can call themselves language practitioners.

You see, it used to be that the only white people who wanted to learn an African language were trendoids from Yeoville, who — justifiably — had to make sure that naming their child Sethunya was not labelling the poor thing with an obscenity.

Even some black people owned up to knowing an African language only when they were being interviewed for jobs in the advertising industry, where they were needed as translators (they were told they were copywriters).

Now the pool of potential students has been broadened to include people from all facets of South African society. Unlike in the past, these students now have to learn: it's a matter of survival. Besides, it's in the constitution, you know.

But for black people to maximise their gain out of this, they are going to have to work together.

It's a simple plan, really. Every time Themba Dlamini from Phola Park goes to a state office, he will, without fail, be made to stand in a queue for two hours. He will also be confronted by that woman from Potchefstroom with a permanent scowl on her face who will say to him: "Yes, what do you want?" This is the first phase of the plan: Dlamini will look her straight in the face and insist on being served in his own language.

Now, for her to keep her job, she is going to have to learn how to say *"Sawubona, ngingakusiza?"* with the correct intonation. Mondli Nkosi, who works in the cubicle next to her, will kindly offer to teach her a few basic phrases in an African language — for a modest fee, of course.

In a place like Johannesburg, where all the 11 languages are represented, quite a lot of black people will be singing: "South Africa, we love you ... Our beautiful land ... Let's show the whole world ... We can make money."

These lessons can progress from greetings to learning how to ignore people in their own language. The clerk can be taught how to tell a person who has waited in a queue for hours that he is at the wrong window or that it is lunch time and he will have to come back later. For these particularly difficult phrases the cost will, of course, have to rise.

The pool, as I said, is quite wide, and includes the private sector.

When Thandi Nkosi-Dlamini — an upwardly mobile token black feminist in an advertising agency, with an impressive title and an equally impressive surname — goes to those swanky shops in Sandton, she is usually ignored until the saleswoman decides she looks suspiciously like a shoplifter. "May I help you, madam?" the saleswoman will say in a "we are watching you; even though we seem lax in our security, don't you dare try anything" tone.

Usually Ms Nkosi-Dlamini would demand to see the manager long before the saleswoman spoke to her, and ask him why she wasn't attended to immediately. "You think I am your maid," she would spit out, before proceeding to spend a fortune in the shop. The manager would wring his hands and apologise profusely, while thinking: "Put a sock in it, you ... and start spending."

Now Ms Nkosi-Dlamini can hold her cool and put a few rands in the pocket of Mary, who makes tea at the boutique. Ms Nkosi-Dlamini will now calmly demand that she be served in Xhosa. Mary will tell the manager she knows Xhosa, and will offer to teach the sales assistants some Xhosa phrases. Seeing that Mary will be teaching the saleswomen to say things like: "I am sorry, we don't have a Marianne Fassler original in that colour — a mix of sepia, pale blue and indigo is quite difficult to get, you know — but we can get you a Peter Soldatos in ...", the cost of these lessons will be quite ... generous.

Banks will be roped in as well. All black people who go to a bank where there are 13 tellers and only one open window must insist that when they are told to "Go to the next window", it be in one of the 11 languages.

The people who are going to make more money than others in this exercise are former Umkhonto weSizwe combatants. They will need it: the stipend they have been getting from the African National Congress isn't as generous as it should be. Now, in the new combined army, recruits must insist on going through basics in their own language.

I know it may seem a daunting task to speak logically to a person who seems to have been bred specifically for brutality, but it can be done. I have never been to the army, so what I know of basic training is based on movies. But it should not be too different. The staff sergeant will have to abuse troopies in their own language. He will have to be at home with expressions like: "I own your arse, boy. And on visiting day I own your mother's arse as well. Give me a hundred push-ups!"

This is a particularly difficult phrase — and there is the added dimension of obscenity. The cadre can always say that teaching people obscenities is contrary to his religious beliefs. I need not mention that a charge for this will be at a premium rate.

I'm up for my yearly salary review. I am now going to the editor and will insist that we do it in Zulu. Mondli waka Makhanya needs a few extra bucks.



When money grows on trees: An easy way to get rich in the new SA

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The trials and tribulations of a

Reg Rumney imagines ordinary life in the year 2000, when decades of economic folly finally take their toll



JOHN SMITH, lecturer in business economics at the People's University (formerly Wits), shifted his gunbelt to prevent his holster digging into his groin when he bent down, and contemplated his patch of scrawny vegetables. The chickens clucked away in the background, pecking at the dry earth for worms.

Growing one's own food, he considered as he wiped his brow with the back of an earth-smeared hand, gave clarity to abstract economic ideas about "growth".

He bent down to inspect the plants struggling to draw sustenance from the rocky ground of the terraced plot. Had he known he was to depend so much on his own food-growing efforts, he would have chosen a flatter area with better soil, and not merely a good address.

He still wondered at the National Party's zealous conversion to the free market in the dying days of white rule, after decades of interference in the economy for white benefit. All they managed to do was cripple the economy, making what was to come almost inevitable. It amazed him that some of his white colleagues, who should have known better, repeated racist shibboleths about "another African basket case": in South Africa the root cause of the collapse could be traced to the time when whites ruled the roost.

How difficult it was, he mused, even for someone with access to information and some money, to get subsistence farming going. The rural poor never had a chance, despite the land redistribution programme.

They took to banditry and terrorism, their discontent providing a useful opportunity for far-left groups such as the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Smith sighed, and began ripping out the weeds.

Tomatoes, together with spinach, were much the best bet when growing your own food. In good weather they grew like weeds. Good rains made a direct difference to Smith and his family now. Like they used to make a difference to the country, when it was still dependent on agriculture as well as other commodities. That was before the whole system had been mismanaged to the extent that economic cycles no longer held much meaning.

South Africa's profound parochialism had been the underlying problem: it was always argued that this country was different, and that what had gone wrong elsewhere would work out here. The outside world didn't matter, just as it had not mattered when the kindly head of the Development Bank, the urbane Dr Simon Brand, had argued for "inward industrialisation" as South Africa's salvation.

The real pitfall, however, had been gold. "Experts" never anticipated the wild swings in the gold price, and when it took off towards $1 000, they also quickly forgot the early 1980s when gold went ballistic, only to come crashing back to earth.

Gold fever gripped the nation and money suddenly poured into the country from gold exports, pushing up the foreign exchange reserves. With the new shine on the gold in the country's coffers, the "Balance of Payments constraint" which had kept the previous government in check magically disappeared.

How could the interim government, with its vying parties, avoid pressures to spend money on upliftment? And, indeed, the spending began reasonably enough — on building houses, schools and hospitals — before it

Death throes of the doomed parliament

wm 30/12/93 - 6/1/94 (304A)

To understand the future, one has to know the past. **Chris Louw** reports on how an era of Afrikaner domination in South African politics came to an end during the last session of parliament in the week before Christmas 1993

NOSTALGIA hung thick in the stale air of parliament last week as one after the other "honourable member" got up to sombrely announce either an imminent retirement or a threat of civil war.

The formal rituals were similar to any other session of parliament since Union in 1910, with bells ringing, the Speaker presiding, the official opposition facing the government across the floor. But in terms of content the last days of the tricameral parliament were certainly different from any previous session.

What was at stake, was the "most important Bill in the history of this country" — the transitional constitution which spelled the end of more than 300 years of white minority rule.

For many MPs the 223 pages of the constitution meant more than just a dramatic transformation to non-racial multiparty democracy under the rule of law, with a three-tier government and a justicable Bill of Human Rights in a united South Africa. It meant an end of an era.

For probably half of those seated in the pomp and splendour of the legislature it also meant the loss of a job.

While most MPs found it difficult to contain their emotions, ranging from sadness to open resentment and anger, others were upbeat. "We have denounced our undemocratic and authoritarian past," proclaimed a confident Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower, turning a liberal sneer into a statement of pride: "And with the enthusiasm of new converts we will endeavour to make democracy in South Africa work."

Various themes ran through the speeches of the 142 people who took to the podium during the three days the constitution was debated.

From the Conservative Party came thinly disguised threats of civil war. A defiant Daan van der Merwe compared the legislation to the hangsman's rope: "It is an instrument for the ANC/SACP to execute the peoples of South Africa."



Leon Wessels ... 'We will endeavour to make democracy work'

Five cabinet members — "disciples of the New Age Order" — were identified by Van der Merwe as responsible for the "mess": Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and State President FW de Klerk.

"If you touch our land, you must expect trouble and the five ministers will be in the front when that happens."

Earlier, Dr Piet Gous (CP, Parys) stated it even more chillingly. On ground-level, he said, the NP has "created contempt and hatred". When farmers talk about "who has to be taken out of the system", it is not anyone from the ANC whose name is mentioned. Looking coldly at Meyer, he said: "For them the choice is obvious."

Other CP members expressed their willingness to die for their cause. "The government," pleaded Meyerton's WL van der Merwe, "must steer the boat in such a way that people like myself are not, in order to protect and keep what is ours, forced to say: 'If I must die, so be it. So help me God.'"

Unperturbed by what Leon Wessels referred to as the CP's "lust for blood", members of the Labour Party used the last days of the dying parliament to cock a snoot at the Nats. "It is a sad day," said Labour Part leader Alan Hendrickse during his last speech in parliament in mock sympathy, "when the president of the country has to fight to become deputy-president."

"You are going to be a little brother in the new dispensation," echoed the DP's Robin Carlisle later on Monday evening, pointing at De Klerk. Accusing the NP of having "dropped" the South African Police and of failing to rise in the SAP's defence, he added: "They have now sold the DP out on the constitutional court, on the second ballot, on the provincial borders ... all to retain something of the gravy train".

Turning to the ANC, he predicted that South Africa was "moving from one Big Brother society to another".

Carlisle's sentiments were also reflected in Peter Soal's speech. "The mission of the NP was to enforce apartheid and to protect the interests of Afrikaners," the DP MP for Johannesburg North stated, concluding: "As these objectives have both disappeared, the NP no longer has a reason to exist other than to provide patronage for those who have remained within its ranks."

The DP's Southern Transvaal leader, Tony Leon, in his turn reflected Carlisle's pessimism about the constitution, accusing the Nats of following a "hold your breath, close your eyes and hope for the best" attitude.

Their defence of the constitution, said Leon, seemed to be based on ICHBW — It Could Have Been Worse — and TINA — There Is No Alternative.

Warning that a "rapacious new government" was allowed the power to strip the constitution of federalism, Leon quoted from a recent statement by the SACP's Joe Slovo that his party had won the battle against federalism and for a united South Africa.

The DP's human rights expert sounded positively morose: "These are the shifting sands upon which our constitution can ultimately flounder."

The Labour Party's member for Durban Suburbs, Lluwellyn Landers, had no such qualms: "This is a time for celebration," was the refrain in his speech. The interim constitution, he insisted, represented South Africa's first real attempt for a constitution that all South Africans could call "ours".

True to Leon's observation, few Nats shared the enthusiasm of the LP's chief negotiator. "I am not satisfied in all respects with the constitution, but I am prepared to defend it," explained Umlazi's Piet Matthee, extending his thanks to the governments' negotiators for their hard work.

"Thank yous" and tributes were, in typical plattelend Afrikaner farewell fashion, the order of the day.

Meyer was thanked, De Klerk was thanked, the retiring Speaker was thanked...

Outgoing Agricultural Minister Kraal van Niekerk also extended his thanks to ex-president PW Botha, "who in 1982 made the reform process possible when he said that in this country we would have to share power".

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, in his last appearence in parliament, paid tribute to the police and wished them "good luck for the new phase".



Colin Eglin

The CP's Dr Willie Snyman, whilst warning that the Afrikaner volk would never accept an ANC government, remembered to thank the ladies in the parliamentary dining room who were "always friendly and courteous ... I can only speak of them with the highest regard".

The MP for Pietersburg also thanked Speaker Eli Louw: "You were the first Speaker to chase me out of these chambers in my 18 years in parliament. For me it was a great honour to be chased out for the reasons that I was chased out for." The reason: calling Roelf Meyer a "traitor".

After his speech Louw asked Snyman to remain at the podium. He then thanked him for his "kind words".

Broedertwis and relations among Afrikaners formed much of the subtext of what will probably be the last session of the present parliament — the last parliament where Africa's only white tribe will hold the sway.

Much of the melancholia could be attributed to the knowledge that monolithic Afrikaner hold over political power has finally come to and end, and that with it real dangers face the Afrikaans culture and language.

Objecting to Coca-Cola's recent decision to only use English on their cans, the NP's member for Kempton Park, Dr TJ King, threatened wistfully: "Although I have always loved my brandy and coke, I have now decided to find something else to mix with my brandy."

In this debate members of other population groups were reduced to mere spectators, while the celebrated Afrikaner poet NP van Wyk Louw and the Protestant Calvin provided the inspiration for moral arguments for and against the "new South Africa".

In these debates it was not sociological, political or economic imperatives that precipitated the inevitable disintegration of apartheid. Rather, the former editor of *Die Burger*, stoic Nationalist and apartheid-apologist Piet Cillie, became an *aartsliberalis* who, in the words of Daan van der Merwe, prepared Afrikaners through his newspaper since the Sixties for the eventual "communist take-over".

Snyman quoted Calvin to explain that a war became "a just war" in cases where the God-given freedom of a people is denied them.

He also found inspiration in Van Wyk Louw's nationalism, despite Leon Wessels assertion that Louw's words "are beautiful, but they are not the Gospel".

It was left to one of the "spectators", an astute observer who has followed Afrikaner politics since his first entrance to parliament in 1959, to provide some kind of context for the fiery rhetoric and strident opposition of the rightwing.

Referring to people "who are departing into the political unknown", the DP's Colin Eglin felt that the CP members "expressed themselves in more extravagant terms than their personalities reflect when one talks to them in person".

The next few weeks will show whether the bluster will go beyond words and dramatic quotes from poets and theologians, and whether there is any substance to Snyman's promise that the "free volkstaat will be in place before the elections on April 27 next year".

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On the threshold of landmark year

A FADED slogan on a crumbling wall in Johannesburg's Alexandra township serves as a poignant reminder of how long 1994, with its all-in elections and its promise of democratic government, has been in coming. "Malan ust resign," it proclaims, calling to mind the bus and potato ycotts of the 1950s, the defiance campaign, Sharpeville, the rs of torture, imprisonment and exile, the cost in blood and s of 1976 and the ensuing years of township resistance and pression.

Standing on the threshold of this landmark year, we can only nder whether it will bring South Africa its yearned-for new e. There are hopeful signs that a saner, more just country is in making. But the arduous struggle for a society which gives its citizens the basic dignities and freedoms, including freem from want, is far from over.

This edition of the *Mail & Guardian* takes a look at what South ica's mid-term future might hold, from the temptations of econmic populism to the emergence of regional political power ses and the composition of a post-election cabinet.

Much will change, but even more is likely to stay the same. A w national identity, visible in the place names and monuents the country gives itself, will be slow in emerging.

But it is perhaps the short-term future, the 117 days between nuary 1 and April 27, which gives most cause for thought — d for concern.

On Durban beach, a girl is shot in the leg, the victim of a stray illet intended for a mugger. In Thokoza, a respected young wyer and mediator is shot in the head. In Yeoville, an African tional Congress employee is executed at a bus stop. In xandra, five policemen die in two weeks. Twenty-four people e killed on Christmas Day in Natal.

The circumstances may differ, but each act of violence underores how hard it will be to stage elections which are "free and ir".

The police response is hardly encouraging: Alexandra is ned that if there is no co-operation from the community, re can be no community policing. There seems to be little derstanding that co-operation can only be won through a instaking process of dialogue and service; respect cannot be manded, it must be earned.

The country's most urgent task in 1994 must be to purge itself the guns. Easier said than done, no doubt — but Zimbabwe s able to do it once a legitimate government was in power. As that country, we need an arms amnesty followed by a strind regime which restricts licensed weapons to a minimum and lessly punishes illegal possession.

Immediate inroads must be made into the township conditions ch are feeding political and criminal violence. Even South ica's conservative business community now accepts a state in the development of township infrastructure and the genation of employment.

Tough action, too, will be needed to spike the guns of elements the far right and the far left who will not accept a moderate litical settlement and the concept of a government of national ity.

The transition will be difficult and dangerous, and more innoent South Africans will die. But there is much to look forward to. ead lies the country's first real election campaign, in which e fundamental options — rather than the selfish interests of a ority — will be aired and scrutinised. Also in the offing is a rliamentary process truly representative of all our people.

April 27 will be South Africa's day of liberation, and the day en the centuries-long history of colonial domination finally ds in Africa. It will be a day without military parades, without parting colonial governors and flag changes, but a day of hope South Africans take their destiny into their own hands.

Welcome 1994!

ast word

"WHEN the price of books, or petrol, or electricity, goes up by a few nts, the public is furious and we see immediate — effective — otests. But when policemen are gunned down, we don't hear a peep m the public." — **Police spokesman Colonel David Bruce**

"THE IFP takes serious umbrage at the government cloning its intelctual property and parading it as its own original ideas." — **The ha Freedom Party on the government's use of a "rising sun" In advertisements promoting the new constitution**

Getting together



In the first of two views on how South Africans are facing up to 1994, **David Beresford** reports on how the ANC gets its election message across in Natal



Not afraid of police ... Nelson Mandela and bodyguards at a rally
PHOTO: MBUZENI ZULU

THE BRAYING of an old army bugle brought the villagers to their meeting place under the wild fig tree on the hilltop of Zamani. The men and the boys gathered in the shade, motley in overalls, slacks and shorts, with bare torsos or tattered shirts, one youth with a slogan across his chest appealing "Don't talk, just kiss".

This being a conservative society, the kissable were standing respectfully to one side in the blazing sun; barefooted mothers with babies strapped to their backs in blankets and sheets and girls edgy with the impatience of dreamy ambitions which vaguely demand more than the droning of elders in the noonday heat. The enemy positions, Unit 17, could be seen in a cluster of houses across the valley on another green peak. The slope below was studded by abandoned, tumbling-down houses, their lines blurred in the distance by the hungry encroachment of vegetation. Ekuthelenia, the "place of waiting", a battlefield lost and won, waits for an occupation which never comes.

They might have been the hills of South Armagh, but for the fecundity of it all — the banana and avocado trees, the frangipanis, and the marijuana bushes springing up to mark the places where fuzzy-headed smokers dropped their stubs. And the fecundity of the people, of course, testimony to which lies in the dwellings crowding the hillsides; tin shacks elbowing little red-bricked, four-roomed houses of the hostel dwellers, giving way to mud-and-wattle huts, surrounding the occasional pockets of white plastered bungalows which stand in tribute to flickers of South African corporate responsibility, for they are the fringe-benefits of the blessed in Umlazi township — the employed.

There is no certainty about the numbers in Umlazi, obscured as they are by the flood of urbanisation and night-time shifts of population triggered by territorial warfare. The last census, in 1991, put it at 306 000. But everyone knows that is nonsense and the best guess is that more than one million are packed into its hills and valleys, making it perhaps the biggest township in South Africa after Soweto.

One calls it South Africa, although nationality is confused in these parts. Abutting the city limits of Durban, it has, by a leap in the tortured logic of apartheid's planners, been designated an enclave of kwaZulu, making it part of the kingdom of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in far-off Ulundi. Until recently it has been considered a stronghold of Inkatha. But the power struggle, here, as nationally, seems to be tipping against them in favour of the African National Congress, in whose cause Zamani is an outpost and, its raggedy defenders boast, the key.

As the bugle finished its raucous summons, Danger Jumede, a former policeman and member of the village's ANC branch committee, began consulting the democratic will of "the people" gathered in their two traditional groups, inside and outside the fig tree's shade. A long-legged and powerfully built 23-year-old, resplendent in neon-blue running shorts with a red towel caping his naked shoulders, he outlined the problem represented by Nelson Mandela, who would be arriving at the Grebelands hostel complex, on the outskirts of the township, in one-and-a-half hours.

The demands of solidarity had to be qualified by caution over the risk of a surprise attack by the hostel dwellers across the valley. They could all go, explained Jumede, by foot or by a minibus taxi which would cost them R20 a vehicle. A unanimous rumble of "seconded" from the men confirmed both the formality and the vote.

The field of the little concrete amphitheatre that is Grebelands soccer stadium was already filling up when the men of Zamani proudly came dancing in under their ANC flag. They just made it in time. Mandela's cavalcade followed soon after, heralded by cars of security men skidding on to the field in hell-raising style that suggests the life they guard is more at risk from them than from an assassin's bullet.

With an air of relish the 75-year-old ANC president took his seat on the podium, awaiting his interrogators on the three small platforms awash in a sea of upturned faces below him.

It has long been a political cliché in South Africa that the ruling National Party is the master of the hustings, but the "People's Forums" launched by the ANC recently suggest the masters might have met their masters. The nationwide series of rallies are being presented as the mechanism to make the leadership answerable to "the people" in the run-up to the April 27 elections. And now the people of Umlazi took their turns to mount the platforms and shout their questions; students with strident voices of bravado, a businessman clutching his attaché case, strapping women with shrill tones of indignation, hostel dwellers poignant in their respectful pleading.

Inkatha chiefs were refusing to allow ANC members to be buried in rural areas. Could the hostels be turned into family units? kwaZulu police were taking sides with Inkatha, attacking ANC supporters.

Could adult night classes be introduced in the hostels? Was it true, as rumour had it, that when the ANC got into power it would be confiscating everybody's pensions and savings for the comfort of Nelson Mandela? Couldn't the ANC do something about government delays in issuing identity documents for the election on April 27?

Mandela finally took the microphone to answer the collected grievances with the assurance of an Opposition leader guaranteed the mantle of government who has never suffered the burden of it. His style, as ever, is peculiarly his own, a mix of paternalistic sentiment and the rhetoric of new-found democracy, shot through with glitters of idealism.

Xhosa-speaking himself, he opened in carefully enunciated Zulu. And the Zulus being known as the warrior race, he began with a defence of his own courage. The previous day a group of armed Inkatha men had been arrested by police in the vicinity of a People's Forum and it had been reported that he had left for fear of being killed. This was untrue, he said; he had told the people to leave the stadium "so I can see the kwaZulu police don't kill you".

"I am not afraid of the police," he assured them and, identifying his security guards, added: "I am not afraid of anyone because of these men." The crowd roared its approval.

Freedom was coming in less than five months' time, he said: on April 27 they would be able to vote and "bury" the Nationalist government.

The ANC government would attend to their grievances, he promised. The ANC was committed to change the hostels into family units; families had to be together. "It is not true whatsoever that we are going to take pensions from you ... the pensions under an ANC government are safe, they are for you, not for us."

Their complaints about the police would get particular attention. The police had to choose immediately, between kwaZulu and the ANC. A future ANC government would not feed and give jobs to people who were now "killing our people". Once in power they would go through the ranks of the force with a comb and identify the criminals among them. "We cannot build the new police force with criminals. We will deal with them."

Abruptly, in one of those switches so incongruous to politicians, but typical of Mandela, he launched into a defence of the National Party. There were some newspapers that said the Nationalists had capitulated to the ANC. "That is a mischievous statement; they have done nothing of the sort," he declared to confused cheers. "All of us have made concessions and I congratulate all of them ... it is not

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The Year in Photos
☛A 12-page supplement of memorable images from 1993

Mail & Guardian

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It's checkmate for Alliance

WM 23-29/12/93 (3044)

The Freedom Alliance may enter the elections — after the government and ANC skillfully manoeuvred alliance members into a corner, write Chris Louw, Jan Taljaard, Farouk Chothia and Stephen Laufer



Chess player Roelf Meyer

IN a week which saw the political initiative shift dramatically from the spoilers of the Freedom Alliance to the major Transitional Executive Council parties, the chances of an all-inclusive election on April 27 grew significantly.

Patiently playing Alliance members off against each other, the political establishment this week successfully checkmated Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Recalcitrants were shown the carrot and the stick. The TEC bared its teeth at the Alliance, threatening to send the South African Police into kwaZulu to counter violence and strategically withdrawing the threat at the last minute.

At the same time, a wedge was driven between the far right and the homeland members of the Alliance, through vague promises of a white homeland for the Volksfront.

The Alliance's strategy has been to delay or block the constitutional process but, with the interim constitution enacted by parliament yesterday and the TEC in place and flexing its muscles, this is no longer an option.

For the Alliance, the question is no longer how the process can be scotched, but rather how they can influence it and find accommodation without completely losing face.

The TEC parties have opened several doors: the deadline for amendments to the interim constitution passed this week has been extended to January 24, the threat to replace kwaZulu police with SAP units in unrest areas of the Zulu homeland has been suspended, and the — as yet unsigned — agreement between the African National Congress and the Volksfront has given the white right a taste of rewards for co-operation.

But the Alliance will have to pay a price up front if it is to extract further constitutional concessions. A document released by the ANC and the government after more than 40 hours of talks between the opposing blocs, makes the resumption of talks on constitutional amendments conditional upon a commitment by the Alliance leaders to the constitutional and electoral process.

Some deft political footwork characterised the week's dealings. Using the good cop, bad cop routine, the ANC was able to play the Volksfront off against its Alliance partners.

Negotiating through the weekend, deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma brought to fruition an agreement with the Volksfront, promising to take seriously the white right's demands for a homeland. But by declaring its readiness to sign, the Volksfront unwittingly broke ranks. Forced by his Alliance partners to raise an extra hurdle in the form of constitutional amendments hurriedly proposed on Monday, General Constand Viljoen walked into the bad cop trap.

Chief negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa flatly rejected the amendments, prompting Viljoen's bitter reference to "those people down in Cape Town". Viljoen, intensely conscious of Afrikaner history, was alluding to the pre-Boer War period when Paul Kruger was forced to realise that Sir Alfred Milner, the British governor, wanted Afrikaner submission rather than peace.

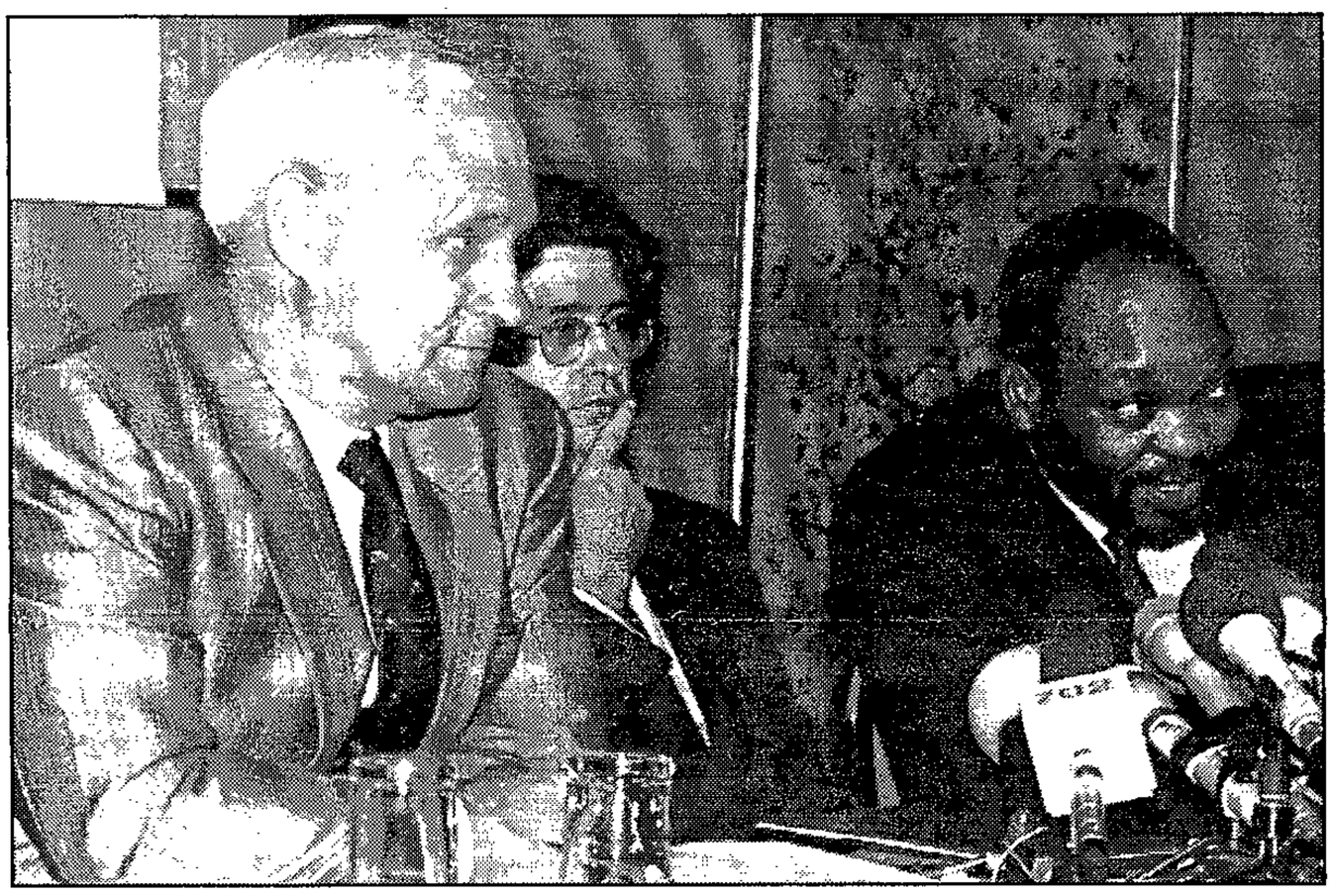
The message was clear: co-operate on our terms by joining the constitutional process or face political extinction. The TEC members now clearly had the upper hand.

Two questions remain for the alliance: whether it will be able to hold a visibly cracking edifice together for another month as amendments to the interim constitution are formulated and negotiated, and whether to make good its repeated threats of civil war.

Further weakening the hand of the Volksfront, and the proponents of violent resistance, is an opinion poll by the Institute for Multi-party Democracy. This revealed that 88,5 percent of Conservative Party supporters were keen to vote in the country's first democratic elections, with almost 60 percent saying they would accept the results of the poll.

Inkatha's parliamentarians, mindful of the fact that a decision to stay out of the process would mean an end to their political careers, turned up the heat on their leadership and their Alliance partners during the week.

As several CP members threatened civil war during the constitutional debate, Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim said once the Alliance's demands were met, they would "do the honourable thing and participate in the process."



Constand Viljoen (left) and Jacob Zuma (right) get to grips with the volkstaat idea .....PHOTOGRAPH: EMILY WINTLE

ANC tackles 'the beast'

WM 23-29/12/93 (3044)

Jan Taljaard

"SHOW me that animal," Jacob Zuma, deputy secretary of the African National Congress, demanded from the Afrikaner Volksfront delegation during the first stages of the negotiations between the two parties.

He was not referring to some particularly vicious member of the right's private armies, but to the *volkstaat*: the ideal that has served the right-wing as a unifying and mobilising vision during the past year.

After being shown the beast, Zuma and the ANC have not come close to buying it. But they have come to acknowledge the existence of the ideal and, according to the document that was to be signed on Tuesday, have agreed to address the *volkstaat* aspiration.

According to the almost signed agreement, the ANC — or at least the delegation that negotiated with the AVF — is willing to get to grips with the proposal.

A joint working group will examine such issues as the financial and economic viability of such a region, its relationship with the rest of the country and — most importantly — the civil rights of "non-Afrikaners" inside the *volkstaat*.

If the ANC is ever going to buy the idea of a *volkstaat* it will only be after a morally acceptable and practically feasible proposal can be put together by the AVF.

To complicate matters, it seems that even the *volkstaat* visionaries have recently changed their ideas on where an Afrikaner state would be.

The original star-shaped area, proposed by people such as General Tienie Groenewald, included large tracts of the Northern and Western Transvaal and the Free State.

The latest ideas seem to be much more in line with the proposals put forward by the virtually defunct Afrikaner Volksunie.

Sources say the *volkstaat* proponents have largely dropped claims to the Northern and Western Transvaal, with the Eastern Transvaal and northern parts of the Free State at the moment forming the nucleus.

Also under discussion is a narrow corridor running through Northern Natal and linking these areas to the sea and a harbour at Richard's Bay.

Whither Bartlett? IFP or NP?

Farouk Chothia

THE Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, George Bartlett, announced in parliament this week that he was bowing out of national politics to carve out a career for himself as a provincial leader in Natal/kwaZulu.

While known to be sympathetic to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bartlett also launched his first attack on the Freedom Alliance for its rejectionist stance on the new interim constitution — and hinted that the National Party would fight for the votes of IFP supporters if the organisation does not contest the April poll.

Delivering his last speech in the existing parliament, Bartlett, the leader of the NP in Natal, said he had decided to make himself available as a candidate for a future provincial, but not a national, legislature.

He said he had discussed the issue with President FW de Klerk as far back as April last year.

An NP source said Bartlett, an unpopular hardliner in the NP itself, realised he had no chance of a political future at a national level.

He is, as a result, focusing on Natal/kwaZulu, where he has a close relationship with the IFP, which he hopes will prevent the African National Congress from taking power in the province.

The source said Bartlett was frustrated with the IFP over its stance on constitutional talks and its threat to boycott the April poll.

He revealed that the NP had started drafting a constitution for Natal/kwaZulu which complied with the constitutional principles agreed upon at the World Trade Centre.

Bartlett offered the NP's "hand of friendship" to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. In terms of the NP's constitutional plan, Zwelithini will head a "council" that will have jurisdiction over matters relating to traditional land and culture, Bartlett said.

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ANNUAL WEEKLY MAIL QUIZ IS ON PAGE 51
SO you think you're clever, hey?

Hopes high that Inkatha and allies will join elections

It's checkmate for Freedom Alliance

THE government and ANC skillfully played members of the Freedom Alliance off against each other this week. Hopes are high that the alliance will choose pragmatism ahead of dogma and join in the April 27 election.

The TEC strategy has been to play carrot-and-stick games: making vague offers of a white homeland and extending the deadline for changes to the constitution, while threatening a massive police show of force in kwaZulu.

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The Mandela kiss that offended India



NELSON MANDELA gives a visiting Indian actress a fatherly peck on the cheek ... and lands himself in unexpected trouble with Muslim conservatives in India.

PAGE 3

WHY I LOVE SOWETO
One man's defence of an unjustly maligned community: PAGE 14

Irish jails hold key to final deal

OVER 400 jailed Irish gunmen and bombers will be given a week's leave from their cells this Christmas.

The strategy behind the goodwill is that these men are a key force in making — or breaking — any future Irish peace. Downing Street is hoping that their release will pressure the IRA into compromise.

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PLUS: On PAGE 30, Sinn Fein president GERRY ADAMS gives his views

The Year in Review

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7 Year of the buzzwords. If you're losing track of your acronyms, a guide to who's disguised as what.

9 Year of living dangerously. Portrait of a township family whose dreams fell apart the day dad disappeared.

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
December 23 to 29 1993

Freedom is another word for trouble

304A WM23-29/12/93

As power slowly shifts from the government to the Transitional Executive Council, the TEC faces the difficult task of ensuring free and fair elections in April next year, writes **Chris Louw**

THE Transitional Executive Council has ushered in a completely fresh and unpredictable phase in South Africa's history.

For the first time, the African National Congress — the senior party in the TEC with the government — has to accept limited responsibility for executive decisions.

But while the TEC jointly controls important aspects of the country's administration, the government is still securely in place and will not admit that it has lost final authority. President FW de Klerk recently insisted that the government "has not stopped governing, and the TEC is also not the new government of the country".

Conflict about who has the final say on which issues seems inevitable, and this ambivalent situation will continue until the elections on April 27 next year.

In its task of creating conditions conducive to free elections over the next four months, the TEC faces other hurdles, including:

●Serious problems in setting up a national peacekeeping force, involving former enemy armies, in time for the poll. In general, the containment of violence is the biggest challenge facing the TEC.

●Strong resistance from rightwing city councils to agreements on local and third-tier government.

●A possible confrontation with the government on the appointment of ambassadors before the elections.

●An enormous backlog in the training of electoral officials.

●An administrative snarl-up regarding election observers and monitors.

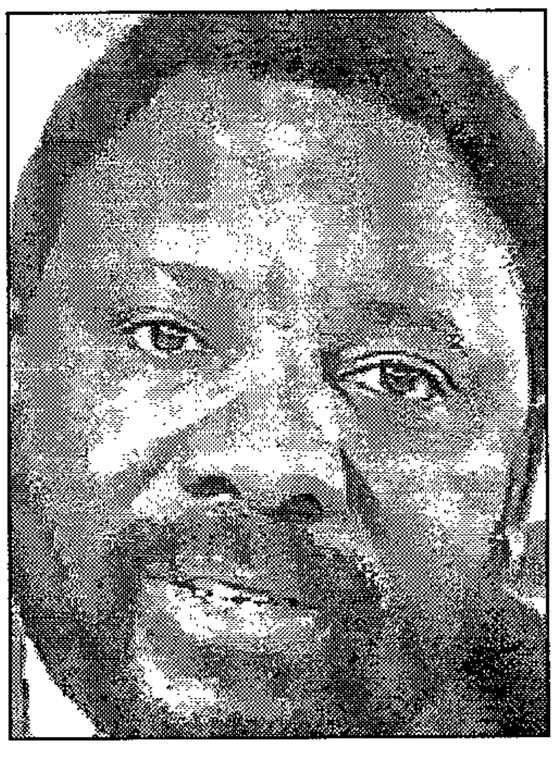
●Almost insurmountable problems in containing violence.

Others put more confidence in the TEC. An agreement to establish a diplomatic presence in South Africa by the European Community (EC) was signed in Brussels last Tuesday.

The TEC was informed of the decision in the first formal communication between the two institutions.

CONFLICT WITH GOVERNMENT

Political observers this week agreed that it was necessary for the TEC to assert its authority as soon as possible to demarcate its area of control. "There are many unclarities in the legislation providing for the TEC. It depends to a large degree on the body itself how far its powers go," said a source close to the TEC.



Tightrope walker ... Cyril Ramaphosa

For the ANC it was important to show to its constituency that the TEC has real teeth. But Cyril Ramaphosa will have to walk a tightrope: it will reflect badly on the council if it makes unrealistic demands that the government refuses to meet.

Observers are optimistic that conflict will mostly be limited to the area of electioneering. While Roelf Meyer and Ramaphosa will continue to play a conciliatory role, De Klerk and Nelson Mandela can be expected to take on each other on their respective election platforms.

Much of the success of the TEC will depend on the newly appointed joint secretaries — the ANC's Mac Maharaj and the government's Fanie van der Merwe. The two men have built a close relationship during the negotiations, and are both regarded as capable and resourceful.

THE FREEDOM ALLIANCE

The Freedom Alliance, which rejects the TEC's authority, presents a range of sticky problems.

KwaZulu has already refused a TEC demand for information on an alleged hit squad in the kwaZulu Police. More vexed still is the "independent" Bophuthatswana.

Although the TVBC states will soon be reincorporated by statute, it is — according to international law — legally not possible for a country to deprive another country of its independence once granted.

"It is easy for parliament to pass a law reincorporating the homelands," said a constitutional expert, "but what happens if they refuse to become part of South Africa? There is big potential for conflict."

Said Professor Johan Kruger, a government advisor during the negotiations: "Both Bop and kwaZulu are now beating the self-determination drums in a rhythm associated with the Conservative Party. They seem to have deliberately taken steps back, tabling a list of new demands to make it impossible for the negotiators to accommodate them."

The only motivation, said Kruger, seemed to be "a blind clinging to their political privileges".

Sources close to the TEC indicated that "friendly persuasion" would increasingly be combined with subtle threats to get the two homelands to toe the line.

THE NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE

The ANC has insisted from the outset that it will not accept a subordinate role for Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) in a future defence force. A national peacekeeping force was proposed to provide security during the elections, and to form the nucleus of a new army.

But last week Chief Superintendent Peter Stevens, of the Commonwealth Observer Mission, warned that it was well-nigh impossible to get the national peacekeeping force trained and deployed in time for elections.

In the meantime, assembly points for MK troops are being established and decisions have been reached about the disclosure of arms caches.

Government sources insist that MK must be accommodated as soon as possible. "They must disappear as a separate force as a way to ensure stability," they argue. These sources have little doubt that MK will be absorbed into the Defence Force and that the effective command structures will remain intact for the time being.

It is for this reason that the government is determined to give the controversial Internal Stability Unit (ISU) responsibility for peacekeeping during the elections — with the approval of the TEC.

A new image will be cultivated for the ISU, including a change of name and new uniforms.

The TEC's acceptance of these changes, according to observers, means the ISU is being prepared to become the core of a new stabilising unit during the transition.

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

Intriguing developments can be expected in foreign affairs in the coming months, especially regarding the appointment of senior diplomatic staff.

In terms of agreements, some diplomatic posts have been kept open and the TEC's subcouncil on finance has to be informed of all vacancies and new retirements.

A possible area of conflict is the appointment of new ambassadors. The terms of three ambassadors — all of them political appointees from the present government — comes to an end in

■To PAGE 8

REVIEW OF THE YEAR '93



Year of compassion ... Soldiers fight to save the life of a child stricken with typhoid

PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

From bloody murder to hope

■From PAGE 5

the petrol price went up or the negotiators proposed to politicise the choice of constitutional court judges, there was a public outcry. Once again, that's not unusual in this country — but this time it made a difference.

Politicians, facing a democratic election for the first time, had to take note and respond. So, the petrol price came down again, the constitution was redrafted to depoliticise the choice of judges, the minister of law and order had to account for himself publicly when he arrested Pan Africanist Congress members, and everyone had to take note when the Congress of South African Trade Unions threatened mass action or teachers went on strike.

Whatever the merits of Cosatu's rejection of worker/employer clauses in the Bill of Rights — and they were never clear — the target of its threats were as much its alliance partners, the African National Congress, as the government. Take note, Cosatu was saying, loudly and clearly, we are going to assert our independence if workers' rights are trampled on.

These were the exuberant signs of a democratic awakening. With them came the rhetoric, the outrageous advertising (the Democratic Party poster that said "We never killed anybody, only apartheid" and the National Party advertisment that accused the ANC of burning houses), the petty accusations and all the other signs of robust electioneering.

Ironically, it comes at a time when civil society — those NGOs so essential to development — has been weakened by financial crisis, a drain on personnel and a lack of political direction.

Nevertheless, the year brought great hope to a new kind of post-apartheid activist. The Bill of Rights will empower a whole new generation of civil society activists who can use it to lobby for environmental improvements, abortion rights, gender rights, press freedom — and politicians, with elections hanging over their heads, will have to pay more attention than in the past.

The problem might be that they pay too much attention. Some of the promises being made on the hustings are ones that will never be met. The long-term need to temper expectations of what the new government can deliver is already being drowned by the short-term need to win votes by making extravagant promises.

But these are the problems of democracy, and this year we can enjoy the realisation that the problems we are grappling with are the standard problems of democratisation.

The year ends with parliament doing the only thing a minority parliament can do with legitimacy: vote into place a new constitution that will bring a new, representative parliament.

It is an imperfect document. Voters' choice will be limited by the single ballot, not giving them the chance to make a separate choice for regional government. Rules preventing MPs from crossing the floor (they lose their seat to another party nominee) will disempower MPs and discourage them from saying unpopular things.

But it does ensure that our next government will be more representative, more transparent and more accountable than anything we have had before. It does empower people to fight to rectify the constitution's own faults in a way they have never been able to before.

So it is a fitting way to end a year of great forward movement.

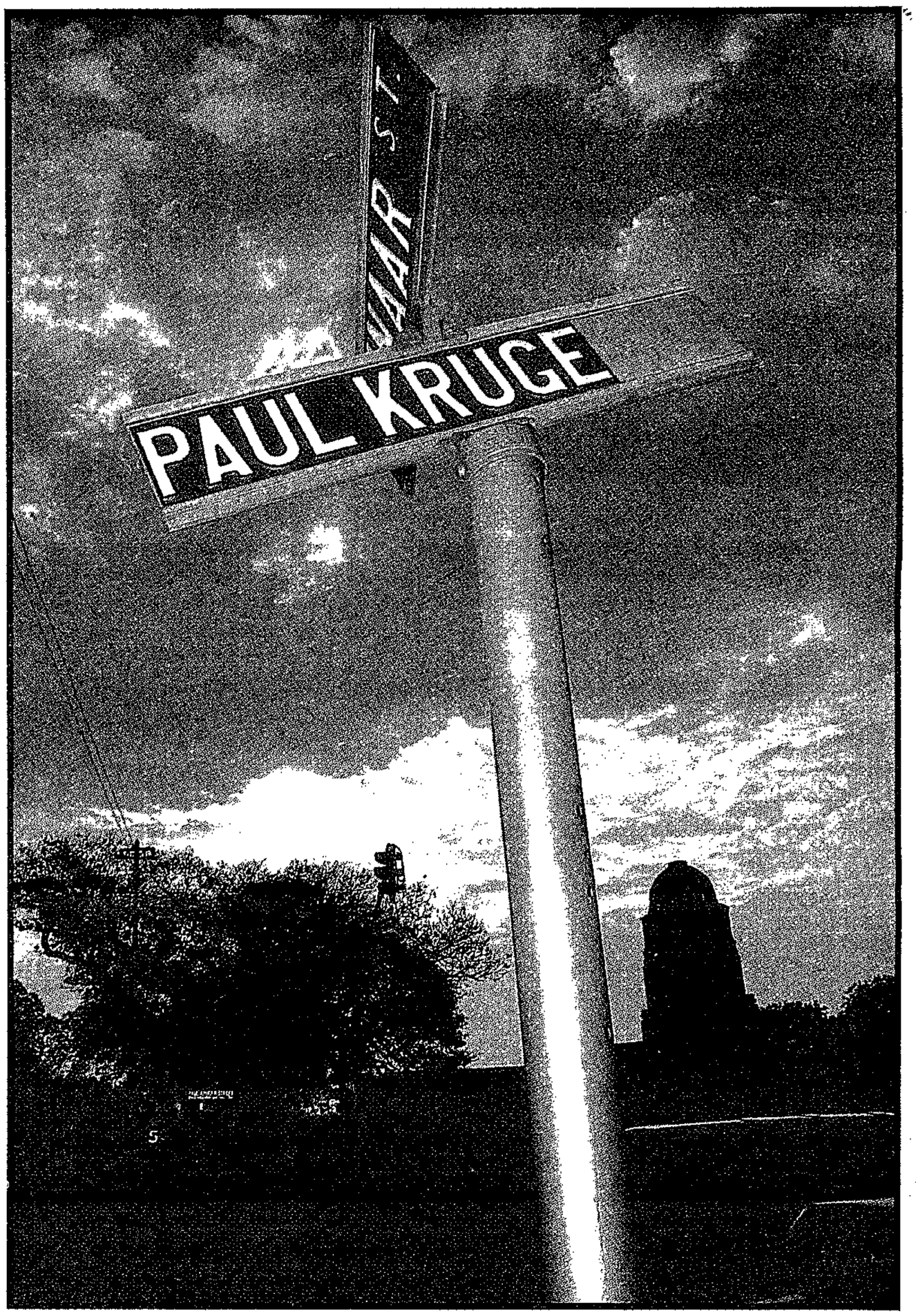
Focus on the year of the rollercoaster ...

REVIEW OF THE YEAR '93

How did this year differ from last? When the country had hit its lowest point, our leaders decided to stop the bickering.

By **Anton Harber**

It took a murder in cold blood to get us talking



Pretoria at the crossroads ... 1993 was the year the promises of February 1990 finally took shape

PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

IN trying to sum up the year, one seeks a single symbolic image that would capture it all — the way a picture of a young East German standing on the Berlin Wall summed up 1989 for that country. Or the student putting a flower in a soldier's gun that captured the mood of 1968. Or the way the picture of Nelson and Winnie Mandela strolling from prison in 1990 summed up that year for us all.

If only this year had been that straightforward!

We have the snapshot of Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk receiving their joint Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo earlier this month. That certainly captured the overall achievement of the year: the ability of these two men to have led the country so far so unexpectedly fast, so that we can wholeheartedly celebrate the fact that at the end of the year the essentials of democracy — the agreement on a new constitution and an election date — are firmly in place.

But there is also the image of a vehicle crashing through the doors of the World Trade Centre to symbolise the far-rightwing alienation from the process and the ability of a few armed fanatics to disrupt it.

Then there are the series of images from the Chris Hani assassination that seared themselves into our national consciousness: a body being lifted into an ambulance, a friend weeping in an emotional outburst too distraught to care about the cameras, a dignified widow in black, angry youths burning and destroying, ANC leaders pleading for calm.

In striking contrast, there were moving images of ordinary people, white and black, rich and poor, taking to the streets to show their rejection of violence and their heartfelt desire for change on National Peace Day in September. What could have been a sentimental farce turned out to be a turning point; the nation was sick and tired of violence and running out of patience with those who perpetuated it.

Then there were the powerful images from the outbreak of typhoid on the East Rand in November: exhausted doctors dashing from victim to victim — an image of both great compassion and heartrending helplessness in the face of poverty and deprivation. It reminded us of the heavy demands that face any new government in meeting the basic human needs of ordinary victims of apartheid.

It is the totality of these images that captures where we stand at the end of 1993: having taken enormous strides towards democracy, the situation remains brittle and threatened by a lunatic fringe rightwing, though it has become clear that there is an overwhelming popular desire to make the politicians get on with the business of normalising and stabilising our society. At the same time, we bear in mind that there are millions of people out there whose daily battle for the very essentials of life threatens to overshadow the joy that an election might bring.

The contrast between these images must drive home what a rollercoaster year this has been. That's not unusual for this country; what is different is that the highs this year have been so much stronger than the lows.

That's due largely to leadership. What was different this year was that when we hit an all-time low — the Hani assassination with all its concomitant violence, loss of business confidence and emigration — the country's leaders pulled together to turn the situation around. Mandela and De Klerk ensured that the tragedy was used to speed up negotiations and drive ahead, avoiding the temptation to lambast each other and preventing the activities of the rightwing from slowing them down unduly.

There is another image that sums up the import of that moment. De Klerk stood aside and allowed Mandela, looking presidential, to go on national television to play the role of national leader and deliver a skilfully-penned plea for peace. It was a critical moment, signifying the realisation that they could only turn the situation around in co-operation and the willingness of De Klerk to accede to a more representative leader.

As one looks back over the year, it is easier to see how we have been too easily caught up on the daily headlines: breakthrough, breakdown, break-up, breakneck ... the obsession with yesterday's violent incident or today's bitter rhetoric.

But as the year ends, the overall picture that emerges is powerfully positive: we have taken great strides towards democracy, we have the support and sympathy of an international community eager to see us succeed, rain brought economic growth, the stock market boomed ...

Beyond the striking images there were some important, but lesser noticed, currents that flowed through the year.

One was that we felt the first effects of democratisation. When

■To PAGE 6

Words that summed up a year

"What right do I have to hold back, to rest, to preserve my health, to have time with my family, when there are other people who are no longer alive — when the have sacrificed what is precious, namely life itself?" — Communist Party leader Chris Hani, in the last interview before his assassination

"Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for — the freedom of all of us." — Nelson Mandela in his televised address to the nation, April 13 1993

"If I could make a plea it would be simply this — for someone to start by putting their firearm down on the ground and walking away from it, and for others to follow. Unless people in this country lay down their firearms, there'll be no end to it." — Mary Okill, mother of Richard Okill, who died in the St James Church massacre

Calvinists cross swords with TEC

WM 3-9/12/93 (304A)

The Afrikaner Volksfront, backed by history and Calvinism, justify their resistance to the TEC, writes Jan Taljaard

THE imminent accession to power of the Transitional Executive Council has unleashed powerful religious and historical emotions on the far right which are being harnessed to the Volkstaat cause.

This week Afrikaner Volksfront leaders General Constand Viljoen and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg announced that the right was establishing its own transitional authority.

In one sense, they had no choice. Having repeatedly stated that the formation of the TEC was a cut-off point which would lead to the setting up of alternative structures, they had to give substance to the threats.

The announcement fell amid crucial negotiations between the government and the Freedom Alliance, of which the AVF is a senior partner. President FW de Klerk branded it a move towards a unilateral declaration of independence.

The very threat of alternative structures has become a strategy in itself, with the timing of the statement forming part of the war of words aimed at extracting concessions from the government and the ANC.

But it is more than a mere poker game. With the TEC about to start operating, the rightwing has reached a psychological watershed.

Underlying the strategies of the mainstream right is the underestimated power of puritan ethics laced with history and Calvinism.

Completely self-centred, this dogma stresses the authority of the state and the citizen's duty to obey. While hating the National Party government, the mainstream right and its leaders have continued to recognise it as legitimate.

But Volksfront strategist Tienie Groenewald stresses that the TEC will have no authority over the right, which did not take part in the negotiations that led to its formation.

Quoted in the November issue of the Volksfront mouthpiece, *Dexter*, he says: "The way ahead is still one of passive resistance (actions within the confines of the law) aimed at putting pressure on the NP and ANC. We are still under the authority of the law of a parliament we have voted for.

"As soon as the authority of the state is carried over to a transitional council, a mandate must be found to change to active resistance ... If the authority of the transitional council is not recognised, alternative structures must be established, firstly on a local level and then on the next level."

Groenewald argues that in this way Afrikaners will govern themselves into power, resulting in a de facto volkstaat that will inevitably attain de jure status.

Also underlining the religious dynamic is a recent series of articles in the Conservative Party mouthpiece, *Patriot*.

Making a case for justified resistance founded in Calvinist dogma, *Patriot* looks at three historical models: the American Revolution, Dutch resistance against the Spanish and the First Boer War.



General Constand Viljoen

"In all three of these cases the freedom struggle was led by Calvinists, with victory for Calvinists being the blissful end," the anonymous author writes.

The article concludes that the Boer War may be the best "role-model for the coming Afrikaner Volks Republic". After the annexation of the Transvaal Republic in 1877, the Boers tried passive resistance which culminated in war and the partial restoration of independence in 1881.

The right sees other similarities between Afrikaner politics now and in the Boer War period.

De Klerk is, for instance, likened to the president of the Transvaal republic, the "idealistic TF Burgers with his liberal native policies". Burger was to be replaced by the warrior Paul Kruger (Constand Viljoen). Then, as now, there were alternative structures — the *volkskomitee* (latter day *volkseenheidskomitee*), trade boycotts, mass meetings, deputations and eventually a fully fledged alternative authority in the form of the Volksraad (Volks Council) re-established on December 13 1880.

The similarities are at times almost chilling: three soldiers, Paul Kruger, MW Pretorius and Piet Joubert, were two days earlier appointed as the triumvirate to lead the *volk*.

Then, as now, the Day of the Vow on December 16, took on a strongly religious and symbolic role.

Ironically the day came into being to commemorate the Afrikaner victory over their current allies in the Freedom Alliance, the Zulu. It has always played a central part in conservative Afrikaner politics to mobilise and to prepare for struggles.

The Day of the Vow is likely to be the most emotional gathering of its kind in recent years. It may be the clearest indicator of how far the conservative Afrikaner will go in opposing the forces that have swept the country since February 1990.

Who's heading the TEC subcouncils

(EC49)

Chris Louw WM 3-9/12/93

THE "Cyril and Roelf Show" will continue until April 27 next year, when the people of South Africa go to the polls. Both men — chief negotiators of the African National Congress and National Party respectively — will head their parties in the Transitional Executive Council.

The role of the TEC is to ensure the country's first ever democratic elections are free and fair. The council will be based in Pretoria, but will meet for the first time in Cape Town on Tuesday.

The ANC announced on Monday that Ramaphosa would be its chief delegate to the TEC, with Mac Maharaj as an alternative member. On Thursday the NP said the government would be represented by Minister of Constitutional Development Meyer, and the NP by its Cape leader, Dawie de Villiers. Fanie van der Merwe will be the government's alternative member and Leon Wessels the NP's.

All parties which participated in negotiations at Kempton Park will be represented in the TEC. The ANC and government will, as in negotiations, play the major roles.

Retired chief of the South African Defence Force General "Kat" Liebenberg is the government's surprise choice to serve on the subcouncil for defence. His counterpart from the ANC is Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, while Deputy Minister of Defence Wynand Breytenbach will represent the NP.

Nominees for positions in the other subcouncils are:

- Law and order: Sydney Mufamadi (ANC), Lieutenant General Louw Malan (government) and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Mybergh (NP).
- Intelligence: G Rothman (government) and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman (NP). The ANC still has to nominate someone.
- Finance: Tito Mboweni (ANC), Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant (government) and Gerald Morkel (NP).
- Foreign affairs: Aziz Pahad (ANC), Dr Brand Fourie (government) and Leon Wessels (NP).
- Regional and local government and traditional authorities: Billy Cobbet (ANC), Deputy Local Government Minister Yakoob Makda (government) and Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer (NP).
- Status of women: Mavivi Manzini (ANC), Francis Bosman (government) and Tersia King (NP).

The Democratic Party will be represented by Colin Eglin.

Farmers accused of foul play

CT 17/12/93

FARMERS were confiscating their labourers' identity books and refusing to return them unless they promised to vote for the National Party, Mr Jan van Eck (ANC, Claremont) said in Parliament on Wednesday.

He was prepared to disclose the names of these farmers, he said.

Mr Van Eck said farm labourers were one group of voters who would doubtless engage in protest action in the run-up to the election.

If the labourers could not get redress through formal channels, he said, they would give vent to their feelings "in another way".

Speaking in debate on the Regulation of Gatherings bill, Mr Van Eck said the bill would limit the role of the police to that of observers and controllers rather than referees of demonstrations.

He said it was important that policemen were well-informed about the legality of the protests.

At many demonstrations in the past, the attitude of the officer in charge was the direct cause of violence, Mr Van Eck said.

He added that the internal stability division should be kept far away from demonstrations. — Sapa (LB) (304A)

Zulu King defiant

'Resist, I command you. Resist, I implore you!'

CT 17/12/93

AVF battle call for volkstaat

(304A) CT 17/12/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called on Afrikaners at the Voortrekker Monument yesterday to commit all they had to the battle for a volkstaat.

At Blood River, Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners were again facing a "dark night" and had to prepare "physically and spiritually" to struggle for freedom.

Turnouts at both venues were higher than expected.

Nearly 80 000 people flocked to the Voortrekker monument on horses and in ox wagons waving the Vierkleur flag.

Battle

"Again, dark days have come to our people," said Dr Hartzenburg, and just as at the time of the Battle of Blood River, Afrikaners stood to lose everything.

The crowd applauded when he said Afrikaners would continue to commemorate the battle, despite threats from the left that it would be the last Day of the Vow.

General Viljoen said the Afrikaner was threatened by communism and wanton brutality and was suffering from disunity in its ranks.

Speaking after the ceremony, he said negotiations with the government and the ANC were continuing and he was optimistic differences could be resolved within the next few months.



SALUTE ... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela (left) salutes ranks of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the ANC army which waged a 30-year campaign against the apartheid government, in Soweto yesterday. Standing next to him is MK leader Mr Joe Modise. ● Report Page 2 Picture: AP

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini aligned himself yesterday with Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to throw down the gauntlet to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) by ordering his subjects to defend KwaZulu "with their lives".

"Until we get what is justly ours, there can be no rest for any true Zulu ... Resist, I command you. Resist, I implore you," the king said.

"I will die rather than insult the memory of my great ancestral kings by handing over the land of their people to our political enemies."

The Zulu king and Chief Buthelezi were addressing a crowd of about 10 000 supporters.

Most were dressed ceremonially and brandished traditional weapons at the Isandlwana hilltop in KwaZulu where Zulu regiments routed British troops in January 1879 before being conquered a few months later.



AT ISANDLWANA ... IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (right) confers with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at a ceremony at the historic battle site yesterday. Picture: AP

Earlier, the IFP president and his monarch broke down in tears as a soothsayer chanted that the Zulu kingdom's future was at stake.

King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi warned of a second invasion as they cited hundreds of attacks on Zulus and the removal of the word KwaZulu from the new constitution by the government and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy."

In Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, dressed in MK combat uniform, called on the TEC and concerned South Africans to obstruct disgruntled political factions.

Addressing about 15 000 supporters at the 32nd anniversary celebrations of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe, he said it was particularly the far right-wing which was combining into a potential source of internal destabilisation and conflict. (see Page 2).

In Natal, ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala warned AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'-Blanche, who spoke of war on Wednesday night, that he was "playing with fire" and if he wanted war, Afrikaners would also die in numbers. (see Page 2).

Largest gathering

At what was believed to have been the Day of the Vow's largest gathering, an estimaed 80 000 people at the Voortrekker monument heard CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg say Afrikaners were prepared to negotiate the fair implementation of a volkstaat but "if we are not granted this, the (Afrikaner) nation should secure our freedom and our rightful share in South Africa".

And addressing over 1 000 supporters at the site where Voortrekkers defeated the Zulus in 1838, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday urged Afrikaners not to lose faith in the face of "crisis".

If Afrikaners achieve a "victory" in South Africa, they will reaffirm the vow they made to God at the battle of Blood River. "With God on our side, no army is big enough."

In KwaZulu, King Goodwill implored his subjects to "achieve our right to self-determination".

"My people, we have ascended the hills to pray for the strength that we will need in the struggle in which we can give no quarter until victory is finally ours," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been told by ANC legal department head Mr Matthew Phosa and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo that "army tanks will roll".

"Let them roll," he said.

Referring to the British conquest, the king said: "Be prepared to pay (a simmilar) price for this second invasion."

Amendment Bill (House of Assembly) held last week the hon the Minister and his Government created the opportunity for governing bodies to levy school fees legally without imposing any restrictions in that regard.

During previous debates in This Place numerous examples have already been given of schools which levied an amount far in excess of the amount that was in fact required. These schools are doing so mainly for two reasons. Firstly, they are making provision in advance for school fees that are not going to be collected, and for unforeseen expenses. Secondly, they are making provision for luxuries at schools, for example motorcars for the school principals at the Waterkloof High School and SA College Schools in Cape Town, as was reported in *Rapport* of 28 March 1993. [Interjections.]

Can hon members imagine what proportions such cases could assume and the repercussions it would have for parents if the hon the Minister was not prepared to determine a maximum amount for compulsory school fees? One of the consequences would be that poor parents would be forced to send their children to schools further away from their homes because they could not afford the school fees of schools in their vicinity—these are parents who have been impoverished by this Government.

Just as the hon the Minister and his Government have the power to give the Afrikaner people its freedom, but lack the will to do so, they similarly have the power at this stage to protect Afrikaner parents against exploitation by management boards, but we learnt this afternoon that once again they lack the will to exercise this power. That is a typical syndrome of a dying party and a dying Government.

*Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, I simply must reply to one remark made by the hon the Minister this afternoon. He said that at present governing bodies have more authority than the management boards of ordinary schools had in the past. With those words he is misleading this House and the general public.

Under the old dispensation parents were granted free education for their children. Nowadays they no longer have that option. Under the former dispensation Christian-National education was provided to their children, because that was State policy. Now they no longer have a say in who is admitted to their schools, and the hon the Minister knows that. Those rights have been taken away from the parents.

This afternoon, however, he said here that at this stage they are enjoying more extensive democratic rights. If that is democracy, then I should like to know what democracy is.

The hon the Minister failed to furnish a single reason why the calculation of school fees should be left in the hands of the governing bodies. The fact of the matter is that the present situation places the poorer section of the parent community, which often constitutes the minority, at the mercy of decisions taken by the more privileged. Those are the facts.

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, once again it is quite clear to me that that hon member, who is the CP's chief spokesman on education, has absolutely no understanding of what education in terms of the State-aided school model entails. [Interjections.] I certainly do know and, what is more, 95% to 96% of parents in South Africa also know. Never before has a school model been implemented in South Africa that enjoyed wider support than this model. [Interjections.] There is absolutely no doubt about that.

I have never had any hesitation in having my actions scrutinised in meetings attended by large numbers of parents in any constituency in any part of the country, because wherever parents were told the truth, I received their full support and co-operation. I am not prepared to backpedal and scale down the autonomy which we have granted to schools. I am not prepared to do that. [Interjections.]

The road ahead necessitates people having a greater say in their own communities. Rules should not be prescribed in an autocratic way by a higher authority and communities should not be expected to simply accept them. I am not prepared to do that.

Furthermore, I cannot determine an upper limit. Schools and communities differ from one case to another. There are major differences between schools in affluent urban areas, for example in Cape Town, and schools in poorer areas. Consequently I shall not determine an upper limit.

This model has been accepted by the vast majority of the South African community and wonderful results have been achieved in its name. It is therefore the way ahead. In their own interests, and particularly in the interests of the character of the education to be provided in their schools, the CP should really support the Government and me.

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

INTERPELLATION

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

General Affairs:

Election: issuing of identity documents

1. Mr T PALAN asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

   (1) Whether, in view of the impending general election in 1994, his Department intends stepping up the issuing of identity documents at all offices of his Department; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

   (2) whether it is the intention to open his Department's offices at Chatsworth and Phoenix on a full-time basis to provide services in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

D346E.INT

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I should like to respond to the first part of the question by saying that the Department of Home Affairs is committed to ensuring that every person who wishes to obtain an identity document in order to vote in the coming election will be able to get such document in time. This commitment is clear from the department's actions. I should like to record the actions the Government has taken during the past few months to ensure this. This makes it clear that the department is stepping up its campaign to ensure that everyone will be able to obtain an identity document in time.

In the first instance, the department started a campaign more than a year ago to motivate people to apply for identity documents. This included extensive consultation on a broad basis with church leaders, tribal chiefs and community leaders in order to identify any areas in which there was scope for improvement or in which additional arrangements could be made to facilitate the applications for identity documents.

In the second instance, there are 58 permanent mobile units in use at this stage. As the need arises, temporary units are also sent out into the field. Temporary offices staffed by special teams have also been set up, some even in tents, also in squatter areas.

In the third instance, hon members are well aware that as from 15 November this year, the department has embarked on a project in terms of which it is possible for people to get free photographs taken for identity documents.

After this day nobody will able to say he is financially not able to get an identity document.

The fourth aspect I wish to mention is that from 15 November the department launched a comprehensive awareness campaign to motivate every person in South Africa who is eligible to vote to apply for an identity document. Hon members must be aware of this. The campaign will cost between R3 million and R4 million. Some of the actions include advertisements in newspapers, on television and in particular on the radio, as well as advertisements on some 1 500 buses. This will be supported by fly sheets distributed in the buses. There are also 2 300 outdoor boards and some 21 000 T-shirts.

In the fifth place, a major liaison campaign is on the move. What is actually involved here differs from region to region. [Time expired.]

Mr T PALAN: Mr Chairman, 27 April 1994 has come to be regarded as a holy day on the calendar of all South Africans. Like all other holy days, the major event cannot be postponed.

However, it is common knowledge that tens of thousands of our compatriots are not in possession of the document which will enable them to participate in the forthcoming election. If this situation is not addressed in a meaningful way, the outcome of next year's election will be in question. Furthermore, the exclusion of such large numbers from the democratic process has the potential for the destruction of the forthcoming election. This omission will also serve to strengthen the hand of the obstructionists who are bent on delaying if not cancelling next year's election. It is therefore imperative that this Government-induced problem be addressed in an imaginative and unconventional way if need be.

A major contributory factor to the delay in the issuing of these documents is the centralisation of the issuing of these documents, for example all applications in the province of Natal have to

CP declares Free State a Volkstaat

'Poll of 36 000 whites in the province showed 88 percent in favour'

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has declared the Orange Free State part of an Afrikaner state, and has threatened to defend it with violence against the ANC and the National Party.

The bizarre but chilling announcement this morning follows a CP and Afrikaner Volksfront poll of 36 841 whites in the province which found that 88,63 percent chose to live in an Afrikaner state.

OFS CP chairman Abrie Oosthuizen, MP for Smithfield, said that in the light of this information the provincial party council was now declaring the entire OFS part of the "Afrikaner Freedom State".

"The OFS will therefore not be part of the NP/ANC unitary state," he said in a statement.

If President De Klerk or Nelson Mandela wanted the OFS to be part of the "so-called new South Africa they will will have to come and take it from Freestaters with violence", said Mr Oosthuizen.

"This places the onus of violence on the NP and the ANC. In such a situation we will defend the Free State with violence," he said.

Asked whether the CP had the structures in place to defend the region, Mr Oosthuizen said "Yes", but declined to elaborate.

He said the CP provincial council would appoint an administrator and executive committee for the OFS early in 1994. These people would represent 88,63 percent of the Afrikaners in the OFS, while the existing administrator and executive committee would have no authority over these people.

He said the CP had been forced into this militant step because the "democratic road has been closed for us".

CP chief secretary Lem Theron confirmed from Pretoria that the statement reflected the party's position. It followed extensive surveys carried out by the AVF and CP.

But he said the right wing had made it clear it was not going to allow people to "lay claim to it (the OFS) without doing anything about it".

"It is not we that are looking for confrontation. It is being forced on us by the other side," said Dr Theron.

Defending the poll, and particularly the fact that it did not represent the sentiments of the black majority in the OFS, Mr Oosthuizen said other factors such as history and land ownership had to be taken into account.

"We calculate that the Afrikaners in the OFS are the owners of most land in the province," he said. This gave the CP the right to include it in a volkstaat.

Mr Oosthuizen said the 36 841 whites surveyed amounted to 12 percent of whites in the province.

In towns or cities where a total poll could not be made, every fifth, 10th, 15th or 20th person in the telephone directory had been approached.

While the survey appears to be highly unscientific and also open to question because it was conducted by political organisations, the CP action amounts to by far its most radical step to date.

Argus 12/93 (3044)

Huge township debts write-off

ST Times 19/12/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

MORE than R1,8-billion in rent and service charges arrears in black townships is to be written off.

A draft agreement, negotiated last month by the local government negotiating forum, will be endorsed by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at a summit of 2 000 local government representatives next month.

Seen as the "peace accord" for local government, the agreement aims to stabilise the black local communities by wiping the slate clean of past debts, ending five years of payment boycotts and beginning the process of providing improved services to the townships.

The process was formally started this week in Parliament when the Local Government Transition Bill was tabled. It will be passed next week.

The bill provides for the establishment of appointed non-racial local transitional councils by March and elections for non-racial city councils by November next year.

Local government deputy minister, Yakoob Makda, said that for the new local government dispensation to work, the ideal situation was to start with a clean slate with regards to black local authority debts. He said the stabilisation of local communities was essential to make the April 27 national election a success.

In terms of the agreement, the bill signals the official end to the rent and services boycotts, which have dogged black local authorities for several years. (BOHA)

Within 30 days of the promulgation of the bill, representative forums will meet to discuss the arrears owed by residents to the black local authorities.

They will be guided by a clause in the agreement that states that the new non-racial local transitional councils will not inherit the debts and liabilities accumulated by black local authorities — except when such debts are in respect of infrastructure that will generate revenue.

Cabinet sources said these debts would be written off, while debts accrued after the promulgation of the act would have to be paid by the residents.

The signatories to the agreement will also commit their parties and membership to pay for services, promote the improved provision of and accessibility to services, and to the beginning of the process of reconciliation, which will see the merger of apartheid city councils.

Party leaders will take part in a high-powered campaign to promote the agreement, which will be signed in January.

Adriaan Vlok quits

ST Times 19/12/93

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok has announced his retirement from politics.

He will remain in his present portfolio as Minister of Correctional Services until the day of the elections, April 27, next year.

Mr Vlok and the former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, were demoted from senior cabinet posts to lesser ones after being fiercely criticised by the ANC and Democratic Party for failing to control the security forces.

Earlier this year, when General Malan resigned, it was widely expected in parliamentary circles that Mr Vlok would do the same.

Mr Vlok, who turned 56 on December 11, became Minister of Law and Order in the P W Botha administration in 1986.

Speaking in the debate on the interim constitution yesterday morning, he said he felt the need to devote more time to his family. (BOHA)

Mr Vlok pledged continued loyalty to President F W de Klerk and the National Party.

He had been in Parliament for 20 years — 10 as a cabinet minister.

Yengeni appeals for tolerance among blacks

(BOMA) ARGUS 17/12/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

TONY YENGENI has made an impassioned appeal for tolerance, mutual respect and reconciliation among black political groups.

He told KTC squatters yesterday it was imperative that blacks turned out in force at polling booths on April 27.

"We must unite against our common enemy, De Klerk and his National Party government," he said at a Heroes' Day meeting.

"You must vote to defeat apartheid. It's important that you vote for one of the liberation movements."

It would be dangerous to give a blank cheque to those sent to parliament in South Africa's first all-race election.

Voters should not just listen to slogans such as "Now is the time to vote ANC", he said. "You must use your franchise to vote for better housing and living conditions and for your children to live in peace."

Newly elected African National Congress Women's League national head Winnie Mandela was a genuine "people's leader". She was a champion of the poor and underprivileged.

He called for the erection of a war memorial to honour all "freedom fighters".



ATTENTION: Nelson Mandela, commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and army chief Joe Modise salute troops at a Heroes' Day rally in Soweto.

MK, which was celebrating its 32nd birthday, would not disband.

"We will not give up our arms and caches until a new government has come into power and when we, the SADF and other armies have formed a new defence force."

The Argus Correspondent reports that South Africa has seen a lot of chapters in its turbulent history brought to an emotional close this year, and yesterday's Umkhonto we Sizwe 32nd anniversary commemoration service in Johannesburg was no exception.

The occasion — probably the last MK gathering of its kind — was marked by sadness as old friends met for the first time in many years and then parted ways.

Former death row prisoner Mthetheleli Mncube was one of 44 members awarded medals for service to the guerrilla group.

African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "It was an emotional day, bringing memories of personal friends who died in the cause of the armed struggle."

Members of the South African Police and the Department of Correctional Services, in full uniform, and all members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), joined MK in a march and parade before ANC leaders.

Change must be gradual — Mandela

(3049)
ARG 20/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Nelson Mandela said the rebuilding of South Africa must begin immediately after the all-race election in April but that change must be gradual to meet black aspirations without scaring off whites.

It could take "some years" for a government led by the ANC to respond fully to black needs after 300 years of white supremacy, he said in an interview.

"A programme of national reconstruction and development must immediately be launched," he said.

Homes, jobs, education and health care would be priorities but Mr Mandela had cautionary words for the country's black majority.

"We are warning our people against exaggerated expectations. To address these questions it is necessary for us to mobilise resources," he said.

"Change must be gradual, must be smooth. There must be no dislocation.

"Whatever changes we introduce must be done in such a way to address the needs of the masses at the same time without frightening the whites."

Mr Mandela accused President De Klerk's government of conniving in the violence in black communities in order to keep blacks from voting to prevent the ANC from winning a majority on April 27. — Sapa-Reuter.

We will never give up our freedom — Hartzenberg

ARG 17/12/93 B04A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At the Voortrekker Monument near Pretoria, Conservative Party leader Ferdie Hartzenberg yesterday warned that the Afrikaner, the Zulu, the Tswana and all freedom-loving nations in South Africa would never bow the knee to communism, only to God.

Addressing a Day of the Vow rally which organisers claimed had attracted between 70 000 and 80 000 people, Dr Hartzenberg said the gathering was part of a nationwide show of force (magsvertoning).

He called on God to ensure that the (erwe) land of the Afrikaners' fathers remained the land of their children and urged supporters to again seek the strength which Afrikaners had found when they faced dark days in their past.

Dr Hartzenberg said Afrikaners were prepared to negotiate the fair implementation of a volkstaat, but if they were unsuccessful, they should secure their freedom and their rightful share in South Africa.

Focusing on the communist threat symbolised by SACP boss Joe Slovo, he said South Africa was being transformed from a Christian country into one dominated by communists, with four of the seven members of the TEC's management committee communist supporters.

Now at stake was the Afrikaner's freedom, a God-given right which the "boer" again would defend as his forefathers had.

Claiming that more than 90 percent of Afrikaners wanted to be free in their own state, he called on supporters to be prepared to make personal sacrifices for freedom "which burns in our hearts like fire."

"We will not give up our freedom, never, never, never," he said to thunderous applause.

And in Durban a call on Afrikaners to prepare themselves both spiritually and physically for the struggle ahead was made at Blood River yesterday by the leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Constand Viljoen.

He said the "volk" must be prepared for the future, whether it led to negotiation or conflict.



KAPPIE COMRADE: Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'blanche chats to a supporter at the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, yesterday.

General Viljoen was addressing a crowd of nearly 2 000 people — mainly rightwing Afrikaners — who had gathered at Blood River for a service to reaffirm the vow made by the Voortrekkers there before their battle against the Zulus 155 years ago.

He said the occasion was not one for political speeches and devoted much of his address to the history of the Voortrekkers.

The Voortrekkers had prepared themselves both spiritually and physically for the Battle of Blood River. And the Afrikaners of today should do the same now that the "dark clouds" of 1993 had gathered.

Voter education for employees to be probed

Municipal Reporter (304A)

A COUNCIL sub-committee is to investigate voter education for employees, a programme agreed to in principle pending costing.

Peter Muller criticised the executive committee for asking for the programme without reporting on costs first. ARG 1/12/93

Kenny Penkin said there should be no "electioneering" during council office hours.

Arthur Wienburg said the Congress of South African Trade Unions had a voter education programme and it was not clear why the council should begin its own.

"Why re-invent the wheel?" he asked.

Leon Markovitz said the council seemed to look for work beyond its responsibilities. "Yet when people want us to mow their grass verges we say there is no money," he said.

TEC warns of 'ugly' clash over Kwazulu

By NORMAN WEST and RYAN CRESSWELL

KWAZULU'S failure to hand over files relating to alleged police hit squads to the Transitional Executive Council could escalate into "an ugly confrontation with ghastly consequences", a TEC member warned this week.

On Friday the Kwazulu government ordered police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to ignore a request by the TEC for files concerning allegations that Kwazulu police were responsible for killing ANC members.

The TEC member said Kwazulu's refusal to hand over the files would be discussed at the next meeting of the council on Tuesday.

Unless the matter had been amicably resolved by then, "law enforcement agencies may have to be deployed to force it to comply", he said.

Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers said Kwazulu's stance had caused "a special problem for the TEC".

He said yesterday it was "unfortunate" that, having been afforded an opportunity to explain its position, the Kwazulu government had refused to do so, and that this "has now caused a far more complex and unfortunate situation".

"Here we have a situation of a government that is not part of an independent territory but is still subject to the sovereignty of the SA government.

"Action can, however, be instituted against the Kwazulu authority."(304A)

An ANC spokesman said: "The TEC is now the law of the country, and we expect it to be applied across the country, including the homelands".

Earlier this week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone reported his commission had found credible evidence a Kwazulu police "hit squad" killed nine people, including ANC members and leaders in 1992 and 1993. On Thursday the TEC asked for a report on the allegations within three days.

It also asked the government to send more police to the strife-torn areas in northern Natal and Kwazulu, including areas patrolled by Kwazulu police.

But Lt-Gen During said yesterday it was "pure speculation" the SAP was ready to move into the homeland. (1057)

"I have heard no talk of any such thing (an invasion) at all and I am sure I would know about it.

"What most people don't realise is that we work in the closest co-operation with the SAP and we are in contact all the time," said Lt-Gen During.

"The SAP's Internal Stability Unit already operates in areas of Kwazulu. But they are just following instructions and it is nothing to write home about."

IFP TRAINER USED TO BE MEMBER OF MK

ONE of the men who allegedly trained Inkatha members in the Caprivi Strip to operate in hit squads is a former MK member and Robben Island inmate.

This week the Goldstone Commission reported it had "credible evidence" that five Kwazulu policemen formed a hit squad that killed about nine people, including ANC members and leaders in 1992 and 1993.

The commission said the Commissioner of the Kwazulu Police, Lieutenant-General Roy During, requested the South African Police to look into the possibility of policemen operating in hit squads. Three former members of the Kwazulu police have already been arrested in connection with the investigation.

Inkatha's commissar and liaison officer in the Caprivi at the time was Mr Dalixolo Luthuli, trained by the ANC during the 60s in Tanzania, then at the Lenin Military Academy in Odessa.

After fighting the Rhodesian army, he was arrested in 1968 and deported to South Africa where he served 10 years on Robben Island.

He and about 200 Inkatha supporters who were later absorbed into the Kwazulu Police were trained in the Caprivi in 1986.

"I helped with training in the Caprivi, at Mkuzi and at the new Umfolozi camp.

"The training was for defence against some ANC members who attack our leaders and property," he said.

Boost for academic freedom

By CARMEL RICKARD

LEGAL experts and university heads say that last-minute changes made this week to the draft interim constitution could help ensure academic freedom in the country. ST Times

This follows the acceptance of a Democratic Party amendment by the joint committee on constitutional affairs on Thursday night.

The new draft, which was approved by the TEC, says in effect that government powers in relation to universities must be subject to the bill of rights.

Wits professor of law Etienne Mureinik said that while the bill was not ideal, it contained important principles enabling universities to appeal if there was an attempt to interfere with their autonomy. 19/12/93

Wits vice-chancellor Professor Rob Charlton was pleased with the news. Natal University vice-chancellor Professor Brenda Gourlay also welcomed the change, although she said she did not know whether the bill of rights, which focused on individual rights, would adequately protect institutions such as universities. (304A)

Shock Nat attack on Boesak

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

A CABINET Minister this week used parliamentary privilege to launch a stinging personal attack on ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak for living in "grand style" while claiming to represent the poor.

NP Minister of Population Development Jac Rabie quoted from an affidavit submitted to the Cape Supreme Court in May last year by Dr Boesak's wife, Elna, during divorce proceedings.

Mrs Boesak later withdrew her divorce action after the couple were reconciled.

In terms of the law relating to divorce proceedings, the press is restricted to reporting only the barest details — but matters raised in parliamentary debates may be published.

Illustrating Dr Boesak's alleged lavish lifestyle, Mr Rabie told Parliament he wanted to quote from Elna Boesak's affidavit, in which she set out details of her husband's financial situation.

"He is able to obtain substantial funds from overseas sources for his political and social work in South Africa," he quoted Mrs Boesak as saying.

"He receives a substantial monthly income from the Foundation for Peace and Justice and also receives donations and grants from overseas sources.

"When he lectures overseas he receives remuneration therefore and he has also written books which provide him with royalties.

"Some of his royalties are invested overseas and as these are received in foreign currency, they have a high value in South African rand terms.

"As an indication of his substantial monthly earnings and grants, he has managed to acquire, since his divorce in December 1990 (from his first wife, Dorothy) our Constantia home, which involved a deposit of R100 000 in cash, transfer and legal fees of approximately R25 000 and he has also financed the renovations of approximately R120 000.



ALLAN BOESAK

"He has further purchased an entire household of brand new furniture. The curtaining cost approximately R8 000, the Persian carpets approximately R12 000 and the diningroom suite approximately R6 000.

"One of the two lounge suites is made of leather and cost approximately R4 000."

Mr Rabie said the amounts mentioned in the divorce papers added up to more than R250 000.

"He is in charge of the Foundation for Peace and Justice. Where did he get this type of money from? He talks about equal economic privilege for those he is supposed to represent," Mr Rabie said.

"This is the type of hypocrisy of the ANC, whose leader, Nelson Mandela, recently in Stockholm called State President F W de Klerk and his cabinet a bunch of criminals."

ANC praises Zulu king on his speech

ST Times 5/12/93

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

THE ANC yesterday welcomed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's criticism on Friday night of the parties that had pulled out of the World Trade Centre talks.

ANC Natal Midlands executive committee member Blade Nzimande said the king's statements would shatter IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation.

The king's speech at a banquet for the Kwazulu government's public relations staff in Durban fell short of publicly criticising the Freedom Alliance — of which the Zulu-based IFP is a key member — but the monarch was unhappy the parties had broken away from the talks.

"Although walk-outs express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without," the king told his audience.

"While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that much more difficult," the king said.

Dr Nzimande commended King Zwelithini for siding with progress, saying it was important that the king had risen above party politics and treated all political organisations equally, reports Sapa.

"His statements give us hope that he can play the unifying role he is supposed to, and contribute to building democracy in South Africa.

"Even more important is that his statements underline the fact that the Freedom Alliance is a group of spoilers. We're glad the king is realising that now," Dr Nzimande said.

The Zulu king has been criticised for appearing on IFP platforms with Chief Buthelezi and for propounding the IFP's political line in many of his public speeches.

Also reacting, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said his organisation was encouraged by the king's "sobering words".

Mr Radebe said the king's wisdom had prevailed in a difficult period, adding that the king's statements in support of negotiations indicated the crucial role he could play in bringing all parties to the negotiation table.

A spokesman for the IFP said: "The king is genuinely unhappy about the impasse. But certain commentators have mischievously interpreted that as an attack on the Freedom Alliance."

The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment.

Deadline for commitment

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE government wants a commitment from homeland leaders and right-wing parties in the Freedom Alliance today that they will participate in the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 elections before changes are made to the constitution. ST Times

Substantial progress was made when Freedom Alliance and government negotiators met on Friday night in an attempt to hammer out changes that would satisfy the alliance's demands. 5/12/93

But agreement still has to be reached on the number of ballots cast in the election, the writing of provincial constitutions and deadlock-breaking mechanisms. (3044)

Sources at the talks said the ANC had indicated it was prepared to make itself available for talks with the government and Freedom Alliance tomorrow to discuss any changes.

The negotiating council will meet tomorrow night to finalise technical details and discuss constitutional amendments arising from the talks.

However, the government has made it clear to the Freedom Alliance that no amendments will be made unless the leaders commit themselves to endorsing the process and participating in the elections.

The government wants this commitment from the leaders by the end of the day.

FA and ANC meet

Sowetan 6/12/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance meet in Cape Town today for trilateral discussions (304A) (4th)

This is the first such meeting of the three major political blocs since the FA's constituent organisations withdrew from constitutional talks just over five months ago, and a significant step by the alliance towards taking part in the April 27 election.

Today's meeting will take the form of a presentation to the ANC of the progress made between the Government and the FA — described by an FA source as "a package of virtually consensus decisions" — in talks on Friday, in an effort to gain the ANC's approval.

Among the trade-offs the alliance will be seeking is a reversal of the single ballot paper decision, upheld by the Negotiating Council last week despite the opposition of smaller parties, including the PAC and the Democratic Party.

The very fact of the meeting, to be held on the eve of the first sitting of the Transitional Executive Council, holds out a major possibility that the FA might return to the constitutional process as full partners and take part in the election.

At least one of the FA's major constituents, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been forced to do some serious soul-searching on the continued advisability of staying out of elections.

And the FA itself is clearly of the belief that it has made what senior negotiators yesterday described as "considerable progress on most aspects" of its discussions with the Government.

The FA's decision was taken late yesterday afternoon following a flurry of faxes and information-exchange among its members, who had been re-examining the constitution in the wake of their discussions with the Government last week.

Survey of leaders finds race still colours opinions

ST Times [CC Metro] 14/12/93

(304A)

A UNIVERSITY of Stellenbosch survey of members of Parliament and other opinion leaders on the eve of a new constitution has spotlighted the influence of race on important issues.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

The findings also highlight divisions in opinion between blacks and whites and rich and poor — especially among the "elite" at whom the survey, completed in October, was directed.

The project was supervised by Professor Hennie Kotze of the Centre for International and Comparative Politics.

Called the "SA Opinion Leader Survey", it included all 306 MPs, heads of government departments, business leaders and *stokvel* members and covered the political spectrum from the Herstigte Nasionale Party to the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Although 1 221 questionnaires were mailed, there was only a 37 percent response rate.

Almost 75 percent of respondents were graduates and only three percent had less than matric. Only six percent were women, although more than 53 percent of the population is female.

The survey acknowledges that the respondents were not representative of the larger South African society.

It found examples of great divisions in opinion between mainly white parties and black organisations.

Maximum regional/provincial/state autonomy was favoured by 92 percent of NP supporters, 91 percent of DP supporters, 57 percent CP and 84 percent IFP. Most ANC-SACP (65 percent) and PAC (64 percent) supporters rejected the concept.

White and blacks were worlds apart on whether standards under a government of national unity would improve in the civil service, medicine and education. The NP, DP and CP expected a worsening, while the ANC/SACP, PAC and IFP expected an improvement.

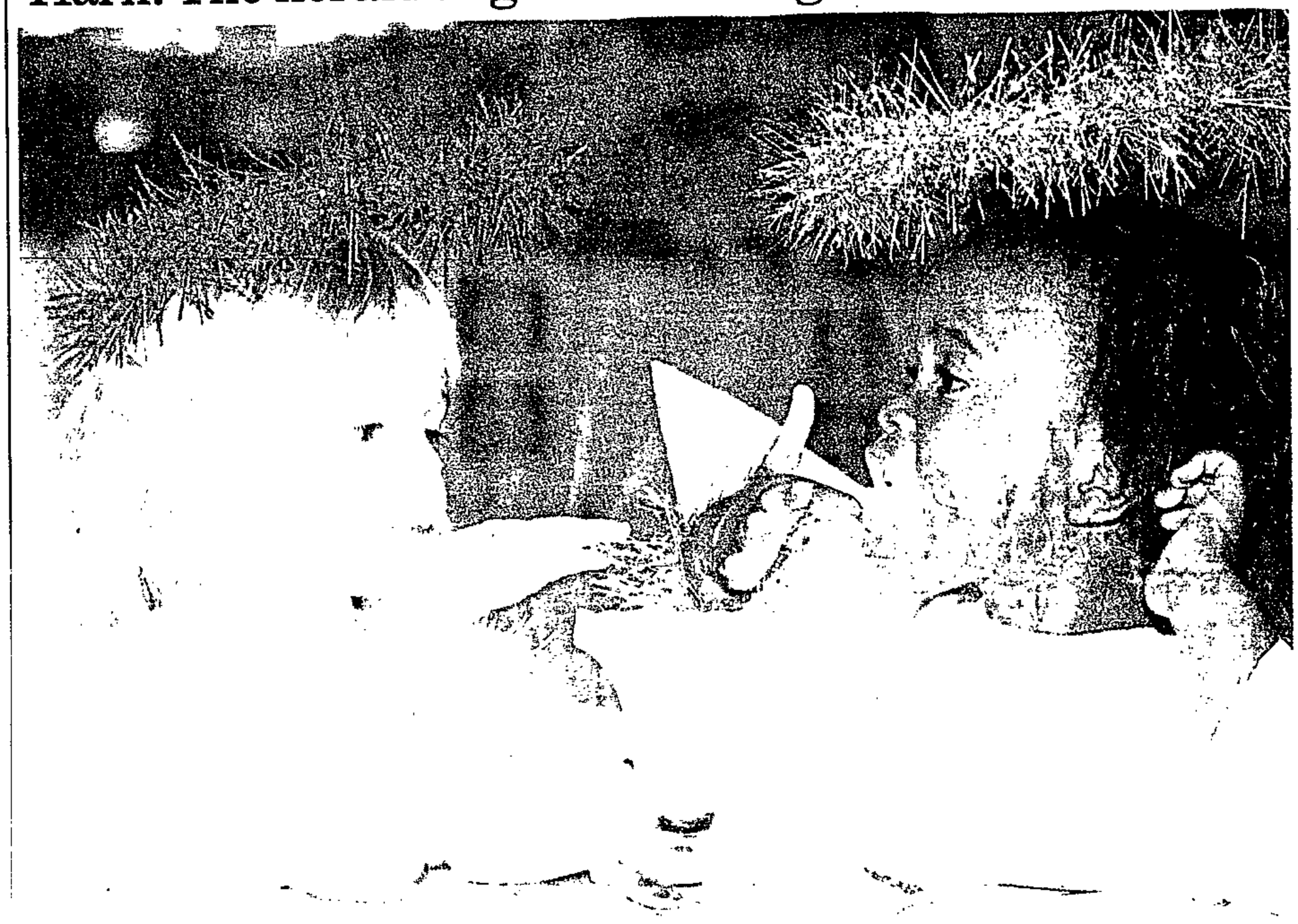


HELPFUL HOUND ... Boss with Animal Anti-Cruelty League manager Martin Croeser and Marti Schoeman of Trust Bank
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

Bold last-ditch bid to win over Inkatha

ST Times 19/12/93

Hark! The herald angels are taking an ice-cream break



By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

TOP government ministers are backing a proposed last-minute change to the constitution that will see Inkatha taking part in next year's elections and result in a split in the Freedom Alliance.

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim said yesterday a deal reached between IFP and government negotiators on Friday night had been faxed to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at 1am yesterday for his approval. (304A)

The agreement allowed for:

- Provinces to have exclusive powers, including those of original taxation; and
- Provinces to draft their own constitutions without interference from central government.

If these terms are accepted, the constitution will meet Inkatha and Bophuthatswana's demands, but leave the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront out in the cold.

Time is now crucial — Parliament is to vote on the constitution on Wednesday.

Last night, a response from Mr Buthelezi was still awaited, but Mr Cassim, Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje were locked in talks with government ministers, including Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Local Government Minister Tertius Delport.

Mr Delport told the Sunday Times yesterday the IFP had cut its demands to the bare essentials.

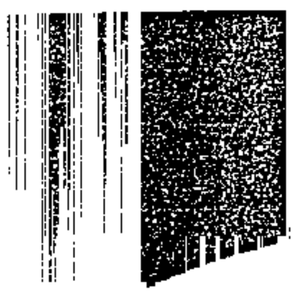
"What they ask for is very, very reasonable and in line with sound democratic principles. It would be a pity to miss this opportunity to reach a settlement," he said.

If the IFP wanted the constitution to improve protection of the integrity and autonomy of regional constitutions and spell out the exclusive powers, these were reasonable demands that the government should support, Mr Delport added.

Later, he echoed these sentiments in the debate on the constitution in Parliament.

Mr Cassim is spearheading an attempt by Inkatha moderates to effect last-minute changes to the constitution. If they succeed in this, they say, the IFP will take part in next year's elections.

However, sources said government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was scep-



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However, sources said government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was sceptical about whether Mr Cassim and other IFP MPs were negotiating with the full backing of Mr Buthelezi.

Mr Meyer is insisting on a meeting between President F W de Klerk and either Mr Buthelezi or all the leaders of the Freedom Alliance to establish clarity on this matter.

Mr de Klerk offered to meet alliance leaders today, but they said a meeting would only be possible tomorrow.

Mr Meyer said in Parliament yesterday it would be too late to start discussing further amendments to the interim constitution on Monday.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa also expressed doubts about the mandate of the IFP parliamentarians.

He said the Freedom Alliance had refused to commit itself to taking part in the elections if the constitutional amendments it proposed were agreed to.

"They now want us to take a leap in the dark. They are expecting us to do much more than what duty requires," he added.

This week's last-minute negotiations were the result of last Saturday's tense IFP central commitee meeting at which party moderates took on hardliners and won from Mr Buthelezi a mandate to continue negotiations.

Sources said hardliners like Mr Buthelezi's most trusted adviser, Walter Felgate, had urged an end to negotiations, and revolutionary action, while press spokesman Sue Vos had talked of going into exile.

The debate was swung by Mr Cassim, backed by IFP moderates Joe Matthews and Ziba Jiyane, who

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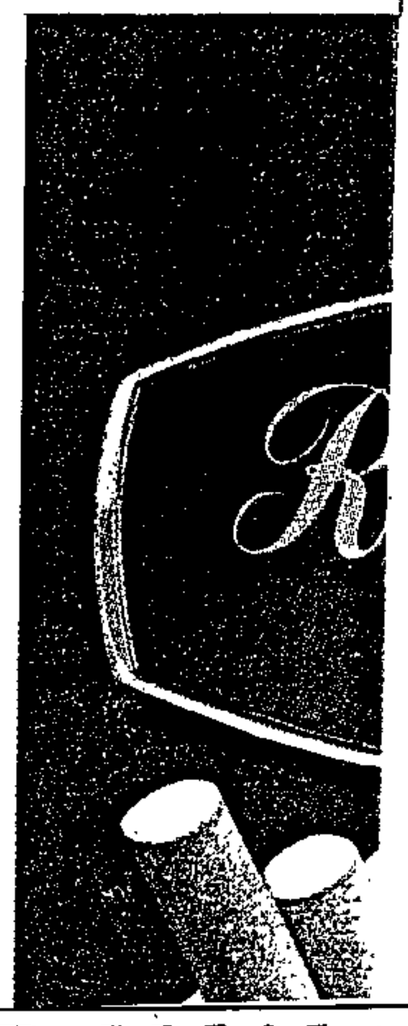

Bold bid to woo IFP

□ From Page 1

had proposed a last attempt to clinch a deal.

Their victory has resulted in the first signs of a break-up of the Freedom Alliance. S1 Turned

While IFP MPs participated in joint committee discussions about the constitution, Conservative Party members walked out. 19/12/93

Significantly, CP and Afrikaner Volksfront members have not participated in the last-minute talks with government ministers, including the meeting underway last night (HB) (304A)

However, DIRK VAN EEDEN and RYAN CRESSWELL report that AVF leaders Tienie Groenewald and General Constand Viljoen drove to Ulundi and held a clandestine meeting with Mr Buthelezi on Friday night.

A Volksfront spokesman, Mr Stephen Maninger, said: "General Viljoen met the chief minister to discuss internal alliance matters."

Mr Maninger said he could not elaborate on the talks.

Mr Buthelezi's assistant private secretary, Mr G G Dlamini, said he did not know whether the meeting took place or not.



Nat amnesty plan to free mass killers

ST Times 5/12/93



Di's shock decision to quit sparks claims of a new man in her life

By PETER MALHERBE: London

PRINCESS DIANA's shock decision to bow out of public life has prompted wide speculation that she has a new love in her life.

Reports in British newspapers yesterday claimed that the princess had formed a recent and close friendship with an unnamed man, and was determined not to have the relationship wrecked by the glare of the public spotlight.

The speculation was fuelled by a senior

By EDYTH BULBRING, RAY HARTLEY and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE government this week attempted to include in the constitution a 'cover-up' clause that would prevent public disclosure of apartheid crimes and result in a fresh wave of criminals being released on to the streets.

In negotiations with the ANC on Wednesday night, the government proposed a general amnesty for all political offences committed before December 1 this year. (30(4A) (25(2)

At present only those who committed politically-related crimes before October 8 1990 can apply for amnesty.

By extending the cut-off date and widening the scope of the amnesty, the government's proposals would see the killers of more than 10 000 people who have died in politically-related violence and crimes in the past three years go unpunished.

In terms of the proposals, the identity of killers granted amnesty will be kept secret. The families of their victims will not be able to sue for compensation. And anyone disclosing details about the granting of amnesty to a killer can be sent to prison.

Among those who will be eligible for release or indemnity in terms of the proposals are some of the most cold-blooded killers in the country's history. They include:

- Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus, sentenced to death for the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani in April this year.
- The murderers of 26-year-old American student Amy Biehl in Guguletu in August. Miss Biehl was dragged from her car and stabbed to death by a mob shouting racist slogans.
- Gunmen who murdered 11 churchgoers during

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- The murderers of 26-year-old American student Amy Biehl in Guguletu in August. Miss Biehl was dragged from her car and stabbed to death by a mob shouting racist slogans.
- Gunmen who murdered 11 churchgoers during a service in Cape Town's St James Church in July this year. The killers fired on worshippers with automatic rifles and hurled grenades into the church.
- David Petrus Botha, Eugene Marais and Adriaan Smuts of Richards Bay, the AWB killers who gunned down seven people in a vicious revenge murder in Natal on October 5 1990, and who were each sentenced to death seven times and jailed for more than 300 years.
- ANC member Michael Phama, believed to be guilty of the most murders committed by one man in the country's history. He is serving 21 life sentences.

Those responsible for apartheid crimes such as the murders of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe, Wits academic David Webster and ANC member Ruth First will never be brought to book.

The truth about these and hundreds of other crimes will never be disclosed.

In terms of the proposals, the new parliament would pass a law within six weeks of convening which would grant amnesty for all criminal and civil acts committed or associated with political objectives inside and outside South Africa.

Political objectives are defined as acts or omissions committed on the instructions of someone in authority in government or a political party to promote his political beliefs, with the belief that a political aim or interest would be served — or during politically inspired group action.

Any prisoner who would have benefited from an amnesty law if it had been in force before the prisoner was sentenced would qualify for amnesty. The prisoner could apply for his pardon and release to a Supreme Court judge, or this could be left to the discretion of the Minister of Correctional Services.

A person would not have to apply for the amnesty. Neither would he have to acknowledge or disclose any offence unless brought

□ To Page 2

Amnesty plan to free killers

□ From Page 1

to court in a criminal or civil action.

At that point he could claim he qualified for amnesty. A decision would be made by the trial judge after hearing evidence in secret. If an amnesty was granted, the criminal or civil action would be dismissed.

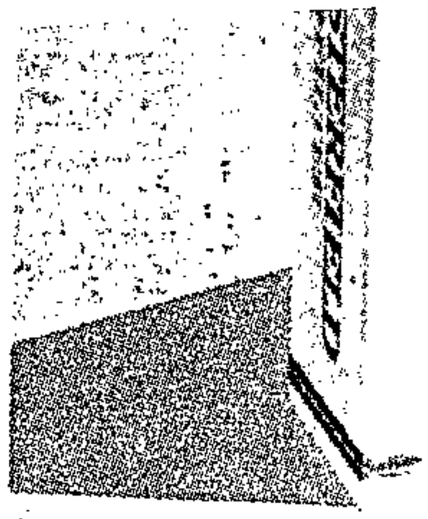
The ANC has rejected the government's proposals, but the amnesty issue will be decided by the negotiating council at its last meeting in Cape Town tomorrow. The ANC does not oppose the idea of an amnesty, but wants a Truth Commission to be set up to establish who perpetrated offences, how they were carried out, who gave the orders and the fate of the victims. The families of victims, it insists, must receive some form of compensation.

In terms of the ANC proposal to the government this week, there would be a clause in the interim constitution proposing that there would be an amnesty law for political offences.

But the law would be decided by a future government, which would decide the cut-off date, the procedures to be followed for the amnesty and the crimes it would cover.

To discourage people from committing violence in the expectancy of being granted amnesty, the ANC proposed that any offences committed after December 1 this year could never fall within the category of offences inviting amnesty.

The target date of December 1 was proposed as it was the day the negotiators expected to conclude their amnesty agreement.

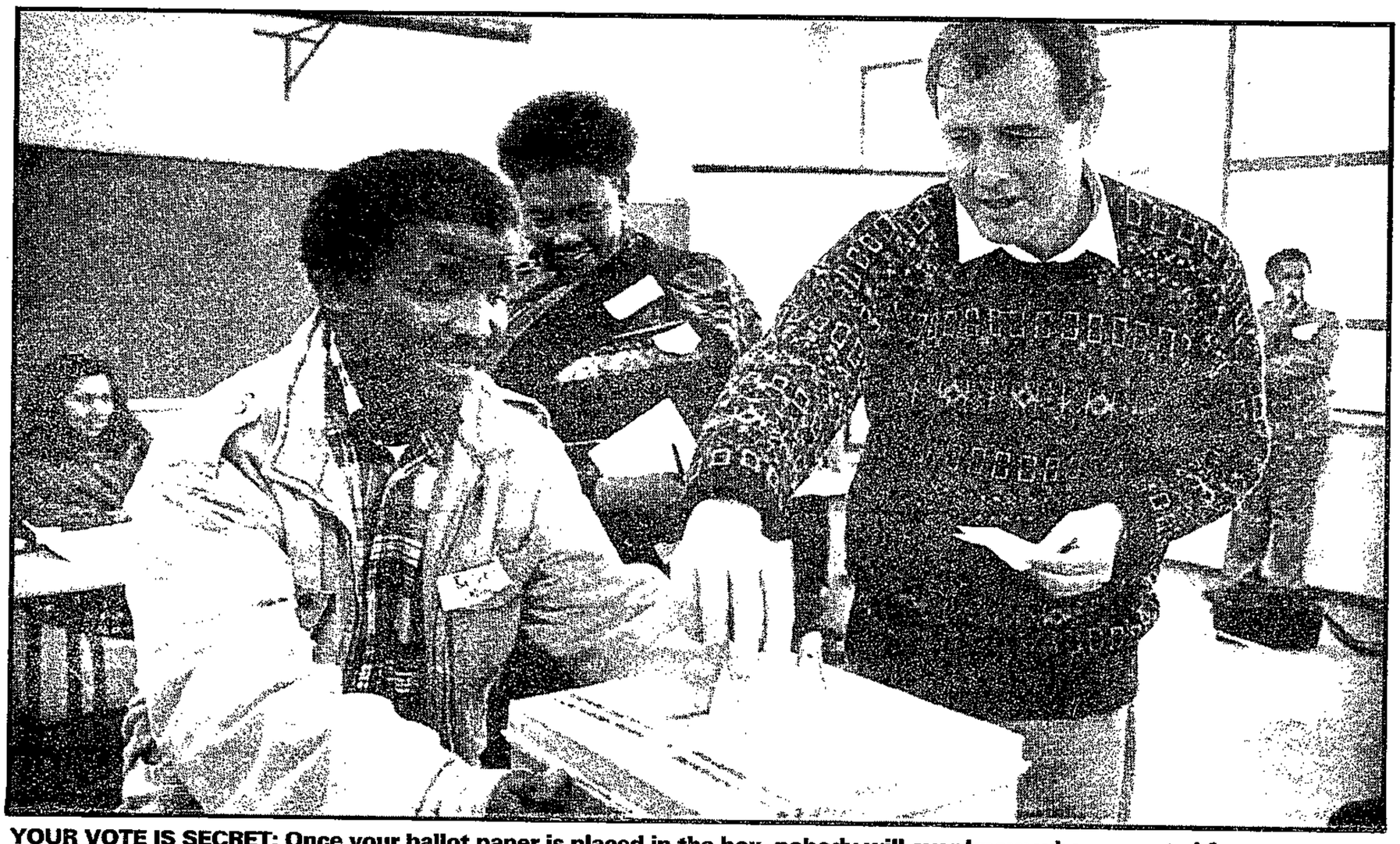


INTERNATI(

From the successors to Ligge

ONE HUNDRED

Secret ballot: vote for the candidate YOU want



YOUR VOTE IS SECRET: Once your ballot paper is placed in the box, nobody will ever know who you voted for

South 17/12/93 – 11/1/94

THE use of a secret ballot is one of the critical features of South Africa's first democratic elections on April 27. Everyone's vote is his or her secret.

A secret ballot helps to guarantee that an election is free and fair. Bribery and intimidation cannot alter the election results.

Candidate of Choice

If an individual is offered money to vote for a particular party, he or she can still vote for the candidate of their choice. Their vote is a secret, and nobody can discover it.

Similarly, a person or group cannot influence someone's vote by threatening them with violence.

A threatened person can simply reply that his or her vote is secret.

Threats will not change a person's decision when nobody can find out how that person will vote. A person might even avoid a threat by agreeing to vote for a certain party, and them selecting a different choice in secret.

The secret ballot has a number of advantages. A woman will not have to vote for her spouse's party. Young people will not have to vote for the party that his parents support. People will be allowed to vote for the party his neighbours oppose.

A worker will not have to vote for the party of his or her employer or risk losing a job. A person can state in public that they voted for a particular party, but nobody will know that person's real selection.

Voting is secret (304A)

The process of voting allows each person's selection to be secret. When someone votes, they will place a cross next to the party of their choice on the ballot paper.

This activity will take place in a private area and nobody will see that person's choice.

The person will then take their ballot paper and place it in a special box where it will remain until the ballots are counted. The voter does not put his or her name on the ballot, and it will be impossible for someone looking at the ballots in the box to identify which one belonged to which person.

A secret ballot is necessary in a democracy. Nations which fail to use a secret ballot in elections do not have legitimate governments.

In South Africa's elections on April 27, the use of a secret ballot will ensure a democratic process for electing a democratic government.

South 17/12/93 – 11/1/94

Talking about tolerance

(304A)

POLITICAL tolerance between opposing parties and organisations is being built through a massive three-phase preparation programme.

The programme will equip thousands of party election agents to monitor next year's elections.

Already, more than 800 party agents have been trained as trainers in a series of 21 multi-party training workshops throughout South Africa during October and November.

The second phase will be the integration of this training into the parties' own training programmes. The logistics of this will be determined at a conference in January of election convenors and nominated regional electoral officers.

The programme started in March this year following a request to the Swedish International Liberal Centre (SILC) for funding from one of the parties. The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was asked to facilitate a consultative meeting between SILC and political organisations.

At the meeting the parties agreed to embark on a multi-party training programme of party election agents. The objectives set by the participants included:

- A common understanding of the new Electoral Act
- Understanding the role of monitoring to reduce political tension
- Practical skills for election agents
- The ability to train others to become effective election agents
- Equal knowledge and a common interpretation of the rules, which will promote acceptance of the notion that the election results have to be accepted if the election has been deemed to be free and fair — however unpopular they may be with a particular party
- Contributing towards the creation of an atmosphere of political tolerance.

Meeting monthly over a period of five months, representatives from each of the parties designed a multi-party training process and programme. Idasa was asked to develop the curriculum, run the training workshops and take on the administration of the programme.

Initial reservations about the multi-party nature of the training have faded.

Azapo has been in from the start, appreciating the long-term benefits of party agent training. The IFP and the African Democratic Movement have been regular members. The PAC has been one of the programme's strongest supporters.

Building tolerance was one of the objectives of the programme. Putting it on paper was one thing, but seeing it happen in the regions at the level of party activists has been something else.

What took the speakers by surprise was the speed at which mutual tolerance has developed in areas as far flung as Pietersburg and Bisho, Bloemfontein and George.

Parties that arrived armed on Friday night exchanged addresses when they left on Sunday afternoon. According to Mr Benny Makena, one of the trainers, the pattern repeated itself every time.

Party agents who would have faced each other with hostility on election day, may now, in all likelihood, know each other.

Which doesn't mean there won't be competition, but there will be a common understanding of the constructive role of party agents and the contribution they can make to free and fair elections.

The third phase of the programme will be mass one-day briefings of party agents just before the elections.

These sessions will be to update party agents on new developments and to be a final refresher course.

No democracy without tolerance

South 17/12/93 – 11/1/94

TOLERANCE OF AN opposing or even offensive point of view is one of the most difficult and necessary components of a democracy. 11/1/94

In a democracy, the government represents all the people of the nation.

It is the government's duty to respect everybody's ideas.

The apartheid regime did not practice tolerance. Those taking positions against the government were often detained.

On April 28, a new democratically elected government will take power in South Africa.

One of its most important goals will be to avoid the practices of the past in promoting a culture of political tolerance.

The need for political tolerance applies not just to the behaviour of the government, but also its people. This means that people have the right to freely speak in favour of a particular party or viewpoint.

The opposite is also true. If someone expresses a an opinion which other people disagree with or find insulting, they must still accept his or her right to express that opinion (304A)

Tolerant behaviour allows different people to become exposed to different customs, practices and beliefs.

If one person makes an argument that another person finds disagreeable, they can engage in discussion and debate.

Certain people or parties may promote unfair or undemocratic views. For a democracy to survive, people must tolerate these ideas. If they are forbidden they can become believable. A democracy will flourish in a society where unjust ideas are confronted in an opendebate.

There are many instances of political intolerance in South Africa. For instance, many party meetings have been disrupted by hostile demonstrators.

Fortunately, there are also countless examples of political tolerance in South Africa today.

Many people released from years in prison chose to negotiate for a new South Africa with their former enemies. Such behaviour demonstrates a commitment to a free society. It is this attitude of tolerance which must prevail for South Africa to have a working democracy.

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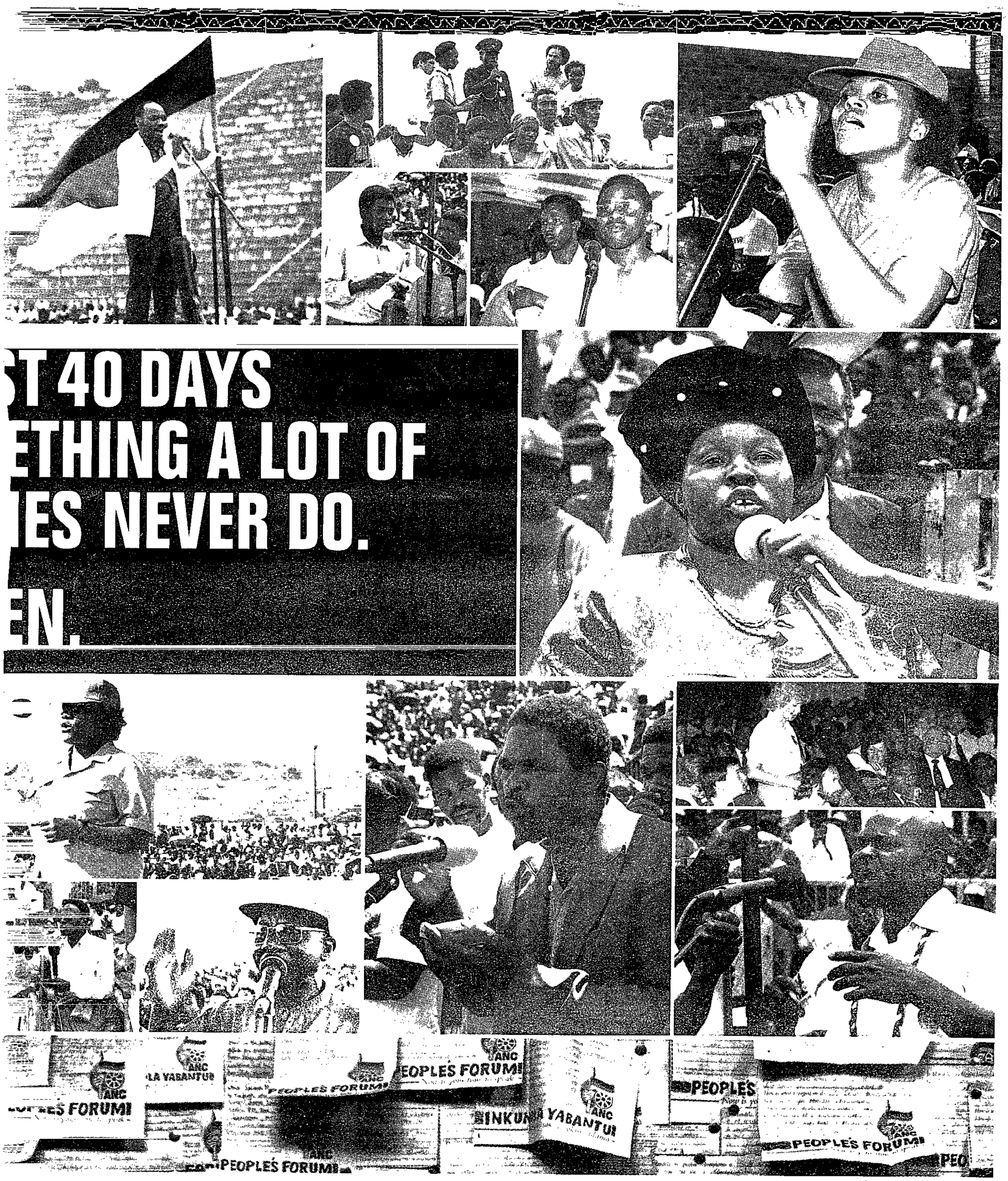


nd solutions at the People's Forums, you have helped to bring this day closer. We will make sure your voice s heard at our Reconstruction and Development Conference in January. Our programme to re-build outh Africa must address your needs.

You deserve a government that listens. A government that cares. A government that delivers. Thank you r letting us know where you stand. Because, above all, the ANC stands for you.

ANC

PEOPLE'S FORUM

Now is your time to speak.

NEWS Meeting in President's Cour

TEC hailed as end of white rule

Sowetan 8/11/93

■ VERBAL CLASH De Klerk replies to Ramaphosa remarks:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council held its first historic meeting yesterday, heralding the end of exclusive white rule in South Africa.

Although 16 parties took part in yesterday's sitting out of the original 26 which participated in constitutional talks, the TEC was hailed by the new councillors as meaning the end of white minority rule. 3044

And as this sank in, a clash of words erupted between African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and State President FW de Klerk.

In his opening remarks during the meeting, Ramaphosa said the Government "would like to see the TEC as an advisory body, reducing it to a toy telephone, and we must resist this".

He said: "We call on them to accept that the days of white minority rule are over. We must all execute our functions with the dignity of the office that we occupy, with determination and with a great deal of courage...

"In executing our task we must fear no foe, and we must favour no friend."

Responding to Ramaphosa at Tuynhuys later, De Klerk accused the ANC leader of playing politics, saying: "The days of white domination are over. We are now in the process of debating a new constitution.

"We do not accept the TEC for what it is not, and it is not a new government. The Government has not stopped governing. The TEC is not a new government of South Africa. I wish people could go and read the (TEC) Bill," De Klerk said.

De Klerk was addressing a joint Press briefing with British Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Baroness Lynda Chalker, at Tuynhuys.

He said he hoped that at its next meeting tomorrow the TEC would appoint the Independent Electoral Commission to set the election process in motion. The TEC was part of the Kempton Park negotiations package and was signed into law by De Klerk and published in the *Government Gazette* on November 26.

Meanwhile TEC members got immediately to work behind closed doors after its first session to set in motion structures to appoint office bearers.

A seven-member management committee was appointed to look at the logistical running of TEC affairs. Each participating party will have a member on the TEC.

An alternate member will attend meetings only when the appointed representative is absent. Primarily, the TEC will oversee the implementation of the IEC, Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority Acts to ensure fair and free elections on April 27.

At its meeting tomorrow the TEC is expected to announce members to serve on sub-councils on defence, finance, law and order, intelligence, foreign affairs and status of women.

NEWS Evidence of rival factions w

FA stumbling block

Sowetan 6/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Conservative Party chief Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg are believed to be the main obstacles to a constitutional agreement with the Freedom Alliance.

Sources close to both the South African and Bophuthatswana governments said the problem could be solved only if Buthelezi would ease up on his demand for the federal option.

The sources said that except for the Conservative Party and Inkatha, all the other members of the FA wanted to take part in the Transitional Executive Council which sits in Cape Town tomorrow to conclude constitutional negotiations in preparation for next year's elections.

These developments follow optimistic comments after the Government and the FA met last week and edged closer to each other on constitutional matters.

On the other hand, Hartzenberg, who is also Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader, has been said to be holding out on the demand for the Afrikaner Volkstaat as FA members believe negotiations with the Government and the African National Congress were bringing a solution around the rightwing problem.

Buthelezi's problems were compounded this weekend by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's criticism of the IFP leader and the FA regarding negotiations.

Zwelithini said the absence of a number of parties from talks pointed to the inability of political parties to accommodate and compromise and that "one could only rue the missed chances politicians had of forging a future acceptable to all".

He said the country could do without walkouts at negotiations.

Test of will

Buthelezi has undertaken to test the will of KwaZulu/Natal about fighting the elections. He would do this through a special conference of the IFP next month.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council moves from Kempton Park to Cape Town today in preparation for the installation of the TEC tomorrow.

Crucial debate on the final draft of the interim constitution begins on Thursday or Friday and it is hoped that the rest of the package of the Kempton Park agreements would be enacted before Christmas.

The Bills to be approved and passed by Parliament are the Electoral Act, Local Government Bill and the Constitution itself.

Makwetu to meet AVF boss

Sowetan 10/12/93

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen are to meet next week to discuss armed attacks on white farmers, the land question and rightwing war threats.

The meeting, in Pretoria on Monday, will involve high-powered delegations from both parties, including South African Agricultural Union president Mr Koos Bruwer.

It is believed Makwetu initiated the move following his public statements that the PAC was willing to talk to the ultra-right if this would lead to ending hostilities and violence in the country. (18) (304A)

This will be the first face-to-face encounter between the PAC and AVF.

While formal statements were not forthcoming from either side yesterday, *Sowetan* was reliably told the PAC intended to strongly address the rightwing war threats, especially in the wake of the Schanskop siege on Wednesday by a small group of rightwingers.

Meanwhile, the PAC has said it was not aware of a meeting involving its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the South African Defence Force planned for Harare, Zimbabwe, tomorrow.

allies for support • Chief Buthelezi stands up to new bc

KwaZulu and TEC draw battle lines

Sowetan 13/12/93

■ **CLASH LOOMS** Top cop given until today to report before the council

A FIERCE CLASH IS LOOMING between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government and the multiparty Transitional Executive Council following KwaZulu's decision to defy a TEC injunction last week.

The TEC, which held its inaugural meeting in Cape Town last Tuesday, has called on KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to give it a report by today on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a five-member hit squad — allegedly responsible for the murder of at least nine people, including ANC members — existed within the KZP.

During was given until today to make available to the TEC any information at their disposal. (304A)

However, During told the TEC on Friday he could not comply with its injunction because the KwaZulu government, which was not party to agreements leading to the installation of the TEC, had ordered him to ignore the request.

This reportedly left some within the 16-member TEC fuming. Sources said tough action was contemplated against KwaZulu.

Such action might include a massive deployment of SAP and South African Defence Force personnel to Ulundi to search KZP headquarters and seize relevant documents.

Decorum goes out as politicians advertise

SOWETAN 13/12/93

■ IGNORING RULES The Nats are just a little too robust, claims the ANC:

FIVE MONTHS BEFORE the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media.

Sunday newspapers at the weekend carried full page adverts by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party's advert is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?" (HP) (304A) (HP)

Stating "we have made the change", the advert attempts to establish the NP as the driving force behind change. The NP also placed their advert in the ANC-aligned *Sunday Nation*.

The ANC advertised itself as "a political party with a difference"; as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".

The ad emphasises the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party, challenges the Goldstone Commission's report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

Presented as an "open letter to the Goldstone Commission", the advert quotes President FW de Klerk as saying: "(The ANC's) major role in creating a climate for violence and politically motivated murders is undisputed..."

The advert concludes with a "challenge" to Goldstone to tell the public what recommendations his commission would make to "prevent MK's murderous activities".

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council is to adjudicate on an NP advert the ANC has labelled "malicious" and "libelous". The ANC claims the ad depicted it as a party that intimidated people and stopped them going to work. — *Sapa*.

Govt, ANC talks fail to woo FA

Sowetan 21/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

HOPES for the inclusion of conservatives and rightwing parties in the constitutional settlement for South Africa were dashed late last night.

The Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance deadlocked about 10pm at the HF Verwoerd Building in Parliament in Cape Town.

The FA said it wanted to consult its principals and a meeting would continue between the three parties this morning.

This was after a whole day's trilateral meeting to woo the rightwingers into accepting and participating in next year's April 27 nonracial election.

The FA refused to give its commitment to accept "a democratic outcome" against the background of multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre (304A)

Late last night the FA and Government held separate Press conferences to explain their positions.

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told Sowetan that his organisation would lay down its position and would not compromise.

"All we want from them is a commitment to accept a democratic outcome of the constitutional process," Ramaphosa said.

Meanwhile, debate on the interim constitution ended in Parliament last night.

President FW de Klerk was expected to sign into law the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993 tomorrow, effectively sealing the end of the last white Parliament.

However, this depends on the voting of the joint tricameral parliamentary seating today.

D-day for last white Parliament

Sowetan 22/12/93

By Themba Molefe and Bongani Mavuso

SOUTH AFRICA EDGED to a constitutional crisis yesterday with the failure of a joint African National Congress and Government effort to get a commitment from the Freedom Alliance.

But if the FA, through the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party, manage to secure an amendment to fulfil its demands, this would mean reopening the whole multiparty negotiations process for approval of those changes and put the country back to first base.

The tricameral Parliament rises today after the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993 is adopted by the last white-dominated Government.

Talks broke down yesterday after the five-party FA refused to meet the ANC/Government demand that it take part in transitional constitutional structures, the April 27 elections or accept the outcome of the process as legitimate.

The trilateral negotiations continued late last night in Cape Town and were to only begin dealing with substantive constitutional issues then.

Central to the conflict is the FA's demand for the right to self-determination which it wants entrenched in the interim constitution.

Although this has a different meaning to the five parties comprising the FA, the demand means the question of an Afrikaner volkstaat to the rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront which includes the Conservative Party.

Sowetan was reliably told yesterday that the ANC was prepared to walk out of the meeting at any time and had had enough of the rightwing problem. ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said on Monday that commitment to the outcome of the process was non-negotiable.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront failed to sign a "memorandum of agreement" in Johannesburg yesterday because of various "problems" allegedly encountered by the AVF.

Addressing a Press briefing yesterday, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen said "occurrences in Cape Town and the attitude of some people there" had stopped him from signing. He said "certain elements" within the Government made it necessary for his party not to sign. Loyalty to the FA also contributed to his party's refusal to sign.

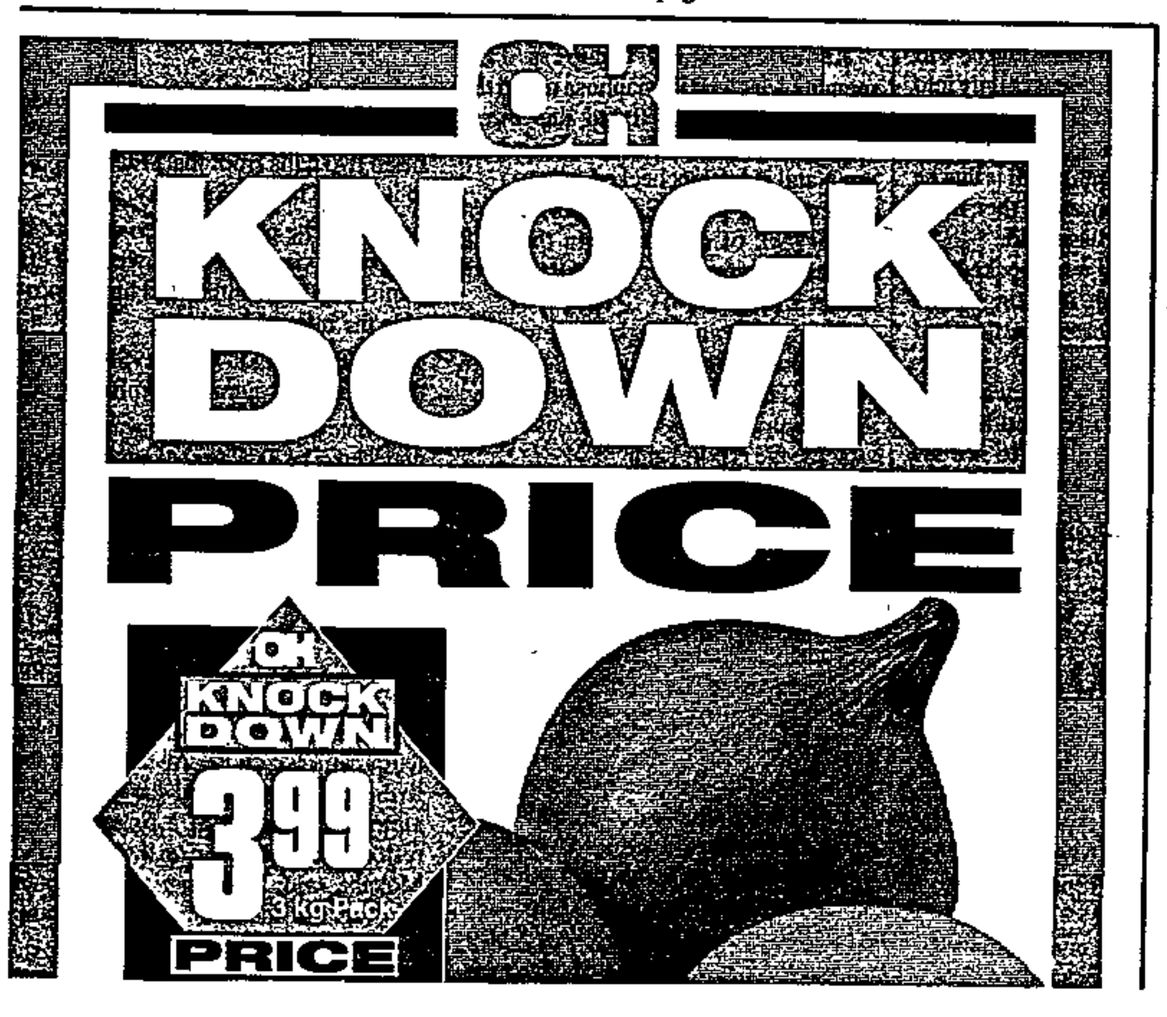
Viljoen said: "The ANC remains loyal to the SA Communist Party. We also felt that we should not do anything that would split the Freedom Alliance." He said rejection by the Government and failure by the ANC to have the "agreement" entered into the future constitution showed that some "people were not taking our agreement seriously".

ANC deputy general-secretary Mr Jacob Zuma said negotiations between his party and the AVF would continue.

● See page 6.



Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen with African National Congress deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma at a Press conference at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday. PIC: LEN KUMALO



In the early hours of November 18 South Africa took its first tentative step towards democracy when representatives across the racial and political divide agreed on the steps to democracy. But there is still a long way until South Africa has majority rule:

It's not yet Uhuru!

South 10/12 - 14/12/93 (304A)

PHASE ONE

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC), Independent Electoral and Media Commissions assist in the running of the country. Their task is to ensure free political activity and peace towards the first democratic elections.

PHASE TWO

Elections on April 27 1994. After the elections the interim constitution comes into force and South Africa is placed under an elected, non-racial government of national unity.

PHASE THREE

The government of national unity drafts a new constitution. The president and deputy comes from the majority party and the other deputy comes from the second largest party.

PHASE FOUR

A new constitution is adopted and paves the way for truly democratic elections. How long it takes to adopt the constitution will depend on how agreement is reached on a number of issues.

PHASE FIVE

The new constitution has been adopted and regional and other government structures are put into place. The government of national unity continues to hold power for five years.

PHASE SIX

1999: Elections under the new constitution. The government hands over power to the majority party. The majority party can still form a coalition government, but this will be the first majority rule.

South 10/12 - 14/12/93

TEC meets for the first time

(304A)

ON MONDAY the 21-member Transitional Executive Council (TEC) met for the first time in Cape Town.

The TEC was chosen from the 21 parties that took part in negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The major task of the TEC and its seven sub-councils will be to ensure that the April 27 elections are free and fair.

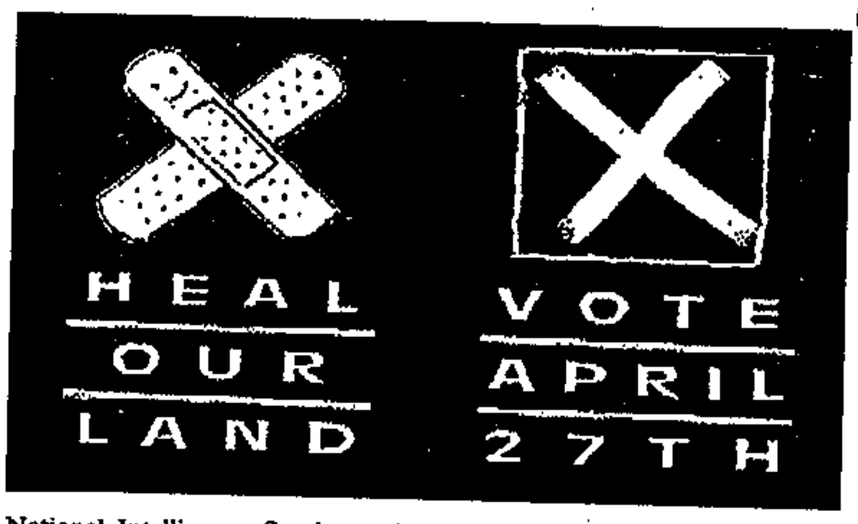
The foundation for this historic gathering was laid a few weeks ago at Kempton Park when South Africa took its first faltering steps towards a new dispensation.

The adoption of a new constitution, the ratification of the Transitional Executive Bill and other major decisions, taken after years of deliberations, gave renewed hope to a lot of people, especially democrats.

The TEC will begin its work to ensure that no party receives an unfair advantage in the elections.

The TEC is not officially a government, but it will have wide powers to tell the present government what to do.

It will set up sub-councils on security and financial matters to ensure the SAP, the SADF and the



National Intelligence Service and other government departments do not favour any party.

The Independent Electoral Commission, with the help of the joint National Peacekeeping Force, will ensure the elections are fair.

The Independent Media Commission will ensure radio, TV and government publications are fair.

South Africa will be headed by a president and two deputy presidents.

Also adopted were a Bill of Rights; nine regions; 11 official languages; universal franchise for all South Africans; a constitutional court; an independent judiciary; a three-tier representation system for traditional leaders; a single police force and a single defence force.

In terms of the agreement the party with the most votes will nominate the president and one of the deputy presidents.

The runner-up party in the elections will nominate the other deputy president who is merely consulted and has no veto power.

The majority party will also have the most cabinet members.

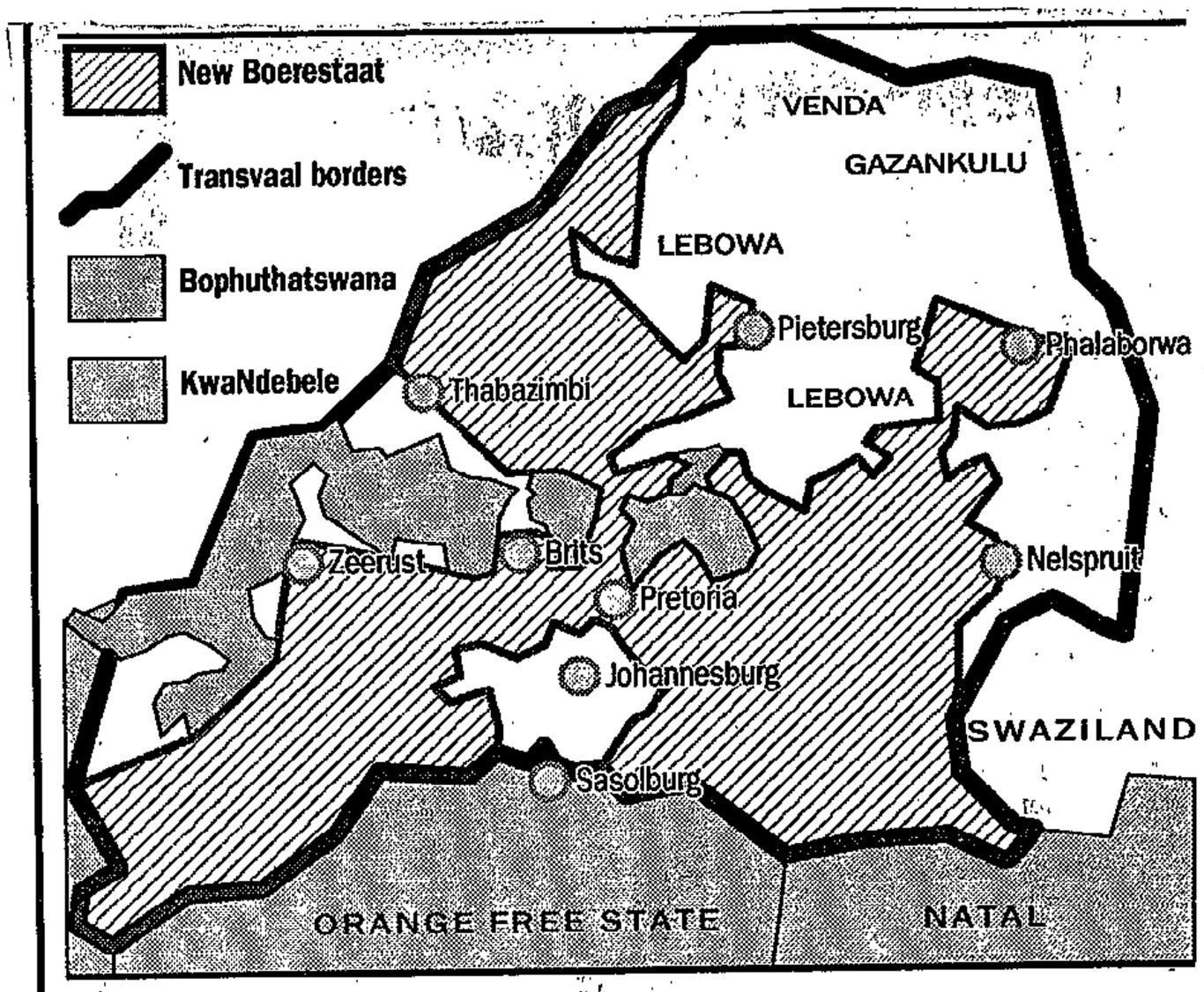
On April 27 South Africa will elect 400 people to a National Assembly comprising 200 representatives from a national list and 200 from provincial or regional lists.

The senate will be comprised of 10 representatives from each of the nine provinces. The Assembly and Senate will draft the final constitution.

The cabinet will be comprised of parties with at least five percent support.

Arriving at these historic decisions was not easy. There were a number of sticky issues, such as a timeframe for a government of national unity, the number of ballot papers, deadlock-breaking mechanisms for the drafting of the constitution, boundaries and powers of regions, regional constitutions and the decision-making powers of the cabinet.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



AFRIKANERDOM . . . the Volksfront's homeland plan Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Hopes for volkstaat are dashed

Sitimes 5/12/93

BY JOCELYN MAKER

THE Afrikaner Volksfront's hopes of an independent homeland, with Pretoria as capital, have been dashed by the ANC and the Pretoria City Council.

But that hasn't stopped the Volksfront mapping out a proposed homeland and devising a plan to share the historic urban heartland of Afrikanerdom with the Ndebele and Tswana people (304A)( )

But the plan is stillborn. On Friday, the Pretoria City Council agreed to the formation of the multi-racial Greater Pretoria Transitional Metropolitan Forum.

Management committee chairman Dr Pieter Smith said that, until next year's municipal elections, the forum would serve as the local authority for Pretoria, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Eersterust, Laudium, Roodeplaat, Verwoerdburg, Rantjesig, Knoppieslaagte, Midrand, Rabie Ridge, Ivory Park, Akasia and Soshanguve.

Meanwhile, Volksfront spokesman Mr Stephan Manninger said the final boundaries of the greater volkstaat would be drawn after referendums in smaller Transvaal towns to gauge the feeling of white residents on inclusion in an Afrikaner homeland.

He said 21 towns had already responded positively, including Middelburg, Standerton, Bloemhof, Sannieshof, Schweizer-Reneke, Ottosdal, Delareyville and Ventersdorp.

In the Free State, Viljoenskroon and Koppies also wanted to be part of the volkstaat.

But ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said: "Discussions between the ANC and Volksfront are continuing, but there is no chance of a volkstaat being agreed to. The very concept reopens the question of bantustans — and we will never agree to anything that requires people to be uprooted."

Adriaan Vlok quits

ST Times 19/12/93

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok has announced his retirement from politics.

He will remain in his present portfolio as Minister of Correctional Services until the day of the elections, April 27, next year.

Mr Vlok and the former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, were demoted from senior cabinet posts to lesser ones after being fiercely criticised by the ANC and Democratic Party for failing to control the security forces.

Earlier this year, when General Malan resigned, it was widely expected in parliamentary circles that Mr Vlok would do the same.

Mr Vlok, who turned 56 on December 11, became Minister of Law and Order in the P W Botha administration in 1986.

Speaking in the debate on the interim constitution yesterday morning, he said he felt the need to devote more time to his family. (304-19)

Mr Vlok pledged continued loyalty to President F W de Klerk and the National Party.

He had been in Parliament for 20 years — 10 as a cabinet minister.

DP 'recruiting ex-MK fighters'

JOHANNESBURG.— The Democratic Party today entered the fray over defecting members of the armed wing of the African National Congress, claiming many former MK cadres had "enthusiastically" joined the DP because of dissatisfaction with the ANC.

(304A) ARG 31/12/93

Yesterday the National Party made a similar claim, which was dismissed by the ANC with "contempt and disgust".

Today Jack Bloom, the DP's southern Transvaal chairman of expansion, said he was not surprised former Umkhonto we Sizwe members were joining other political parties.

"Throughout this year, a large number of former MK soldiers have enthusiastically joined the DP, invariably because of dissatisfaction over ill treatment by the ANC and misgivings at the real commitment of the ANC to democracy," he said.

"The ANC must learn to accept healthy competition together with the fact that it is losing many members by its internal authoritarian practices." — Sapa.

the video star!

throughout country for Nat centrepiece

304A

■ As might be expected, the Nationalist election campaign is going to be built around its top star, President De Klerk.

TOS WENTZEL ARG 18/12/93
Weekend Argus Political Staff

APPEARANCES by President De Klerk, including road shows throughout the country in which he will make whistle-stop visits similar to last year's referendum campaign, will be the centrepiece of the National Party's election campaign.

The campaign moves into top gear with a video projecting President De Klerk and his reform moves as the central theme.

It is the precursor to the intensive final phase of the party's election campaign which will start in the middle of January.

The party is billing Mr De Klerk as its star attraction and the man who can draw support from many people of all races, who are not traditional supporters of the party.

The campaign will emphasise that this is the new National Party which has totally abandoned its apartheid past.

On Tuesday Mr De Klerk, as leader of the party, will give more details of the campaign at a Press conference.

Party information director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, MP, said yesterday that the election campaign would move into top gear from the middle of January.

He said the party was not unduly concerned about opinion polls which had shown a huge drop in support for the party.

Internal polls carried out by the party showed that the tide was turning. Many of those who had drifted away could be won back in addition to new supporters the party was gaining.

The video has been planned by the local affiliate of Saatchi and Saatchi, the British advertising firm which played a crucial role several elections won by Margaret Thatcher.

It has been sent to party organisations in the four provinces and will be extensively used, especially at smaller house meetings.

Lasting 12 minutes and titled *The People's Leader*, the video has an up-beat approach to the reform moves Mr De Klerk started in February 1990.

In between scenes of many of Mr De Klerk's public appearances, including some of his visits to 40 countries, it switches to appeals by him for support for the National Party.

It maintains his reform moves prevented a revolution and caused the breakdown of international isolation.

Mr De Klerk stresses that the new South Africa had not yet arrived. It will only do so when a new constitution and a government of national unity are in place.

He punts for his party as the only one which can ensure peace and prosperity and "a good future in a wonderful country".

He also urges voters not to waste their vote. This appears to be the line the NP will take with supporters of parties like the Democratic Party.

FW

Road shows

ter van die volg
gende en sterk

organisatoriese opleiding

enige ander (spesifiseer)

al die bogenoemde

3. GEMEENSKAPSPROFIEL

3.1 Is daar enige projekte in jou geme

3.2 Hoekom is jy nie 'n lid van organisasie nie.

Jy het nie tyd nie

Jou naaste projek is nie bereikba

Die projek is ondemokraties

Lys enige ander redes:

PARLIAMENT



AST SESSION: The l-white House of ssembly sitting for ıe last time before ıe session of arliament ended esterday. Although e MPs will remain in fice until the April 27 ection the present arliament will not eet again.

Picture: HARRY TYLER

Nostalgia, sadness and laughter as 'white House' winds up

ARG 23/12/93 (3044)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

LITTLE of the political gravitas, or feisty conflict, of more than 83 years of whites-only politics was evident when the House of Assembly met in its august, stinkwood-panelled chamber for the last time.

When the MPs — two in hats, traditionally worn on the final day of a session to maintain the tradition that a members can wear a hat when sitting down — gathered to say goodbye to their political home and have their last photograph taken there, the mood was nostalgic, even sad.

From these same green leather benches, generations of members have made and contested policy and ruled the country.

It was here, in the dark days of September 1939 that Jan Smuts won the motion, on an 80-67 vote, that took South Africa into World War 2.

It was here that the republican referendum was announced in January 1960, and, at another portentous time, that the elaborate edifice of grand apartheid was unveiled in a marathon speech by Hendrik Verwoerd.

And it was here, at 2.15 pm on September 6 1966, that Verwoerd collapsed and died after being brutally stabbed by a parliamentary messenger, Dimitri Tsafendas.

Indeed, history has been made countless times in the chamber, but the impact of history itself has never been as acute as it was at 10am yesterday when the 83-year-old "white House" adjourned for good.

From Union in 1910, the House of Assembly has been at the very centre of the critical division in South African politics — the racial divide.

Here, the infamous and hated laws of apartheid were forged, and fought, and the House assumed the character of an immovable counterpoint to the struggle that raged against it, and all it represented, from outside.

Yet, as the Assembly succumbed to history yesterday, Leader of the House Adriaan Vlok said: "I am sure that I speak for the majority when I say that we do not see this as an end, but a new beginning for a better future."

But Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg declared the demise of the House of Assembly amounted to "the loss of our freedom", an event akin to the Treaty of Vereeniging at the end of the Anglo-Boer War.

Looking ahead, he hoped Afrikaners would achieve agreement before April 27 to allow them to have their own "House of Assembly" in their own territory.

ANC MP David Dalling — whose reflections on past orators he admired drew laughter from MPs — predicted the old House would take on a new life after the election.

But he acknowledged the chamber's enduring dignity in the past and paid tribute to the independence and professionalism of the parliamentary corps.

Farewells and good wishes punctuated the final hour in the Assembly.

While many political careers will end in April when the country chooses a new legislature, the future of some parliamentary traditions must also be in doubt.

But there is one rather quaint tradition in the House of Assembly that some of the present MPs, at least, would guard jealously if they were returned.

Few know it, but the taking of snuff is a privilege allowed in the House and a little aluminium snuff-box is kept at the lobby entrance, under the watchful eye of the serjeant-at-arms, for the purpose.

It is an old privilege inherited from the pre-Union Cape Parliament ... but, until yesterday, the snuff-box was still in use.

It remains to be seen what a democratic parliament will make of it.

ARG 29/12/93

'Voters must accept result of election'

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE cultivation of political tolerance is one of the most difficult tasks in the voter education programme which is building up as the April election approaches.

Potential voters need to be made aware that the democratic process does not mean that their party will necessarily win this election.

In an article in Sash, the official journal of the Black Sash, national executive member Karin Chubb says learning to accept the result is part of the task of voter preparation.

Whether an election is free and fair is decided not only on voting day but during the months of pre-election activity.

Alongside effective voter education there has to be the process of monitoring.

Disinformation and intimidation — often reported during voter education workshops — have to be investigated and followed up.

There have been reports from rural area of mysterious payments to prospective voters or of food parcels being handed out.

These rumours have to be checked and, if necessary, affidavits taken.

In cases of intimidation or misinformation monitors can help to reassure people.

Ms Chubb points out that access to potential voters is an area of concern.

It is very difficult for political activists to gain access to farms.

There have been reports of farmers shooting at strangers suspected of campaigning among their workers.

Black Sash advice offices have been told that certain farmers bring their workers to town and force them to join a political party.

De Beer warns liberals on new constitution

Political Staff (304A)

THE Democratic Party has pledged to help make the liberal idea of human dignity permanent not only in a new constitution but also in daily life.

Speaking at a Press briefing today, DP leader Zac de Beer said the liberal democratic vision of the old Progressive Party had found its way into the interim constitution. But the constitution was not ideal and the DP was determined to improve it. ARG 22/12/93

The constitution could in any case not guarantee an open society.

"Unless South Africans become people who hungrily claim the rights enshrined in the constitution as their own and exercise them freely, the constitution will never deliver the open society or realise the liberal democratic vision.

"Unless our future economic policies are grounded in the same liberal vision, they will be doomed to fail as authoritarian constitutions and coercive economic systems are."

FW confident about all-party election (304A) ARG 22/12/93

PRESIDENT De Klerk is confident the impasse in talks with the rightwing alliance will be broken within a month.

"I am hopeful it is possible to accommodate some of the anxieties of the parties. I am sure that when that happens by January 24, it will be possible to have all significant parties taking part in the elections," Mr De Klerk said.

Taking questions from television viewers, he said his party believed in "strong regional governments" in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Black and white federalists in the Freedom Alliance agreed after 40 hours of talks to submit a compromise proposed by the government and the ANC to their leaders.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said the leaders of the five alliance parties would examine the proposed compromise, which would bind it to supporting the political transition and taking part in April's elections — provided its constitutional demands were met. — Sapa-Reuter.

Historic parliament vote on constitution

☐ Freedom Alliance may be drawn into deal soon

ARG 22/12/93 (3044)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT is expected to approve the interim constitution in an historic vote today — but could be back in the new year to ratify further amendments to draw the dissenting Freedom Alliance parties into the deal.

A breakthrough in negotiations with the alliance now rests squarely on the leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the rightwing parties and the homeland parties in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

As MPs conclude a gruelling special session of parliament today with the vote on the constitution, Freedom Alliance negotiators will present to their leaders a proposal hammered out in a final desperate round of talks which ended at midnight.

The essence of the government/African National Congress proposal — agreed in principle by the alliance negotiators but subject to the approval of their leaders — is that:

● The alliance and its leaders make a commitment that once a "final comprehensive agreement" is reached, they will abide by the new constitution, to adhere to the laws, rules and regulations governing the transition as well as the election and all related structures and take part in the election on April 27 and abide by the result.

● The three sides continue negotiating to seek agreement on further constitutional amendments before January 24.



MEYER
'Impasse broken'



RAMAPHOSA
'Talks constructive'

● These agreements be approved by the multiparty negotiating council and parliament.

If this process yields fruit, parliament will have to be recalled for a short session, probably at the end of January.

The absence of any progress before late last night meant the Freedom Alliance lost its chance to alter the interim constitution before its passage through the

More political reports on page 14

session of parliament ending today.

Exhausted task force negotiators addressed a media conference after midnight.

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer said there had finally been "some progress" and the "impasse" had been broken. This would allow the process to continue in January "with a cut-off date of not later than January 24".

ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the discussions had been "constructive" and the end product now in sight meant there was "a basis for taking us forward and ensuring that the negotiation process does have some meaning".

He emphasised the necessity of a commitment from the alliance before substantive constitutional issues could be considered. This raised hopes for an all-inclusive settlement.

"Negotiations have not been fruitless and once the document has been accepted, I believe a firm foundation will have been formed for us to move ahead."

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronjé expressed disappointment at the absence of a deal ahead of today's crucial vote on the constitution. But he said the alliance remained committed to finding a negotiated settlement.

"That open door has been made possible by (this) proposal which contains elements of documents from all three sides."

The alliance negotiators had not accepted it as much as undertaken to refer it to their leaders "for consideration".

Inkatha negotiator Ben Ngubane said: "We simply have to find unity in our diversity and that has been the spirit in tonight's final hour."

● The closing of a contentious chapter of South African political history will be marked today by a special ceremonial final sitting of the whites-only House of Assembly — the chamber in which apartheid laws were made, and fiercely fought.

91% of voters have ID

TR&22/2/88

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

MORE than 91 percent of the eligible voters in South African — with the exception of the TBVC countries — have documents which will enable them to vote in next year's election.

The Department of Home Affairs is now planning an intensive operation to issue ID documents to potential voters in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

In terms of the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Bill now before parliament citizens of these Bantustans will receive South African citizenship from January 1.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said today that there had been a significant increase in applications for ID books in the first three weeks of the month.

More than a quarter of a million applications had been received.

He said efforts of his department included a comprehensive "awareness" programme which would run up to the election, the use of 58 permanent mobile units to reach applicants even in the most remote corners of the country and the supplying of ID photos free of charge.

At this stage 91 percent of eligible voters in South Africa had the necessary documents.

Only about half of the potential voters in the TBVC have the necessary documents.

NEW CONSTITUTION

A question of principles

ARG 21/12/93 (3044)

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff runs the rule over the interim constitution.

THE new interim constitution is underpinned by 33 lofty principles included in a schedule to the interim constitution now being debated by parliament.

Above all these principles lay down that the constitution shall provide for "the establishment of one sovereign state, a common South African citizenship and a democratic system of government committed to achieving equality between men and women and people of all races".

Universally accepted fundamental rights are entrenched.

The principles emphasise the prohibition of racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination and the promotion of racial and gender equality and national unity.

Equality before the law is laid down.

There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances to ensure "accountability, responsiveness and openness".

One big difference between the present constitution and the interim one is that the judiciary will have more powers to safeguard and enforce the constitution and fundamental rights.

An interesting new principle is the provision for freedom of information so that there can be open and accountable administration at all levels.

Only time will tell how this provision will work. The present administration certainly has an appalling record on this issue.

The diversity of language and culture is acknowledged and protected as well as the right to organise liguistic, religious and cultural associations.

Provision is made for minority parties to take part in the legislative process in a manner consistent with democracy.

While provision is made for one state, there are also provisions for the entrenchmemt of the powers, boundaries, functions or institutions of regions. Only a two-thirds majority in parliament can change this.

In decisions on the allocation of national and provincial government powers, the criterion will be the level at which decisions can be taken most effectively.

Where it is necessary for South Africa to speak with one voice or to act as a single entity, in particular in relation to other states, power will be allocated to the national government.

Provincial government, which was consistently downgraded by the present administration, will have meaningful and entrenched powers in the new system.

One principle lays down that the national government "shall not exercise its powers so as to encroach upon the integrity of the provinces".

Each level of government shall have a constitutional right to an equitable share of revenue collected nationally.

The independence and impartiality of a public service commssion, the Reserve Bank, the Auditor General and a public Protector will be safeguarded.

There is also reference to an "efficient, non-partisan, career-orientated public service broadly representative of the South African community, functioning on a basis of fairness".

It will have to serve all members of the public in an unbiased and impartial manner.

Members of the security forces, police, military and intelligence, will be required to perform their functions and exercise their powers in the national interest and shall be prohibited from furthering or prejudicing party political interest.

'Cooling-off' period for alliance

(304A) ARG 22/12/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

LEADERS of the Freedom Alliance are to put off for a while a decision on a government-ANC proposal aimed at salvaging their negotiations.

Conservative Party leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said today that a "cooling off" period was now needed after the exhausting talks of the past few days.

The cut-off date for an agreement is January 24.

An opportunity for the alliance to have some amendments incorporated in the new interim constitution has now passed.

This afternoon a joint session of parliament will approve the constitution bill with only the CP opposing it.

Dr Hartzenberg said today that it would be suicide for the CP to support the interim constitutio

The Kempton Park negotiations had been dominated by communists and so was the Transitional Executive Council.

The CP would stick to its demand for a volkstaat for Afrikaners as well as the freedom of other groups who desired this.

There is now the possibility of another session of parliament next month if the alliance accepts the compromise proposal.

The issue is still whether the alliance will commit itself to the process, or at least not actively hinder it.

If such a commitment is given, the question of amendments to the constitution to accommodate alliance demands will be reopened.

● See pages 5 and 14

Poll watchdog has teeth, will use them

ARG 21/12/93 (30+A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IF the Independent Electoral Commission believed the April 27 election was not free and fair it would have no hesitation in saying so, newly appointed IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said.

But he was confident the IEC would succeed in convincing all South Africans — including those not taking part in the election — that it was in their best interests to have a free and fair poll.

"The alternative is unthinkable. It is too ghastly to contemplate ... it would be armed violence," said Judge Kriegler.

The IEC is charged with setting up the election, educating voters, monitoring the campaigns and that ensuring parties adhere to a code of conduct.

Afterwards the IEC must also assess whether the election was free and fair.

Local and regional tribunals and an Electoral Court will assess and judge alleged breaches of the electoral code.

Speaking to the media after the IEC's first meeting at the old President's Council chamber in Cape Town, he said the IEC would establish central and regional offices and would seek to have the highest possible public profile.

While the IEC's budget had still to be finalised, he anticipated it would be "all systems go in monitoring and education" by the end of January.

All organisations willing and able to help in voter education would be welcomed, "but it would be unrealistic not to recognise that there are many organisations who have political rows to hoe and it is our statutory duty to ensure that it is properly done.

"I will recommend that we use a system of certified agencies."

The IEC would draw heavily on the skills and experience of Home Affairs election staff, but would ensure it was not merely "the old Department of the Interior dressed up as something else".

slates NP's 'criminal' advertisement

queries FW's right to place in parliament

ARG 20/12/93 (304A)

Winnie

☐ And Holomisa

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

FIERY Winnie Mandela has descibed the National Party's full page newspaper advertisement portraying her as the most powerful woman in the nation as "criminal".

In her first public appearance since being elected to the highest office in the African National Congress Women's League, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela called the advertisement moronic, downright stupidity and the last kicks of a dying horse.

Dressed in camouflage uniform, she told a crowd at an Umkhonto we Sizwe rally in Cloetesville sportsground, Stellenbosch, yesterday that she had a message from President De Klerk.

His message was that the NP, which had "killed you in your thousands, hanged you in your cells, paid the Inkatha Freedom Party to kill you" and "promoted black-on-black violence" wanted blacks to vote for it.

Victims of apartheid who voted for the NP would vote to "legalise murder".

Mrs Mandela said blood was dripping from Mr De Klerk's hands because five children had died in a Defence Force raid on an alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army house in Umatata.

"De Klerk received a peace prize for that."

Blood had dripped from the hands of Mr De Klerk, the "so-called president", when he had been jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk had even shaken hands with the Pope with the same "blood-dripping hand".

Mrs Mandela said newspapers that were "afraid of offending people in high places" had refused to print her allegation that she had given Xoliswa Fante, her co-accused in the Stompie Moketsi trial, a safe haven after her house had been fire-bombed.

She had even enrolled Ms Fante's daughter in a school, but Ms Fante had not told her that comrades had been responsible for the bombing.

A police helicopter, which began circling over the meeting soon after Mrs Mandela began speaking, briefly drowned out her address and angered the crowd when it swooped too low.

Earlier, Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa said he wanted to pose an open question to Mr De Klerk: "Did the NP government at any stage ever apply dirty tricks campaigns against Mrs Mandela? If so, when and how have they been stopped?"

Answering this question would make it easier for the ANC leadership and the Independent Electoral Commission to take a sound decision on whether people like Mrs Mandela should go to parliament, General Holomisa said.

"The stakes are too high here. We cannot simply be referred to state-sponsored court decisions without having been told the truth about counter-revolutionary tactics employed against many victims of apartheid."

He also suggested that Mr De Klerk and his senior ministers who "took a decision to murder the under-age children in their peaceful sleep in Umtata recently" be tried on or before April 27.

After such a trial, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Transitional Executive Council "would be in a position to decide whether Mr De Klerk and his cabinet ministers qualify to be members of a new parliament as demanded by the Draft Interim Constitution".

If Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo could be tried on murder charges, "what stops us from demanding the same for Mr De Klerk?" asked General Holomisa.

● Before the Stellenbosch meeting Mrs Mandela joined several Guguletu residents in a march to the home of 84-year-old ANC veteran Oscar Mphetha to give him gifts and a sheep.

NEW SOUTH AFRICA

New constitution tightens rein on parliament's power

ARG 20/12/93 (3044)

In this the first part of a series on the new interim constitution, TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff pinpoints how it differs from the present constitution.

SOUTH AFRICA'S new interim constitution, now before parliament differs in important aspects from the present one and from the system that has held sway in the country since Union in 1910.

For the first time it is a truly democratic constitution providing a common and equal citizenship for all South Africans without any racial connotations.

While it aims at creating a sovereign and democratic constitutional state, it curbs the considerable power parliament and the executive have at present.

Parliament will not be as sovereign as it is in the present constitution.

The courts at present have very limited testing rights of measures adopted by parliament. It can basically only apply the test whether the correct procedure has been followed in parliament, not whether it is unconstitutional in the way it affects citizens' basic rights.

There is only one clause in the present constitution, the entrenchment of the rights of English and Afrikaans as the official languages, which can only be changed by a two-thirds majority.

There are also provisions for other measures which must be adopted by a majority of the members in each House of parliament.

If these procedures are not followed the courts can declare it unconstitutional.

In the country's original constitution the voting rights of coloured males in the Cape had also been entrenched with a two-thirds majority.

Controversy about the coloured vote raged through the forties and the fifties when the then Nationalist government tried to remove the coloured people in the Cape from the common voters' roll.

Time after time the Appeal Court rejected these attempts to remove the coloured voters in this way, even when one Bill turned parliament itself into a High Court of Parliament.

By means of one of the most infamous political tricks perpetrated in the apartheid days the Nationalist government enlarged the Senate in 1955 to give itself two-thirds majority.

Although this may have been politically immoral it was, strictly speaking, legal and the Appeal Court could not invalidate it.

Fundamental human rights are entrenched in the new interim constitution. Later there is to be a full-blown Bill of Human Rights. This is another fundamental difference between the present system and the new one.

Along with this there is now the important new feature of a constitutional court which can override what is the sovereignty of parliament in the present system.

The Constitutional Court will consist of a president and 10 other judges. A key provision in the constitution places the court above interference from parliament or the executive.

It lays down that it will have jurisdiction as "the court of final instance over all matters relating to the interpretation, protection and enforcement of the provisions of the constitution".

These include:

- Any alleged violation or threatened violation of any entrenched fundamental right;
- Any dispute over the constitutionality of any executive or administrative act or threatened act;
- Any inquiry into the constitutionality of any law;
- Any dispute over the constitutionality of any Bill before parliament or a provincial legislature;
- Any dispute of a constitutional nature between state organs at any level.

A decision of the Constitutional Court is binding on all people and all legislative, executive and judicial organs of state.

The court can order any defect in a law to be corrected.

In the place of the present ombudsman the interim constitution provides for an independent and impartial public protector.

The protector can investigate and try to resolve independently or on receipt of a complaint, maladministration, corruption, unlawful enrichment or acts by any state employer which unlawfully prejudices anyone.

In the interim constitution there is also provision for a human rights commission, a commission of gender equality and one for the restitution of land rights.

Constitution 'for whole SA family'

□ Debate begins on 'the most important measure since Union in 1910'

AEG 17/12/93

(304A)

[redacted]

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE new interim constitution for the first time took into account the needs of "the entire South African family" as being equally important, Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf

time, whites had not been the sole architects of a plan for South Africa. A partnership of South Africans had been responsible for the design.

"For the first time our South African home has not merely been altered but new foundations have been laid and a new building is being erected.

"All South Africans have been joint creators of their new home."

The interim constitution makes an unequivocal commitment to:

Meyer said today.

He was introducing the second reading of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill at a joint session of parliament.

The measure has been described as probably the most important to come before parliament since Union in 1910.

There will be a major debate on it until Tuesday.

The Conservative Party was the only party to oppose the Bill. CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said it aimed at creating a unitary state and did not take into account self-determination and the idea of a "volkstaat".

Mr Meyer said that, for the first

- A common citizenship for all South Africans.
- The establishment of a sovereign and democratic constitutional state.
- Equality between men and women, and people of all races.
- A government of national unity.
- A charter of fundamental rights.

The new constitution could not by itself guarantee peace or security. It could at best provide soil where peace, freedom, security and progress could take root.

- Sapa reports that a total of 34 amendments to the Constitution Bill, including one that will bar non-South African citizens from being elected to the National Assembly, have been included in a revised draft of the measure published today.

Independent MP joins IFP

Political Staff

CEHILL Pienaar, independent MP for Heilbron, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Pienaar is a former Free State leader of the Conservative Party. He left the party last year and then joined the Afrikaner Volksunie, leaving that party earlier this year.

The IFP has three other members in the House of Assembly, Jurie Mentz (Vryheid), Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) and Hennie Bekker (Jeppe) and a nominated member of the House of Delegates, Farouk Cassim.

Mr Pienaar said today the IFP was the only political party espousing true federalism in which groups and nations could achieve maximum autonomy and exercise it meaningfully.

The party also stood for free market principles.

Transition begins today

Political Staff

THE transition to democracy formally begins today.

At 10am, representatives of the 20 parties who are still involved in the multi-party negotiations process will take their seats in the old President's Council to constitute the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Today's deliberations, which will include the election of the chairperson and executive director, is to be broadcast live on TSS from 10.30am to 2pm.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, present at the plenary session at Kempton Park, is not participating. Also absent is the PAC, which has yet to renounce violence — a pre-requisite for participation.

304A ET 7/12/93

Climax of talks shifts to Cape

304A

CT3/12/93

Flurry to meet Xmas deadline

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE final flurry of activity in the countdown to democracy moves to Cape Town from today as negotiators and MPs battle to complete the 520-page interim constitution before Christmas.

The Freedom Alliance negotiating team which met in Ulundi until late last night, travel to Cape Town today for a meeting with the government aimed at bringing the alliance on board before MPs begin debating the interim constitution — now only expected at the end of next week at the earliest.

The meeting in KwaZulu yesterday took place against the background of a decision by the multi-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre that the TBVC homelands would be reincorporated into South Africa on April 27 next year.

Government sources last night were "cautiously optimistic" that an inclusive settlement could still be reached and said talks with the five-party alliance were expected to continue through much of the weekend.

Sources also said the Negotiating Council, which is due to move from the World Trade Centre to the President's Council on Monday, could hold a meeting in Cape Town as early as today to evaluate the government/alliance meeting.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will hold its first meeting at the President's Council on Tuesday and will gather again at the same venue on Thursday.

Parliamentary sources said that MPs would be restricted to "non-World Trade Centre" legislation until the end of next week but that there would then be a "head-long rush" to finalise the interim constitution.

Parliamentary officials have been placed on standby to work through the night to get documents printed and prepared for parliamentarians in time for a series of debates that will take place "morning, afternoon and night" in the coming few weeks.

The matters MPs will have to deal with in coming weeks include legislation on reincorporating the homelands, reincorporating Walvis Bay into Namibia, a new local government dispenation and the Electoral Act.

Parties name their delegates for TEC

CT 3/12/93 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The names of those people who will sit on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) when it begins work in Cape Town on Tuesday were released by the major parties yesterday.

The TEC will be the government's watchdog in the run-up to the elections and represents the first step towards joint control of the country.

The chief negotiators who thrashed out the interim constitution over the past two years will again lead their delegations in the TEC.

The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Mac Maharaj will lead the organisation's team, while the government will be represented by Mr Roelf Meyer.

Other ANC delegates to the sub-councils include Mr Joe Modise, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Ms Mavivi Manzini and Mr Tito Mboweni.

Dr Dawie de Villiers will represent the National Party and Mr Colin Eglin the Democratic Party.

The National People's Party has nominated Mr Amichand Rajbansi with Mr Osman Ganie as his alternative.

NPP nominations for the TEC sub-councils are Mr M Govender, Mr A L Singh, Mr S Ismail and Mr B Singh.

The PAC has reserved seats, but has not yet nominated its delegates. The party says there are some issues that must be cleared up with the government before it will consider taking its seats. It is expected the two sides will address these issues today. — Sapa

Centrist party could lure voters

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Three-quarters of the South Africans surveyed in a recent study might support a new, multiracial, centrist party.

The study of the political perceptions of pre-election South Africa,. undertaken by market research company Interfact, canvassed about 400 South Africans over the age of 18.

Of the respondents, Asians and whites were more unsure about their intention to vote than their black and coloured counterparts.

Although support for President F W de Klerk was high (52% among whites and 54% among Asians), only 35% of whites and three percent of Asians said they would vote for the NP.

The ANC was the most popular party among those surveyed — 44% would vote for it.

Interfact found overwhelming support for peace, religious freedom and prosperity. Political concepts such as federalism and self-determination ranked lower in the order of priorities.

The company said "one of the most interesting results of the study" was that respondents in the eastern Cape, northern Transvaal and the Orange Free State felt they no alternative to their present political party. — Sapa

CT 3/12/93

Ads for election hitting newspaper readers

(3a4A)

CT 13/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Five months before the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media with parties buying advertising space to win the hearts and minds of the public.

Sunday newspapers yesterday carried full-page advertisements by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party has chosen the political theme of change to woo voters to its side.

The message of change is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?

"The coming election will not be about apartheid or armed struggle, it will be about future peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about national building."

The ANC also tries to position itself as "a political party with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".

Their advert emphasises popular participation and focuses on the organisation's 1950s campaigns, like the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), challenges the Goldstone Commission's fourth interim report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council has reluctantly been called on to adjudicate on an NP advert, which appeared in the Sunday Times last month, after the ANC labelled it "malicious" and "libellous". — Sapa



RIGHT-WING TALKS ... The government met the Freedom Alliance yesterday in a bid to try and woo them into participation in next year's election. Talks will continue at the weekend. Seen here are some members of the Freedom Alliance team (from left) Mr Micky Webb of the Ciskei, Mr Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana and Mr Tom Langley of the CP.

Picture: ANNE LAING.

Progress in Alliance talks

CT 4/12/93 (3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the Freedom Alliance last night reported "substantial progress" in a frantic eleventh-hour bargaining session aimed an an inclusive agreement on the interim constitution.

But a comprehensive "package deal" that would ensure participation of the five-party alliance in the Transitional Executive Council and the election continues to elude negotiators.

The leaders of the two delegations — Mr Roelf Meyer from the government and Mr Rowan Cronje from the alliance — said the search for an agreement would continue throughout the weekend.

Hopes were, however, fading that a deal would be clinched in time for Monday's final meeting of the multi-party negotiating council.

Mr Meyer said last night that he still believed an inclusive agreement was possible if the Alliance accepts active participation in the democratisation process.

Mr Cronje said the alliance leadership who met in Ulundi on Thursday had underlined their "total commitment" to finding a negotiated solution.

According to negotiators significant progess had been made on the key issues of the powers and functions of regions, as well as the taxation powers for regions.

Significant differences remain on the issue of boundaries of regions and sub-regions, as well as whether voters should fill in one or two ballots during the election.

The government has decided not to change from its last-minute conversion to the single ballot system which will prevent voters chosing different parties at regional and national level.

Another issue which could spark controversy is an ANC-/government proposal to make a last-minute change to the interim constitution which will make provision for amnesty in the interest of "national reconciliation."

Govt, PAC agreement

CT 4/12/93 (304)

PRETORIA. — The government and the Pan-Africanist Congress have agreed that the first phase of the Harare Agreement, "the moratorium on violence", is now in place, a joint statement by the two parties said yesterday.

This followed a meeting here between a government delegation led by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel and a PAC deputation headed by Mr Benny Alexander.

A brief statement said discussions would have to take place between the PAC's armed wing, Apla, and the Defence Force next week.

However, last night a Ministry of Defence spokesman contradicted the statement. Dr D A S Herbst said neither the Ministry of Defence nor the SADF were aware of any planned meeting with Apla.

PAC/government The statement made no mention of the fact that PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke attended the Friday meeting as part of the PAC team.

His home was raided by police early yesterday morning, and he had said earlier that in the light of this there would be "no point" in him attending the meeting. — Sapa

CP 'revolt against democracy'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Conservative Party was becoming "a revolutionary party" in revolt against democracy, President F W de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Accused by the CP of being "a Judas", Mr De Klerk said the government would not accommodate racism anywhere in the country.

The debate on the installation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was characterised by bitter exchanges between the government and CP benches.

CT 4/12/93

Mr De Klerk said the debate had revealed that the CP "does not have a plan and wants to return to apartheid and a new form of racism"

(304A)

CP deputy leader Dr Willie Snyman charged that Mr De Klerk had handed the freedom of the volk on a plate to the TEC.

The CP MP for Smithfield, Mr Braam Oosthuizen, said 90% of the security forces would not act against their own people.

Inkatha Freedom Party frontbencher Mr Jurie Mentz said his party would be willing to cut its demands by 50% in the interests of finding a settlement.

ANC strikes deal with right wing

ARG 20/12/93 (304A)

CHRIS WHITFIELD, Political Staff

THE government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance's 24-hour task force crisis meeting was given a boost this morning with the news of an Afrikaner Volksfront/ANC accord recognising the Afrikaner's desire for self-determination in a volkstaat.

The deal, facilitated by Idasa and following months of discussion between the right-wing AVF and the ANC, will be signed by Jacob Zuma of the ANC and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Although details of the deal were not made public in a statement issued by Idasa on behalf of the organisations this morning, it could open the way for AVF participation in the election and is bound to have a positive effect on the last-ditch task force deliberations which kicked off in the parliamentary complex shortly after 11.30am this morning.

The statement said both parties supported the introduction of a non-racial democracy and included a recognition of the Afrikaner's desire for self-determination in a volkstaat.

It described the deal as a "strategic interim agreement".

It is understood that it will give rise to another task force to probe the self-determination issue. It is believed that the deal could involve the creation of a semi-independent volkstaat comprising several small areas or sub-regions with authority centred in one of the provinces.

Part of Pretoria could become capital of the volkstaat, but final details such as boundaries and voting rights of non-Afrikaners are still to be thrashed out.

Meanwhile, the "trilateral" task force this morning launched its bid to bring the dissenting alliance parties into the country's political settlement amid some optimism from alliance members.

It followed nearly five hours of meetings between the government and the alliance last night and sources said it amounted to a tentative step towards an all-inclusive settlement.

It was agreed during last night's marathon session in the parliamentary complex that each of the three groups would send five representatives to the task force, scheduled to report at 8am tomorrow. If agreement is reached, there will just enough time to get through the procedures required for amendments to be made to the constitution before it is put to the vote in parliament on Wednesday.

According to a joint government/alliance/ANC statement the task force will be mandated to "consider and come to agreements on" a commitment to the process — as demanded by the government and the ANC of the alliance — and changes to the interim constitution proposed by the alliance.

The alliance's major demands centre on giving more power and autonomy — including taxation powers — to the provinces.

It also wants provisions written into the constitution allowing the provinces to write their own constitutions, subject only to the endorsement of the constitutional court.

Other changes it wants include the renaming of Natal as KwaZulu/Natal and for voters to be given the right to cast a ballot at both national and provincial level.



Pictures: BERNARD PEREZ

SMASHED: The remains of a minibus taxi which collided with a lorry on the N1 near Laingsburg early today. 22 people died.



OVERTURNED: This truck overturned after colliding with a minibus taxi on the N1 near Laingsburg early today.



CRASH SITE: Police inspect the mangled wreck of a patrol vehicle which spun out of control in Milner Road, Rondebosch. Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus



SCATTERED: Bodies lie scattered next to the N1 near Klapmuts after a minibus taxi crash today in which three people died and 10 were injured.

25 die in horror taxi crashes

SHARKEY ISAACS, Staff Reporter

TWENTY-FIVE people died today in two minibus taxi accidents on the N1 in the Cape, sending the national road toll since the start of the holidays to

minibus — the framework was all that was left," said a policeman.

The taxi was on its way from Cape Town to Transkei. Police believe the driver of the minibus may have fallen

tion on the traffic environment also contribute towards these collisions," he said.

According to the NTIC, other road fatalities reported included the deaths



(304A) 29/12/1993

Peace but little quiet

ARG 29/12/9

ANC and Nat trade slogans in

Report: TOS WENTZEL
Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM

PRESIDENT De Klerk preached peace on his Overberg whistle-stop "road-show" — but there were times when he had little quiet.

A small but vociferous group of African National Congress supporters, some of them shouting that he had blood on his hands, kept up their screams and chanting throughout his short speeches in Genadendal and Greyton yesterday.

With the vast majority of enthusiastic coloured National Party supporters shouting back, Mr De Klerk, who was appearing as leader of the NP, could sometimes not be heard.

One of the ANC chants was "first you take our houses, now you want our votes." The posters of NP supporters said "FW our Pride" and "FW is tops".

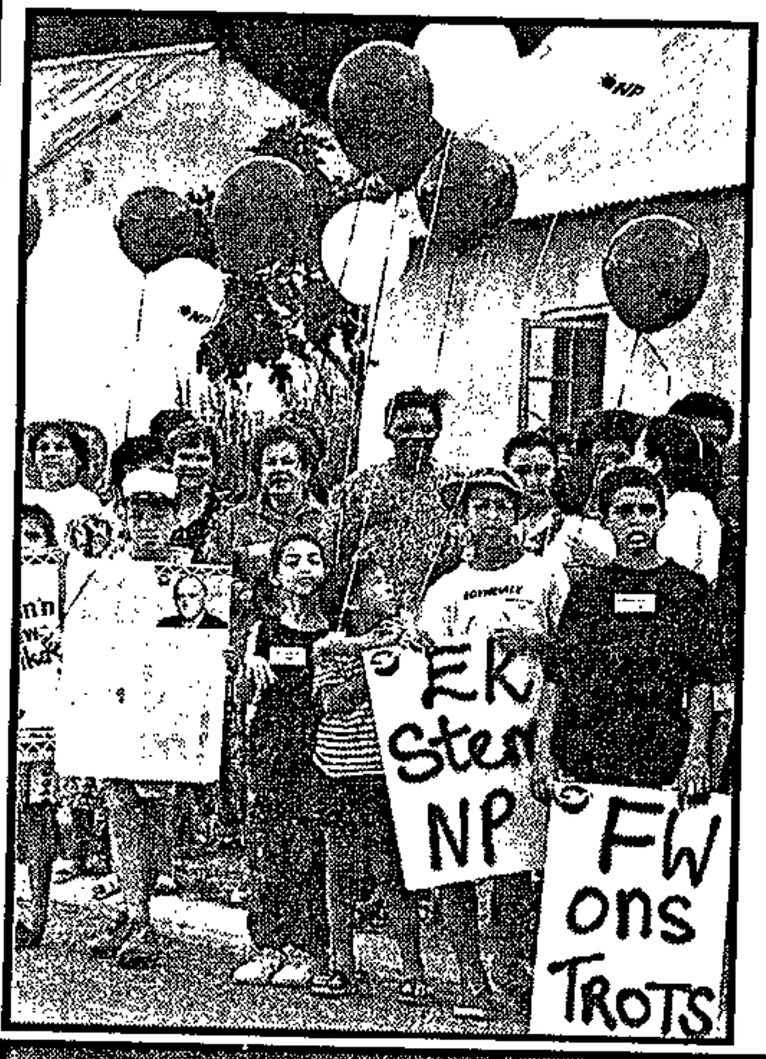
There was great enthusiasm among the coloured NP supporters. At one stage Mr De Klerk and wife Marike walked down a Greyton street to the tune of a campaign song, *Klim op die NP se wa.*

Mr Kenneth Kotze, a retired fisherman, whose Genadendal cottage was visited by Mr De Klerk, said the NP was popular with coloured people "because we grew up with the Boere. We have an affinity for them".

He added: "It is only some coloured people in the cities



WALKABOUT: President de Klerk shakes hands with supporters in the streets of Greyton.







ABOVE LEFT: National Party supporters wait for President De Klerk at the start of his "roadshow" in Genadendal.

□ □ □

ABOVE RIGHT: A Nationalist supporter in Riviersonderend holds up a poster to welcome President De Klerk.

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BELOW: ANC supporters at Genadendal give President De Klerk their own kind of welcome.

iet as FW hits the road

29/12/93 (304A)

and Nat supporters ogans in the Overberg

IZEL INGRAM

De Klerk his Over- op "road- Here were had little

ous group Congress of them blood on t up their ing through- es in Gena- yesterday. urity of en- d National s shouting k, who was of the NP, be heard. chants was houses, now ." The post- s said "FW w is tops". enthusiasm ed NP sup- age Mr De walked reet to the song, *Klim*

a retired Genadendal by Mr De was popular "because Boere. We them". only some the cities

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nporters at President kind of

who want to try to be smart who will not vote Nat. De Klerk is a God-fearing, honest man. One cannot punish the younger generation for the sins of their forebears."

Mr De Klerk hit out at the ANC's intolerance and said it was counter-productive and an indication that the movement had doubts about its policies.

Afterwards he told the journalists following him that the ANC behaviour had not bothered him all that much.

"It adds spice to what is going to be a very interesting campaign. Just watch us!"

Leader of the ANC supporters was ANC Western Cape deputy general-secretary Chris Nissen, who claimed that he had been assaulted in Genadendal and that part of his car's bumper had been torn off. There had also been a death threat and he had laid a charge with the police.

After Genadendal and Greyton the ANC protesters evaporated and Mr De Klerk was listened to attentively in Riviersonderend, Stanford and Gansbaai.

His message was that the "new" National Party was the party of peace.

It had renewed itself while the "old" ANC was clinging to outmoded and failed policies and remained in the clutches of its communist partners.

Communism had impoverished half of the world.



SWEETENER: Marike De Klerk gives sweets to a farmworker's child on the farm Riverside.

Continuing his blistering attack on the ANC, which he said was the NP's main opponent in the election, he said it was a dangerous party, unable to control its youth or its self-defence units. It intimidated its opponents.

He added that he was not going out of his way to belittle the ANC — "it's doing a fine job breaking down its own image".

On the farm Riverside between Greyton and Riviersonderend, the President spoke to farm workers harvesting onions.

It was here that Mr De Klerk struck a subject which is likely to come up throughout the campaign — whether the vote is secret.

One of the farm workers said he had heard there would be a light above the voting booth which would show how people had voted.

The question of the secrecy of the vote came up again at Gansbaai.

Mr De Klerk went out of his way to reassure people that the vote was completely secret. This time there were no voters' lists and people's names were not checked off. Anyone with an ID book could vote anywhere in the country.

He told the story of how, at a voter education exercise, the completed ballot papers were placed on a table and those who had taken part were asked to find their ballot papers, but could not.

A bouncy, confident Mr De Klerk repeatedly claimed the NP could emerge from the election the strongest party. It would be a bad thing for one party alone to get too big a share of the vote, he said. What was needed was balance in a government of national unity.

●Mr De Klerk will be on holiday in Hermanus until January 8.

"I am working on getting my golf handicap down," he said.



South Africa turns away from apartheid with new bill

☐ Conservative MPs joined by gallery in singing Die Stem

(SOWA) ARG 23/12/93

MICHAEL MORRIS and CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has irrevocably turned its back on apartheid with parliament's resounding vote on the new constitution after an extraordinary last-ditch protest by Conservative Party MPs and their supporters in the public gallery.

The passage of the new constitution, coupled with the Electoral Bill also passed in the dying moments of the fifth Republican parliament yesterday, gives all South Africans a chance to exercise their democratic rights for the first time.

It is the most significant legislation to emerge from the negotiating process.

But, in an extraordinary protest minutes before the vote, the CP caucus stood as one and sang Die Stem. In an apparently pre-arranged gesture, about 100 supporters in the packed public gallery stood and joined in the singing.

No sooner had they sat down than a young protester in the gallery rushed to the balustrade, pointed at the govern-

Nostalgia, sadness and laughter
See page 13

ment benches and shouted: "You are engaged in treason!" He was escorted out by security officials.

Speaker Eli Louw had his hands full during a vote marked by heated exchanges.

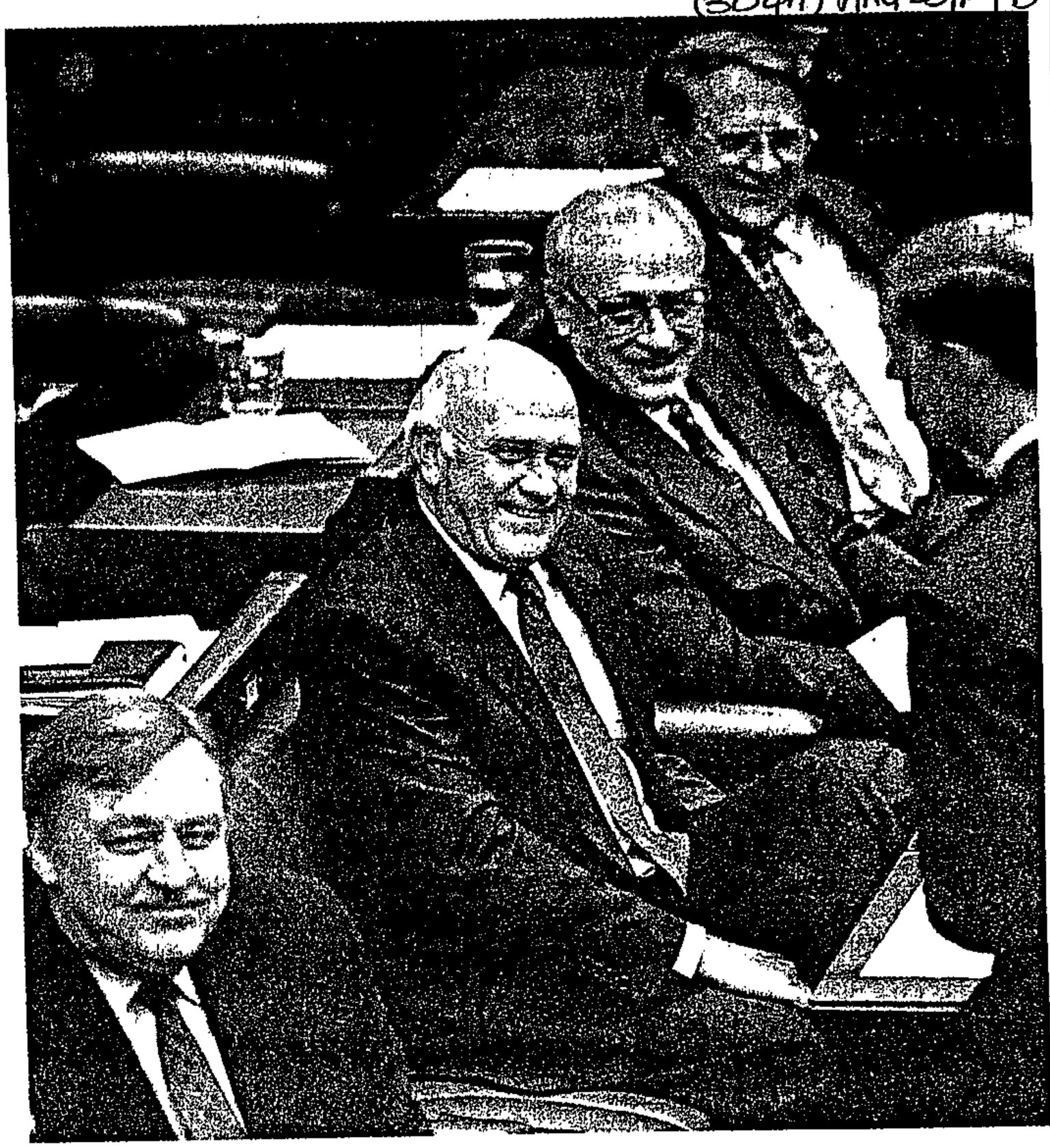
Four CP MPs — Wynand van Wyk (Witbank), Fanie Jacobs (Losberg), Leon Louw (Welkom) and Arrie Paulus (Carletonville) — were ordered out of the chamber after the vote for calling government members traitors and refusing to withdraw their comments. Another was ordered out for calling a Democratic Party MP a liar.

But the CP and its Inkatha Freedom Party allies were resoundingly beaten in the vote.

The constitution — which will have effect for five years while a final constitution is being written — was approved by 132 votes to 42 in the House of Assembly, 72 to none in the House of Representatives and 33 to two in the House of Delegates.

Passage of the constitution required a 66 percent majority in each house.

The anouncement was greeted by a shout of "amandla" from the benches of African National Congress-supporting MPs, who rose with clenched fists to celebrate the moment.



Picture: ADIL BRADLOW, Associated Press.

FAREWELL TO ALL THIS: Together for the last time on the government front bench of the House of Assembly are, from left, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, President F W De Klerk, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Should an accord be reached between the government, the Freedom Alliance and ANC on the amendments to the constitution demanded by the dissenting alliance parties, another session of parliament will be held, probably late in January.

The proposed amendments were the subject of considerable emotion in the declarations of vote on the Constitution.

Rising to speak first, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said that if the constitution remained unchanged the party would not recognise it, the transitional structures or take part in the election.

It excluded a "whole bloc of South Africans" and "it does not make provision for people who want to be free".

His prediction that a new volkstaat would one day be created with its own anthem, Die Stem, sparked the CP's protest song, backed by members of the public gallery.

CP MP for Randfontein, Corne Mulder, warned that the freedom struggle would begin more seriously than ever before if the alliance demands were not accommodated.

IFP MP for Vryheid Jurie Mentz said the organisation would make things "impossible" for the government if it did not accept the "reasonable amendments".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer also said that his party would be seeking amendments to elements of the constitution, but would support it as an important milestone.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in his speech that the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje had indicated that they would recommend their organisations support a proposal thrashed out late on Tuesday under which negotiations on amendments could start again in the new year.

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DP ordered off by 'ANC' men

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has appealed to the Independent Electoral Commission to act against people — believed to be African National Congress members — who allegedly intimidated canvassers.

The appeal was made by Joe Mark, DP co-leader in the Western Cape, after charges of intimidation were laid against alleged ANC members following incidents in Hout Bay.

Canvasser Gavin Bailey said he and colleagues were on a recruitment drive in Hout Bay yesterday when people in three vehicles approached.

Identifying themselves as ANC members, the group threatened the DP canvassers and ordered them to leave Hout Bay in 10 minutes.

Twenty minutes later the occupants of a bakkie approached two other canvassers, threatening to douse them with petrol and set them alight.

In another incident four men, one of whom had a pickaxe handle, chased a canvasser, who was later found unharmed.

(304A)

Mr Bailey said police were called in to calm the situation.

ARG 23/12/93

Mr Marks said the matter had been reported to police and the Western Cape Peace Committee.

He said the DP believed "the continuation of such behaviour is against the principles of freedom of political activity and speech and bodes ill for free and fair elections".

● ANC (Western Cape) secretary Lerumo Kalako said the matter would be investigated.

Mandela urges peace

TEC not keen on going to court

ARG 18/12/93 (3&4A)

HUGH ROBERTON
Political Editor

EVERY effort will be made by the Transitional Executive Committee (TEC) to avoid confrontation in its efforts to persuade Kwazulu's police chief, Lieutenant-General Roy During, to hand over details of his investigation into a hit squad in the homeland's police force.

Only if these efforts fail and the Kwazulu government continues to frustrate the TEC's investigation will the TEC resort to court action against General During, and any other officers in the Kwazulu police who might have been involved in the hit squad.

Sources close to the TEC say the court option is regarded as a last resort and is likely to remain so while more informal communication with General During takes place.

It is understood that such communications took place this week by fax and telephone and that it is still too early to conclude that they have failed.

In a report handed to President De Klerk in June, the Goldstone Commission found there was evidence that a hit squad in the Kwazulu police had been responsible for the death of at least nine African National Congress members. Its finding was based on the results of an investigation initiated by General During.

But when the TEC earlier this month formally requested General During to provide fuller details, he said he had been ordered not to by the Kwazulu government on the grounds that the homeland government did not recognise the TEC.

There appears to be some reluctance in the TEC to resort to confrontational tactics while there is still a prospect — no matter how remote — of persuading the Inkatha Freedom Party, which controls the Kwazulu government, to join the transitional process and take part in the April 27 election.

The IFP is to hold a crucial meeting early in January to decide finally on whether to take part, and some members of the TEC are said to believe that to precipitate a showdown over hit squads before then would destroy the strategy being used by TEC parties in their relations with the Freedom Alliance.

It is essentially a strategy of giving the Alliance members every opportunity to join the transition and take part in the election and, conversely, to deny them any reasonable excuse for staying out.

But there are also TEC members who are said to be insisting that General During be made aware of the determination of the TEC to get to the bottom of the hit-squad investigation, and that a clear mesage be sent to him of his legal standing in the dispute.

They have made the point that the TEC's original request was made to General During personally in his capacity as the officer who headed the hit-squad investigation, and not to the Kwazulu government. This, they say, was done deliberately to avoid a clash with the homeland government and the IFP.

They have also made the point that the Kwazulu government has no legal power to order General During not to co-operate.

If General During continues to refuse to hand over details of the investigation, there is a consensus that the TEC or the state president, or possibly both, should seek a court interdict compelling him to do so and ordering the Kwazulu authorities not to interfere.

Meanwhile, TEC sources say, the impression is gaining ground of an attempted cover-up of the hit-squad scandal by the authorities in Ulundi, which is causing the IFP and the Kwazulu government growing political embarrassment.

This factor, they suggest, might help encourage compliance with the TEC request.

Single-ballot an NP/ANC deal: Schutte

Political Staff

HOME AFFAIRS Minister Mr Danie Schutte admitted yesterday that the NP had given way on its demand for a two-ballot system, as part of a "deal" with the ANC.

Replying to the debate on the Electoral Bill, Mr Schutte said the NP considered two ballots — one at national and one at regional level — to be the "ideal option".

Negotiations however, were a question of "give and take", and giving in on the issue of two ballots had been part of an agreement aimed at long-term stability.

"I believe the deal was a very good deal," he said.

Mr Schutte added that having two ballots could confuse voters.

Labourers victimised — ANC

THE ANC yesterday accused farmers of disrupting the free political association of their workers by preventing buses from taking them to the Robertson Farmworker's Forum.

Two busloads of workers failed to arrive at the ANC's forum following intimidation by farmers, complained ANC's Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak who said he feared this type of victimisation would increase closer to the elections.

Mr Steve Tshwete said that farmers who victimised, assaulted or intimidated labourers in the run-up to elections would be charged if new legislation was passed in Parliament.

The forum was told more people would have attended, but many farmers had warned their workers not to turn up. (45) (E04A) CT 6/12/93

Mr Tshwete urged the meeting to expose these farmers, whom he said would be charged.

Dr Boesak said although farmworkers understood the new labour laws, farmers continued to treat them as they did under apartheid.

Dr Boesak said there were fears that a new region might enable the right-wing to "continue to persecute the poor and disadvantaged." — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Nats ahead in Cape

Strong support in the coloured community has shot NP to front in race, says new poll

ARG 21/12/93 (304A)

ENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE National Party, bolstered by rong support in the coloured comunity, has shot to the front in the ection race in the Western Cape.

The African National Congress and its lies are not far behind the NP, accordg to the first representative poll taken the Western Cape.

The poll, conducted for the Institute for Multi-

in the region support the NP.

The ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and SA Communist Party alliance is seven points behind the NP with 28,3 percent.

The NP and ANC alliance have taken a huge lead over the Democratic Party, which has 6,1 percent voter support in the region and the Pan Africanist Congress with 1,9 percent.

The two Freedom Alliance allies, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party, are least popular with voters and enjoy 0,8 and 0,7 percent voter confidence.

According to the survey the battle for support is far from over, with 14 percent of voters still undecided over who will get their vote, while 3,6 precent of those polled said they would not vote, and seven percent refused to indicate their voting preference.

The poll was based on a sample of 2 500 respondents which included 425 coloureds, 582 whites and 493 blacks.

In the coloured community, which forms 57 percent of all voters, 45,2 percent support the NP, 17,5 percent back the ANC and 3,6 percent the DP.

The NP is also popular in the white community, with 46,6 percent supporting the party, while 14,7 percent support the DP and 3,3 percent favour the ANC.

The bulk of the ANC's support comes from the black community, with 77,1 percent supporting the liberation movement and 8,2 percent favouring the PAC.

The DP drew 4,3 percent, while not a single squatter polled supported the NP. But 0,7 of blacks polled favoured the NP.

Fears of violence and intimidation appear be a major problem in the coloured community. About one fifth of coloured voters were still undecided. Violence could lead to many coloureds abstaining.

Twenty-eight percent of coloureds who said they would vote added that they would abstain in conditions of violence and intimidation.

"This means that only half of coloured voters will actually vote under these circumstances. A low coloured poll could thwart the NP's bold challenge for supremacy in the region," the MPD said in a statement.

Black voters felt less threatened by pre-election violence, which, if it occurred, would decrease the percentage of blacks intending to vote from 99 to 79.

Both coloureds and whites saw the ANC as the most likely instigators of violence, followed by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB, as far as blacks were concerned, followed by the IFP with 22 percent, police (11,4 percent) and ANC 4,2 percent were also most likely to cause violence.

Despite the fears of violence, 80 percent of blacks, 71 coloureds and 63 percent whites felt the elections should be held.

Whites had gloomy post-election expectations, with half of them expecting to get poorer, while another fifth were uncertain.

A third of whites indicated they would be afraid to criticise the new government, while two thirds of blacks felt they would be free to criticise.

Half of whites thought the violence would continue, against 23 percent coloureds and 14 percent blacks.

● Tos Wentzel of the Political Staff reports that a last-minute attempt to achieve agreement between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance to achieve an inclusive agreement on the new constitutional system is being made in Cape Town today.

But negotiators at the talks said prospects for a settlement were not good.

After two hours of discussion the three sides appointed a four-person task group to tackle the issue bogging things down — the commitment of alliance leaders to the transition process and participation in the April 27 general election.

A deadlock has arisen because the ANC and the government want alliance leaders to commit themselves first to stick to whatever agreements are reached in the three-way talks while the alliance wants to reach agreement first.

ARG 1/12/93

Decisions loom for leaders of Alliance

(30 Lines)

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and Freedom Alliance negotiators have made considerable progress towards resolving major issues dividing them, but there is growing concern over the hardline attitude of some of the grouping's leaders.

Tomorrow the alliance negotiators and their leaders will meet to discuss developments.

Given the pace of progress in the Negotiating Council and the desire to get agreements through parliament during the current session, tomorrow's meeting will almost certainly amount to the final opportunity for the alliance to accept a political settlement.

An alliance negotiator said yesterday that negotiating teams had virtually reached agreement on the clause in the interim constitution on what powers should go to provinces in a new dispensation — in effect, the section defining federalism and at the heart of alliance objections to the existing deal.

Another sub-committee was close to resolving differences on the taxation powers for provinces.

He described tomorrow's meeting with leaders as "critical" and added: "We are going to present to them the latest negotiated position and they are going to have to make a decision."

But government sources were extremely cautious today, pointing out that while some alliance members were positive in talks, others were approaching the discussions from a negative perspective.

Day of Vow 'only for Boers to celebrate'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Day of the Vow should not be a religious holiday and should only be celebrated by the Boers as a military victory, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday. CT 17/12/93 (3049)

Referring to the December 16 religious holiday by its old name, Dingaan's Day, he said the holiday's name had been changed to soften the military character of the celebration which honours the Boer victory over the Zulus at Blood River in 1838.

Dingaan's Day should be a public holiday which should only have been celebrated by boers in a Boerestaat. "The differences in meaning over Dingaan's Day began because our Boer republics were crushed in 1902 and 14 other 'peoples' were forced to live with us in one state." — Sapa

CP bid for Free State 'is absurd'

(204A)

By BARRY STREEK CT 16/12/93
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party threat to declare a volkstaat in the Free State and defend it with force was ridiculed yesterday by the National Party, the Democratic Party and the ANC.

The NP said it was another example of how the CP attempted to trick people through distortions and by concealing the facts.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Renier Schoeman, said the survey had polled only 1,8% of the province's inhabitants.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "theatre of the absurd".

The ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said it was "a sick joke, with the emphasis on the sick".

The CP said in a statement by the chairman of its Free State executive, Mr Abrie Oosthuizen, MP for Smithfield, that the province was part of the Afrikaner state.

The party would use violence to defend the volkstaat against the ANC and the NP, he added.

His announcement followed a CP and Afrikaner-volksfront poll of 36 841 whites in the Free State, which, he claimed, showed that 88,63% chose to live in an Afrikaner state.

Statement

In view of this, the CP's provincial executive declared the entire Free State to be part of the "Afrikaner freedom state" and therefore not part of "NP/ANC unitary state", Mr Oosthuizen said.

The NP said that whites made up only 18% of the Free State population.

"The so-called opinion poll was so unscientific and obviously manipulated propaganda that it cannot be taken seriously," the NP said.

"The Free State is part of the new South Africa and Free Staters will not allow the CP to dump them into an unworkable situation of chaos and bloodletting."

Dr De Beer asked what status Mr Oosthuizen had that entitled him to "take decisions on behalf of the Free State as a geographical entity?

"The only bit of the report that is not funny, is that there is once again a threat of violence. Mr Oosthuizen evidently expects his innocent followers in the Free State to have the courage of his convictions," Dr De Beer said.

Mr Niehaus said the declaration was ridiculous and the vast majority of people in the Free State did not want it.

Volkstaat poll 'a confidence trick'

CT 16/12/93

By IVOR CREWS

THE Conservative Party's assertion that 88,63% of whites in the Free State chose to live in an Afrikaner state was described yesterday as a "confidence trick".

Dr Jan Marais, chairman of the management committee of the Welkom town council, said the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront in conducting their poll of 36 841 whites in the province had contacted people to get them to support a volkstaat.

"They asked them if they wanted to be governed by an ANC/SACP government or by a government run by Afrikaners," Dr Marais said.

"The way the question was phrased left them little option and was a trick," he said.

The CP has declared the Free State part of an Afrikaner state and has threatened to defend it with violence against the ANC and the National Party.

(BOLPA)

Dr Marais said he was not in favour of a volkstaat because it was not "feasible" and would be difficult to administer.

The mayor of Virginia, Mr Kevin Charlwood, said the town council had not discussed the Free State becoming a volkstaat.

He questioned the viability of a white Afrikaner state in the Free State saying thousands of black workers were employed on the mines in the Gold Fields.

The mayor of Odendaalsrus, Mr J Weideman, which has a NP controlled town council, said he did not think a volkstaat was a solution "to our very complex problems" and questioned the validity of the CP poll.

FW speaks of 'shame' in Oslo

CT 15/12/93 804A

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk told a crowd of about 500 supporters who welcomed him at D F Malan Airport yesterday that he had been embarrassed by the ANC in Oslo.

All the wonderful things happening in Oslo, where he and Mr Nelson Mandela received the Nobel Peace Prize, had been marred by the ANC's "bad manners".

"I felt somewhat ashamed on behalf of South Africa when they (the ANC) started to put up posters without being invited to do so, and had to take them down," Mr De Klerk said.

"Then 40 to 50 people tried to hijack the traditional torch parade and started to shout ANC slogans."

ANC 'tried to hijack events'

Mr De Klerk said the prize-giving had been marred by "a few irresponsible statements by my co-recipient". "He shocked our hosts when he used certain occasions and interviews to accuse me and my colleagues of being political criminals."

Mr De Klerk asked whether the NP had ever elected to its top structures someone who had been convicted of "an ordinary criminal deed which had nothing to do with politics".

He said Mr Mandela had damaged "our country's cause" when he had claimed overseas that more than 20 000 children were in jail in South Africa.

That was not true, he said, adding that those who were there had been through a proper legal process.

"Some of them got involved in crime because the ANC used and misused them politically by taking them out of the schools," Mr De Klerk said.

'Democratised state must provide efficient services to the people'

(3041) CT 21/12/93

By BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

JAY NAIDOO — veteran trade union activist, the former general-secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and aspirant ANC alliance MP — almost sounds like a liberal, free-marketeer businessperson these days.

Discussing the future of the South African economy, he says: "We have got to come into line with international standards.

"We are now part of a world economy. That is the reality. We cannot duck and dive any more. We are not going to have market protection any more," he said in a recent interview.

His approach to the economy, which he says is grounded in the need to attract international investment, is directly linked to his commitment to reconstruction, the need to deliver services to the people, and the importance of a "transparent and accountable" government.

Competition

But there is little doubt that the militant rhetoric of past struggles on the factory floors has faded and has been replaced by a realisation that economic growth is essential if the mushrooming needs and expectations of the people are to be addressed.

Naidoo stressed new government policy was necessary to prepare industry for international competition.

"What is our investment in human resource development, in new technology, in new marketing techniques that are necessary to establish niche markets internationally?

"Do we look only to the developed North or Japan or do we look at the developing world? What the consumer products are we developing? We have to answer by developing an industrial and trade policy in our country."

In the automobile industry, a process of negotiation between employers, trade unions and government about restructuring had nearly been completed: "The reality is that if we don't restructure, that whole industry is going to be wiped out."

Reconstruction

The same was also true for the textiles and clothing industry, which is likely to be hammered by the latest GATT agreement.

Naidoo, currently spearheading the ANC alliance's reconstruction effort and leading Cosatu's election drive, said programmes had to be developed to deliver housing to the people, health facilities, education and training, clean water and security.

His questions demonstrate keen perception of the enormous challenge facing the future government in developing economic policies that stimulate growth and competition while at the same time addressing socio-economic deprivation.

Naidoo, for instance, was quick to correct perceptions that the future government might use pension and provident funds to pay for reconstruction.

Pension and provident funds, as well as bank savings, would have "an absolute guarantee" under a future democratic dispensation.

"Any government that begins to dip into those funds is really playing with fire."

These funds would have to come under the increasing control of contributors and workers to make sure the investment return on them would used for real and improved benefits for the contributors and ensure a better return.

One of the instruments was the Cape Town-based and union-controlled Community Growth Fund that "allows us to get a higher rate of return from our investment but at the same time begins to tie up companies who get access to those funds to creating jobs, to having better labour relations.

"We would be looking at instruments which seek to improve the quality of life of people in this society as well as improving benefits to members."

Naidoo cited Eskom's electrification bond as an example. The product of negotiations with the trade unions and civic, the Eskom bond provided a high rate of return and provided it with the finances to extend electricity to millions of people who did not have electricity.

Corruption

The state had to be democratised and made an instrument to provide effective and efficient services to the people.

Society had to be open and be subject to pressures from different groupings. These would be the checks and balances on a future government.

He accepted that a small workerist party had a right to exist but he did not believe such a party, "standing somewhere in some corner shouting slogans", would be an effective check and balance.

Democratic institutions had to be constructed so that the non-governmental sector of society was strengthened. The alliance was committed to a vibrant and independent civil society.



JAY NAIDOO: Demonstrating a keen perception of the enormous challenge facing the future government in developing economic policies.

"There is a role for all political tendencies and we must guarantee the right of political parties of whatever tendency to be a public pressure group on a future government. If they establish the majority, they become the future government."

The Press should not be constrained against criticising the future government or a future minister and it had to be committed to exposing corruption.

"One of the things in a future democratic government that we are committed to is that if you steal money you go to jail. We want to build the notion of an honest and clean government. The gravy train mentality has to end."

It would be naïve to think that there would not be differences between Cosatu and the future government but this was a "healthy part of our life" and if there were fundamental differences, "we must be prepared to fight each other.

"That is why we have always argued that Cosatu must be independent. We must have the right to challenge a future democratic government and certainly my view is that if we did something that cut across the interests of Cosatu, Cosatu has the right to strike or to march on my office. I will most probably join them in that march!

"The content of the alliance obviously begins to change. We must accept that. We have been an anti-apartheid front.

"The quality of the alliance and the content of the alliance is very different from what it has been in the past."

People like Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa and himself had reiterated time and time again that Cosatu had to remain independent: "That is the strength of democracy. It is a counterveiling force to a future democratic government."

Changing

Asked if his comrades who had been active in the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) now accepted the independence of trade unions now — Sactu strongly opposed this in the past, at times clashing with Cosatu and its predecessor, Fosatu — Naidoo replied characteristically: "Ja. But I think one has to talk of Cosatu now, not Sactu."

Indeed, much has changed and is changing in South Africa. And that includes Jay Naidoo, who could well be South Africa's first Minister of Reconstruction.

Govt hits out at new demands

CT 15/12/93 (304A)

Political Staff

THE government expressed disappointment yesterday at the latest set of demands from the Freedom Alliance, saying their introduction threatened the substantial progress that had been made between the parties.

The new demands, submitted by the Alliance earlier this week as conditions for its involvement in next year's election, included non-interference in TBVC and self-governing territories, a two-ballot voting system and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination.

Chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said the addition of 10 new demands was "clearly unhelpful and not conducive to the attainment of an all-inclusive settlement also involving the Freedom Alliance".

The Alliance had justified the extra demands on the grounds that last-minute changes of the draft constitution had necessitated the inclusion of new issues. The government denied this, saying the most significant progress in negotiations with the Alliance had been achieved only after the draft constitution had been approved.

The alliance had now adopted a stance that was "far beyond" the positions the parties had been able to negotiate during bilateral discussions, Mr Meyer said.

Electoral commission appointed

CT 15/12/93
(3047)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), appointed by the Transitional Executive Council to oversee South Africa's first non-racial election, will be headed by Mr Justice J C Kriegler — a former lawyer for the anti-apartheid Christian Institute.

The IEC, the watchdog charged with ensuring free and fair elections, contains a wide cross-section of prominent South Africans.

Among them are Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, former PAC vice-president; Mrs Helen Suzman, former Democratic Party MP, and the Rev Frank Chikane, head of the SA Council of Churches.

Alliance still won't budge

Political Staff

THE deadlock in negotiations between the government and the Freedom Alliance remained unbroken yesterday.

The parties have until Monday to resolve their differences when the interim constitution is likely to be tabled in Parliament. After a meeting on Tuesday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated his stance that the Alliance would not commit itself to the election before agreement was reached on its "minimum demands".

Traditional leaders 'sidelined'

By BARRY STREEK

THREE delegations of traditional leaders — full participants in the negotiating council earlier this week — said yesterday they had been "snubbed" and "sidelined" from the Transitional Executive Committee.

In a statement, they said: "When we were due to take our seats with the other participants we were deeply perturbed to note that we were not among the delegates.

"Instead, our status was degraded to that of an interested observer under a pretext that we were not organisations as envisaged in the TEC Act."

The TEC had been constituted yesterday without the involvement of the traditional leaders, they said.

"We were therefore denied an opportunity to lay a firm foundation for this very important constitutional forum in the history of our beloved country."

The resolutions were taken without them and they trusted that resolutions which might effect them would be reopened when the council met again tomorrow.

They also called on all traditional leaders in South Africa to come together and form a united front so that their institution would not be undermined in the future, the statement said. CT 8/12/93

Nat MPs threaten to block reforms

Political Staff

A GROUP of National Party MPs has threatened to block the constitutional reforms unless the question of pensions for MPs elected in 1989 and later is addressed.

A joint parliamentary committee is to meet this afternoon to consider a draft law calling for the establishment of a closed pension fund to replace the existing pension fund for parliamentarians.

Objected

MPs elected in 1989 will receive a one-off payment, but they will not be included within the ambit of the fund and will not get inflation-linked pensions.

However, a group of House of Delegates NP MPs have objected to the exclusion of the MPs elected in 1989 and afterwards and are understood to have threatened to block the constitutional measures unless the pensions issue is addressed.

Cracks show between peace prize winners

ST Times 12/12/93

By PETER MALHERBE
Stockholm

THE political gulf between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela was showing yesterday within 24 hours of their investiture as the joint 1993 Nobel Peace Prize winners.

The friction between the two South African leaders became apparent as they flew into Stockholm on the second leg of their peace prize visit to Scandinavia.

Although Mr de Klerk refused to be drawn into a public slanging match, it was made clear that he had been angered by the ANC leader's reported reference to him as a "political criminal" during a Norwegian TV interview.

Officials in Mr de Klerk's delegation said he was also disappointed by what he felt was bias shown towards Mr Mandela and the ANC in Oslo.

When he arrived in Stockholm yesterday Mr de Klerk made it clear he considered Mr Mandela's reported reference to him as a "political criminal" as an insult, but that he did not feel it was worth responding.

Mr de Klerk said: "I didn't come here for a political argument with Mr Mandela in the media. We will fight those back home." (304A)

South African officials said Mr de Klerk felt bias had been shown when nominations committee chairman Professor Francis Sejerstad had given a speech focusing on Mr Mandela. (NE)

Mr de Klerk was also disturbed by the attitude of a group of Norwegians in the official torchlight procession through Oslo.

A section of the 1 000-strong contingent sang ANC freedom songs and carried banners in support of Mr Mandela.

In Stockholm yesterday Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela were honoured by Swedish political leaders and the royal family.

Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk also received the prestigious International Democracy Award.

The prize was presented to Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC representative Barbara Masekela, on the two leaders' behalf.

● Nadine Gordimer pays tribute to Mandela: Page 27

TEC waves on gravy train

ST Times 12/12/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

REPRESENTATIVES of the 19 parties on the Transitional Executive Council waved the gravy train on its way when they met for the first time in Cape Town this week.

A proposal by the government that the politicians be paid a cabinet minister's salary — R214 000 a year — was opposed by the ANC and the SACP.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said it was vital the TEC should not become a gravy train and nobody should gain from serving on it.

The upshot of the agreement on salaries was that representatives should be "no better off and no worse off" by virtue of serving on the TEC.

This means Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will continue to earn his cabinet minister's salary, while SACP chairman Joe Slovo will continue to take home his R3 200 a month.

TEC representatives will also be given a R50 a day allowance for the working days to cover incidental costs. Their accommodation and travel costs will also be paid by the government. (304A) (3544)

The TEC this week also approved a budget of R18,5-million for the duration of the TEC's life.

The TEC will meet again in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Gauntlet thrown down to Alliance

(304A)
CT 7/11/93

Mandela issues firm notification

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela says there can be no more useful talks with the Freedom Alliance unless it accepts the interim constitution, undertakes to take part in the April election and returns to the multi-party democracy process.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for Oslo to receive the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, which he will accept jointly with President F W de Klerk, Mr Mandela confirmed the Alliance had rejected these stipulations.

"No useful discussions" could take place until it had accepted them, he said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would, however, continue talks with the right-wing leaders. It was "sensitive" to right-wing fears, although the call for a volksstaat was not accepted because "it would create more problems than it would solve".

He said SA was not going to grow economically until local businessmen showed their faith in this country by investing here and not overseas.

After leading the drive for sanctions against Pretoria, the ANC in September this year called for the embargo to be lifted.

Mr Mandela said the Nobel Peace Prize was recognition of the part played by the ANC, the "revolutionary alliance" and the Patriotic Front which had made possible the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, the April election date and the adoption of a new constitution.

He said he was not going to interfere with the Nobel peace committee who "in their wisdom" had chosen him and Mr De Klerk as joint recipients. — Sapa

Major firms plan election fund

CT3/12/93 (3044)

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of major corporations has set in motion plans for the establishment of a R30 to R40 million fund which will be used between now and April 27 to work for successful and fair elections.

The initiative arose over concerns regarding the success of the election and also approaches to business organisations for funding by several political parties.

Sources say a sub-committee headed by Mr David Brink, chief executive of Murray & Roberts and including AECI managing director Mr Mike Sander has been appointed to present a proposal regarding the objectives and structure of the fund.

Two main factors motivated the initiative. Firstly, the companies concerned are highly conscious of the positive potential for the country of a successful election recognised by all as free and fair, as well as the negative potential of an unsuccessful election.

Secondly, numerous companies have received requests from a range of political parties for finance for their election campaigns. Most are unwilling to support any single party, and also find unsatisfactory the idea of a non-partisan approach which would imply giving money to all-comers.

Hence the idea of a fund which would "advance the democratic process" in a non-partisan way.

Other companies involved in the initiative include PGSI, Shell, Caltex, Siemens and JCI.

Mandela acts on war threat



Last-gasp effort to meet Alliance

CT 18/12/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DRAMATIC intervention by Mr Nelson Mandela shortly before Parliament began yesterday's historic debate on the new constitution set in motion a flurry of initiatives to defuse threats of civil war.

Following renewed threats on December 16 from white and black leaders in the Freedom Alliance to resist the new constitution with force, the ANC leader phoned President F W de Klerk yesterday morning in an eleventh-hour bid to find an inclusive settlement.

As MPs locked horns in Parliament about the dangers and opportunities posed by the passage of South Africa's first non-racial constitution, Mr De Klerk and his chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, held urgent

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said last night: "We are approaching crunch-time — but we have been trying endlesslessly to keep this thing alive."

Mr Ramaphosa said that the "ball is now firmly in the Alliance court — but we want a commitment from the Alliance to participate in the election".

However, he added: "I am not any more optimistic now (about a settlement) than I was early today."

Earlier, Inkatha MPs told Parliament that the Alliance and the government were "tantalisingly close" to bridging the gap towards a settlement that could avert the need for war — but the claim was poohpoohed by the goverment and the ANC.

However, the IFP's leader in Parliament, Mr

that had not participated fully in drawing up the constitution.

His deputy, Mr Fanus Schoeman, told MPs that there was scope "for real progress" in negotiations with the IFP on ways of facilitating their participation.

"We in the government and the National Party would like to see as inclusive an agreement as possible in South Africa.

"So it is not too late for the IFP to accept and come forward with a package deal so we can in the coming days also try to accommodate these aspirations," he said.

The debate on the new constitution continues today and is expected to last until Tuesday.

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nd Ms Rena Sherman, of shopping in Greenmarket ıed high. Picture: CLIVE SMITH

Last-gasp effort to meet Alliance

304A

CT 18/12/93

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As MPs locked horns in Parliament about the dangers and opportunities posed by the passage of South Africa's first non-racial constitution, Mr De Klerk and his chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, held urgent discussions in Tuynhuys with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday afternoon on how best to keep alive the prospects of a peaceful transition.

The government and the Alliance — with the endorsement of the ANC — were trying last night to set up a summit of leaders, with Monday as the most likely date.

Last-ditch

Government and Alliance technical committees are to meet this weekend in a last-ditch attempt to bridge differences between the two sides on the interim constitution before it is passed into law in the middle of next week.

In Pretoria, Inkatha negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane met Alliance leaders before he and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen flew to Ulundi last night for consultations with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said last night: "We are approaching crunch-time — but we have been trying endlesslessly to keep this thing alive."

Mr Ramaphosa said that the "ball is now firmly in the Alliance court — but we want a commitment from the Alliance to participate in the election".

However, he added: "I am not any more optimistic now (about a settlement) than I was early today."

Earlier, Inkatha MPs told Parliament that the Alliance and the government were "tantalisingly close" to bridging the gap towards a settlement that could avert the need for war — but the claim was poohpoohed by the goverment and the ANC.

However, the IFP's leader in Parliament, Mr Jurie Mentz, said the Zulu nation would definitely make war if its continued self-determination was threatened.

"We are not stubborn, we want a solution — we will leave no stone unturned to reach that goal," he said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg appealed to Nationalists not to go ahead with the constitution in its present form.

He warned Mr De Klerk, who attended much of yesterday's sitting: "What you unleash will be on your head and you will have to accept the consequences."

After saying "sorry" for the wrongs of apartheid, Mr Meyer told Parliament that the new constitution also provided a home for the interests of all parties that had not participated fully in drawing up the constitution.

His deputy, Mr Fanus Schoeman, told MPs that there was scope "for real progress" in negotiations with the IFP on ways of facilitating their participation.

"We in the government and the National Party would like to see as inclusive an agreement as possible in South Africa.

"So it is not too late for the IFP to accept and come forward with a package deal so we can in the coming days also try to accommodate these aspirations," he said.

The debate on the new constitution continues today and is expected to last until Tuesday.



Constitutional provision for party discipline a political time-bomb?

(304A) ET 15/12/93

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT

IT CANNOT be denied that the proposed interim constitution, soon to be accepted by the current Parliament, represents a substantial move towards democracy.

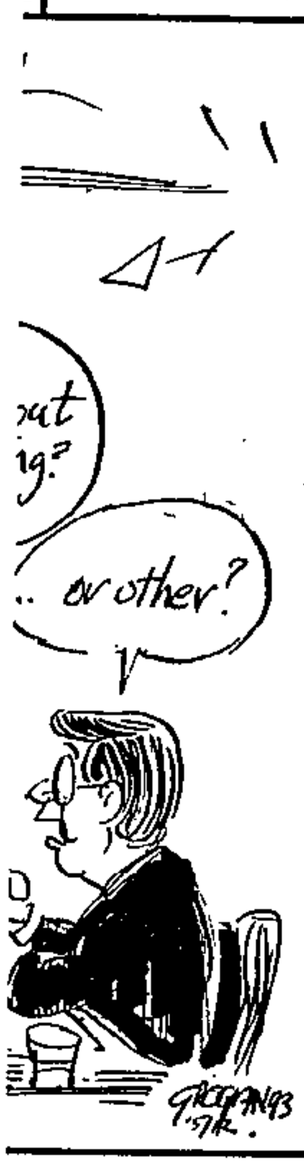
The major achievement is that a negotiated agreement could be reached on a new constitution at all, thus making an orderly transition possible. This is indeed an historic achievement, appropriately recognised by the Nobel Peace prize awards to President De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

In the longer run, however, we will have to live with the specifics of this negotiated constitution. Even if it will only be an interim constitution, it will determine the ground rules of parliamentary politics for some time to come. Some of the more radical implications of this constitution for the politics of the new South Africa are perhaps not yet fully understood — the "six-pack deal" so hurriedly approved in the final sessions of the constitutional negotiation council at Kempton Park contains a number of specific provisions which are bound to have momentous political consequences.

Take clause 43 of the proposed interim constitution, dealing with the vacation of seats in the new National Assembly. This is largely a technical matter which has so far gone almost unchallenged amid the bigger battles about the Constitutional Court and regional powers. Yet it contains a political time-bomb ticking away at the heart of the new democratic parliament to come. Sub-clause 43(b) stipulates that when any member of the National Assembly "ceases to be a member of the party which nominated him or her" (s)he thereby also forfeits his or her seat in that assembly.

Westminster

It is difficult to overstate the profound political implications of this clause. It means, quite literally, that according to the constitution itself MPs are henceforth to be regarded as party representatives only; apart from this they do not have any independent function or status as public representatives. In the past individual MPs were, of course, bound by various conventions of party and caucus discipline, but these had formal and practical limits: it was possible for MPs, while retaining their seats in Parliament, to resign from their party, to defect and "cross the floor", or to split and form a new party. All of this is ruled out by clause 43(b). In practice this amounts to a constitutional entrenchment of the supremacy of the party chief whip.



Of course, clause 43 needs to be understood in the context of the different electoral structure built into the new constitution. Instead of the familiar Westminster model of individual constituency-based parliamentary representation, the new Parliament is to be elected according to a *list system* of proportional representation. Each political party puts up a list of candidates for election to Parliament; the number actually elected to the 400-member National Assembly then corresponds to the proportion of the overall votes cast for each such party.

Such list systems of proportional reprsentation have long been used in many other democracies and have their own peculiar "logic". Thus it is normal practice in list systems that when a Parliamentary seat is vacated for non-political reasons due to death, illness or resignation then this seat will be filled by the next candidate on the list of the party concerned. The phenomenon of constituency-based "by-elections" is not possible in a list system of proportional representation. Hence the need for a provision like clause 43. But sub-clause 43(b) goes much further: unlike similar provisions in other countries it applies not only to the ordinary vacation of Parliamentary seats, but also to resignation, defection or expulsion of party members for political reasons.

Dissident

This goes to the very heart of the process of democratic party politics. As public representatives, MPs are not just party functionaries; sooner or later they will be faced with issues on which they disagree with party policy as defined by the party leadership. At this point they must consider the options of accepting party discipline or of resigning from the party and becoming an independent agent.

Clause 43(b) effectively removes the latter option — while retaining your Parliamentary seat. It will not be possible to become an "independent" member of the new Parliament. It will not be possible to "cross the floor" and join some other party. It will not be possible for dissident members or a minority grouping to split from an existing party in order to form a new party while retaining their parliamentary seats.

Actually the implications of article 43 go even further. Its provisions must apply as well to MPs who are *expelled* from their parties. In principle this means that the party leadership or the dominant faction in the party have the power to remove the Parliamentary basis of individual dissidents or of internal opponents should they so choose. To say the least, it is not likely that this will encourage the emergence of critical "backbenchers" or vigorous internal democratic practices within political parties. Clause 43 is the charter of the party bosses; it spells doom for the emergence of democratic party politics.

The more general political implications of this particular constitutional clause are equally momentous. Effectively, it means that Parliamentary representation will be "frozen" for a substantial period following the first election, no matter what political realignments will take place on the ground. Only at the next general election will a new proportional representation be reflected in Parliament itself. This makes little political sense, whether one looks to the past or to the future.

Inflexible

It is a marked feature of our party political history that the major realignments have rarely taken place through elections; more commonly it has been the fusions and splits of existing parties, often in response to major internal and external crises, which have changed the shape of the party political landscape. Looking forward, one would expect the next few years to bring many new realignments: while the National and Democratic parties have to adapt to the political realities of a non-racial electorate, the ANC and the liberation movement have to transform themselves from a popular front to a political party or parties. If all goes well with the new democracy, we can expect quite different political formations in government and opposition to emerge over the next few years.

It is vital that all of this should be reflected in Parliament; in fact, normally we would expect Parliament to be the main arena for such political realignments. All of this, however, is bound to be undercut by clause 43(b) which has the potential of rendering Parliament a rigid and inflexible institution of political representation. In the short run, this constitutional clause will put excessive powers in the hands of the party bosses; in the longer run it will work to insulate Parliament itself from political changes at intermediate and grassroots levels.

Clause 43(b) is not the only constitutional clause that needs to be rethought before it is too late: the provision for a single ballot, for example, is equally momentous and harmful. But while the single ballot issue is bound up with the whole negotiation process itself, clause 43(b) is a relatively "technical" clause that could and should be easily rectified. It will be a litmus test of our democratic prospects whether this matter is addressed in time or not.

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

TEC cracks whip on homelands

(304A) CT 15/12/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE TEC cracked the whip yesterday, suspending a R216 million loan to Bophuthatswana, intensifying its drive to flush out KwaZulu Police hit squads and forcing a major revamp of the SAP's controversial internal stability division.

The second working session of the multi-party body — which was again dominated by ANC/SACP initiatives — also finalised the 48 positions on the TEC's seven sub-councils, the lion's share going to members of the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance (see Page 2).

Meanwhile, the government yesterday told the five-party Freedom Alliance, which is boycotting TEC proceedings, that its latest demands and its refusal to commit istelf to participating in the transition and elections presented "insurmountable obstacles" to further progress.

But constitutional development minister Mr Roelf Meyer told FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronje in a letter yesterday that "even at this late stage" the government was prepared to meet the FA to search for an all-inclusive settlement (see Page 2).

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC would respond today to the FA's demands, which if accepted would result in the transition process being frozen until all outstanding differences were resolved and then approved by the FA's principals.

- **TEC SUSPENDS R216m LOAN**
- **LEGAL ACTION THREAT TO KWAZULU POLICE**
- **PLAN FOR NEW-LOOK INTERNAL STABILITY DIVISION**
- **SUB-COUNCIL MEMBERS NAMED**

See PAGE 2

Yesterday's TEC chairman, the DP's Mr Colin Eglin, said the fact that no members of the FA or PAC had been included on the seven TEC sub-councils did not mean they had been finally excluded from representation on the transitional bodies.

He said a mechanism could be found, such as petitioning the State President to increase the size of the sub-councils — which will help to run the country until the April 27 election.

The sub-councils — on law and order, defence, intelligence, regional and local government, foreign affairs, status of women and finance — will hold their first meetings in Cape Town next week.

During yesterday's session, the 19-party TEC continued to pressure homeland governments in the FA by instructing the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) to suspend a R216 million loan to Bophuthatswana.

Mr Ramaphosa said the loan — for development projects — had been signed two days after last week's installation of the TEC.

He said he had been informed by the DBSA that the money had not yet been transferred and the TEC should suspend the transaction as it violated the TEC's right to vet all government-to-government financial agreements.

Earlier, the TEC unanimously resolved to take "all steps, including legal steps", to force KwaZulu to supply information on alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

KwaZulu has instructed KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to ignore a TEC order to furnish further information about al-

To page 2

From page 1

leged hit squads.

The TEC also approved the establishment of a "task force" to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission and the SAP in monitoring "the political aspects" of hit squads.

Mr Ramaphosa told the TEC: "It is absolutely essential to control hitsquads, particularly in KwaZulu."

Police are giving "immediate attention" to an earlier TEC resolution that security force members be dispatched to northern Natal (including KwaZulu) because of the failure of the KZP to establish stability in the region.

(304A)

- Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was forced to bow to TEC authority yesterday over the internal stability division.

Following a TEC resolution last week calling for the ISD's withdrawal from some East Rand townships and Bhambayi in Natal, Mr Kriel yesterday proposed reforms of the ISD to the TEC. CT 15/12/93

These include reducing ISD presence in certain areas, placing the ISD under the command of district police commissioners or the defence force, closer liason with community consultation forums, and altering the "military and aggressive" appearance of the division.

The TEC will meet again next week in Cape Town.

Police Force Have Been

Coloured abstention a crucial factor in polls

304A
CT 9/12/88



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE

IT MUST rank as one of the great ironies of our politics that the coloured people, long considered as bit players in the larger white-black poltical struggle, could dramatically affect the power and status of the parties after the elections.

Consider what effect this vote could have:

- An unwillingness to support the Democratic Party could well spell the end of this party as a significant force.
- A rejection of the National Party could lead to it losing all nine provinces and trigger a major spilt in the party.
- A rebuff to the African National Congress would severely damage its claim to be non-racial party transcending African nationalism.

There is of course no monolithic coloured vote which could be mobilised in support of a particular party.

Called "a group without borders" by historian Hans Heese, the coloured people nevertheless share certain formative experiences. It is the political lessons coloured people have collectively learned from these experiences that will determine their vote — or whether they will be prepared to vote.

Apprehension

The coloured community has a complex political profile. One prominent aspect is its conservative make-up. Although apartheid dealt a devastating blow to the coloured aspiration for an equal and common citizenship with whites it nevertheless offered them a position of relative privilege compared to blacks.

The rapid African influx into Cape Town during the 1980s produced widespread apprehension that blacks would take coloured jobs and that the ANC's policy of affirmative action would mean affirmative action for blacks alone.

Privately, coloured intellectuals have begun to speak of a sharp increase in "coloured racism" towards Africans. They are being stereotyped as violent and dangerous. More and more coloured people are fearful of the country's future. The illegal occupation by Africans of coloured houses dramatically symbolises these fears.

In the meantime, a genuine "toenadering" between white and brown Afrikaans people appears to be taking place.

Propagating the idea of a common citizenship, which it had accepted in 1986, the NP began to stress the linguistic, cultural and religious ties between coloured people and Afrikaners. The extent to which the appeal to common political identity has been successful is indicated by a poll published in November commissioned by three Washington-based institutes.

It showed that 60% of whites and 43% of coloured people wanted the present flag and national anthem to stay while 71% of blacks wanted them to change.

Although 66% of whites and more than 80% of blacks thought blacks would control government next year only 33% of coloured people thought so.

They see whites continuing to control the government after the elections and largely agree with whites that blacks would "make a mess of the country".

These findings confirm the results of other polls which suggest majority coloured support for the NP. However, polls are not elections.

There is equally strong evidence that coloured people may in dramatic numbers abstain from voting. Among the coloured intellectual elite there is a long tradition, dating back to the 1930s, of non-collaboration in politics.

With this elite voices went up during the course of the negotiations that the ANC had fatally compromised the principles of the liberation struggle. Among the rank and file there is a distinct tendency towards abstention.

As a marginal group, coloured people display caution, apathy and a tendency to withdraw from a political process which they perceive as one dominated by powerful forces and conflicts which their votes cannot really influence.

Disinterest

It has been generally assumed that the coloured people did not vote in the 1984 election for a coloured chamber in Parliament because of the boycott campaign led by the United Democratic Front. This is not borne out by a study done after of the election with a sample of 966 voters who had abstained.

More than half gave responses which could be construed as displaying apathy or political impotence and disinterest.

A HSRC Omnibus survey conducted among all population groups in April this year revealed that the tendency towards withdrawal was still strong. Asked whether they would participate in the election for an interim government, only 57% of coloured people said they would take part as against 78% of whites and 81% of blacks.

Of those who said they would not take part, half said they were not interested, a further quarter that they did not know enough while another 8% indicated they had nobody to vote for or did not believe in elections.

Coloured people clearly do not have much faith in the efficacy of the political system. Neither do they believe that reconstruction will hold much benefit for them.

Problems

Only a third (against nearly two-thirds of blacks) believe their standard of living will improve under the interim government.

Despite their perception that matters are beyond their control, coloured people were quite prepared to accept the result of the election; their acceptance rate is in fact slightly higher than that of the other groups. Fear of violence or feelings of unsafety do not appear to be a crucial consideration at this stage.

Of the coloured people 54% (as many as whites) felt the police were willing and able to protect them in their community from violence in the time before and during the coming election.

Coloured people approach this election with little experience in voting. One study found that only 20% of coloured voters in the sample, against more than 90% of whites had voted in a local, municipal or general election.

A full third of the coloured voters felt that the next election would not do much to help solve the real problems of the country.

These findings have a message for political parties: before they count on the coloured vote they must make quite certain that voters from this group do indeed go to the polls.

Abstention may win the day.



FW meets the Queen

First royal audience in 32 years

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Emerging last night from the first audience granted to a South African head of state by a ruling English monarch in 32 years, President F W de Klerk said it was "received with great warmth and friendship".

She was deeply interested in the problems of South Africa — it was a very friendly and constructive meeting," Nobel Peace Prize laureate Mr de Klerk said after he and his wife Marieke met Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace.

While the audience with the Queen lasted just over 15 minutes, Mr De Klerk's subsequent meeting with British premier Mr John Major lasted an hour, nearly twice its scheduled time.

The last South African head of state to meet a reigning English monarch was Dr H F Verwoerd, who met Queen Elizabeth in London in 1961. Within days of that meeting, he had declared a republic and South Africa left the Commonwealth to remain a political outcast for 30 years.

In the pelting rain outside No 10 Downing Street, Mr De Klerk said of joining the Commonwealth — which has given an open invitation once free and fair elections are over: "The main test will be what is in the best interests of all South Africans. I've got an open mind."

On the April election, Mr De Klerk said he had informed Mr Major "exactly where things stand, the stumbling blocks such as ... some significant parties not having decided to participate" and what role the international community could play in election monitoring.

Downing Street confirmed last night that British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd sat in on the meeting between the two leaders.

A spokesman for Mr Major said Mr De Klerk had given a detailed account of the constitutional process, explained how the first Transitional Executive Council meeting had gone and discussed "election prospects".

Mandela

Mr Major had expressed strong support for the election process and discussed how Britain could help in election monitoring.

Mr De Klerk's fellow Nobel Peace Prize laureate Mr Nelson Mandela met the Queen in Harare at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in 1991.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk receive their award in Oslo tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk said he felt "deeply honoured and very humble" about the award which was a great encouragement to all South Africans and powerful recognition "that we're on the right road".



ROYAL HANDSHAKE ... President F W de Klerk meets Queen Elizabeth II, at Buckingham Palace yesterday. President De Klerk is the first South African head of state to be granted an audience by a ruling British monarch in 32 years. The president stopped over in London en route to Oslo to collect his Nobel Peace Prize. Picture: AP

TEC clash

CT 8/12/93 (304A)

TWILIGH



FUN RUN



From page 1

Speaking shortly before departing to receive his joint Nobel Peace Prize with Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said the installation of the TEC was but another — albeit an important — milestone on a long road to democracy. This was in line with NP policy.

He insisted that white domination had ended long before the installation of the TEC yesterday. (304A)

He acknowledged that the functions, authority and power of the TEC was important but that its jurisdiction did not extend to "a substantial percentage of what government is about".

CT 8/12/93

The government would play a constructive role in co-operating with the TEC and helping the multi-party body to achieve its goal of levelling the political playing fields ahead of an election, he said.

Late yesterday Mr Ramaphosa hit back, saying: "If he (Mr De Klerk) wants to delude himself with wishful thinking, he is welcome to do so."

The ANC chief negotiatiator said it was essential that the TEC should enjoy full executive — as opposed to advisory — functions, and that it would be able to reverse presidential decisions in the coming months.

In terms of the legislation passed by Parliament, the TEC and its subcouncils will be able to act as a break on government power when this might be use to the advantage or disadvantage of any party in the run-up to the elections.

The TEC will also be empowered to block legislation and security action that it believes conflicts with its objectives of levelling the political playing fields ahead of the election.

A rumpus over power as white rule ends in SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WHITE minority rule effectively came to an end yesterday — but the ANC and the government immediately plunged into a public row over the powers of the newly installed Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The historic first meeting of the multi-party TEC in Cape Town also marked the formal start to South Africa's first-ever non-racial election campaign, to be run according to rules laid down by an Independent Electoral Commission.

The installation of the TEC also paves the way for a R2,9 billion IMF loan to boost South Africa's balance of payments — a step that will help business confidence by binding the government for three years to certain aspects of economic policy insisted on by the IMF (see page 2).

The celebration that greeted the establishment of the multi-party body that will help run the country in the coming five months was muted by the absence from the TEC of the PAC, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the five-party Freedom Alliance.

However, it is understood that the Alliance's leadership will hold a crisis meeting at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Ulundi headquarters today to consider whether to join the TEC and participate in the elections (see page 2).

The row over the TEC's exact role began when ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa accused the government of trying to treat the TEC as a mere advisory body.

Later the tussle over the TEC's powers moved up a gear when President F W de Klerk accused Mr Ramaphosa of "playing politics" by overblowing the role of the body and "building it into an elephant and a tiger".

"The TEC," he insisted, "is not the new government." The NP government would continue the day-to-day running of the country until next year's election.

To page 2

Deadlock

CT. 7/12/93 (3044)

Last-bid meetings collapse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE prospects for a peaceful transition nosedived as last-gasp talks between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance all but collapsed yesterday.

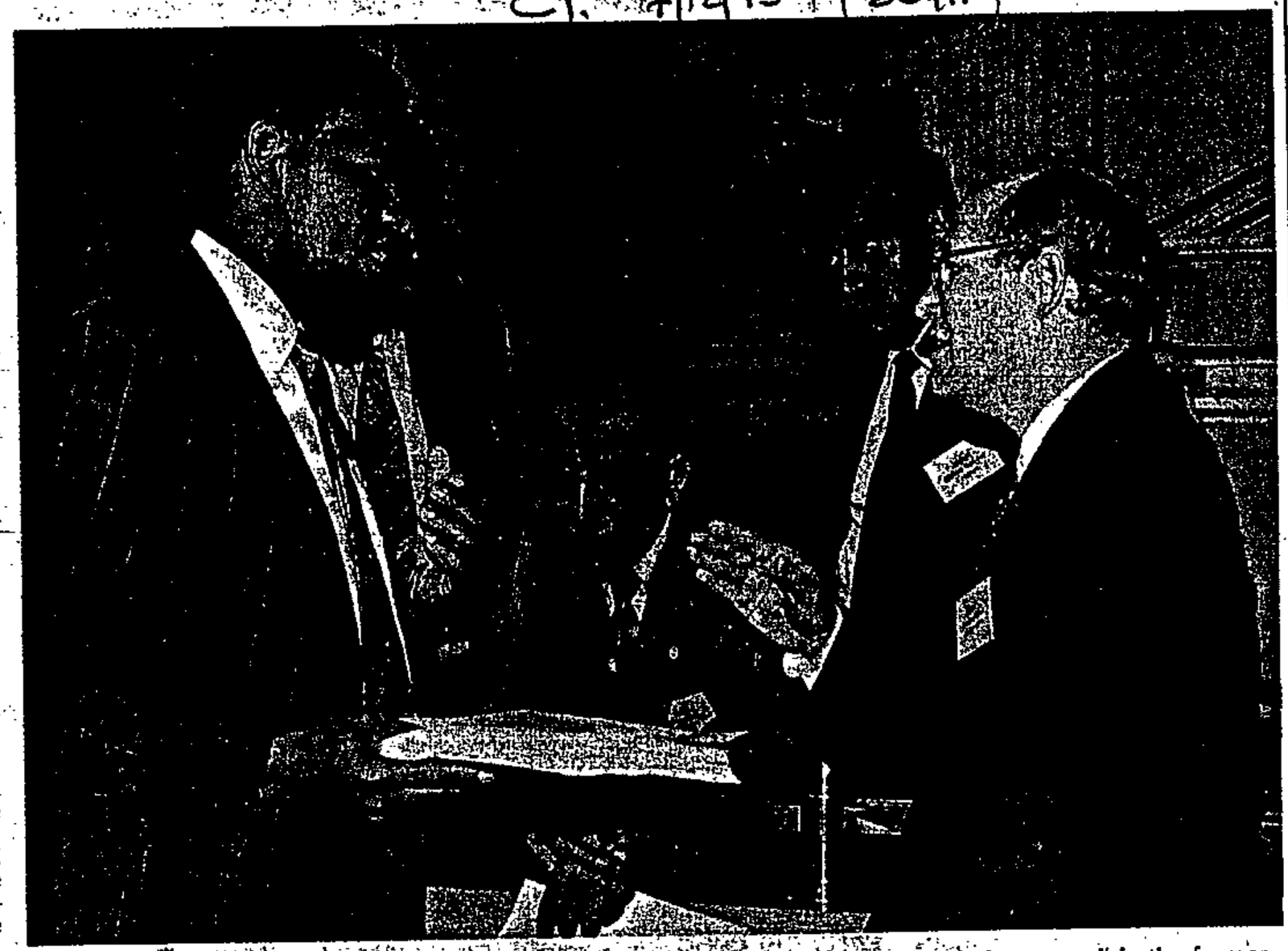
A series of 11th-hour meetings in Cape Town intended to broker an inclusive agreement on an interim constitution in time for last night's special meeting of the multi-party negotiating council, were a spectacular failure.

Although the government and the ANC stopped short of saying the five-party Freedom Alliance finally had missed the negotiations boat, they seriously questioned whether parties in the Alliance were committed to finding a solution.

Senior government and ANC strategists told the Cape Times late last night that, given the serious differences that appeared to be emerging within the Alliance, they might have to settle for bringing at least "some" Alliance members on board.

The deadlock at yesterday's talks meant that last night's multi-party negotiating council meeting was unable to oversee the finalisation of the interim constitution.

Instead, delegations from the 20 parties attending the meeting agreed that the council could be revived if necessary and dispose of a series of largely technical matters (see Page 2).



FINISHING TOUCHES . . . At what was probably the last meeting of the negotiating council in the former President's Council building last night were (from left) ANC local government spokesman Mr Thomazile Botha, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka and Mr Dullah Omar, both of the ANC's negotiating team, and Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Transition begins today

10am today marks the beginning of the end of more than 350 years of white-dominated rule in South Africa.

After the day's frustrating efforts, chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said that if the Alliance leadership wanted to be part of a settlement, "The Alliance now has to come back to us within hours — time is running out, if it has not already run out."

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport last night, before leaving for Oslo to receive the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela

— Political Staff

From page 1

said there could be no more useful talks with the Freedom Alliance unless it accepted the interim constitution, undertook to take part in the April elections and returned to the democracy process. (3049)

A disappointed chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said: "Unfortunately nothing that we are able to put before the negotiating council flowed from this effort." CT 7/12/93

Disappointment at the lack of progress was shared by Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronje, who said the Alliance had come to Cape Town to negotiate — "but we did not even get out of the starting blocks".

He said the Alliance parties would have to return to their principals at Mmbatho with no new proposals.

The Alliance leaders did not see their way clear to making a commitment to participation in the new order until they had evaluated the results of negotiations, Mr Cronje said.

"We are not prepared to make a leap into the dark and make a commitment when we do not even know what the outcome will be. Once an agreement is reached we will decide," he said.

● The Conservative Party succeeded in blocking discussion of the interim constitution yesterday by complaining that the document was incomplete and had not been translated yet into Afrikaans.

Ads for election hitting newspaper readers

JOHANNESBURG. — Five months before the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media with parties buying advertising space to win the hearts and minds of the public.

Sunday newspapers yesterday carried full-page advertisements by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party has chosen the political theme of change to woo voters to its side.

The message of change is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?

"The coming election will not be about apartheid or armed struggle, it will be about future peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about national building."

The ANC also tries to position itself as "a political party with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".

Their advert emphasises popular participation and focuses on the organisation's 1950s campaigns, like the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), challenges the Goldstone Commission's fourth interim report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council has reluctantly been called on to adjudicate on an NP advert, which appeared in the Sunday Times last month, after the ANC labelled it "malicious" and "libellous". — Sapa

Pylon sabotage kills two

JOHANNESBURG. — Eskom yesterday confirmed that a powerline near Vosloorus on the East Rand was sabotaged on Saturday evening, resulting in two freak accidents which claimed the lives of at least two people.

Eskom communications manager Mr Kevin Morgan said in a statement: "Explosives were used to blow up three legs of the tower which caused the tower to collapse and the conductor to fall across the road."

This caused two serious accidents when two vehicles collided with the conductor.

According to Mr Morgan, three people were killed and eight injured in the accidents. East Rand police could confirm only two deaths and 14 injuries.

Mr Morgan said all substations and power-lines in the area had been checked and no other explosive devices had been found.

Police said they were investigating the sabotage. — Sapa

IFP against voting in polls

Change to constitution demanded by party

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

"The IFP reiterates its conviction that the final decision on participation in transitional institutions and the proposed general elections will be taken as a special general conference of the IFP to be held early in 1994.

"In the event that Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands, the central committee will recommend to the special general conference and to its allies that the peoples of South Africa should not participate in the elections," the IFP said in a statement.

The organisation said if its minimum demands were met and conditions were favourable for holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections.

ANC denies it aimed to 'infiltrate'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied allegations made in a Sunday newspaper that its national intelligence and security wing, known as NAT, aimed to infiltrate political groups and seize control of key state organs.

The question of seizure was out of the question and the issue was rather that state organs needed to be transformed in order to become accountable to a democratic government and SA's people, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

According to the report, which likened NAT to the Broederbond, the ANC aimed to take control of state security agencies after elections next year, infiltrate the right-wing and TEC subcouncils, influence the Goldstone Commission, "handle" disloyal members and use Popcru to recruit black police officers, among other things.

This was to be achieved over five years.

Mr Mamoepa said there was no need for the ANC to infiltrate the TEC as "we have an opportunity to be part of it". He rejected the suggestion that likened NAT to the Broederbond.

The ANC was not talking of infiltration but rather a multi-pronged approach to strengthening the democratic process by finding politcal solutions, he said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said it was "well known" that NAT had been trying to break Inkatha and win the support of King Goodwill Zwelithini, as was claimed in the report.

wicket during the one-day match yesterday.

TEC row

Meyer and Kriel clash over powers

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE newly established TEC immediately flexed its muscles yesterday by ordering the SA security forces into strife-torn areas of KwaZulu and the seizure of operational files of the SAP's controversial Internal Stability Division.

But within hours the TEC appeared headed for a showdown with the government security establishment after a TEC delegation consisting of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Roelf Meyer clashed sharply with Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel over the powers and jurisdiction of the multiparty body.

Sources close to the talks said the tug-of-war between the two claimants on state authority would continue behind the scenes until the next meeting of the TEC next week.

And in Ulundi, an angry KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed what he called attempts to discredit the homeland police force and took a tough line on a return to negotiations ahead of today's summit of Freedom Alliance leaders in the KwaZulu capital.

The first working session of the TEC in Cape Town yesterday passed a resolution to send a delegation — including Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer — for immediate consultations with the police with the aim of pulling the ISD out of violence-ridden townships on the East Rand and the Bambhayi area in Natal "in particular".

The step was strenuously opposed in the meeting last night by Mr Kriel, who argued that the bloodshed would increase dramatically in these areas if the ISD withdrew.

The 19-party TEC also decided yesterday that the Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police (KZP), Lieutenant-General Roy During, and Goldstone Commission investigator Brigadier E S du Preez, furnish "a full report" within three days on disclosures this week of the murders of ANC leaders by a "hit squad" in the KZP.

The Goldstone Commission will also be bound to provide the TEC with any further information in its possession arising

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From page 1

from its hit-squad probe, and the TEC will then take "urgent follow-up steps" to clamp down on officially sanctioned assassinations.

Significantly all the resolutions adopted by the TEC enjoyed the unanimous approval of the 19 parties in the council and the expected sparring between the ANC and the government over the powers of the body did not materialise.

Speaking shortly after the first working session of the TEC in the old President's Council, ANC secretary-general Mr Ramaphosa said it was important that the TEC send a clear signal to the public that it could act decisively to ensure free political activity.

The SA Communist Party's chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, said it was essential that at its first substantive session the TEC should be seen to be asserting its statutory power.

The chairman of yesterday's session, Mr Pravin Gordhan, told a press conference afterwards: "The TEC is beginning to cut its teeth in dealing with the South African political reality and in coping with the challenges and expectations of the new order."

Asked to compare the TEC with the proceedings taking place in Parliament, he added: "What is happening nextdoor is the beginning of the end — what is happening here is the beginning of the beginning."

After the TEC's throwing down the gauntlet to the KwaZulu by serving notice that it planned to clip the wings of Chief Buthelezi's administration, the Inkatha leader charged that the timing of the hit-squad row was an attempt to discredit his party.

As leaders of the five-party Freedom Alliance began converging on Ulundi for a summit today, Chief Buthelezi also vowed not to participate in next year's elections until a final constitution was agreed and in place.

But in Cape Town Mr Ramaphosa told the Cape Times that members of the SA Police and Defence Force would be deployed to restore stability and order in Northern Natal as a matter of urgency. "Everything has to be done yesterday," he said.

POLITICS FM 24/12/93 (304A) (304A)

Terms of endearment

The prospect of including important elements of the Freedom Alliance in a constitutional settlement improved dramatically this week as negotiators battled to reach agreement before parliament finally approved the interim constitution on Wednesday.

As the *FM* went to press, government, ANC and Alliance teams were locked in last-minute talks in Cape Town; and in Johannesburg, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader Constand Viljoen were preparing to unveil a "strategic interim agreement" that might just pave the way for a mutually acceptable political relationship between rightwing Afrikaners and the ANC. The tripartite talks in Cape Town followed a four-hour meeting on Sunday between government and Alliance delegations.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer says five-member teams from each of the parties were mandated by their leaders to try to reach a constitutional agreement which included the Alliance. The meeting began on Monday morning and the parties gave themselves until 8 am on Tuesday to reach agreement. This meant amendments to the interim constitution would still be possible before it was voted on by parliament on Wednesday.

The ANC/AVF agreement followed almost four months of contact between the two groups, according to a statement issued after a joint meeting in Pretoria at the weekend. It said the agreement could pave the way for AVF participation in interim constitutional structures and the general election on April 27. "In terms of the agreement, both parties are in support of the introduction of a nonracial democracy in SA. They also see the need to seek ways to accommodate the desire of many Afrikaners for self-determination in a *volkstaat*."

In an interview with the Reuters news agency this week, Mandela said it would be a "tragic mistake" to underestimate the power of the white Right to destabilise a democratic government. The ANC would make every effort to persuade them to rejoin the transitional process but would never concede a white homeland.

Against that background, hardliners in the Alliance, including CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and AWB chief Eugene Terre-'Blanche, were unlikely to be swayed by either the Cape Town talks or the AVF accord with the ANC — unless provision was made for what would in essence be a race-based *volkstaat*.

Their continued rejection of the process would open the way for a split in the Alliance, with the more moderate rightwing whites, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Inkatha joining the transition. A split in the Alliance would also add to the legitimacy of whatever action the TEC may decide to take to counter rightwing insurrection or terrorism.

However, it was clear that changes to the interim constitution would need to be handled sensitively. The PAC warned this week that it will not endorse amendments worked out by only the ANC and government.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille says the PAC has demanded that the negotiating council be convened within 48 hours to debate the "underhand and unilateral actions" of the ANC and government. She adds that all parties need to be consulted if any amendments are made to the constitution.

In parliament this week the marathon debate on the interim constitution drew to a close with relatively little drama.

An allegation by Nat MP Johan Steenkamp that the AWB is planning the widespread murder of blacks created a stir, but was denied by the organisation. The SAP also says it has not authenticated the document on which Steenkamp based his allegations. The AWB describes the allegations as false and ridiculous and says it will immediately suspend any members if it is proved they are involved. The document outlines alleged plans for the mobilisation of AWB supporters and mentions mass graves for "kaffirs." Law & Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze says the document and its source are being investigated.

The SA Institute of Race Relations warns in a publication issued in Washington that the election is threatened by political violence, intolerance and hindrance of free political activity.

The publication, *Watchdog*, is aimed at alerting influential policymakers in SA and abroad to "hidden trends inimical to pluralism" in an effort to encourage them to bring appropriate pressure to bear on political players in SA.

In the Reuters interview, Mandela says violence could result in 40% of blacks staying away from the polls. If that happened the NP would have a chance of victory. ■

FM 3/12/93

council on intelligence is yet to be announced. Among the candidates could be Patrick Lekota, Joe Nhlanhla and Penuel Maduna. (HP) (304A)

The SA Communist Party's chief representative on the TEC is Joe Slovo, assisted by Joel Netshitenze.

The calibre of representative put forward by the ANC reflects the seriousness with which the alliance views the TEC, which is meant to ensure free and equal political activity in the run-up to the election on April 27 (*FM* 26 November 1993).

The Democratic Party's main representatives on the TEC are Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew. Andrew is also likely to serve on the finance subcouncil.

The ANC says in its latest negotiations bulletin: "Once the TEC is established, we would then be able to start implementing all our agreements. The process of transition would then be on course. In this regard, our objectives are to ensure that we level the political playing field and create a climate conducive for free and fair elections to be held.

"This is to be done by ensuring that all armed formations, the SADF and SAP in particular, are placed under a joint discipline. We would then be able to combat violence. The subcouncils of the TEC would also be in a position to ensure that the NP regime is not able to use any of the State resources or structures so as to unfairly prejudice the other parties."

The TEC, it goes on, "would also ensure that the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission are put in place."

Parties — including those in the Freedom Alliance who have been boycotting the talks — have until midnight today (Friday) to nominate their TEC representatives.

Its first task will be to appoint members of the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission. The TEC will have the power, based on a simple majority of the 21 parties on it, to instruct De Klerk's government to take any steps necessary to maintain law and order. De Klerk and his Cabinet will continue in office until the new president has been elected and has assumed office. The newly elected parliament has 30 days in which to elect a new president.

Government and the ANC have proposed that the TEC be responsible for maintaining law and order, "including the declaration of a state of emergency or an unrest area," during the period after the election and until a new president is chosen.

At the World Trade Centre this week, outstanding business includes the final lap of the Local Government Transition Bill, draft legislation on the re-incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia, re-incorporation of the TBVC states into SA, the independent broadcasting monitoring group and largely technical constitutional amendments centred on the six-point package deal agreed by government and the ANC on the eve of the negotiations plenary (*Current Affairs* November 26).

The hope is to finalise the draft interim constitution this week before it goes to parliament for enactment. ■

TRANSITION

FM 3/12/93

Power is shared

The first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will take place in Cape Town on Tuesday. After that it will convene at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park until its Pretoria offices are ready.

Government and the National Party had yet to finalise their nominations to the TEC and its seven subcouncils as the *FM* went to press. The task is largely up to President F W de Klerk, who is deciding whether his representatives should be mainly politicians or technocrats. (HP) (304A)

However, government's chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer seems certain to be his chief TEC representative, possibly with Fanie van der Merwe, his chief adviser, as the alternate member. This would be appropriate because the ANC's national working committee has decided that secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will, after all, be the ANC's TEC delegate, with Mac Maharaj as the alternate. Maharaj and Van der Merwe worked closely behind the scenes in the secretariat of the negotiating process.

The rest of the ANC's team includes: Sydney Mufamadi (law & order subcouncil), UmKhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise (defence), Tito Mboweni (finance), Aziz Pahad (foreign affairs), Billy Cobbett (local & regional government) and Mavivi Manzini (women). Its nominee for the sub-

PTO=7

TRANSITION

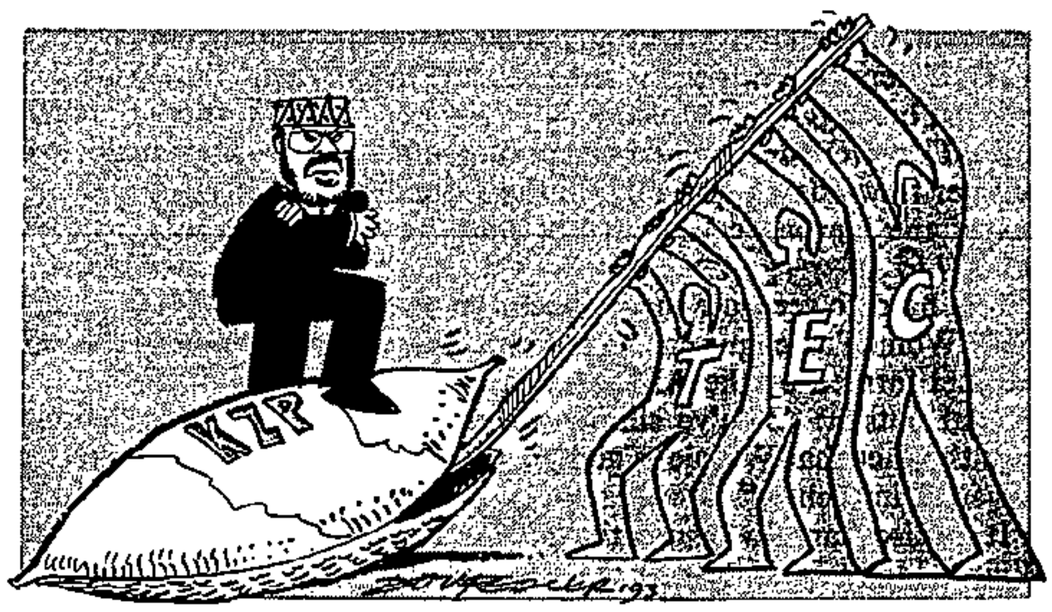
FM 17/12/93

A date with reality

The ANC faced its first real test as a government-in-waiting this week when KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi continued his defiant stand against the Transitional Executive Council (TEC)'s demands for information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

As the *FM* went to press the TEC was due to meet in Cape Town to consider its options. The line taken by the ANC was expected to be decisive.

At its first working session last week the council called for a full report within three days from senior officers investigating "credible evidence" of an alleged KwaZulu Police hit squad revealed in a report by the Goldstone Commission.



It was also proposed that the SAP's Internal Stability Unit should be withdrawn from East Rand townships and the Bhambayi region of Natal. The government's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa were mandated by the TEC to meet Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel urgently to discuss the issues, both of which were due to be debated further at this week's session.

After the TEC meeting, SA Communist Party representative Joe Slovo commented that the council's action was an indication that it was determined to assert its powers to ensure a free and fair general election and would not simply be "a toy telephone."

But within hours of the decision, KwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During was instructed by the homeland's government to ignore the TEC's request for information. In a brief statement to the TEC he said: "I am directed to respond to your council's resolution as follows:

"The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information.

"The fourth interim report of the Goldstone Commission was based on information submitted to it by the SA Police for action by the commission. Any further information required by the TEC should accordingly be sought from either the Goldstone Commission or the SAP."

Ironically, the investigations that uncovered the alleged hit squad were initiated by During himself. The Goldstone Commission reported that the squad had probably murdered at least nine people, including ANC leaders. It seems, therefore, that the decision not to co-operate with the TEC was purely political.

Members of the TEC were cautious in their response to KwaZulu's defiance, but insisted that the council was a statutory body and could not be ignored without consequences. It was not immediately clear what action the TEC was likely to take, though negotiation rather than confrontation was expected to be the first choice.

A showdown between Buthelezi and the TEC will complicate efforts to reopen negotiations with the Freedom Alliance. Though Ciskei Foreign Minister Mickey Webb was reported this week to have said the alliance was keen to continue talking, there were indications that neither Buthelezi nor the Afrikaner Volksfront partners was serious about rejoining the process.

Alliance leaders were due to meet this week to draft a new set of proposals to government but, after a meeting at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee said if the Interim Constitution Bill were approved by parliament without changes during the current session, it would recommend to a special party congress next year that Inkatha should boycott the election.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto."

But there is little chance of that happening. The establishment of the TEC was a massive step forward in the transition process and leaves the alliance far behind. The multiparty negotiators are now not prepared to stop the process, which means the alliance will have to consider significant compromises if it hopes to catch up.

Meanwhile, a new Markinor opinion poll (based on a rating of one to 10) finds that Buthelezi's popularity among blacks substantially trails that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who rated 8,7 points in November (0,3 points up from May) and President F W de Klerk with 4,3 (also up from 4,1).

Buthelezi's — and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's — ratings trail far behind with an identical tally of 1,8 (down from 2,1 and 1,2 respectively).

☐ The TEC's budget for the nine months until June will be R18,5m and include R5m on salaries for administrative support staff, R3,2m for office rental, R2,7m for office furniture, R1,5m for airfares and R1,2m for transport.

The council and its seven subcouncils will work from Cape Town and the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park until their newly renovated offices in Pretoria are ready at the beginning of next year.

Deon Rudman of the Justice Department and National Peace Committee has been appointed as the TEC's executive director. His deputies are the ANC's Janet Love and Theuns Eloff, who headed administration at the multiparty talks.

The TEC has appointed Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of Southern Africa to head the Independent Electoral Commission and Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, as director. They will be assisted by Yunis Mohamed and J T Madiba. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

FM 17/12/93

Justifying a role

The Democratic Party hopes to follow up gains it made during party negotiations in shaping the interim constitution. It wants a strong enough showing in next year's election to enable it to influence the drafting of the final constitution.

The party's "Write it Right" campaign launched by leader Zach de Beer in Cape Town last week will be a key element in efforts to win support. De Beer says that while the DP will vote for the interim constitution in parliament during the current session, it believes certain aspects of the document are "seriously flawed".

The "Write it Right" campaign is aimed at rewriting the flaws which came about "thanks to National Party/ANC agreements." The campaign will focus on:

☐ Stronger provincial powers for real federalism;

☐ Two ballots to give voters the right to choose; and

P.T.O.

MINORITY FEARS

Fin 17/12/93

Not a question of race

Reassurance will depend on policy rather than fine words

304A



It is yet another irony of SA that the one thing we were not plagued by was the problem of dissident minorities. It was always elsewhere that the rights of minority groups were taken up as celebrated causes. One thinks of the Kurds or the Palestinians, the complications of Ireland, and the national and even regional instability wrought by a failure to accommodate fears and aspirations.

In SA, of course, the moral crusade has centred on the dispossessed black majority, held down by a white minority, but now on the verge of empowerment and effectively set to take over the country. And majority rule comes at a time when, across the globe, moves towards ethnic separation are gaining force and, in some cases, credibility.

In SA's radically changed political landscape, the question that arises, paradoxically, is: what can the ANC do to overcome the undoubted fears and apprehensions among whites in particular, and minorities in general?

Aside from whites, other minorities include the coloureds, Indians and certain groups purportedly aligned to homeland leaders like Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope. It's a problematic category, since the allegiances of these groups — which have also been denied the vote and treated as second-class citizens, have to an extent been thrown in with the cause of the liberation movements and their ideals of a "united, democratic, nonracial society."

Thus the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Cassim Saloojee, for example, says his organisation, which has close ANC links, does not want any special rights for minorities. The Bill of Rights, he argues, adequately ensures equality of fundamental rights such as language, culture and religion for all. Further, if there is to be genuine nation-building, to which the congress subscribes, people's first loyalty should be to SA, instead of emphasising minority rights. "We cannot have divided loyalties. Cultural diversity will be protected as part of people's justiciable rights and these will be upheld by a constitutional court," he says.

But what about events such as the recent occupations by squatters of houses in Durban and Cape Town built for Indians and coloureds under the old regime? "This obviously causes resentment and we understand the fears of those on housing waiting lists. However, it must be seen in the context of the exclusion of blacks from State housing programmes, which we hope a new government will dramatically reverse." Minorities must look at the problems of the deprived majority in a more sympathetic way, advises Saloojee, who points to Mandela's call, courageous in the circumstances though unheeded, for the squatters to leave those houses. Perhaps the minorities will be more interested in what Nelson Mandela will do if the squatters are not evicted.

The coloured-based Labour Party has effectively thrown in its lot with the ANC, though it has had a reputation for opportunism ever since joining the tricameral parliament and its support is untested. Many coloureds appear to have joined the ruling NP.

Which party these minorities will vote for, and whether they will end up voting in anything like a bloc in the first place, remains to be seen.

Whether the demands of political minorities like the rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha are legitimate or realistic depends entirely on your political vantage point. Until there is an election we have no way of knowing the degree of support for these leaders and their demands; opinion polls must be regarded as highly suspect.

As for the NP, its leaders' statements following the adoption of the interim constitution strongly suggest satisfaction with the primary agreement reached with the ANC



Mandela



De Klerk

as a basis for peace and prosperity. President F W de Klerk insists that the party achieved its mandate and the constitutional guarantees, including devolution of power, it sought. Provided the spirit in which the constitution was drafted is carried through in practice, government and the NP — and presumably a good many of their supporters — believe they got about the best deal they could have.

Yet the issue of minority fears ought not to be written off as misconceived or indulgent. Experience shows that any group which perceives itself to be excluded, let alone deliberately sidelined, is easily mobilised and can undermine social stability — particularly if the group or groups in question are large and have skills and resources at their disposal.

The central dilemma in SA, says a spokesman for John Kane-Berman's Institute of Race Relations, is and always has been how to reconcile the legitimate rights and claims of the majority, with the fears of minorities.

"Other than the fears of NP supporters, the fears of other minorities have not been dealt with," claims the institute. It says surveys keep throwing up the existence of fears in the Indian and coloured communities. Another set of fears, it adds, are those of members of the Freedom Alliance, the Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu governments and the white Right.

This view — in line with the charge that the Nats and ANC are in effective alliance — holds that "the fears of the NP's traditional support base — civil servants, military and police — have indeed been catered for by the ANC, which has been as good as its word on that score. But the fears of other minorities, political and other, have received far less attention."

The credibility of the ANC among whites is understandably low, says UCT's Prof Robert Schrire. This is partly because the ANC has obviously not been tested in government (on the contrary, it was for years demonised as a terrorist organisation, which accounts for some of suspicion and distrust). Partly it is because Mandela's time at the helm is, because of his age, assumed to be limited. Therefore, his assurances to minorities, of which there have been many, cannot really be taken as guarantees.

There seems little doubt that after the election all sorts of new leaders will emerge in the ANC just as current stars might decline — just look at Winnie Mandela's comeback. For this reason, no leadership group can give cast-iron assurances.

A landslide victory for the ANC could increase the chances of its ignoring whatever "guarantees" there may be on power sharing, property rights and so on, and going instead for a full-blown populist programme that includes massive redistribution and full-scale Africanisation. Seen against such a backdrop, there would be little the ANC could do to assure whites. In the end, security will have to be earned on both sides, says Schrire, pointing to the interest any government will have in ensuring a secure environment.

Similarly with education and the maintenance of standards, which are among the major fears of whites, Indians and coloureds. The question is less about white education than about educational standards as such, argues Schrire, adding that it is only if the

P.T.O.

Fm 17/12/93

THE TEC

Broken telephone?

(3044)

President F W de Klerk says the government is still the government; ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will not be a toy telephone. This kind of difference of interpretation was inevitable when the TEC was approved by the negotiators at Kempton Park. For the first time since Union in 1910, there is doubt over who is running the country. Government is still sovereign but less legitimate than ever; the TEC may be legitimate but is certainly not sovereign.

It is all very confusing, and nobody must be surprised if we lurch from crisis to crisis for the next five months. People who do not know for sure that the buck stops on their desk tend to be careless. Already the thin ice of the new and very temporary constitutional arrangement is being tested by the awkward weight of KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

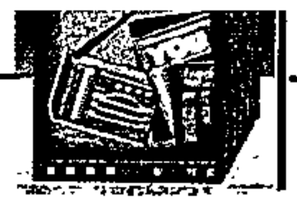
The uncertainty is also generating new credibility for groups which until now have been rather short of it. The Inkatha Freedom Party said on Monday it was "appalled" at the support shown by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer for a call to have the Internal Stability Unit withdrawn from black townships. It also alleges that Meyer has become so "infatuated" with the ANC that he has lost his sense of judgment. And the Afrikaner Volksfront says it is amazed at government's apparent ignorance of the council's powers: "The TEC Bill was quite clear about its powers and we have warned repeatedly about the implications." These are not wild allegations.

The dangers of such uncertainty should not startle us, but perhaps they should be pointed out to Cyril and Roelf (for, as DP leader Zach de Beer has noted, if the ANC and government agree on something, nobody else can stop them).

Thomas Hobbes, writing 300 years ago, believed that "men have no pleasure in keeping company, where there is no power to over-awe them all." He set out in *Leviathan* what will happen if such a common power is removed: "In such condition, there is no place for Industry . . . no commodious Building . . . no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short."

If you think Hobbes is overstating it, consider the quality of life of the people in, say, the hostels and streets of Katlehong and Tokoza. Already there are parts of SA where government's writ does not run, where men must ride shotgun on steam locomotives sent to retrieve electric train sets left stranded by the sabotage of power lines.

We are stuck with this constitutional compromise until the election. Until then, either government or the TEC will have to accept the role of toy telephone. The other must be seen to hold the real power. ■



THE ELECTION

Getting into gear

Fin 10/12/93

With the DP's appointment of The Jupiter Drawing Room as its general election ad agency, and Inkatha running a series of issue-related ads, leading political parties have moved closer to election readiness.

But neither the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which will regulate broadcasting, nor the Independent Media Commission, which will play a vital role in controlling electioneering, has been established. Setting them up will be among the first tasks of the new Transitional Executive Council.

The media commission will be a temporary body set up specifically for the election. Decisions such as fair allocation of electioneering time to political parties on radio stations, and whether or not there should be a limit on total campaign expenditure, will fall to it.

The broadcasting authority will be a permanent body responsible, among other things, for issuing broadcasting licences.

Though the ANC's People's Forum campaign is already in full swing, other parties are likely to hold back on heavy election advertising until two months before polling day. "Nobody has the budget to run a campaign flat out from November until April," says Eldad Louw, MD of National Party ad agency Optimum Marketing Communications. Optimum is owned by Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett.

NP executive director Olaus van Zyl says the party has been working on its campaign since April. Though little has been visible so far, the campaigning will hot up in the last two or three months. The NP has drawn up several campaign situations, depending on the funds available. "We should know by the end of the year how much money we will have," says Van Zyl.

The DP expects to spend about R6m on advertising, according to marketing and communications director Caroline Knott. Jupiter was chosen from five contending agencies for its strategic and creative abilities, says DP executive director James Selfe. "A substantial portion of voters is amenable to our message. It is the agency's job to turn this potential into actual votes." (304A)

Jupiter was a finalist in the recent awards for outdoor advertising presented by Rent-a-Sign with a concept for the DP. It depicted a hoarding divided into three with the DP logo in the middle. In the left-hand section it read: "If the left get in there will be nothing right." And in the right-hand section it read: "If the right get in there will be nothing left."

The first ads intended to propound Inkatha's case appeared in Sunday newspapers the week before last and were prepared by Johannesburg consultancy Mass Market Coordination. An upbeat message was spread over ads on four consecutive pages, advocating "hope, rebirth and renewal," urging "Join the crusade" and concluding with the pay-off line: "A power for good."

Inkatha is adamant that it is not yet fighting an election and will not participate in the poll unless its six conditions (including demands on regional powers and taxation) are met.

"Our advertising has only concerned issues," says Inkatha's prickly election manager Arthur Konigkramer. "Things are in a state of flux now. We have large numbers of people with specialist skills working with us in the campaign. You have to start preparing for an election, but we will take part only if our six conditions are met."

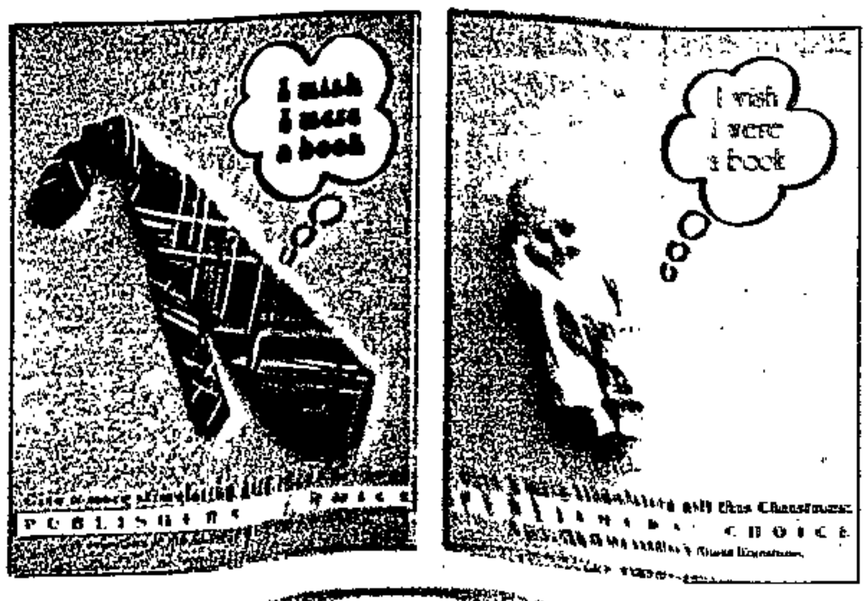
Konigkramer has said that fund-raising is taking place worldwide.

More money is likely to be spent on this election by all parties combined than on any previous election and on any other product category between now and April 27. It's hard to put a figure to it because none of the parties knows how much money it will be able to raise. ANC officials have claimed they will spend anything up to R180m but it seems unlikely they will have that kind of money available. In any event, only part of the total cost of the election will go to advertising. Julian Ovsiowitz, head of ANC agency AM-C, says: "We have never discussed total budgets. We don't know how much we will spend." ■

ON LEAVE

Tony Koenderman will be on leave from next week. *Advertising & Marketing* will resume in mid-January.

BOOKS FOR AFRICA



These ads by Hunt Lascaris have been used to promote the Literary Group's Publisher's Choice selection of books for the Christmas season.

The campaign is made up of print and radio advertisements as well as posters.

Publisher's Choice has 43 titles covering a range of subjects from fiction to current affairs, humour and gardening. The Literary Group comprises Exclusive Books, The Bookworm and Pilgrims Booksellers.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Exercise in optimism

Ten years after *In Search of Excellence* was published, many of the companies identified as excellent had already begun to unravel.

Could the same thing happen to those cited by ad agency boss Reg Lascaris and business consultant Mike Lipkin in their new book, *Revelling in the Wild*? Perhaps. But the difference is that Lascaris and Lipkin have selected companies that exemplify daring and innovative thinking rather than achievement. Some have achieved excellence; others may be on their way there. Almost certainly, some will fail or sink back into mediocrity.

Out of the experience of the business leaders interviewed, the authors have identified six "paradigm shifts" in the way business is being done, or perhaps should be done. Instead of authoritarian, top-down management, for example, companies are involving their employees in a participative style. Instead of a fixation with the bottom line, companies are concerned with the needs of the community. From isolationism, they are moving into internationalism.

A key quote comes from Premier Group chairman Peter Wrighton, who identifies "naive optimism" as the value that will carry business through.

Tony Koenderman

PTO

POLITICAL TRANSITION

Fm 10/12/93

Two banks of the Rubicon

(304A)

Government and the ANC finally lost patience with the Freedom Alliance this week and refused to delay the transition to democracy any longer.

When yet another round of talks with Alliance negotiators broke down on Monday it was decided to push ahead with the process that should see the interim constitution Bill tabled in parliament next week.

The draft will not make provision for the demands of the Alliance. Amendments are still technically possible until the measure is approved by parliament, but further changes are unlikely.

The Alliance now faces the choice of participating in next year's election without winning further concessions for regional governments, or boycotting the poll and possibly organising armed resistance.

The end of the negotiation road for the Alliance was effectively signalled by two historic events: the finalisation of the interim constitution by the multi-party negotiating council in Cape Town in the early hours of Tuesday morning and the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) later in the day.

The first meeting of the TEC in the old President's Council chamber comprised 16 delegations compared to the 21 parties represented at the multi-party talks.

The PAC did not participate because it has yet to renounce violence — a condition for participation — and the four delegations of traditional leaders were only accepted as full participants after a resolution by the TEC.

In opening statements, delegation leaders summed up the symbolism of the occasion. The DP's Colin Eglin described it as the first formal step on the road to a new democratic SA.

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa said it marked the opening of "a new chapter in the history of our country."

The SA Communist Party's Joe Slovo cautioned TEC members against complacency. "All we have is a mountain of paper. The real test is coming. We must translate that mountain of paper into action." The aim of the TEC and its sub-councils is to level the political playing fields in the run-up to the election and to interact with government on critical policy decisions.

Shortly before the TEC meeting, the negotiating council, sitting at the same venue, approved a number of controversial measures, including a new amnesty agreement for political criminals in terms of which "amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives, committed in the course of the conflicts of the past." (See *Leaders*).

Agreement on who qualifies for amnesty under the new plan will clearly not be easy. Slovo stated categorically that Chris Hani's killers, Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Waluz, would never be released.

The agreement follows intense lobbying in recent days by both government and ANC negotiators. The DP and the PAC opposed the measure. Colin Eglin says the DP wanted the negotiating council and not the new parliament to determine the terms of the amnesty.

The PAC's Barney Desai says his organisation wants "retribution" for the crimes of apartheid.

Negotiators also agreed on a Bill to provide security of pensions for previous and current MPs and other political office bearers. MPs with less than five years' service will receive a single payment calculated according to a fixed formula. Initial funding of the new fund will be on the same basis as that of the Government Service Pension Fund.

Ironically, but encouragingly, negotiators baulked at letting the TEC become part of the gravy train. The ANC and SACP spearheaded an initiative against payment of TEC members.



The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa said there had been a proposal to pay TEC members the equivalent of R270 000 a year, including a car allowance larger than his current salary of R3 200 a month after deductions.

The interim constitution Bill is now expected to be tabled in parliament on Monday and referred immediately to the constitutional affairs committee for debate.

The Conservative Party has already used technicalities to delay debate by the committee of an incomplete draft of the Bill and is expected to continue to do all it can within parliamentary rules to hold up the process.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk is anxious for parliament to end by December 22, but even if sitting hours are extended there seems little chance of meeting the deadline.

Opposition parties alone have requested 20 hours of debating time to discuss the interim constitution. Government wants to allow adequate time for debate to avoid accusations of bulldozing the measure through parliament.

An option for government — not favoured by De Klerk — would be to adjourn parliament just before Christmas and return early next year to wrap up final details of transitional legislation.

Talks with the Freedom Alliance finally broke down this week when its negotiators refused to commit themselves to participation in the transitional process and the elections unless the interim constitution was amended to meet their demands.

It was clear in a subsequent statement by the Bophuthatswana government negotiator, Rowan Cronje, that the Alliance wants far more than mere changes to the interim constitution. It essentially wants a re-opening of the multi-party talks and a reconsideration of principles that have already been accepted at the multi-party talks.

Cronje said the Alliance believes it is "eminently reasonable" that the relevant parties should negotiate and that the result of those negotiations should be considered as was done at Kempton Park.

Slovo says the willingness of other parties to compromise in the face of Alliance demands went "beyond the call of duty," but the Alliance's response left him wondering whether it was serious about reaching a settlement.

Ramaphosa says time is running out for the Alliance "if indeed it has not already run out." It was simply striving to see how many more new issues it could open. NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers believes the Alliance is not really interested in finding solutions. ANC leader Nelson Mandela said there was no point in further talks with the Alliance unless it accepted the interim constitution and agreed to take part in the election.

Speaking at Jan Smuts airport before leaving for Oslo to receive the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, which he will accept jointly with De Klerk, Mandela said the ANC would, however, keep talking to rightwing leaders because his organisation was sensitive to their fears.

□ The first evidence of resistance to the meeting of the TEC was the symbolic occupation by a group of rightwingers of the Fort Schanskop military museum outside Pretoria on Tuesday. SADF troops sealed off the area. Apparently the rightwingers, led by a former SADF commandant, intended staying in the building until December 16. ■

PTO

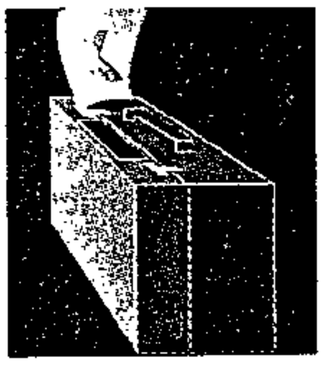
THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Time to give credit

Fin 10/12/93

For its people, policies and performance, the DP deserves campaign support

(304A)



Between 1948 and 1989, elections were relatively free of dilemmas. White voters never had to think very hard about where to put their crosses. Differences were based on sentiment rather than principle. The National Party (NP) was the party of Afrikaners, government, apartheid and anti-communism — but the opposition United Party (UP) was also conservative, hard on communism and an upholder of white supremacy. If you voted UP, you were more likely to be English-speaking, affectionate towards the royal family and the memory of Smuts, and emotional about fighting up north in World War 2 — but you were not a liberal on race. Such liberal views only survived in party form thanks to Helen Suzman.

When the UP, after 25 years of failing to offer an alternative to the Nats, finally disintegrated as a fighting force in the late Seventies, the main opposition was offered by the Progressive Party, later the Progressive Federal Party and its successor, the present Democratic Party. Again, the choice was easy: vote for the pragmatic racism of P W Botha's Nats (or the purer form espoused by the Conservative Party), or for the abolition of apartheid as preached by the PFP and then the DP. It was never a contest electorally. The Nats' hold on power was unbroken from 1948.



De Klerk



Wessels



Botha



De Villiers



Meyer

For enlightened businessmen who wished discreetly to help a party by giving money, the choice was also easy: encourage the gradualist reform policies of P W Botha in the early Eighties or help keep alive the nonracial liberal voice of the PFP and DP.

Now, thanks to the courage and vision of President F W de Klerk, the old certainties have been swept away. The NP is no longer the party of apartheid, the DP is (in theory) no longer the sole custodian of liberal values. White power is gone forever and no party without substantial black support will have much influence for long.

The African National Congress, for many years the messianic alternative to the white regime, is hugely popular among blacks but remains untested by the demands of representative government; some of its leaders are respected but there is deep suspicion about its economic policies. The Inkatha Freedom Party, under a possibly ill-advised Mangosuthu Buthelezi, appears to have squandered much electoral capital by appearing petty and tactically inept. Waiting in the wings and hoping to undermine the entire process are the Falangist *volkstaters* of the white Right and the feral terrorists of the far Left.

So, with the April 27 election less than five months away, who deserves to be supported by the liberal businessman who wants justice and democracy, along with an economic system that will best enable him to produce profits, wealth and jobs? It is possible to make out a plausible case for each of four major parties: the Nats, ANC, DP and Inkatha. Each has to be judged on its record, the individuals it can offer and its policies.

On the face of it, the NP is the natural candidate to take the role of second-biggest party to the ANC, with senior Nats expecting to play an important part for years to come. As the only one of the four which has actually governed, the practical experience of its individual Cabinet Ministers could be valuable. Being in office does not automatically mean that one has power and the new boys will need help working the levers of government.

Having the NP in force in a new government would also ensure continuity while reassuring wary investors and nervous whites (including, crucially, those in the civil service and the security forces). Individual Nats such as De Klerk, Pik Botha, Derek Keys, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Dawie de Villiers have already established valuable rapport and even trust with top ANC men. This can only ease the transition and period of reconstruction.

Working against the NP, of course, is its history as the party of oppression and apartheid — a factor that should not be underestimated in its effect among blacks. Sometimes the Nats behave as if someone else invented apartheid and implemented it so ruthlessly, causing great misery, bitterness and economic destruction. Apart from Derek Keys, all the Ministers mentioned can be said to have been accomplices in apartheid; subsequent contrition does not remove the original guilt.

As for the NP's experience of government, this has its unattractive side. Even if we leave aside State terrorism and hit squads, Nat Cabinet Ministers have presided over a catalogue of corruption and mismanagement, the evidence of which is still emerging. For their collective sins of commissions and omission, do they deserve the electorate's trust?

The ANC, of course, has no track record in office — but its enduring status as the overwhelming election favourite has a powerful effect. Many businessmen would have denied this a year or two ago, but they are now tempted to support the ANC, on the grounds that it makes sense to back a winner — particularly if that winner is then in a position to reward his backers. There appears to be a growing tide of orthodoxy which makes prominent businessmen increasingly reluctant to be seen as criticising the ANC or opposing it in any way.

Money is often not donated to groups or causes unless they're approved by the ANC; officials who criticise the ANC are unwilling to have their names mentioned; companies are rushing to appease with affirmative action programmes. Few companies — Anglo American is one — are willing to draw the line and not be bullied.

Just as so many business leaders were prepared to attend P W Botha's summit meetings, so many companies apparently believe it would be suicide to offend the party that will be dishing out all the government favours — the tax breaks, the higher or lower tariffs, the government contracts, the exemptions from affirmative action, wealth taxes, nationalisation, and so on. We can expect many companies to cosy up to the ANC as much as possible, just as they did with the Nats.

Perhaps that is only to be expected; it may

P.T.O.

THE TRANSITION

Deals without honour

FM 10/12/93

The ANC and NP are not in opposition. In fact, they may just be the cosiest alliance SA has ever seen. There is hardly an issue on which they cannot agree, from job security for civil servants to pensions for tricameral MPs and MK veterans.

They have also developed a happy conspiratorial knack of slipping contentious clauses into draft agreements at the last moment, catching other parties unprepared and leaving anyone who objects looking like a wrecker or spoilsport.

It happened with the clause in the draft interim constitution that provided for the appointment of judges to the immensely powerful Constitutional Court; with the undemocratic proposal to use a single ballot paper in the general election on April 27; and with a special clause that effectively undermines the autonomy of universities, making them even more vulnerable to State interference than they were under the Nats.

Objections are waved aside in the general glow of reconciliation, never mind the long-term dangers.

Now we have perhaps the most bizarre of these unsettling agreements, inserted late on Monday night at the last scheduled meeting of the 21-party negotiating council: the provision for a new political amnesty.

The previous amnesty cut-off date was October 8 1990. Crimes with a political motive committed before that date would be considered unpunishable in order that the new SA should not be drowned in a swamp of mutual recrimination. There was a good argument for drawing a veil over the past but the measure could be defended only because there was a cut-off date. Now that date could be as late as December 6 1993; a newly elected parliament will decide after April 27.

What crimes have been committed since October 8 1990 to prompt this new amnesty proposal? What does the ANC's Kader Asmal mean when he says "this is a collective act of reassurance to each other," or the NP's Roelf Meyer when he murmurs that "this will settle the differences of the past"? President F W de Klerk was reported as saying that the cut-off date was made movable to accommodate those who were not part of negotiations in 1990.

Does this mean that the terrorists who carried out the St James Church massacre in Cape Town might qualify for amnesty? And the callous murderers of American student Amy Biehl? If not, why not? What about Janusz Waluz and Clive Derby-Lewis, sentenced to death for the assassination of Chris Hani? If ever there was a politically motivated crime, that was it.

What the hell, why not let them all go?

The law is always weakened by an amnesty, for what it implies is that you can't punish someone who thoroughly deserves it.

If an amnesty is then extended, the punishment becomes even more arbitrary and the law is brought even further into disrepute. If you can offer one extension, why not another? Rather like adultery: once you've done it the first time, repetition is hard to resist.

In this week's cover story we argue that the DP should be supported in the election campaign. Our view is further confirmed by the unprincipled behaviour of the ANC and the Nats over the proposed new amnesty date. ■

Fm 3/12/93

THE ELECTION

Committees and camels

Readiness to compromise is a political virtue — but only if the result is meaningful. In rushing through an agreement that only one ballot paper will be used in the April 27 general election, the negotiators have produced a real monster. If it had been raised in good time, coherent and powerful protest could have been marshalled against it. But it was introduced at the last minute, so rational objections were confused with trying to hold the entire process to ransom (304A)

With everyone weary of the years of talks, and longing to get the election over and done with, it is tempting to brush aside the ballot issue as an unimportant technicality. After all, the reasoning might go, we all know the ANC is going to win and the Nats are going to come second, so in the end will one ballot paper make that much difference?

Perhaps not to the overall composition of the national assembly — but it strikes at the essence of the agreement to devolve certain powers to regions. It could even be interpreted as an act of gross bad faith by the ANC and NP.

If powers are to be devolved, so must the power of the voters to make local choices. It might be attractive to many voters to support one party (the ANC, for instance) on a national level, but then switch their support to another (the DP, perhaps) at regional level. This is the whole point of having regions.

A multiple vote would force the parties to ensure that both their regional and national lists contained candidates of quality. This would strengthen the legitimacy and efficacy of regional authorities, providing better government as well as a forceful counterbalance to the central authority. It would also favour parties with a strong regional power base — examples might be the NP in the western Cape, Inkatha in Natal and the DP in the PWV region — and therefore dilute possible regional resentments.

Having only one ballot paper removes all these advantages. It also encourages the parties to put up any old candidates at local level, knowing that they can ride in on the coat tails of the stars on the national list.

The claim was that a multiballot election would be too confusing for a largely unsophisticated electorate. But the single ballot has already produced its own kind of confusion.

It has dawned on the negotiators that not all parties will contest seats on the national level and in all regions. They have had to make provision for one party to declare its support of another party, and have the votes counted accordingly. So if Inkatha fights for seats in Natal but not nationally, it can ask that its share of the national vote go to, say, the NP — or the other way round.

Once we get past the major parties like the ANC and NP, this provision will produce a forest of confusing alliances — and distort further the value of an individual's vote.

The whole question must be reconsidered or the election itself could be undermined. The suggestion by educationist Paulette Bethlehem, that the regional voting could be held after the national poll, could be the sensible way out. ■

MPs' PENSIONS

Fm 3/12/93

Last ride on the gravy train

For sheer audacity there is not much to touch the pensions deal that parliamentarians are doing for themselves. As most will not be returned to parliament, they have contrived to guarantee that they are able to maintain the style to which the taxpayer has made them accustomed.

They are aiming to make their pension funds fully funded. That means they will not be dependent on annual Exchequer disbursements for their pensions. Most State pensions are funded on a pay-as-you-go basis from the national budget. Continuity hasn't been an issue, but annual increases are at the behest of the government.

So MPs have introduced legislation to create a pension fund which may not be alienated. They will then rest secure in the knowledge that their future incomes are inviolate.

They propose to vote R550m from the Exchequer, with smaller top-up payments to follow, for this purpose. Moreover, benefits may accrue after only five years' service.

A typical private-sector pension fund gives a benefit of 2% of final salary multiplied by years of service. For an ordinary MP the effective comparable percentage is 8%, which after less than 15 years means a 100% pension. Ministers get 8,33%, which, if a gratuity is taken into account, means a 100% pension in 12 years or less.

An MP can draw a pension after minimal service at age 40, whereas the rest of us have to wait until 55.

It is every citizen's duty to support his government, but not necessarily in the style to which this one has become accustomed. ■



ROOTING FOR F W . . . A little girl is hoisted to the shoulders of an NP supporter at Standerton in President F W de Klerk's first election campaign "roadshow" in the Overberg yesterday. Picture: BENNY GOOL

FW gets NP show on the go

BY MELANIE GOSLING

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk assured "coloured" supporters in the Overberg yesterday that their votes would be secret and urged them not to be intimidated.

Kicking off the National Party election campaign "roadshow" with a tour of this rural Western Cape district, Mr De Klerk visited several towns where he was greeted by supporters holding balloons, chanting "NP, NP" and carrying placards with slogans reading "Mooi so F W!" and "F W is tops".

At Genadendal, a group of African National Congress supporters carried placards which read: "The NP murdered and tortured our children."

They followed the roadshow to Greyton, but then left.

The presidential couple stopped at a farm outside Greyton, where Mr De Klerk addressed farm labourers harvesting onions.

CT 29/12/93 **Nonsense** (304A)

He told them he knew the NP had brought pain in the past, but had since rectified their wrongs.

Replying to questions whether there would be a light inside the polling booths, hanging above voters, which would record which party people had voted for, Mr De Klerk said: "That is absolute nonsense. There is no word of truth in that."

Earlier, Mr De Klerk told a crowd of about 100 at Greyton: "If people here tell you you must vote ANC or your houses will be burned down, you can reply 'gaan blaas doppies' (go fly a kite)".

At Gansbaai, Mr De Klerk spoke to supporters from the back of a bakkie parked in the tiny fishing harbour. He laughed as a supporter presented him with a T-shirt with the words "Gatvol vir geweld" printed on it.

Closer links with Zim signalled by talks

(304A) CT 6/12/93

MESSINA, Far Northern Transvaal. — The first meeting in 13 years between top officials from South Africa and Zimbabwe ended here yesterday with both sides expressing satisfaction with the talks.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and African National Congress national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki met Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, paving the way for closer links between South Africa and its northern neighbour.

The only concrete decision to come out of the talks was an agreement to immediately lengthen the hours at the Beit Bridge border post. It will now be open from 5.30am to 10.30pm daily.

Mr Botha described the meeting as "historic".

'New era'

"This is an indication of the normalisation process between Zimbabwe and South Africa ... it is the beginning of a totally new era in our relations."

He said he was pleased the days of being political antagonists were over.

Mr Shamuyarira said Zimbabwe would like to share "good neighbourliness" with Pretoria.

The two countries issued a joint statement after the talks in which several recommendations and suggestions were put forward including proposals that economic co-operation between the countries be investigated.

The statement also said consideration should be given to SA's future membership of the Southern African Development Community, the Preferential Trade Area and the Lome Convention. — Sapa

IFP against voting in polls

304A
CT 13/12/93

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

"The IFP reiterates its conviction that the final decision on participation in transitional institutions and the proposed general elections will be taken as a special general conference of the IFP to be held early in 1994.

"In the event that Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands, the central committee will recommend to the special general conference and to its allies that the peoples of South Africa should not participate in the elections," the IFP said in a statement.

Change to constitution demanded by party

The organisation said if its minimum demands were met and conditions were favourable for holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections.

R18m budget for TEC

Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday agreed to an R18,5 million budget to see it through to June next year.

The 19-member council also formally appointed top officials in its administration. The new chief executive officer is Dr Deon Rudman, an official of the justice ministry and member of the peace secretariat.

Others appointed were deputy directors: Miss Janet Love, an official from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, and Dr Theuns Eloff, a member of the multiparty negotiations process administration.

The chief executive officer of the Independent Electoral Commission, which will over see the elections, is Dr Renosi Moketsi, formerly chairman of the technical committee on the demarcation of regional boundaries.

The TEC is to meet again on Tuesday. CT 10/12/93

'Workers' party' a popular option

CT 28/12/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

204A

NEARLY 60% of black people would support a separate workers' party to represent them politically, a nationwide survey has found.

The poll's surprise result follows the announcement by the Workers Organistion for Socialist Action that it would convene a congress early next year to launch a workers' party.

While the established political organisations and trade union federations have expressed scepticism about the viability of a workers' party, the finding does reflect disillusionment with compromises reached in negotiations.

The extent of black support for a workers' party was found in a survey of 1 400 people, conducted by the monthly magazine, Barometer on Negotiation. "Many blacks indicated that workers' interests would be better represented through a workers' party," the survey found.

"Trade unions know much more about democracy," was another opinion expressed frequently.

N election team arrives

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations' role in the April elections will be assessed by a team arriving here today, according to a statement by the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) yesterday.

The team will be headed by Mr Horacio Boneo, director, UN electoral asistance unit, department of public affairs.

The team is expected to spend 10 days in South Africa and will tour the country to assess electoral observers' requirements. — Sapa

Mandela, FW are 'Men of the Year'

GT 27/12/93 (BOLAJI)

NEW YORK. — For their "common genius" as peacemakers, Time magazine has picked Mr Yitzhak Rabin, Mr Yasser Arafat, Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk as its "Men of the Year" for 1993.

The four were chosen, the magazine said in a statement, because they "reasserted the principle that leaders matter: That an individual's vision, courageously and persuasively and intelligently pursued, can override the rather unimaginative human preference for war".

The four leaders are displayed over the headline "The Peacemakers" on the cover of Time's forthcoming January 5 issue.

"Without Rabin and Arafat, the Israelis and Palestinians would have continued down the same bleak, violent road they have followed since 1948," Time said.

"Without Mandela and De Klerk, blacks and whites (in South Africa) would have descended into the bloodiest race war in history."

The magazine continued: "In 1993, Rabin and Arafat, Mandela and De Klerk all rose to the occasion before them. Their common genius was that they saw in the convergence of circumstances a ripeness of moment — and that they acted."

Mr Mandela said: "In spite of my criticism, it must be acknowledged he (Mr De Klerk) has made a very important contribution to the transformation of an apartheid state into a non-racial society."

Right-wing 'hard hit'

~~3444~~ 3044A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — It may be easier to allay the economic fears of the right-wing than to accommodate its "unattainable" idea of a volkstaat, says Stellenbosch University economics Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

Apart from ideology, there were economic considerations to be taken into account when attempting to explain right-wing stubbornness, Prof Terreblanche said in the latest Idasa journal Democracy in Action.

"It makes much more sense to negotiate with the right-wing on certain economic guarantees than to try to accommodate their stupid demands for a volkstaat," Prof Terreblanche said.

The rural Afrikaner community and industrial wage-earners were particularly hard hit by the recession.

The right-wing probably had been improverished more than the rest. CT 27/12/93

Consequently right-wingers had a lot of economic grievances and fears about a black-dominated government.

US 'can help new SA'

WASHINGTON. — The US could do much to support the "new South Africa", but should stay out of the country's internal problems, according to USA Today newspaper.

The national tabloid said in its Friday editorial that South Africa would need enormous help in the years ahead.

Titled "South Africa's new day", the editorial said Washington could start by sending books, equipment and advice to schools and hospitals, while US businesses returning to South Africa were creating new employment opportunities.

Over the decades, "white rule and privilege transformed a promising and picturesque country into a racial train wreck", the paper said.

The paper cautioned that the US should observe doctors' rules of doing no harm to the patient. — Sapa

Defiance ends era

CT 23/12/93 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT yesterday gave birth to South Africa's first democratic constitution amid emotional scenes of defiant protest and joyous celebration.

The Speaker's announcement at 4.46pm of the 237-45 vote sounding the deathknell of centuries of white rule unleashed dramatically contrasting responses among the 282 MPs sitting in hushed expectation in the chamber of Parliament.

As ANC-aligned MPs leapt triumphantly to their feet crying "Amandla awethu" — power is ours — outraged Conservative Party MPs gesticulated in unison at the government benches across the floor, shouting: "Traitors, traitors."

TEC DECISION ON KWAZULU STILL STANDS — RAMAPHOSA
See PAGE 2

After days of frustrating Freedom Alliance negotiations with the government and the ANC that failed to produce a pre-Christmas settlement, feelings were running high.

Shortly before the vote was taken, the tension was almost tangible in joint meeting of the three Houses of Parliament, as protesting CP MPs defied the authority of the Speaker by singing Die Stem.

A large bloc of the public gallery joined the orchestrated protest singing.

An hysterical right-winger screamed from the gallery down at government ministers: "You are busy with treason — I hope your punishment is not as great as your crime," before being expelled from the chamber by parliamentary security personnel.

Shortly after the vote on the constitution — which was opposed by the CP, Inkatha and three white independents — three CP MPs were ordered from the parliamentary premises for refusing to withdraw accusations of "treason" against the government.

But the overwhelming majority of MPs participating in the final debate of the fifth session of the ninth Parliament of South Africa were elated at being part of ushering in a new democratic era for the country.

In a special farewell address to the era of tricameral politics, President FW de Klerk summed up the mood of the majority when he told MPs: "The end of this Parliament is not a funeral but a birth. It is not an end but a new beginning."

And in a metaphor designed to address the fears of Afrikaners and others about the new era, he said: "We have embarked upon a new Great Trek into the future.

"We are on our way to a new South Africa and we are determined to settle there in peace and co-operation with all fellow countrymen."

The showcase of the day was undoubtedly the brief but fractious disposal of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr Eli Louw, finally closed proceedings by stating: "Order! That concludes the history of the day."

Constitution: 237 say yes

SOUTH AFRICA's new interim constitution was passed by Parliament yesterday by 237 votes to 45.

The voting on the bill was: House of Assembly: 132 for, 42 against. House of Representatives: 72 for, 1 against. House of Delegates: 33 for, 2 against.

Meanwhile six MPs joined the National Party and two the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The HoD's Monfort MP, the Rev Cyril Pillay, and HoR Independent MP for Liesbeeck, Mr Pieter Klink, joined Inkatha. ET 23/12/93

Six HoD MPs joined the NP yesterday. They are, Independents Mr Soobramoney Naicker (Northern Natal), Mr Mohanlal Bandulalla (Havenside), Mr Manilall Naranjee (Mariannhill) and Solidarity members Mr Thirunmalingom Goundan (Camperdown), Mr Kassavan Padayachy (Malabar), Mr Genesan Mari (Stanger). — Sapa (3049)

Constitution debate ends

CT 21/12/93 304A

145 spoke on bill in 3 days

Political Staff

THE Constitution Bill has finished another leg of its journey to the Statute Book.

The debate finally ended late last night after three days and some 145 speakers.

Once again, the thrust of the debate lay in exchanges between the Conservative Party and the government.

CP Pretoria West MP Mr Joseph Chiole said the constitution represented the last tragic chapter in the NP's capitulation, in which South Africa would be subjected to the new world order.

Uitenhage MP Mr Willem Botha said the National Party knew there would be no peace if the Xhosas of Transkei and Ciskei were united.

The chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, said although people might be apprehensive about the arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Peter Mokaba in Parliament, they would have to learn to live with it.

Delivering his last address in Parliament, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse appealed to coloured voters not to abstain as they had in 1948.

Former Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers, now an NP MP, said the CP's policy had sealed the fate of Afrikaner self-determination. The continuation of the apartheid policies favoured by the CP would never be tolerated.

The ANC's Mr Rob Haswell acknowledged that President F W de Klerk's calm leadership had been of enormous importance in the process leading to the new constitution. Two men in particular had led South Africa to this point — Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

"The Pesident's major achievement has been to lead his party and many other South Africans to the well of democracy. His calm leadership has been of enormous importance."

Roelf Meyer: We are sorry

CT 18/12/93

304A

THE government's chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday apologised for apartheid.

Introducing the Constitution Bill in Parliament, Mr Meyer said:

"We who were responsible for apartheid are now saying that we want to leave that wrong behind. We are saying we are sorry. But we are also saying we are now determined to rectify what went wrong."

It was an "exceptional day", he said, and a moment to be "cherished", because it was the first time whites had not been the sole architects of a plan for South Africa.

Heading the attack on the constitution, CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said that it was laughable for the Freedom Alliance to take part in the election,

'Now we must right the wrong'

because if it won, it would not be able to implement its mandate.

Dr Hartzenberg said the government had no mandate for the constitution and challenged the state president to call a white referendum to test support for the new constitution.

Raising the prospect of war, CP member Mr Brits Andrew said the guilty parties were those who made it unavoidable.

The Conservatives were warned by Cape NP leader Mr Dawie de Villiers that they would not be declaring war on an invading colonial power, but on the forces of democracy.

DP member Mr Colin Eglin said the constitution was "an achievement of which the country can be justifiably proud".

He said the DP believed that, while the constitution was not perfect, it would provide a sound and practical basis for democracy.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said that the tabling of the new constitution vindicated the strategy of such parties as the LP which had opted to take part in drawing it up.

The IFP's Mr Jurie Mentz warned that the Zulu nation would definitely make war, if its continued existence and self-determination were to be threatened.

He stressed, however, that the IFP preferred negotiation.



QUESTION TIME ... ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is buttonholed by journalists after attending yesterday's historic parliamentary debate on the interim constitution. Picture: BENNY GOOL

'Constitution can unite SA'

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent CT 18/12/93

MR Cyril Ramaphosa said he was "elated" to have been able to witness the beginning of yesterday's historic debate in Parliament on the interim constitution.

The ANC secretary-general said the debate marked the moment when South Africans could move away from an apartheid system towards a non-racial constitution.

"It is the culmination of what our people have struggled for and which leads us into a transition that will finally produce a democracy."

Asked for his impressions after watching the opening salvoes of the three-day debate from the public gallery, Mr Ramaphosa said: "Some of the interventions have been very interesting and rather sharp, while others have been boring."

He said Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg had been completely off the mark by claiming that the government was selling out to the ANC by backing the constitution.

"What we have emerged with here is a constitution that can unite all our people," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC delegation was in Cape Town to see that the constitution was adopted in the form that had been negotiated at the World Trade Centre.

The ANC secretary-general had lunch in the Parliamentary dining room with the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg.

Electoral commission starts work

(304A)

CT 21/12/93

Political Staff

THE Independent Electoral Commission, which is charged with overseeing SA's first democratic election, met for the first time yesterday.

Chairman of the commission Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said the work of the commission was the culmination of the whole negotiation process and would shape the country's future.

"If the election is not fair and free, all of the work would have been done in vain."

The commission's main pre-election tasks include the monitoring of both voter education programmes and the behaviour of political parties.

It was important that voter education was conducted in a neutral manner, Judge Kriegler said.

"Many organisations, including non-governmental organisations, have political rows to hoe and it is our statutory obligation to ensure voter education is properly done."

Disqualification

The commission had been given "substantial sanctions" to use against individuals and parties which "misbehaved in a manner calculated to disrupt the election".

These included fines, imprisonment, the deletion of candidates' names from party lists and party disqualification. The preferred option in resolving disputes would be mediation, he said.

Until the end of January next year, the commission would be establishing central and regional offices, organising computers, equipment, personnel and technical assistance.

"Before the formal announcement of the election, it will be all systems go regarding the monitoring of parties and the education of voters."

The commission's four foreign advisers would be appointed by tomorrow, Judge Kriegler said.

Change must be gradual, says ANC chief

(304A)

CT 20/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday the rebuilding of South Africa must begin immediately after the April election but that change must be gradual to meet black aspirations without scaring off whites.

Speaking in a wide-ranging interview in his office at the ANC headquarters here, he said it could take "some years" for an ANC-lead government to respond fully to black needs after 300 years of white supremacy.

Homes, jobs, education and health care would be priorities but he cautioned the country's black majority: "We are warning our people against exaggerated expectations."

Mr Mandela accused President F W de Klerk of conniving in the violence in black communities in order to keep blacks from voting and prevent the ANC winning a majority on April 27.

He predicted the ANC and its allies would win the election, but said it would have to deal with the "ruthlessly efficient" NP.

He said violence could result in 40% of blacks staying away from the polls, giving the NP a chance of victory. "I cannot excuse him (Mr De Klerk) for that because he has the capacity to end the violence. He is conniving in it deliberately because it serves his political objectives," he added.

Black demands for land and better living standards could be addressed without touching white assets. A wealth tax had not been discussed by the ANC leadership, he said.

On the white ultra-right, Mr Mandela said it would be a "tragic mistake" to underestimate their power to destabilise a democratic government. The ANC would make every effort to persuade them to rejoin the transitional process. However, it would never concede a white homeland. — Sapa-Reuter

'SA must act against extremists'

30APR

HARARE. — Southern African leaders yesterday called for firm action against white extremists in South Africa and hastened progress toward peace and democracy in Angola and Mozambique.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, current chairman of the seven-nation bloc known as the frontline states, said South Africa's neighbours praised democratic reforms leading to the country's first non-racial elections in April. But he added that the group was worried by escalating violence in South Africa.

He blamed part of the violence on extremists determined to fight for white supremacy. ET 21/12/93

"The present government must be prepared to put down any rebellion from this quarter," he said.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was to address the group in a closed session.

Yesterday's conference drew President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola, President Ketumile Masire of Botswana, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania and UN envoy Mr Alioune Blondine Beye. Namibia, Mozambique and Zambia were represented by senior ministers. — Sapa-AP

Final days for tricameral MPs

CT 20/12/93 (3049)

Political Correspondent

THREE MPs announced their retirement or switches in political allegiance at the weekend as the tricameral Parliament moved into its final days.

The Minister of Correctional Service and Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told his fellow MPs on Saturday that he planned to retire in April next year after 20 years in Parliament — 10 as a minister.

Later, the independent and former CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, announced his retirement.

Another former independent and CP MP, Mr Koos van der Merwe of Overvaal, defected to the Inkatha benches, joining the former CP Free State Leader, Mr Cehill Pienaar, who switched to the IFP earlier.

Mr Vlok, a former minister of law and order, in his final address to Parliament during the debate on the interim constitution, said he would participate in the NP's election campaign but would not be available for election to the national or provincial assembly.

He said that after a "lifetime" in politics, he owed it to his family to spend more time with them.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, who told MPs he had walked "a very lonely road" as an independent for the past two years, said he was joining the IFP because it offered the best hope for Afrikaner and Zulu self-determination.

AVF battle call for volkstaat

(304A) CT 17/12/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called on Afrikaners at the Voortrekker Monument yesterday to commit all they had to the battle for a volkstaat.

At Blood River, Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners were again facing a "dark night" and had to prepare "physically and spiritually" to struggle for freedom.

Turnouts at both venues were higher than expected.

Nearly 80 000 people flocked to the Voortrekker monument on horses and in ox wagons waving the Vierkleur flag.

Battle

"Again, dark days have come to our people," said Dr Hartzenburg, and just as at the time of the Battle of Blood River, Afrikaners stood to lose everything.

The crowd applauded when he said Afrikaners would continue to commemorate the battle, despite threats from the left that it would be the last Day of the Vow.

General Viljoen said the Afrikaner was threatened by communism and wanton brutality and was suffering from disunity in its ranks.

Speaking after the ceremony, he said negotiations with the government and the ANC were continuing and he was optimistic differences could be resolved within the next few months.

Constitution debate underway

ST 17/12/93 (30yr)

THE debate on the 223-page Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill finally gets underway in Parliament today.

The bill is the product of over two years of negotiations at multi-party talks and is seen to be the most important piece of legislation ever to come before Parliament.

The debate is expected to run morning, afternoon and night for three days — including Saturday.

The interim constitution — which will guide the country for the next five years — is expected to get the backing of all parties in the tricameral Parliament except the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The bill contains a large number of controversial clauses and some MPs have expressed doubt that the bill will be completed before Parliament goes into recess.

Among the clauses likely to raise the ire of some parties are those relating to amnesty for "politically-motivated" crimes, provincial powers, the one-ballot voting system for the coming election and certain clauses on the vacation of seats. The latter clauses will enable parties to replace representatives in the general assembly and senate who cease to be members of the party that nominated them.

We're not planning UDI — Volksfront

(304A) APG 1/12/93

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront has denied that its plan to establish its own transitional authority amounted to a threat of a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI).

AVF media officer Stephen Maninger said: "We find it quite astonishing that President De Klerk interprets our current process of determining the borders (of a volkstaat), by means of referenda held in various towns as UDI.

"When and if we declare UDI, we will make it quite clear and we are certain that the President would be one of the first people to be made aware of the fact."

Mr Maninger slammed as "ridiculous" ANC leader Nelson Mandela's branding the Freedom Alliance as fascists. Mr Mandela had said supporters of a negotiated constitutional settlement would have no choice but to form an anti-fascist front if the Freedom Alliance continued to threaten armed resistance.

Mr Maninger said: "We are concerned that Mr Mandela and the ANC/SACP-alliance are laying the foundation for something that could be avoided." — Sapa.

DP aims to make ANC and NP take notice

304A

ARG 1112/93

PRETORIA. — The Democratic Party aims at capturing between 30 and 40 percent of the "coloured" vote in next year's election, says party leader Zac de Beer.

He was speaking at the official opening of a DP branch in Eersterust. This followed former Labour Party MP Solly Verveen's announcement that he had crossed the floor to join the DP.

Clearly in election drive mode, Dr De Beer urged those present to vote for the DP, to "blow the whistle on the African National Congress and the National Party".

"The stronger we become, the more we would be able to influence the ANC and the NP in true liberal democratic values.

"If we can get 10 to 15 percent of the vote, they will have to pay attention to us," he said.

Dr De Beer criticised the NP, saying that although it had abandoned apartheid, the party was still in the hands of the same people.

The NP had also virtually hijacked the DP's entire policy.

"Beware of imitation," cautioned Dr De Beer.

On the other hand a vote for the ANC would mean support for the South African Communist Party, he said.

The SACP was the "brother" of other communist parties, which had made a big mess elsewhere.

"If you don't like communism then you would have to be very careful about supporting the ANC," he warned.

Mr Verveen's joining the DP took the party's tally of MPs to 37, which made the DP the official opposition, Dr De Beer said. — Sapa.

Minister confirms campaign

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday confirmed it intended spending up to R21 million on promoting the new constitution and that it had decided to do so without consulting any other political organisation.

Constitutional Affairs deputy minister Mr Fanus Schoeman said it would finance a comprehensive advertising campaign (304A)

The first phase, costing R2,2m, would end in a few days. CT 29/12/93

The second phase, from mid-January to mid-February, would involve a R13m media campaign and booklets costing about R4m.

The campaign was to inform the population about the new constitutional system.

Govt tries to avert TEC-KwaZulu clash

CAPE TOWN — With the Transitional Executive Council gearing up for battle this week over KwaZulu's non-compliance with its orders, government spokesmen said it was important to avoid confrontation on the issue. B/Day

A senior spokesman in President F W de Klerk's office said yesterday: "We would not like things to develop on a confrontational route. We will first try to obtain co-operation. If that does not work, then it is up to the TEC and government to see what can be done so that the process can continue." (30 HA)

Government representative on the TEC

ADRIAN HADLAND

Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the TEC would have to take legal advice to see what options were open to it. 13/12/93

At its third meeting tomorrow, the TEC's credibility will be on the line as it contemplates the rejection of its statutory office by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It will also hear Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's views on the TEC's call for the withdrawal of the internal stability unit from the townships, as well as the council's proposal that more SAP officers be sent to troubled parts of northern Natal.

Following the Goldstone commission's findings last week that a KwaZulu Police hit squad was probably responsible for the deaths of at least nine ANC members, the TEC called on KwaZulu Police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During to provide it within three days with all information related to the allegations.

During, a seconded SA officer, responded by saying: "The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of

To Page 2

TEC B/Day 13/12/93

From Page 1

the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information."

Inkatha's central committee, which met in Ulundi at the weekend, expressed "indignation" at TEC decisions regarding KwaZulu. A central committee resolution said: "The peremptory demand directed at the commissioner of police to which a time limit was attached was politically motivated and therefore mala fide and contrary to the principles of natural justice.

"It is known that before the TEC was established, prominent heads of certain political parties uttered public threats to attack the integrity of KwaZulu as soon as the TEC was established (30 HA)

"The central committee notes that power tends to corrupt and the biased actions of the TEC bear this out."

On the issue of the internal stability unit, it is possible government will find the unit's replacement with the SADF an acceptable solution.

Kriel's office was quick last week to quash rumours that the Minister's long-standing opposition to the withdrawal of the internal stability unit had led to a row with Meyer and ANC TEC representative Cyril Ramaphosa.

Kriel's official response tomorrow could either give the TEC credibility or embroil the council in lengthy hearings before the Special Electoral Court.

The court, not yet established, would be the sole means for the TEC to resolve conflicts concerning its legitimacy with parties that fall outside council membership. Its establishment will be considered tomorrow as an urgent priority. In terms of the TEC Act, the findings of the electoral court shall be binding, enforceable by law and not subject to further appeal.

FW, Mandela warn right wing

BIDay 11/2/93

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday joined ANC president Nelson Mandela in warning of firm action against right-wingers who attempted to derail the transition to democracy and tried to take the law into their own hands.

However, De Klerk distanced himself from Mandela's call for the formation of an anti-fascist front if the Freedom Alliance continued trying to block black majority rule.

De Klerk said after meeting US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown that it was unwise to start hanging "fascist" labels around the necks of people like Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope. Rather every effort should be made to bring such leaders on board.

De Klerk and Mandela said yesterday that talks with the Freedom Alliance were making progress and that there was no need for the alliance to rebel because the Transitional Executive Council was about to be installed.

However, Mandela added that "those who have been persecuting us have formed the so-called Freedom Alliance — it is a group of men who want to maintain minority rule. If they continue along these lines we will have no alternative but to call for the formation of an anti-fascist front."

Brown said he had promised Mandela full US support for the transition to democracy and the campaign against political violence. He also said the TEC was an important landmark in SA's history and both it and government still had important roles to play.

Political Staff

Brown also commended De Klerk for indicating that government would not tolerate disruption of the political process and that it would do everything in its power to curtail violence.

"Violence is on the minds of business people and we have been encouraged by what we have found here. There is great potential and opportunity in this country. We want to see the violence curtailed and we commit ourselves to a free and fair election and full participation by all," he said.

Sapa reports Mandela said after meeting Brown he felt confident the ANC had powerful friends. "We will continue persuading those who fear democracy not to undermine the process of bringing peace to our country."

US President Bill Clinton had been forthright in his efforts to facilitate the transition to a nonracial society and the democratic forces in SA had the support of the US.

Mandela said he had briefed Brown on negotiations and violence.

Later, after his meeting with De Klerk, Brown said his delegation had been overwhelmed by its reception in SA.

"We will leave here encouraged and optimistic about your future."

De Klerk described the occasion as historic, as it was the first visit of a US cabinet minister to SA.

"This is final proof of the irreversibility of the new constructive relationship between the US and SA. We look forward to the expansion of interaction in all fields as well as to the lifting of sanctions in the various states."

De Klerk also said he felt "a sense of fulfilment" that the goals he had set when he became President were being achieved.

"People refer to me having crossed the Rubicon. I am glad the international community has also crossed the Rubicon and that we are now on the same side.

"The new constitution reflects to our satisfaction all the fundamental issues we raised during last year's referendum campaign. The statement that the government has crumbled is not true when an objective analysis is made.

"Our role will not end here, we are not liquidating a system so that we can disappear, but are changing to make the system more just and equitable.

"I foresee for ourselves a dynamic role in the government of national unity. I feel upbeat and confident, also about the future of all South Africans."

Addressing students and diplomats at the University of the Western Cape, Brown called on SA to grasp the outstretched hand of the US and the world.

Many would see the April 27 elections as the end of the struggle, but elections created only the opportunity for change. They should be seen as a beginning, not an end, he said.

Brown was expected to travel to Durban last night for an evening meeting with Buthelezi, according to a programme released by the US Information Service.

Authorities uneasy about convicts voting

CAPE TOWN — SA prison authorities are facing a huge problem — arranging for thousands of inmates to vote on April 27.

New Commissioner of Prisons Gen Henk de Bruin said at a Robben Island news briefing on Saturday: "We won't be able to transport them to the polls, so special arrangements will have to be made for them to vote in prison."

He said he believed it would be best if prisoners were left out of the voting process, but "the decision has been taken and we will take care of the situation".

The first problem was arranging identity documents for those who needed them.

"We will also have ... individual prisoners trying to recruit voters, as well as intimidation," said De Bruin. 8/Dg4

The department was expecting trouble as election day approached. 6/12/93

There was also also anger among prisoners that some would be excluded from voting.

"The prisons are overpopulated and now, for the first time in our history, we have political debate occurring in prisons."

De Bruin said some prisoners expected all inmates to be freed on April 27, and this was also causing friction.

He said prison staff were aware of what might happen and were geared for any uprising that might occur around the time of the election. (30 APR 93)

It would be impossible to allow politicians to address prisoners.

The distribution of election pamphlets would not be permitted as this would cause further problems.

Prisoners were well informed as they had access to newspapers and radio, he said. — Sapa.

Women urged to use their numbers as weapon in poll

☐ Importance of role in struggle should not be 'watered down'



Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

DOMESTIC RALLY: Domestic workers gather at the Civic Centre to attend one of several Cosatu/ANC election rallies for workers in the Western Cape.



VOTE ANC! Hilda Ndude, ANC regional executive committee member, and Jay Naidoo, former Cosatu secretary-general, who addressed a Cosatu/ANC workers' rally for domestic workers at the Civic Centre.

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

ORGANISATIONS like the United Democratic Front and Cosatu would not have been formed were it not for the role women played in the struggle after the 1976 uprisings, ANC regional executive committee member Hilda Ndude told a domestic workers' election rally.

Speaking on a platform with former Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, she said the role of women in the struggle should not be "watered down".

"The people who started organising after the 1976 uprisings were women and were it not for women, organisations like the UDF and Cosatu would not have come into being."

Ms Ndude urged women — who make up 54 percent of the electorate — to use their numbers as a "weapon".

Commenting on the decision by the ANC national executive that its lists for the national and regional parliaments should include a minimum of a third women candidates, Ms Ndude said the national executive had to be a "watchdog" to ensure the decision was applied in the regions.

She said women should not be voted onto the lists "simply because they wear a dress ... they must be gender-sensitive".

Ms Ndude assured domestic workers an ANC-led government would address their concerns about their rights.

"What is clear, is that the ANC cannot deliver everything overnight.

"The new government will be one of national unity and while we are hoping for an ANC majority, it will represent all people in the country."

She said the ANC would prioritise the needs of the oppressed and the people who had been disadvantaged by apartheid.

"The fears of the minority should not supercede the will of the oppressed people."

She told workers the ANC and its alliance had embarked on a programme of reconstruction to address questions of housing, health care, unemployment and education.

'Gravy train' proposal ditched by negotiators

Political Correspondent

TRANSITIONAL Executive Council members will not board a lucrative gravy train today, multiparty negotiators have decided.

Some parties suggested TEC delegates should get up to R270 000 a year, plus a car allowance, but a proposal that they should be "no better off and no worse off" by virtue of serving on the multiparty body was accepted by sufficient consensus.

The TEC is expected to sit for about four months until the April 27 election.

Calls for a "scale" of benefits — salaries paid by the taxpayer — were supported by the Pan Africanist Congress, Cape Traditional Leaders and Lebowa's United People's Front in last night's Negotiating Council meeting.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said it was vital the TEC "should not become a gravy train" and nobody should be "advantaged by serving on the TEC".

"It just does not come across very well," he said.

The SA Communist party's Joe Slovo, who confided that he earned R3 200 a month, said there was no reason why people should earn any extra for serving on the TEC.

"Let's live on the breadline and not on the cakeline," said Mr Slovo.

ARG 7/12/93

Talks with alliance hit snags

Bilsen 21/12/93

CAPE TOWN — A task force of negotiators from the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC were locked in discussions last night in a final attempt to reach an all-inclusive constitutional settlement.

The 15-member task force had until 8am today to reach an agreement on outstanding issues that would pave the way for the inclusion of the alliance in next year's election.

With a news blackout imposed on the task group's deliberations, little indication had been received by last night of whether an agreement was likely.

An alliance statement said ANC task team leader Cyril Ramaphosa had dismissed the alliance's demands as "being far too extensive".

These demands included

ADRIAN HADLAND

extended powers for regions, a one-ballot electoral system and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination (304A)

The task team seemed to have gotten caught up on the first item on the agenda — the question of whether the alliance was prepared to commit itself to the elections prior to final agreement, a source said. (P8)

This has been a sticking point since government made commitment to participation in the elections a precondition to amending the constitution.

"We are not any closer (to a deal) than we were this morning," Ramaphosa said during a supper break.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said: "The process is balancing on a knife-edge".

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said it would be a "tragedy of enormous consequences" if discussions on the second half of the agenda — the alliance's 13 demands — were not even reached.

If an agreement is reached, there is still time for amendments to be ratified by the negotiating council and included in the constitution.

If not, an early Parliamentary session may be called for January in which a Constitutional Amendment Bill could be discussed.

President F W de Klerk said a summit of leaders would be necessary, in the event of a finalised agreement, to publicly endorse parties' and government's response.

Party wants the Cape to secede

BTDay 24/12/93

INGRID SALGADO

A NEW political party calling for the sovereignty of the Cape has vowed to contest the April 27 election, and expects to win majority support within the province's current boundaries.

Established four months ago, the Cape Republic Party (CRP) claims to have tens of thousands of supporters. It has rejected the results of a recent western Cape poll which gave the NP a firm lead in the region's voter support.

CRP western Cape executive member Desmond Welthagen said: "About 98% of thousands of people we have spoken to are in favour of a separate sovereign state."

The Cape's 3-million "coloured" voters have been targeted. The party said the province belonged to "the indigenous brown Africans who are its original inhabitants".

It was currently canvassing support in the western Cape and hoped to target the eastern Cape in the future. (304A)

The party was afraid that an ANC-dominated central government would mean communist control.

"We know that 3 000 ANC members have been convicted of violent crimes in the past year. With figures this high, it indicates there is a concerted conspiracy on the ANC's part," Welthagen said.

In a statement released this week, the party claimed ANC soldiers "continue to eliminate the executive of the Inkatha Freedom Party and have killed more than 300 so far". It would petition the Goldstone commission to inquire into ANC activities.

It said the commission had investigated activities of the KwaZulu police but refused to look into the deaths of more than 500 police officers.

The party also slammed the NP and the DP for allowing millions of squatters "sent to the Cape by the ANC to become a festering sore around our mother city".

The CRP said it had no connection to any other political party or organisation. ANC and Freedom Alliance spokesmen said yesterday they not heard of the CRP's existence.

Bophuthatswana govt 'surprised'

TEC suspends R216m loan to homeland

BIDEN 15/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — A R216m Development Bank of SA loan to Bophuthatswana has been suspended by the Transitional Executive Council.

The loan was intended for upgrading infrastructure and was finalised two days after the establishment of the TEC last week, thereby contravening the TEC Act.

Yesterday's move was seen by political observers as an attempt by the TEC to demonstrate its readiness to use its extensive powers over governmental matters.

The Act states that the TEC's finance subcouncil must be given full particulars on "any new international financial agreement" and must give its approval.

ANC TEC representative Cyril Ramaphosa said that when the bank was informed of a possible contravention of regulations it agreed to halt the loan and refer the matter to the TEC's finance subcouncil. The funds had not yet been transferred to Bophuthatswana.

He said the TEC was "not trying to block the funds, or to be difficult". But "if the SA government is proper enough not to proceed with the $850m IMF loan without consulting the TEC, the Development Bank should do the same".

The Act also empowers the subcouncil to monitor any expenditure of state funds "by any government or any institution funded wholly or partly from state funds" and to determine whether any public monies or state funds are "allocated improperly or given improperly to any political party". The subcouncil is also entitled to receive information and reports on fiscal transfers of any government or regional authority.

The finance subcouncil, which was established yesterday and includes Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant and ANC deputy economic planning head Tito Mboweni, will consider the loan at its meeting on Wednesday. (304A)

The Bophuthatswana government said it was surprised that "loans intended for the upliftment of the people are being politicised". A spokesman said the loan was aimed to fund five development projects "for the benefit of the region's people".

TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said the purpose of suspending the loan was not to deprive the Bophuthatswana people of basic services. But "old habits die hard" and the TEC's new powers and functions needed to be respected and complied with.

"Institutions such as the Development Bank have an important role but need to take note that the TEC is around and has an interest in such matters."

The loan, which was signed last Thursday by the Bank, Bophuthatswana and the Bophuthatswana Electricity Corporation, included R73m for augmenting Mmbatho's water supply, R28m for urban infrastructure, R25m for electrification and R79m

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Loan

BIDEN 15/12/93

☐ From Page 1

for road projects.

GRETA STEYN reports that Development Bank finance GM Richard Kirkland said the bank had inadvertently not informed the TEC of the loan package. It was not a deliberate move on the bank's part, and it welcomed the TEC's standpoint that it was not imposing a blanket ban on the provision of finance. The bank would keep the TEC informed of future loan activity.

He could not comment on the extent to which projects might be held up by the situation. "We are awaiting formal communication from the TEC on the criteria to be applied for loan approval." The TEC seemed to be concentrating on "major" loans — and no finance agreements of the same magnitude as the Bophuthatswana package were in the pipeline.

It was reported earlier this week that Ciskei had applied to the bank for a R29m loan to improve infrastructure in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha (304A)

Hands off the homelands, alliance demands

BIDay 14/12/93

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Alliance demanded yesterday that government and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) stop intervening in the affairs of the TBVC states and self-governing territories.

This follows the TEC's orders last week to send additional policemen to restore order in northern KwaZulu and its call for all information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police. KwaZulu's rejection of the TEC's statutory authority will be discussed at the council's third meeting today.

Yesterday's planned meeting with government did not take place, but the alliance sent a new document of constitutional demands to be met before it would take

ADRIAN HADLAND

part in the elections.

Until new provincial governments were set up, government "and all other authorities shall honour all arrangements, treaties and obligations (including budgeting) in respect of the TBVC and self-governing territories", the alliance said. (304A)

It called on government to amend the TEC Act, and the draft constitution tabled in Parliament yesterday, to preserve the integrity of these territories. (88)

Government had already agreed to four points, including greater financial and statutory rights for provincial governments, and provincial constitutions. But last-minute changes to the draft constitution adopted by the negotiating council had led to a further series of demands, the alliance said. These included:

- ☐ A two-ballot system in the election;
- ☐ Members of a provincial legislature should live in that province;
- ☐ Only SA citizens, not permanent residents, should be allowed to vote;
- ☐ Half the 400 national assembly members should be elected from provincial lists;
- ☐ The assets of the TBVC states and self-governing territories should be vested in the new provinces;

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Homelands

BIDay 14/12/93

☐ From Page 1

- ☐ The arrangements and obligations of TBVC states and self-governing territories should be honoured; (88)(304A)
- ☐ The constitution should allow for the "realisation of the right to self-determination of the Afrikaner", as well as special territorial privileges for Bophuthatswana "and other peoples";
- ☐ The name KwaZulu-Natal should replace Natal in the constitution;
- ☐ All major parties should be accountable for controlling violence; and
- ☐ These conditions had to be agreed before the constitution was passed.

The alliance would not commit itself to the elections until these points had been agreed to by all parties and the decision-making bodies of its members, and had been included in the constitution.

Government is expected to respond to the new demands today.

Talks with alliance hit snags

CAPE TOWN — A task force of negotiators from the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC were locked in discussions last night in a final attempt to reach an all-inclusive constitutional settlement.

The 15-member task force had until 8am today to reach an agreement on outstanding issues that would pave the way for the inclusion of the alliance in next year's election.

With a news blackout imposed on the task group's deliberations, little indication had been received by last night of whether an agreement was likely.

An alliance statement said ANC task team leader Cyril Ramaphosa had dismissed the alliance's demands as "being far too extensive".

These demands included

ADRIAN HADLAND

extended powers for regions, a one-ballot electoral system and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination.

The task team seemed to have gotten caught up on the first item on the agenda — the question of whether the alliance was prepared to commit itself to the elections prior to final agreement, a source said.

This has been a sticking point since government made commitment to participation in the elections a precondition to amending the constitution.

"We are not any closer (to a deal) than we were this morning," Ramaphosa said during a supper break.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said: "The process is balancing on a knife-edge".

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said it would be a "tragedy of enormous consequences" if discussions on the second half of the agenda — the alliance's 13 demands — were not even reached.

If an agreement is reached, there is still time for amendments to be ratified by the negotiating council and included in the constitution.

If not, an early Parliamentary session may be called for January in which a Constitutional Amendment Bill could be discussed.

President F W de Klerk said a summit of leaders would be necessary, in the event of a finalised agreement, to publicly endorse parties' and government's response.

All-out bid to woo Buthelezi

(3041) CT 8/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has become the focus of negotiations get the Freedom Alliance back into the political process.

Alliance leaders travelled to Ulundi and visiting British Minister of Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi to take part in the elections.

After meeting President F W de Klerk, Baroness Chalker said she would try to persuade Chief Buthelezi when they meet in Ulundi tomorrow that Inkatha's participation was essential.

"If people do not participate in an election, they cannot complain about what they get after such an election," she said.

Mr De Klerk said the door would remain open for Inkatha's participation until lists for the elections were published.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha parliamentary caucus said it had committed itself to argue for Inkatha's participation in the elections, provided major obstacles to a free and fair election were overcome.

It disputed ANC and government allegations that Inkatha was not serious about negotiating a political settlement, but conceded it had tried to stall negotiations by "filibustering".

The caucus said contacts between all parties were continuing.

However, the deadlock between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC remains unresolved, with all sides saying the ball is in the others' court. Alliance leaders are to meet on Friday to consider their response to Monday's "aborted" meeting with government and the ANC. They went to Ulundi yesterday for urgent talks with Chief Buthelezi.

The Alliance said it was concerned about the conflicting positions adopted by the ANC and government and which it said lay behin the failure of Monday's meeting.

The government delegation had indicated that an Alliance commitment to take part was contingent on agreement being reached on unresolved issues.

The ANC had been adamant that a commitment would be required from the Alliance, irrespective of the outcome of negotiations, and this was "unacceptable".

'Door still open for IFP'

THE door would remain open for Inkatha Freedom Party participation in the formal political process until lists for the election were published, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting with British Minister of Overseas Development Lady Lynda Chalker, he said another door would close when Parliament rose.

"If they don't walk through that door we'll accept the constitution without them." — Sapa

Wealth tax plan 'is pure socialism'

B/Day 14/12/93

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC alliance's proposal to fund its reconstruction and development programme through a wealth tax has been slammed by the NP and DP, who called it a "socialist" measure. (304A)

And Sanlam said the insurance industry would be happy to invest in the alliance's proposed reconstruction bond only if it was a secure investment and yielded market-related returns.

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said the proposed tax was "a pure socialist policy which spells disaster". Overtaxing "hard-working and productive people" had proved "a dramatic failure" in all countries which had experimented with the system.

The alliance's attempt to make the tax appealing by labelling it temporary was a smokescreen to "hide the introduction of a socialist economy".

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said the proposed tax indicated that socialists in the alliance were in the ascendancy. The tax was misdirected because it focused on distributing rather than creating wealth.

Sanlam MD Desmond Smith said it was "totally unacceptable" to use funds set aside by individuals as savings for retirement to subsidise recontruction and development.

"The insurance industry has funds available, but these will only be ploughed into secure investments, which yield market-related returns," he said.

Proposals for the wealth tax, the reconstruction levy and the reconstruction bond are contained in the latest draft document of the alliance's reconstruction and development programme.

The document was discussed at a three-day summit of mass democratic movement organisations in Johannesburg at the weekend. It was announced that the ANC had agreed to incorporate the programme's key elements into its election manifesto, due to be drawn up this week.

The document says the reconstruction levy will be a temporary tax which will affect only the "higher-income group". This proposal is still to be considered by the alliance's regions; but it has been suggested that the tax be in place for five years — the duration of the government of national unity.

In amending the document, delegates said provident and pension funds should be required to put 10% of their assets into the reconstruction bond, which would be marketed locally and internationally.

Sources close to the programme said yesterday details of the bond and the tax would be thrashed out and incorporated into a sixth draft due for completion by January 10.

ANC economics department deputy head Tito Mboweni said yesterday the organisation would spell out its position once it had studied the document fully.

The document calls for the restructuring of institutions such as the Independent Development Trust and the Small Business Development Corporation.

The trust said it had no objection to the alliance's proposal that the roles of development agencies be reviewed.

CE Wiseman Nkuhlu said there could be no objection to a review of the roles and functions as well as "governance structures" of development organisations.

"I hope that any review which takes place is carried out as quickly as possible so that development itself can be put first," he said.

Delegates to the summit said the role of small business had to be clearly defined and development organisations had to be accountable to a ministry of reconstruction.

The proposed ministry would ensure reconstruction and development programme supported small business.

● See Page 4

Govt to spend R21m on new constitution drive

B/Day 29/12/93

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT yesterday confirmed it would spend up to R21m on a campaign to promote the new constitution and that it had decided to do so without consulting other political organisations.

Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said the money would be used to run an advertising campaign which would include advertisements on radio, television, billboards and in newspapers.

The first phase of the campaign would end in a few days and would cost about R2,2m.

The second phase, which would include the distribution of booklets, would begin in mid-January and end mid-February. The media campaign would cost about R13m and the publication and distribution of the booklets would cost about R4m, he said.

This would result in a total expenditure of R19,2m, although Cabinet had authorised expenditure of R21m.

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the CP have objected to the campaign, saying they regarded the constitution in its present form as inadequate and the campaign therefore politically motivated.

Schoeman denied yesterday that the campaign was designed to boost the support of any party, saying it was intended to inform the SA population about a whole new constitutional system that had been assented to by Parliament.

He denied that the campaign was intended to put pressure on Freedom Alliance members to support the constitution. (3044)

Government had deliberately held back the publication of the booklet until after the deadline for negotiations with the alliance so that any changes that might be accepted could be included, he said.

Commenting on the lack of consultation before launching the campaign, Schoeman remained resolute that it was the duty of government alone to inform members of the public, as it had done in a campaign to promote VAT and the AIDS danger.

This was particularly so in the case of the constitution, which was a complex document which envisaged a whole new form of government and which would introduce a Bill of Rights.

The intention of the campaign was simply to inform the public about this new dispensation, he said.

Both the CP and Inkatha continued to attack the publicity effort yesterday, with the CP claiming the campaign favoured the NP and should be discontinued.

Inkatha said government was trying to portray itself as an innocent defender of the public's right to be informed, but the "hard sell" campaign to promote the interim constitution went beyond its public duty to enlighten the voting public.

"The campaign instead seeks to promote the alleged merits and virtues of a defective constitution in a high-gloss package," Inkatha said.

Sapa reports that CP broadcasting and information spokesman Pieter Mulder said large numbers of people were opposed to the new constitution, and government was using their taxes to try to influence their feelings.

☐ Concessionary identity documents have created confusion among thousands of applicants throughout the country who are preparing to vote in the April 27 election.

Nick Garvie, spokesman for the South African Communications Service which handles the identity document campaign, said the concession applied only to those who could not afford the cost of identity document photographs.

● Comment: Page 6

Call to support peace

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE national peace campaign has called on everyone to support 1994 as the year of peace in SA.

The campaign has also issued guidelines for "peaceful activities over the festive season". B/Day

The campaign would hold its first meeting of the new year in Johannesburg on January 17, at which it would decide when a meeting of signatories to the national peace accord would take place, spokesman Elspeth Graham said yesterday.

She said people had been urged to light candles for peace on New Year's Eve at parties or in homes, display blue peace ribbons and hold special prayer meetings for peace.

She said the SAP, traffic officers and defence force members were also being urged to promote peaceful activities over this period.

Graham said blue and white peace candles featuring the dove logo were on sale at 160 OK stores countrywide as part of various peace campaigns over the festive season.

She said other campaigns planned over the festive season included a CCV-TV peace pledge "to collect a few million signatures".

The signatures would be presented to political leaders in 1994 to remind them that peace was their top priority, she said. 29/12/93

The displaying of blue peace ribbons and the wearing of peace T-shirts — "preferably printed in SA by local labour" — would continue into the new year.

The production of the T-shirts had been very successful, she said. The current supply had already been exhausted.

Sapa reports that a national peace campaign statement said the 1-million peace T-shirts made by SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union members were being retailed nationally through the OK, Edgars, Woolworths, Truworths, Sales House and other chains.

Price's Candles sales manager Colin Kowalsky said the company would not make a profit on the sale of 750 000 peace candles as the R1,79 retail price covered only materials and distribution costs.

OK MD Mervyn Serebo said the retail chain was committed to any peace campaign.

Police probing Mokaba claims

GAVIN DU VENAGE

POLICE are investigating claims that alleged assassins are stalking ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who said earlier this week that he had confronted an armed white man outside his front door.

Police spokesman Col David Bruce said police were investigating Mokaba's claims and were taking them seriously. Mokaba had said his home was under constant surveillance and that visitors were being photographed as they arrived.

In one incident a man knocked on his door allegedly looking for a friend. The man drove away in a car that was later found to have licence plates from a stolen vehicle, Mokaba claimed.

Mokaba also alleged that, despite calls to the police, the flying squad had been dispatched only after ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa intervened. Bruce said he could find no record of the flying squad having been dispatched.

However, the men on duty that night were now off duty and could not be contacted to find out what had happened.

Party wants the Cape to secede

INGRID SALGADO

A NEW political party calling for the sovereignty of the Cape has vowed to contest the April 27 election, and expects to win majority support within the province's current boundaries.

Established four months ago, the Cape Republic Party (CRP) claims to have tens of thousands of supporters. It has rejected the results of a recent western Cape poll which gave the NP a firm lead in the region's voter support.

CRP western Cape executive member Desmond Welthagen said: "About 98% of thousands of people we have spoken to are in favour of a separate sovereign state."

The Cape's 3-million "coloured" voters have been targeted. The party said the province belonged to "the indigenous brown Africans who are its original inhabitants".

It was currently canvassing support in the western Cape and hoped to target the eastern Cape in the future.

The party was afraid that an ANC-dominated central government would mean communist control. "We know that 3 000 ANC members have been convicted of violent crimes in the past year. With figures this high, it indicates there is a concerted conspiracy on the ANC's part," Welthagen said.

In a statement released this week, the party claimed ANC soldiers "continue to eliminate the executive of the Inkatha Freedom Party and have killed more than 300 so far". It would petition the Goldstone commission to inquire into ANC activities.

It said the commission had investigated activities of the KwaZulu police but refused to look into the deaths of more than 500 police officers.

The party also slammed the NP and the DP for allowing millions of squatters "sent to the Cape by the ANC to become a festering sore around our mother city".

The CRP said it had no connection to any other political party or organisation. ANC and Freedom Alliance spokesmen said yesterday they not heard of the CRP's existence.

Nominees for media body

WILSON ZWANE

LAWS which will govern media operations, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Acts, are likely to come into effect on January 12.

However, the closing date for nominations for the chairman and six members of the Independent Broadcasting Authority is January 21.

In terms of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, the nominations will come from interested parties and members of the public at large.

The TEC said in a statement this week the councillors would, in terms of the Act, be:

- Persons suited to serve on the authority by virtue of their qualifications, expertise and experience in fields, such as media law and journalism;
- Persons who are committed to fairness, freedom of expression, the right of the public to be informed as well as to the openness and accountability on the part of those holding public office; and
- Representative of a broad section of SA's population.

Until January 7, nominations can be faxed to (021) 455489. After that, nominations can be faxed to a number which is yet to be made public. Nominations can also be posted to Private Bag X878, Pretoria, 0001.

New SA 'retains some draconian laws'

SOME of the worst features of the "old" SA were being retained by the new, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

"These include giving a new government the same powers as NP governments have had to ban opposition organisations," it said.

Another was "the cynical penchant to give laws names which belie their real purpose".

"To call a law which provides for the arbitrary banning of political organisations the Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act is just as cynical as calling the law which imposed apartheid on universities in 1959 the Extension of University Education Act.

The institute said one of the most harmful laws in SA was the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960.

"Yet instead of consigning this power to the dustbin of history, the tricameral Parliament in its dying moments used the quaintly named new Abolition Act to reintroduce for the new government the power to ban political organisations.". — Sapa.

Growth

From Page 1

construction, such as Alusaf and Columbus, came through.

Consumers would spend more if confidence improved after the elections, as low inflation increased real disposable income.

Old Mutual economist Ursula Maritz revised her forecasts to 2,5% from 1,5% after the release of third-quarter GDP figures. Exports were expected to improve as the G-7 economies were forecast to grow at least 2% in real terms from this year's 1%.

Old Mutual forecast a strong turnaround in GDFI growth to 2% from a decline of 4% this year. The growth rate in GDE was also expected to more than double to about 2,5% from this year's 0,5%.

Maritz predicted that growth in private consumption expenditure would surge to 2% after being virtually flat this year.

Cash registers

From Page 1

peak in Christmas trade in November, as many shoppers went away over December. Corlett said there had been an increase in real term sales over this period of 5%-10%.

Southgate marketing manager Monica Feldsman said there had been "record sales" this month. About a million shoppers — almost 45% more than last year — had visited the centre over the past three weeks. She believed December sales would increase by about 25% over last year. Some of the major stores had reported sales increases of up to 60%.

Cresta Centre manager Savvas Koutoufides said: "We've seen a major increase in foot traffic compared with last year. Tenants are doing a lot better."

Eastgate manager Mike Rodel said: "No one expected fireworks but business has definitely picked up on last year. It is about what we expected." There had been an 11% increase in pedestrian traffic compared with last Christmas and the centre expected 1,75-million visitors this Christmas.

He expected the centre to record overall growth of 8%-16% on last December.

Westgate marketing manager Denise Niemack said spending per head this Christmas was down on last year although pedestrian traffic had increased

Shares

From Page 1

Besides being one of the world's top 10 stock markets in terms of capitalisation, analysts saw the JSE as important because

Observers said many US financial and investment houses visited SA to explore the opportunities of trading future and

Eleven Bills passed to wrap up business

BD 23/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The tricameral Parliament passed 11 Bills yesterday in order to wrap up business ahead of next year's election.

Weary MPs, who have had to sit from early in the morning until late at night, approved all 11 Bills that came before them including the new constitution.

The Bills passed included the Local Government Transition Bill, the Electoral Bill, the Transfer of Walvis Bay to Namibia Bill, the Lotteries and Gambling Board Bill, the Occupational Diseases in Mines and Works Amendment Bill as well as the Regulation of Gatherings Bill.

On the Gambling Bill, Roodepoort CP MP Jurg Prinsloo said it was immoral that civil servants who might object to gambling on ethical or moral grounds would have to administer the legislation.

The Bill, which was opposed by the CP, the Labour Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, establishes a gambling board to implement the recommendations of the Howard commission.

Sapa reports CP MP for Sasolburg Louis Stofberg was ordered out of the Chamber after refusing to withdraw a claim that Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville) had lied in remarks on the CP's attitude to gambling.

Prinsloo said the point of departure of the Howard commission, whose recommendations led to the Bill, that gambling should be legalised because there was a lot of money and many jobs involved, was totally wrong.

Chaos would result if everything in SA was legalised and arranged on this basis.

The CP opposed gambling in principle.

Gibson said the CP had to recognise that sensible people wanted gambling controlled on a sensible basis, and this was precisely what the Bill set out to do.

The DP and the CP voted against legislation aimed at removing restrictions of free political activity. (304A)

DP MP Dene Smuts said that while the Act amended or scrapped vague areas in the Internal Security Act, it did not do away with bannings.

"The DP found the practice of executive banning thoroughly offensive in the past, and we are not going to get excited about it now."

The Electoral Bill, which sets out the procedures, rules and requirements for next year's election, was also passed through Parliament yesterday.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe said the Bill was "an instrument to subject SA to the ANC/SACP alliance".

Fellow CP MP Arrie Paulus was ordered out of Parliament after refusing to withdraw a remark during voting on the Occupational Diseases in Mines and Works Act.

Paulus had said the standing committee which had approved the Bill were "traitors". When asked to retract, Paulus said his remarks also extended to those who intended voting for the constitution.

Just prior to his leaving the chamber, he wished the assembled MPs farewell and a blessed Christmas. The Bill was passed.

The General Law Sixth Amendment Bill and the Constitution Consequential Amendments Bill were also approved.

It is likely Parliament would sit one more time, for a short joint session of all three Houses in mid-January, though only to amend the constitution. Other legislation would have to wait for a new Parliament to be established following the April election.

Ferdi blames ANC's Cape team

BD 23/12/93

CAPE TOWN — The attitude of ANC teams negotiating with the Freedom Alliance in Johannesburg was different to the attitude of those in Cape Town, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday.

"The difference is that in Cape Town we are dealing with communists," he told a Foreign Correspondents Association breakfast.

It was not correct to say the alliance had been betrayed by the government and the ANC. Progress had been made and the FA was prepared to sign an agreement.

"The alliance then took part in tripartite negotiations in Cape Town and Mr Ramaphosa insisted we commit ourselves to recognising the TEC before any discussions could take place.

"That is totally unreasonable. We don't want a transition from apartheid to communism. We need a transition to freedom.

"The Afrikaner is not a defeated nation, but a free one — that is our right and we are entitled to it."

He said a referendum was necessary to allow grassroots support to determine where the boundaries of a volkstaat should be.

"If Mr Mandela says there will definitely be no volkstaat, then that is when our liberation struggle will start. Every liberation struggle is a success, I hope he realises that."

If the aim of resistance was to make the country ungovernable to achieve this, it would be done. Peaceful methods had been used so far "but, if it comes to that stage, we will have to design our methods of resistance. (304A)

"If we get a volkstaat and self-determination, the Afrikaner will be the most co-operative nation in the world, but we will be the most difficult if we do not achieve our aim.

"Somewhere in the future there will also be an Afrikaner government in SA." " — Sapa.

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Bartlett aims to quit for regional politics

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett yesterday said he would be retiring from national politics to concentrate on regional affairs within KwaZulu-Natal.

Speaking in Parliament in the debate on the constitution, Bartlett (MP for Amanzimtoti) said he had decided he would stand only for the regional legislature in next year's election.

"I believe there are great challenges facing KwaZulu-Natal as a regional government in the new SA, not just constitutional challenges but also administrative and developmental."

Taking a strongly pro-Zulu stance, he said the NP constitution would respect the Zulu nation by setting up a council headed by the Zulu king to preside over traditional culture and lands, our political staff reports.

However, there were elements in the Freedom Alliance — which includes the Inkatha Freedom Party — that were "taking on the appearance of potential nationwreckers".

"Any politician and any political party that keeps on talking of war is a potential nationwrecker," he said.

Bartlett said Inkatha had borne the brunt of the destruction which had plagued the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

"No other party could have withstood such carnage," he said.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer warned Parliament that the support of major parties for transitional bodies and arrangements, including the Transitional Executive Council and the government of national unity, was vital to the achievement of a sustainable democracy.

SA was not going to become a democracy once only the elites had agreed, Meyer said. The success of a government of national unity would depend on the commitment of parties and their ability to sell the process to their constituencies. B1D94 21/12/93

The new government would have to guard against the executive and legislative paralysis that was a risk to any multiparty government, Meyer said. (304A)

A commitment to seeking consensus and to governing in a spirit of national reconciliation was essential if a new government was to exercise its powers effectively.

Labour Party MP Luwellyn Landers said the passage of the constitution marked a "time for celebration". The new constitution represented a quantum leap from the oppression and division of apartheid to democracy, he said.

Parliamentary Chief Whip Alex van Breda, who is due to retire at the end of this session, told MPs they could "look forward with excitement to a new parliament which will set so many challenges".

"In this process there will be people in the chambers that will seem strange — the Peter Mokabas, Winnie Mandelas, Jay Naidoos and avuncular Joe Slovos and many others. I shudder at this thought . . . it is a reality with which you will not only have to live, but also have to deal with and not run away."

Inkatha MP Mike Tarr said the federalism contained within the constitution needed to be strengthened. "We do not want to end up in a one-party socialist state," he said.

The final vote on the constitution is scheduled to take place tomorrow.

...y with the population, he said.

...unanimously endorse the PAC's par- ...continuing on ...

Customs personnel 'must be scrutinised'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Urgent attention had to be paid to Customs and Excise personnel, especially inspectors, to combat irregularities in the cession of export credits to motor manufacturers, the Joint Committee on Public Accounts said in a report tabled last week.

It also recommended that parties involved continue with corrective steps to protect the state's interests.

The committee's recommendations follow the Auditor-General's report on miscellaneous accounts for 1991/92, which found fraud in Phase VI of the local content programme for the motor industry.

The report said it was believed millions of rands could have been lost in frauds in which private sector businesses abused incentives under the programme.

The committee said it had noted legal steps already taken to protect the state's interests, and that "surplus discounts" had been discontinued.

It also noted that a new incentive scheme was being developed.

The committee called for a full and urgent investigation into the deterioration of the Egg Board's financial position, expressing concern at the events which led to the Egg Scheme's abolition.

The committee recommended that the Agriculture Department urgently investigate:

- ☐ Contractual arrangements relating to the operation of the processing facility;
- ☐ The desirability of withholding approval to sell the facility until the audit had been finalised; and
- ☐ Steps to avoid a repetition of similar events at other control boards.

It recommended the department closely monitor the winding down of the Egg Scheme and ensure none of the parties involved was prejudiced or favoured.

The committee also called for an audit investigation by the attorney-general into these aspects.

De Klerk kicks off NP campaign

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will formally launch the NP's national election campaign in Cape Town today. BIDAY

De Klerk will unveil key aspects of the campaign and announce top members of the team the party hopes will help lift its sagging performance in opinion polls. 20/12/93

On Wednesday De Klerk plans a major speech on what is expected to be the last day of the tricameral Parliament and a major milestone in the demise of apartheid.

After a brief holiday break, the NP campaign will move up a gear.

De Klerk, the focus of the election drive, will be involved in a series of American-style road shows and rallies across SA.

Special attention will be given to the western Cape, the region the NP believes it has the best chance of winning next year. (30/4/A)

The party is also compiling a video highlighting De Klerk as reformer.

At the beginning of February the NP plans to hold a three-day federal congress at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park to unveil the party's election lists and to give impetus and focus to its campaign.

'Time I went' Vlok tells MPs

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — MPs continued to announce their retirement or switches in political allegiance at the weekend as the tricameral parliament moved into its final days.

Minister of Correctional Services and Leader of the House of Assembly Adriaan Vlok told fellow MPs on Saturday he planned to retire in April. BIDAY 20/12/93

Vlok has been in Parliament for 20 years, 10 of them as a minister.

Later, independent and former CP MP for Bethal Chris de Jager announced his retirement.

Another former independent and CP MP, Koos van der Merwe of Overvaal, defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He joined former CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, who had earlier switched to Inkatha.

Vlok, who was demoted from Minister of Law and Order to his current post, said in his final address during the debate on the interim constitution that he would take part in the NP's election campaign.

However, he would not be available for election to the national or provincial assemblies.

Vlok said that after a lifetime in politics he owed it to his family to spend more time with them. His wife's health had deteriorated in recent years. (30/4/A)

Later Koos van der Merwe, who told MPs he had walked "a very lonely road" as an independent for the past two years, said he was joining Inkatha because the party offered the best hope for Afrikaner and Zulu self-determination.

He said the ANC would have a formidable opponent in the IFP.

Van der Merwe predicted the NP would come "a humiliating third" if Inkatha decided to take part in next year's election.

CP and Volksfront 'do not speak for Free State'

B1504 17/12/93

LLOYD COUTTS

THE CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront did not have substantial support in the Free State and could not make decisions on behalf of the people of the province, the ANC said yesterday.

Responding to threats by the two parties to use force to prevent the Free State from becoming part of a united SA and to ensure its inclusion in a volkstaat, the ANC said the two parties should contest next year's election as the only democratic way of proving their support.

"These two parties do not have substantial support in the Free State," an ANC statement said.

"The CP-Volksfront, as a minority of the minority, cannot stop the development of the Free State with their threats of violence."

The CP said earlier this week it would appoint its own administrator of the Free State in January.

Our political correspondent reports from Cape Town that the party made the announcement after a "referendum" had shown that Afrikaners in the province rejected the new SA and a communist takeover.

The CP also warned that if the NP and President F W de Klerk forced the Free State into a communist unitary new SA, Afrikaners would resist violently. (3044)

Announcing the results of the referendum Smithfield MP Abraham Oosthuizen said 88,63% of 36 841 whites wanted the province to be part of a proposed Afrikaner state.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the announcement was a fascinating mixture of "farce and bravado".

The NP said the referendum was unscientific and, ironically, whites made up only 16% of the province's population.

Sapa reports that Free State NP leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said on Wednesday the CP's claim that the Free State was now part of a volkstaat was a silly, unbecoming and unfounded claim.

Welkom Town Council management committee chairman Jan Marais said the CP's assertion that 88,63% of whites in the Free State chose to live in an Afrikaner state was a "confidence trick".

"The majority of people polled said they wanted to be governed by their own people at national and local level but the way the question was phrased left them little option and was a trick," he said.

The mayor of Virginia, Kevin Charlwood, said the town council had not discussed the Free State becoming a volkstaat.

J L Weideman, mayor of Odendaalsrus, which has an NP-controlled town council, said he did not think a volkstaat was a solution "to our very complex problems" and questioned the validity of the poll, asking how representative it was.

Row over extra sittings

By ANTHONY JOHNSON (304A)

A HEATED row erupted in Parliament yesterday over government proposals that MPs sit morning, afternoon and night — including Saturdays — to pass the interim constitution before Christmas.

The measure was approved by 87 votes to 45, with the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and Democratic Party voting against it.

Government MPs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer endured a hail of interjections from CP benches, including: "Ramaphosa's piccanin"; "Communist lackeys"; "Boerehaters"; and even "Drunkards". CT 9/12/93

The DP withdrew its support for the measure when the government refused a request that MPs be given 24 hours to study the complete constitution before it went to the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs next week.

Mandela slams government over Randfontein killings

By GAVIN DU VENAGE and LLOYD COUTTS

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday hit out at government over Monday's racist killing of three black people near Randfontein, saying the regime was a "lame duck" that had shown it was unable to arrest people responsible for such crimes for the past few years. B1&4

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Oslo yesterday, Mandela said such atrocities would end only when SA had a democratic government.

Commenting on the killings yesterday, AWB general secretary Nico Prinsloo distanced the organisation from the incident, adding that the fact the gunmen wore uniforms did not necessarily mean they belonged to the AWB. 15/12/93

One of the killers allegedly wore a black uniform similar to that worn by the AWB's elite paramilitaries. (3)

The Afrikaner Volksfront condemned the killing of the three blacks and the wounding of four others by a group of white men who forced them from their vehicles and shot them on the Randfontein road.

Volksfront spokesman Steve Maninger said the organisation was "shocked and horrified at what seems to have been a racially motivated attack on innocent motorists".

The Volksfront found the level of barbarism in the incident disgusting, and reminiscent of ANC "people's courts".

Maninger said the incident showed that the time to find solutions was limited, making the need to find an all-inclusive political settlement urgent.

Political analyst Wim Booyse said yesterday the incident did not herald a major right-wing offensive against blacks. Although particularly savage, it was probably an isolated incident.

A police spokesman said no arrests had yet been made. Another spokesman denied that arrests were imminent, as reported yesterday.

Sapa reports that Inkatha Freedom Party member for Jeppe Hennie Bekker told Parliament yesterday the Randfontein murders could bring the country closer to the threshold of an ethnic bloodbath.

Speaking in debate on the Electoral Bill, he said Inkatha condemned the cold-blooded massacre in the harshest terms.

"Inkatha is opposed to any violence, especially if it has an ethnic or racial base," Bekker said.

Inkatha hoped and trusted the barbarous murderers would soon be arrested and brought to trial.

Single ballot 'part of deal'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte admitted yesterday that the NP had given way on its demand for a two-ballot system as part of a "deal" with the ANC.

Replying to the debate on the Electoral Bill, Schutte said the NP considered two ballots — one at national and one at regional level — to be the "ideal option".

Negotiations, however, were a question of "give and take" and giving in on the issue of two ballots, had been part of an agreement aimed at long-term stability. "I believe the deal was a very good deal," he said.

Schutte said that having two ballots could lead to an enormous amount of confusion among voters. B1&4

Referring to parties not at the World Trade Centre, Schutte said the only proposals which had not been agreed to, which were demands of the Freedom Alliance, involved the two-ballot system. 15/12/93

That had been the position 10 days ago but since then the alliance had also stated its demand that people standing for provincial legislatures should be "ordinarily resident" in the province. (3 OF 4)

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker tabled proposals from Inkatha for constitutional amendments, stating that they were "Inkatha's bottom line".

The proposals would have to be met "if its general conference was to decide to lend legitimacy to the constitutional process".

Volkstaat poll possible, says ANC

B1&4 15/12/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A REFERENDUM to determine the support for a volkstaat was conceivable, provided it was conducted on a nonracial basis, ANC constitutional committee member Penuel Maduna said yesterday.

Maduna was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return with an ANC-Afrikaner Volksfront fact-finding mission from Europe.

The delegation, made up of senior members of both organisations, investigated constitutional models for regional and local government in Europe.

Maduna said although he doubted the concept of a volkstaat would be accepted by the majority of South Africans, it was possible such a referendum could be held. If a volkstaat received majority backing, then the ANC would have no option but to accept the decision, he said. (3 OF 4)

Volksfront representative Corne Mulder said the delegation was significant because it was the first time the two parties had worked together in such a way. "It may be the last time we have such an opportunity," Mulder added.

He remained hopeful that Volksfront demands for a volkstaat would be accommodated. The Swiss and Belgian experience showed that different cultures could exist within the same country but within autonomous boundaries.

TEC asked to suspend labour tenant evictions

BIDAY 15/12/93.

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE National Land Committee yesterday asked the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to place a moratorium on the eviction of labour tenants from farms in the eastern Transvaal and Natal midlands until after the April 27 elections.

At a Johannesburg media briefing, Farmworkers' Research and Resource Project co-ordinator Abie Ditlhake said evictions had increased significantly during the past few weeks, compared to the past six months.

Recent evictions were conducted in an organised manner after farmers sought legal advice, he said.

They obtained court interdicts, which meant workers had no legal recourse and had to leave the land after a period of grace. Previously farmers had simply ordered tenants off their farms.

"Farmers have reportedly told the tenants that they are being evicted to prevent them from claiming the land in the future," Ditlhake said.

Sapa reports Ditlhake said forestry companies were also attempting to drive labour tenants off their land.

The World Bank, the ANC and the Land Affairs Department have identified such tenants as the primary beneficiaries of land reform programmes.

Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) president Dries Bruwer warned yesterday that "farm land should not be used as a political football". Farmers had the right to secure their land by evicting tenants.

An Eastern Transvaal Labour Tenant Committee member said farmers were confiscating tenants' livestock to force them off the land. Assaults by farmers in conjunction with police had also increased.

Tenants in the eastern Transvaal were no longer prepared to live under these conditions, and were prepared to die for their land, he said.

Cosatu media officer Neil Coleman said workers in the Free State, eastern Cape, eastern Transvaal and Natal midlands had complained that their identity documents had been confiscated. The union federation's regional structures would monitor the situation.

The National Land Committee's request will be discussed by the TEC on Tuesday.

□ A policeman was killed and a Natal Provincial Administration worker injured in a confrontation with squatters in the Dukuduku forest on Natal's north coast yesterday.

Police spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said about 100 people living in the forest resisted a court order for their removal from the area, leading police to discharge teargas.

Maj Naidoo said the residents fired shots at the authorities, wounding NPA worker George Pearce and a policeman, who died.

Ex-cadres fight crime

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Security company Trans-Sizwe is employing returned Umkhonto we Sizwe exiles to combat truck hijackers.

The company, based near Soweto, offers to protect cargoes and vehicles in the PWV area, particulary in townships. It hopes to eventually offer third-party distribution countrywide.

"Obviously we have to develop in stages but we know we can offer a professional service that meets the needs of the market," says MD and former Umkhonto commander Steve Manjaro. Since forming last month the firm has trained 32 security guards.

"Our members are all military-trained and sport their old Cuban and Eastern bloc uniforms. We are selecting and training the very best for our transport protection units."

Former cadres who had been unemployed could now offer a valuable service to the community.

The initiative had the blessings of the ANC executive and Cosatu, Manjaro said.

vernment killings

y GAVIN DU VENAGE and LLOYD COUTTS

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10 years' jail for murder

SUSAN RUSSELL

A FORMER policeman who murdered his bedridden wife and mother-in-law on their Randfontein smallholding and fled to Namibia, was sentenced to 10 years' jail in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Gideon St John Barnard, 36, shot his wife Myrna, 57, and her mother Maria Cherry, 84, on December 30 last year.

Barnard flew to Namibia where he spent three months completing a book on cycads.

Barnard admitted murdering the two women but said he had done so because he could no longer bear to watch them suffer. Barnard was unemployed and was caring for the two women.

Sentencing him yesterday Judge L Goldblatt rejected submissions that Barnard had killed the women as an act of mercy.

Goldblatt said the murders were premeditated.

TBVC residents will be able to vote in election

CAPE TOWN — There would be no obstacle to TBVC residents participating in the April 27 elections on SA territory, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Restoration and Extension of SA Citizenship Bill, he said TBVC residents would participate in the election as full SA citizens. BIDAY

The Bill restores SA citizenship to TBVC residents who lost their citizenship when the four states became independent. 15/12/93

It also enables qualifying individuals, who had become citizens of the TBVC countries in terms of their laws, to apply for certificates of naturalisation as SA citizens. (30(4A)

The Bill takes effect from January 1. (1ST)

Schutte said the loss of TBVC residents' SA citizenship had led to great anger and frustration.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe said the Bill drew a line through everything whites had achieved since 1910. The old NP had not only tried to ensure white self-determination, but had also freed black nations from colonial rule.

The Bill was a slap in the face for leaders such as Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, he said.

He assured Mangope that Afrikaners in the CP were his friends and would not desert Bophuthatswana.

"Have you no shame for betraying your word to a black man?" he said.

CP deputy leader Willie Snyman described the Bill as the brainchild of communists and the final crossroad in SA's history.

"The Afrikaner government has betrayed a black nation but the Boere Afrikaner will stand up and help him." — Sapa.

delegation to see models.

The Volksfront wants an independent state for Afrikaners, and is against racially integrated councils. Instead it wants municipalities to co-operate with each other through lo-

ANC members.

"Someone should ask the ANC about the 300 Inkatha leaders that have been killed," said Maninger.

He added the TEC's decision to send in troops would lead to resis-

still to be determined, Maninger said yesterday.

The Volksfront would have discussed attacks on farmers, and the PAC would have raised right-wing threats of civil war.

Leaders divided on forum's chance of success — survey

B/Day 14/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Opinion is divided among political, public service and business leaders on whether the National Economic Forum will have any impact on the international competitiveness of SA's economy, a survey has found.

Conducted by Stellenbosch University's centre for international and comparative politics, the survey questioned 1 200 public service chief directors and director-generals, private sector MDs and CEs, and parliamentary and extra-parliamentary leaders on their attitudes to a range of issues. Entitled The Survey of Elite Attitudes and Values toward Political, Economic and Social Transformation, the survey found high levels of uncertainty regarding the forum.

While 57% of NP-aligned respondents, 64% of PAC members, 47% of DP members, 58% of ANC/SACP members and 43% of Inkatha Freedom Party members believed the forum would have a positive impact on SA's international competitiveness, 26% NP, 27% PAC, 30% DP, 36% ANC and 40% Inkatha respondents were uncertain of the forum's role.

Supporters of all parties, ranging from 92% among ANC supporters to 56% of the Inkatha respondents, thought the redistribution of wealth was likely to increase with a government of national unity. Most respondents expected an increase in free enterprise with only the DP (43%) and CP (69%) believing free enterprise would be adversely affected.

Supporters of predominantly white-supported parties, such as the NP, DP and CP, expected a decrease in the effectiveness of the public service, standard of education and medical services under a government of national unity. Supporters of the ANC, PAC and Inkatha expected an increase in the effectiveness of the same services.

Almost 90% of the respondents felt the SA population growth rate of 2,3% a year held dangers for the environment, and 43% of businessmen thought protection of the environment was more important than the protection of jobs.

One of the closest issues concerned the legalisation of prostitution — 45% were against this and 41% in favour. "It would appear to be one of the critical value choices of the future," the survey noted.

Right wing plans events

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Day of the Vow would be a religious and cultural event with little politics in evidence, Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Steve Maninger said yesterday.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg would address services at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria tomorrow and on Thursday while Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen would speak at the Blood River Monument in Natal on Thursday.

Sapa reports Radio Pretoria called on Boer Commando members yesterday to report to the station's broadcast centre at Donkerhoek to provide security after post office employees, sent to seal the station's illegal transmitter, were refused entry. The station continued to broadcast programmes devoted to the Day of the Vow last night.

valour at rallies to commemorate Umkhonto's 32nd anniversary on Thursday.

Bill 'designed to ensure free and fair elections'

B/Day 14/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The Electoral Bill marked a watershed in SA history, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said in Parliament yesterday.

As the foundation for a free and fair election, the Bill would be instrumental in efforts to build a new SA on the principles of true democracy, freedom and justice.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Bill, Schutte said the code of conduct contained in the Bill would apply to all political parties whether or not they had registered for the election or intended to participate. "It shall apply to every other organisation ... which supports or opposes the policies, candidates or cause of any registered party, or which propagates non-participation in the election."

The severe penalties and sanctions proposed by the Bill were necessary to create conditions for a free and fair election, Schutte said.

These included vote reductions, candidate disqualification, registration cancellation, termination of state funding and the prevention of parties entering specified electoral districts.

DP MP Ken Andrew said the Bill had been skewed to favour party leaders at the expense of the electorate. The lack of a constituency-based system meant new MPs would not be accountable to voters while the proposed single ballot paper for regional and national legislatures disallowed voters' free choice. (304A)

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said: "The paper has been wasted in the writing of this Bill." While it intended that political intimidation should end, that the SABC be unbiased and voter education neutral, all of these had been compromised, he said.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe complained that the standing committee considering the Bill had not been given sufficient time, that it signalled a triumph of ideology over ethnicity and that the Bill was simply "bad and dangerous".

Jannie Momberg (Ind-ANC) said tolerance had to be drummed into people at meetings leading up to the election, Sapa reports. He said the ANC fully endorsed the electoral code contained in the Bill. The election would not succeed unless there was a climate of tolerance.

Our Political Staff reports that the interim constitution was tabled in Parliament yesterday. The document will be discussed behind closed doors today and tomorrow by the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs and debate on its contents is likely to begin on Friday.

Warning on knowledge gap

SA Republican

So, just who is running the country these days?

BIDAY 13/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND in Cape Town (304A)

WITH the negotiating council, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the tricameral Parliament all deliberating on various issues in Cape Town's parliamentary complex, the question of where power resides in SA at present assumes some significance.

Though the negotiating council agreed it would continue to meet on an ad hoc basis, it effectively has completed its task and is unlikely to become involved in what is developing into a bun fight for power between government and the TEC.

For some weeks before the TEC's inaugural meeting, ANC and government spokesmen differed markedly on the council's status in the four months leading to the election.

Shortly before he left for Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize last week, and moments after the TEC had met for the first time not 100m away, President F W de Klerk declared: "The government has not stopped governing and the TEC is not the new government of SA."

The functions, powers and authority of the TEC had been set out clearly in the TEC Act and "did not cover a very significant percentage of what government is all about".

The TEC is, however, not after the substantial proportion of government responsibilities, only the important ones.

Virtually any issue can be tackled by the TEC according to its statutory mandate. And if a particular issue does not necessarily fall into the ambit of one of the TEC's seven subcouncils, additional subcouncils can be created.

As long as consideration of the issue can be justified on the grounds of establishing a peaceful voting climate, the TEC can act.

It considered, for instance, the electricity supply to Pretoria's Mamelodi township, arguing that a cutoff before Christmas would lead to violence thereby having an impact on pre-election stability.

As ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa commented: "The TEC is not running the country, it is just attending to its problems."

Central to any government's ability to rule and indicative of the kind of power it exerts on a society is that government's control and management of its security forces.

And it is in this area that the TEC has decided to take on the state and, in particular, hawkish Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.



☐ KRIEL



☐ RAMAPHOSA



☐ BUTHELEZI

For months, Kriel, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and the collective hierarchy of SA's security forces have insisted the SAP's internal stability unit will not be withdrawn from the townships.

This would only encourage the political polarities and criminal elements of township life to explode into the open causing violence, bloodshed and mayhem, they argued.

The Goldstone commission's report on the prevention of public violence and intimidation, published last week supported this view.

"Whatever the shortcomings or unacceptable conduct of members of the internal stability unit might be, their withdrawal is likely to lead to greater and not lesser violence," Judge Richard Goldstone concluded.

Unabashed, the TEC went for the jugular. They resolved, with no objections from any of the 19 parties represented — including, surprisingly, government — that the internal stability unit should be withdrawn from the troubled East Rand as well as from Bhambayi township near Durban. Files and documents relating to the unit's activities would be forwarded to the TEC for consideration as to how the unit could also be removed from other townships, the council commanded.

According to the Act, the TEC is obliged to consult the Minister as well as senior officers when taking a decision on law and order issues.

Ramaphosa and government TEC representative Roelf Meyer were among a TEC delegation that met Kriel almost immediately after it had decided to intervene in the activities of the internal stability unit last Thursday.

A statement from the Law and Order Ministry the following day said reports that Kriel and the TEC delegation had clashed were untrue.

Kriel's formal response will be heard by the TEC at its next meeting, scheduled for tomorrow.

This response will be a crucial indication of how seriously government takes the TEC and whether it is prepared to relinquish even this most fundamental of its powers.

According to the TEC Act, the council is quite within its statutory powers to restrict to barracks any military force "which is alleged to have had an adverse effect on the attainment of the objectives of the council".

It may also institute disciplinary measures or criminal proceedings, redeploy armed forces, cancel a presidential state of emergency decree, establish a national complaints mechanism, formulate a code of conduct and demand any information or files from any military force relevant to its duties.

Theoretically, government could stymie the TEC with delaying tactics. If Kriel refused to condone the withdrawal of the internal stability unit, for instance, and no agreement could be reached after a series of time-consuming meetings and consultations, the matter would eventually be passed to the special Electoral Court for adjudication.

With only four months to the election, such tactics could render the TEC ineffectual, a "toy telephone" perpetually engaged.

At its Thursday meeting the TEC decided to go for broke. It took on Kriel and discounted the conclusions of the Goldstone commission. It trod on the toes of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi by despatching troops into northern Natal and parts of KwaZulu.

It has added to this slight of Buthelezi by becoming involved in the Goldstone investigation of hit squad activity in the self-governing territory's security forces.

It has also taken up the cause of free political activity in Bophuthatswana, calling on the territory's government to allow Human Rights Day celebrations there "without interference".

And all this has been commanded before the TEC's seven subcouncils, which are effectively meant to govern and deliberate on such issues, have even been established.

But Buthelezi has already indicated he takes exception to his domain being trampled, and it remains to be seen whether other TEC's resolutions, such as the internal stability unit's withdrawal, are heeded quickly and effectively.

This is the TEC's challenge: to accomplish the specific and demanding goals it has set for itself or lose its credibility. Events over the next few weeks, and in particular Kriel's response tomorrow to the call for the internal stability unit's withdrawal, will indicate where the real power in SA now resides.

Tourism plan for St Lucia

B1Day 13/12/93

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE Natal Parks Board is waiting for a final Cabinet decision on the St Lucia mining issue before launching its plans to extend tourism facilities.

Conservationists greeted with joy the special review panel's unanimous decision against Richards Bay Minerals' plan for titanium mining in the area.

Review panel chairman Judge R Leon said at a Cape Town news conference that the Cabinet, perhaps in co-operation with the Transitional Executive Council, would have to make the final decision.

Natal Parks Board CE Dick Parris said last week the board welcomed the panel's decision and was ready to develop ecotourism in the area.

Plans to expand tourism facilities had been delayed because of the uncertainty surrounding the mining dispute. Finance was already available, as were initiatives to include local communities in the running of St Lucia, he said.

RBM communications GM Barry Clements said the panel's decision was disappointing.

The review panel seemed to have placed more emphasis on "intangible factors" than on the scientific facts of the CSIR environmental assessment.

The company had missed an opportunity to put its point of view to the panel when it decided not to submit new evidence, but it was not the final step in the process, Clements said.

RBM would begin discussions with government on rights such as compensation if the Cabinet decided against mining, but would honour the final decision.

Clements said RBM hoped government would take into consideration the opinions of the local population.

Parris, reacting to the panel's conclusion that the Natal Parks Board was disliked among the local community because of low wages and alleged land acquisitions, said local people had been used as a pawn in the dispute and had been given some incorrect information.

To improve relations with neigbouring communities, the board would expand its awareness programmes to explain its function in terms of conservation.

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INCE

Bill lays down law for April elections

ADRIAN HADLAND B1Day

CAPE TOWN — Legislation governing the conduct and duties of political parties and voters during the election was tabled in Parliament at the weekend. 13/12/93

The Electoral Bill sets out who is entitled to vote, registration requirements for political parties, the handling of ballot boxes, counting procedures, an electoral code of conduct and other details related to SA's first democratic election. (30kA)

The Bill states that parties standing for election to the national assembly are required to lodge a deposit of R25 000. Provincial legislature deposits are R5 000.

Parties that fail to gain a single seat in the provincial or national election will lose the deposit.

According to the code of conduct, parties are required to allow all election participants to canvass, erect banners and placards, hold meetings and express divergent opinions in all areas. Failure to adhere to the code could lead to a fine of R100 000, the forefeiture of a deposit or expulsion from the election.

Government also introduced the Regulation of Gatherings Bill to Parliament last week, described in its explanatory memorandum as "an essential instrument in maintaining order and peace in the pre-electoral period".

To regulate gatherings, a convenor must be appointed who must notify a "responsible officer", appointed by a local authority, that a gathering is to take place. The convenor is responsible for appointing enough marshals and ensuring gatherings comply with guidelines.

The Bill sets out general conduct at gatherings, lays down police powers, provides for civil liability and defines offences and penalties.

The Bill defines a demonstration as having up to 15 participants, with more than 15 constituting a gathering. It provides for fines of up to R20 000 or a year's imprisonment and prohibits gatherings close to Parliament, the Union Buildings in Pretoria or courts of law.

The wearing of masks, disguises or clothes similar to those worn by the security forces is also prohibited.

Talks with alliance hit snags

B1Sat 21/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — A task force of negotiators from the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC were locked in discussions last night in a final attempt to reach an all-inclusive constitutional settlement.

The 15-member task force had until 8am today to reach an agreement on outstanding issues that would pave the way for the inclusion of the alliance in next year's election.

With a news blackout imposed on the task group's deliberations, little indication had been received by last night of whether an agreement was likely.

An alliance statement said ANC task team leader Cyril Ramaphosa had dismissed the alliance's demands as "being far too extensive".

These demands included extended powers for regions, a one-ballot electoral system and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination.

The task team seemed to have gotten caught up on the first item on the agenda — the question of whether the alliance was prepared to commit itself to the elections prior to final agreement, a source said.

This has been a sticking point since government made commitment to participation in the elections a precondition to amending the constitution.

"We are not any closer (to a deal) than we were this morning," Ramaphosa said during a supper break.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said: "The process is balancing on a knife-edge". (304A)

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said it would be a "tragedy of enormous consequences" if discussions on the second half of the agenda — the alliance's 13 demands — were not even reached.

If an agreement is reached, there is still time for amendments to be ratified by the negotiating council and included in the constitution.

If not, an early Parliamentary session may be called for January in which a Constitutional Amendment Bill could be discussed.

President F W de Klerk said a summit of leaders would be necessary, in the event of a finalised agreement, to publicly endorse parties' and government's response.

Alliance's demands set for 'no' from negotiators

(304A)

ARG 14/12/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

NEW conditions set by the Freedom Alliance for acceptance of a new constitution and participation in an election are heading for rejection by the governmnent and the African National Congress today.

Initial reaction was that the gap between the ANC and government and the alliance had been widened and that there was now little prospect of a settlement.

Parliament will start debating the interim constitution on Friday and it will become law next week. The next few days are the last during which some adjustments can be made to the constitution.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said today the alliance appeared to be widening the gap between the ANC and itself more and more. The ANC's national executive would study a document containing the alliance's demands.

Dawie de Villiers, National Party leader in the negotiations, said party and government leaders would study the new proposals before reacting. He would have discussions today with Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer.

Colin Eglin, the Democratic Party's chief negotiator and TEC member, also said the alliance's demands seemed to be widening the gap.

Four of the issues in the alliance's latest reaction have been agreed on in principle in negotiations with the ANC and government.

These are the powers, functions and boundaries of regions, regional governments' powers of taxation, provincial constitutions and the role of the constitutional court.

The alliance's latest demands include the right of self-determination for Afrikaners, Bophuthatswana and other people on a territorial basis, that all black homelands should continue to exist as provincial entities, that their assets should go to these new provinces and the renaming of Natal to Kwazulu-Natal.

Volksfront claims wide support for volkstaat

THE Afrikaner Volksfront claimed yesterday that it had substantial support from towns throughout SA for the concept of a volkstaat. B/D 7/12/93

Volksfront chief secretary Joseph Chiole said in Pretoria the call for an

GAVIN DU VENAGE

Afrikaner state had the support of more than half the whites in Pretoria.

He said a Volksfront survey had shown 86 Transvaal towns and 124 in the Cape supported the concept of a volkstaat. Many had indicated their support through those local authorities which committed themselves to the volkstaat ideal. In most of the other towns canvassed, whites had said they would want to be part of a volkstaat. (304A)

● See Page 4

Walking a fine and dangerous line

ARG 11/12/93 (304A)

■ The establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is, as described by most participants in the democratic process, an historic occasion. **DANIEL SILKE** looks at the event which marked the end of sole National Party rule and brought the majority into the decision-making process for the first time in almost 350 years.

MORE remarkable than the actual physical manifestation of the TEC and its first sittings has been the ease and acceptance that this body apparently enjoys.

It was without a whimper that delegates took their seats in the old President's Council chamber. No histrionics or fanfare. No publicity-seeking. The road to democracy had reached new heights of political maturity.

Here was a statutory body, sadly still male-dominated, which had the power to veto legislation that might emanate from parliament. Nobody flinched, except a few rightwingers in Pretoria.

The calmness with which the transition is currently being handled bodes well for the future. There is no need to unnecessarily dramatise the monumental changes that are taking place. To their credit, Messrs Ramaphosa, Meyer and Eglin have succeeded in instilling a considerable degree of confidence, stability and security into the initial stages of the new dispensation.

The inherent stability of the TEC has also been reflected on the jittery financial markets. Given the perceived uncertainty about a future economic policy for South Africa — along with talk of redistribution, nationalisation, wealth and other taxes and general restructuring — it is reassuring to note that the Johannesburg Stock Exchange has surged ahead.

The stock market tends to discount future political events and if the market is anything to go by a fresh faith in the process is being reflected here.

Ironically, this new-found confidence, which is confirmed by Sacob studies and Markinor opinion polls, comes at a time when the draft constitution contains some serious flaws.

It is hardly democratic in the true sense of the word to propose, as both the ANC and NP have done recently, that the new Constitutional Court should be made up largely of political appointees. The serious nature of a single ballot paper for both regional and national seats is the antithesis of democracy and will negatively impact upon smaller, more regionally based parties, who will lose out on the national ticket.

Strange as it may seem, the current reawakening of broad-based optimism in the country's future takes these anomalies into account.

Most opinion surveys are showing that the ANC's levels of support are reaching new heights. The current Markinor poll puts the ANC at enjoying almost 75 percent of urban black support. If translated into votes (and accepting that the rural vote does not differ too dramatically), the party is set to score a resounding victory at the polls.

The NP remains the second favourite thanks to continued white and coloured support and may muster around 20 percent of the popular vote should they run a highly successful election campaign.

Based upon a likely ANC victory, the outcome of the election is almost a foregone conclusion. While it is always said that a day is a long time in politics and that many variables might still impact upon the process, the certainty of an ANC victory encourages stability.

Financial markets crave stability. They also like to know the outcome of future events, and elections in particular. There are precious few guessing opportunities in our April poll and this is likely to encourage planning and investment in advance of the result.

A safe prediction of an ANC victory means dealing with the known rather than the unknown. Investors and analysts alike know the views of Trevor Manuel, Thabo Mbeki and Jay Naidoo. The protracted negotiation period over the last three years has resulted in the country becoming familiar with key personalities and their individual ideologies; and this, too, has contributed to the current stability.

Public and private sector business interests, in turn, have had a useful chance to meet, discuss and often resolve many issues with the ANC, thus providing a useful springboard come April 27.

In terms of the sea-change affecting the face of authority in South Africa, the Codesa and multi-party talks have slowly but surely lulled the country into accepting new rulers.

Shoud the ANC secure two-thirds of the popular vote, their strength at all levels of government will see them effectively ruling in an undiluted form and this will enable them to retain authority over any disruptive forces or insurrection, which in itself encourages confidence.

Pitfalls in the future are many. Should Winnie Mandela be elected to parliament along with Peter Mokaba, Harry Gwala and Tony Yengeni, whites especially may be distressed at a new form of parliamentary debate. The ANC itself can hardly be said to be consistent in many aspects of its public policy, and remains vague on key economic issues which are the cause of major concern and suspicion among the once-supreme white electorate.

However, even if democratic values are not ideally implemented, this need not adversely affect growth. During the Sixties and into the early Seventies, South Africa enjoyed high levels of domestic growth at the expense of democracy. While no-one is suggesting that the country will return to those dark days, the desire on the part of a new government to entrench themselves and their nomenclature may be distressingly tempting.

With foreign interest in South Africa on the increase and continued assurances that overseas investors will be able to extract a healthy profit from the country, the existence of a western-style democracy may not be a pre-requisite for economic advancement.

Anyway, perceptions in politics are often more important than reality. The world is seeking a South Africa under majority rule and the signs are there that they will get it. In addition, the country needs from its new rulers a commitment to, at the very least, a greater degree of democracy than in the past. This is hardly a tall order given our history. It is likely that sensible rather than overtly democratic principles will prevail as national priorities.

The transitional process has been long and hard but it has very definitely softened the blow of change. Uncertainties abound but the rulers in waiting are now familiar to all and are no longer strangers in their own land.

Although liberal democratic values may still be trampled on in the new South Africa, the scene is set for a representative government to take over the reins of power and set the country on a new course of political stability and economic growth. It will, however, also tread a fine and often dangerous line between a commitment to democratic principles and addressing the desperate needs of the nation.

■ *Daniel Silke is research assistant in Professor Robert Schrire's Institute for the Study of Public Policy at the University of Cape Town.*



PEACE LAUREATES: ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk pose after receiving their Nobel Peace Prize medals and diplomas in Oslo yesterday.

The bonds of peace

■ In a stirring moment in history, South Africa's two leading politicians received the Nobel Peace Prize — and set the country on the path to a new beginning . . .



ARG 11/12/93 (304A)

ALAN ROBINSON, Weekend Argus Correspondent

OSLO. — In the cradle of Oslo's great City Hall, watched by kings and commoners, Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk promised the world they had renounced the violence that had ripped their country apart over nearly four centuries.

Mandela the prisoner and F W his jailer stood before the assembled throng and cast off the shackles of hatred and bitterness.

Just a stone's throw away from where the Vikings once launched their ships to make war, the balding white South African and his grey-haired black compatriot set sail on a new course with a shared aim — to make peace.

In moving orations, both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela cast an eye on the past. They recalled the divisions, the inequities and the injustice.

But, they did not dwell on these things. The future was their horizon and they gave a remarkably similar vision of a land of peace and prosperity entering the next millenium as an example to the world.

Mr Mandela spoke first and brought into the midst of the gathering Peace Laureates of former years — great human rights campaigners like Martin Luther King jun and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He spoke of their example and their preaching and added his own clarion call for a new society without intolerance and prejudice.

"At the southern tip of Africa a rich reward is in the making, an invaluable gift is in the preparation for those who have suffered in the name of all humanity when they sacrificed everything for liberty, peace, human dignity and human fulfilment," Mr Mandela promised.

The future of South Africa, he said, was for the children. "Our children must at last play in the open veld, no longer tortured by the pangs of hunger or ravaged by disease or threatened with the scourge of ignorance, molestation and abuse and no longer required to engage in deeds whose gravity exceeds the demands of their tender years.

"The value of our shared reward will and must be measured by the joyful peace which will triumph because the common humanity that bonds both black and white into one human race will have said to each one of us that we shall all live like the children of paradise."

There was a warm and genuine tribute to Mr De Klerk that raised a stifled round of applause in a place of rigid formality.

He spoke of his political rival as a man who had the courage to admit a terrible wrong had been done to our people through the imposition of the system of apartheid. He had the foresight to understand and accept that all the people of South Africa must, through negotiation and as equal participants in the process, determine what they wanted to make of their future."

After a stunning performance by pop group Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Mr De Klerk strode to the rostrum and opened with a ringing call for peace, not just in South Africa, but throughout the world.

Mr De Klerk's 25-minute address was liberally punctuated with bold truisms, such as:

■ There can be no real peace without justice or consent;

■ Peace does not fare well where poverty and and deprivation reign;

■ Peace does not flourish where there is ignorance and a lack of education and information; and

■ Repression, injustice and exploitation are inimical to peace.

He might deny it, but verily this was proof that Mr De Klerk had indeed seen the Damascan Light.

What followed came as close as humanly possible to an admission of his conversion: "The single, most important factor which became the driving force towards a totally new dimension was a fundamental change of heart."

Once more, the murmurs of approval could be heard.

This was an occasion that stirred even the uncommitted, the coming together of the master and the servant as full-blown equals, and Mr De Klerk took up the mood: "Five years ago, people would seriously have questioned the sanity of anyone who would have predicted that Mr Mandela and I would be joint recipients of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize. And yet both of us are here before you today."

Money and the box

ARGS 14/12/93 (304A)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

POLITICAL parties taking part in next year's general election will be able to obtain financial aid from the State but they will have to register.

On the ballot paper the symbols of a party, as well as a picture of its leader, will be allowed.

These are two of the innovations provided for in the new Electoral Act now being debated by parliament.

The Bill provides for all aspects of the first fully democratic elections in the history of South Africa on April 27 next year.

Financial aid to parties will come from a "State Electoral Fund" with money appropriated by parliament. Donors including foreign governments and non-governmental organisations can also contribute.

Parties will qualify for support if an independent poll shows that it has the support of at least two percent of the voters.

A party can also submit 10 000 voters' signatures. It will then receive 50 percent of the grants available.

Parties will have to keep separate records of how this money is spent.

Anyone over 18 who is a citizen or who is a permanent resident and has a "voter's eligibility document" — usually an ID book but also a temporary voter's card — can vote.

There will be only one ballot paper although the first election will be for both national and regional governments. The one vote will therefore be counted twice.

There will no longer be voter registration and voters' rolls as in the past.

The Bill stresses that the vote will be secret. It lays down that "a voter shall cast his or her vote in secret and no person shall in any way interfere with a voter in connection with the casting of his or her vote".

Party workers and voter education bodies have found that the issue of the secret vote is the one issue on which there is apprehension among many potential voters.

To allay these fears the ballot paper will this time, for the first time, not have a number on it. This is to counter possible intimidation.

The prohibition of all party political activity around voting stations on polling day is also meant to counter intimidation.

At the polling booth, voters will have their hand marked with indelible ink which shows under an infra-red light. When they enter the polling station they will have to hold their hands under a light to prove that they have not voted before.

An interesting provision in the Act lays down that the voter can indicate his choice by "a cross or any other mark which denotes a clear choice for a particular party".

Voter education programmes have shown that the cross had a negative connotation. In some of the mock elections, people who had not voted before wanted to use the cross to mark the parties they did not support.

People with disablities such as the blind can be assisted in the presence of at least two party voting agents.

There will be special votes for those who are, through illness or physical disability, unable to go to a polling booth.

On polling day a vote will count in the area where it is made and not in the areas where the voter comes from.

In this election there will be no constituencies as the system of proportional representation will be used. The number of MPs for a party will be calculated according to the number of votes it draws.

This is a much fairer system than the present one. The system in the past greatly favoured the National Party whose main strength lay in the rural areas where the constituencies had far fewer voters than in the urban seats.

Although it gained a majority of seats in parliament in the 1948 and 1953 general elections the NP failed to gain a majority of the popular vote.

In the new National Assembly there will be 400 seats — 200 based on the national vote and 200 on the votes in different regions.

A party not standing in a particular area can beforehand allocate its support there to another party.

The Bill also provides for penalties for intimidation, bribery and "personation", trying to vote in the name of another.

There is also a prohibition on interference with free political canvassing and campaigning.

Penalties of between R100 000 or five years and R20 000 and a year are provided for.

Parties who want to contest the election will have to register in terms of the Bill.

The ANC has so far refused to become a registered party. It regards itself as a movement which can accommodate other political parties. This is why the Communist Party can stand under its banner.

Parties wishing to contest the election for the National Assembly will have to submit a deposit of R25 000 with their application. For regional elections the deposit is R5 000.

They will have to subscribe to a code of conduct.

Infringement of the code carries penalties of up to R100 000 or the forfeiture of any deposit.

Time allocated on television or radio can also be withdrawn and meetings and marches cancelled.

Gross violations of the code can lead to the cancellation of a party's registration.

In the three weeks before polling day the publication of opinion polls will not be allowed.

The Act will be administered by an Independent Electoral Commission.

Full diplomatic ties with NZ for first time

304A

ARG 14/12/93

☐ Negotiations 'example to world'

The Argus Foreign Service

WELLINGTON. — South Africa and New Zealand have agreed to establish full diplomatic relations for the first time in the history of links between the two countries.

The announcement today made headlines here as Foreign Minister Don McKinnon praised South Africa's efforts to resolve constitutional problems to allow fully democratic elections next year.

Mr McKinnon, who advised the United Nations and the Commonwealth Secretariat today that New Zealand was willing to send officials to help in next year's elections, said South Africa could be held up to the world as an example of "profound differences being solved through negotiation".

The dramatic change South Africa had been going through took "great political courage and conciliation on all sides".

The decision to establish diplomatic links reflected increasing contacts between the two countries over the last three years, Mr McKinnon said.

New Zealand High Commissioner in Harare Doug Law is to be accredited to South Africa. However, a foreign ministry official said there were no plans yet to establish a post in South Africa.

South Africa maintained a consulate-general in Wellington from 1962 to 1984, when the post was shut down to pre-empt the incoming Labour government from closing it.

Former All Black Andy Haden, who led the 1985 Cavaliers rugby tour of South Africa, described the announcement as "great news", though the recent lifting of trade sanctions meant that a "dormant competitor" had been awakened.

A foreign ministry official said New Zealand had been "following with applause the continuing ability of the major South African political parties to negotiate their way to democratic, non-racial government."

"We have had no temptation to underestimate the enormous difficulties that faced them, nor what lies ahead with questions to be resolved."

It was hoped that those South African groups not yet in negotiations would also play their part in peaceful elections next year.

FW 'sorry' for discrimination

ARG 14/12/93 (3044)

ROME. — President De Klerk has apologised for decades of racial discrimination under apartheid but said the country's blacks also had much to regret over township violence that had killed thousands.

President De Klerk predicted that the National Party would overcome poor standings in opinion polls and do surprisingly well in South Africa's first democratic elections next year.

"Apartheid led to injustice and we are sorry," President De Klerk, in Italy on his way home from collecting the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Oslo, told a news conference.

"We want to rectify the injustice of the past and we are rectifying the injustice of the past."

He urged whites and previously disenfranchised black South Africans to look to the future and to the new national government to be elected on April 27.

But President de Klerk, who has apologised for apartheid before, said Mr Mandela's ANC and other groups that espoused violence in opposing the strict laws that deprived non-whites of the vote and kept races strictly segregated also needed forgiveness.

"They have burnt down houses of ordinary innocent civilians — they also have much to be forgiven for." Mr De Klerk said it was now time for both sides to bury decades of mutual hatred and look to the future.

He said he hoped he and Mr Mandela could go on working for the good of the country but conceded that both were separated by a deep political gulf.

"He is in alliance with the South African communist parties. I'm strongly anti-communist and in favour of free enterprise," President De Klerk said.

Mr De Klerk, who swore he would not vanish from the political scene after the formation of a new multiracial government, said his National Party would do well in the election.

"We are fighting this election not as losers from the start — opinion polls are somewhat against us at the moment — but at the end of the campaign we aim to come up with a dramatic result," he said.

During his visit President De Klerk held talks with Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi and Pope John Paul, who accepted his invitation to become the first pontiff to visit South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

New Big Brother may be watching you . . .

ARGUS 15/12/93

Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE examines fears that the ANC is nurturing a Big Brother mentality.

30/11

AFRICAN National Congress plans to contain the threat of counter-revolution through its feared Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS) — also known as Mbokodo (the stone that crushes) — have sparked a controversy over ANC methods and long-term objectives.

The controversy arises, in part, from the manner in which the DIS plans to combat the right-wing menace came to the public's notice: via top secret documents, pertaining to a confidential DIS conference, leaked to newspapers.

But discord has been accentuated by reference in the DIS documents to terms normally associated with espionage and warfare: infiltration, informers, the enemy, and counter-revolutionaries and their surrogates.

The documents talk of the need to infiltrate key organs of State after the April 27 election, win over black policemen through the radical Police and Prison Officers Civil Rights Union, recruit journalists to propagate the ANC's image and cause and "use" the Goldstone Commission investigation into political violence by "hammering" its chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, when he is "chicken-hearted".

The authenticity of the documents is not in question. ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa has not challenged their veracity. What is in dispute is the interpretation of the documents and the DIS conference or workshop from which they emanate.

Mr Mamoepa, predictably, offers a benign exegesis of the documents, based on the premise that the DIS's prime aim is to protect the transitional process from apartheid to democracy and safeguard the embryonic democratic order from fanatical rightists and counter-revolutionaries.

He avers that the DIS workshop was part of a routine SWOT — strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats — evaluation, held in August, which the ANC national executive committee ordered all ANC structures to undertake.

Elucidating, Mr Mamoepa states that the assessment was made in terms of a specific mandate: to defend the democratic process, an exercise which entailed identifying the pro and anti-democratic forces and striving to get foes of democracy "on board".

He notes that it was soon after the workshop that the ANC resolved to engage the rightwing in discussion in a bid to bring them into the democratic process.

Thus he argues that the attempts to persuade the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, to adopt a politically neutral stance — that is, to dissociate himself from Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party — and to "strengthen the Goldstone Commission" are calculated to buttress the democratic process, not subvert it.

He denies there is any conspiratorial plan to persuade or coerce journalists into becoming ANC propagandists, insisting, on the contrary, that it is in the interests of journalists and press freedom to support democracy and justice.

Mr Mamoepa offers an explanation for the label NAT used in the documents as a synonym for DIS and Mbokodo; it is a DIS code name, and not — as the ANC's political opponents have suggested — an acronym for National Action Tribunal, he says.

Another innocent explanation from the ANC is that the DIS's objective is to guard the centre by bolstering FW de Klerk and his verligte negotiators against rightwingers in the ruling National Party, the rationale being that Mr De Klerk's survival is indispensable to the settlement.

But in contrast to these expositions is a more sinister explanation: the DIS programme is one of covert penetration and control, reminiscent of the undercover operations of Communist parties in the pre-glasnost era and, closer to home, of the once powerful Broederbond.

The NP, seeing an opportunity to score political points, has opted for a malign interpretation, declaring that the secret plan demonstrated, once more, that the ANC cannot be trusted to maintain democracy, that it cannot control its totalitarian urges.

Standing back and taking a sober view, one point emerges strongly: South Africans of all political persuasions have reason to be sceptical and suspicious, and even downright fearful, of the DIS, alias Mbokodo.

Mbokodo, as its victims know too well, was responsible for the abuse of human rights in ANC detention camps

A re-reading of the ANC-appointed commissions of inquiry into these camps, the Skweyiya and Mosuenyane commissions, serves as a chilling reminder of these abuses: severe beatings, violence for its own sake, torture, cruel and inhuman conditions of confinement, forced confessions and even executions.

There are disturbing signs in the DIS documents that the paranoia may be resurfacing.

Thus one document refers to Nelson Mandela's concern at the infiltration of the ANC "at the very top level" and his reported exhortation to DIS to "have a record of every member of the national executive committee and to be able . . . to monitor the movements of individuals".

More worrying still is the ANC's failure to heed the counsel of the Skweyiya Commission to identity Mbokodo "apparatchiks" who abused human rights and ensure that they never again assume public office.

Instead the ANC has procrastinated, talking of the need to establish a "truth commission" while known violators of human rights still hold office at its national headquarters.

One of them, Basil Mavuso, is a Mandela bodyguard.

Of the two top ANC men identified by the Motsuenyane Commission for neglect in protecting the rights of fellow ANC members, one, Joe Modise, is a member of the ANC's National Security Council, established after the secret August conference to oversee security policy.

CP, AWB in 'last stand' on Day of Vow

ARGT 15/12/93

(3044)

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Right-wingers, fearing that tomorrow's Day of the Vow celebrations may be the last, are beginning to gather in their hundreds at the Voortrekker Monument.

The monument is the scene of a national two-day celebration which Conservative Party and AWB politicians are to use as a platform for rightwing speeches.

The "Afrikaner cultural" gathering, as it is being called by the CP, is seen as the last occasion on which the Day of the Vow will be officially celebrated.

Appeals have been made for several weeks for conservative-minded people to attend the event.

The Transitional Executive Council, the government and African National Congress have, however, not yet decided on the number or type of public holidays which South Africans will celebrate in future.

It is expected that the speeches — by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche — will be devoted to obtaining support from Afrikaans-speaking people for demands for self-determination of the Afrikaner nation, leading to the establishment of a "volkstaat".

They also plan to mobilise opposition to the TEC and the April general election.

Last week, in a 23-hour siege, members of the Pretoria East Boerekommando, under the command of Martin Ratte, ordered three Defence Force soldiers to leave Fort Schanskop, overlooking the monument, and occupied the military installation.

It is understood that Commandant Ratte is to get a hero's welcome if he decides to defy police and come out of hiding to attend the Voortrekker Monument event.

New women's party will take up political cudgel

(2014/1) ARG 10/12/93

GILLE WEINTROUB

THERE are many who feel South Africa's women are being left out in the cold politically as the transitional process moves into high gear.

A group of concerned Cape Town women are worried that the constitutional process agreed to at Kempton Park amounts to a "transfer of power from one bunch of chauvinists to another".

The group has organised itself into a fledging political party with the title "South African Women's Party."

It is canvassing for support with a view to participating in the General Election on April 27 next year.

In order to fulfil the requirements of the Electoral Act, the party needs to recruit 500 founder members and pay R500 to register as a political party.

Says Michel Muller, who describes herself as a facilitator for the party: "Up to now the focus in South Africa has been on institutionalised racism. Yet sexism is just as pervasive and debilitating."

The new party hopes to offer people a new concept in politics where ecology, community and human rights for women are the foundations of policy.

Men are welcome to join the party, and Muller stresses that the party is not a front for any other political organisation set up with the intention of dividing the vote.

"We are here to unite women and men who believe that the way to liberation is through women's liberation.

"Our role is not to pick on other parties. We want to provide and opportunity for independent political action."

The party plans to organise campaigns around issues such as abortion, customary laws, sexist taxation, violence against women, corruption and the economy. It hopes to "bring peace, stability and prosperity by promoting integrated and progressive action".

In its working document, the party's policies are:

- To identify and act on South African's women's needs and priorities;
- To identify and correct sexist legislation and practices;
- To support the equal participation of women in politics;
- To reject stereotypes of women;
- To indentify and correct ineffective environmental laws;
- To conserve and manage resources;
- To address the impact of an expanding population;
- To work for the restructuring and transformation of society.

Other points from the South African Women's Party's working document include:

- Uniting women of all races, religions, cultures, capabilities, sexual and political orientations;
- Empowering women to independently take charge of their futures through political action;
- Addressing, as a priority, the status of women in politics.

Members of the party are at an information table in St George's Mall (outside the Reserve Bank building) until 2.30pm today, or write to Box 34514, Groote Schuur, 7937, ☎ 47-0655 or ☎ 47-8906.

CELEBRATION AT LAST AGAIN

Elated negotiators hail end of two years at World Trade Centre

ANC 2/12/93 (Sowt)

JOHANNESBURG. — Corks popped and champagne flowed at a dawn breakfast today as the negotiators celebrated the end of their two years at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The weary, bleary-eyed negotiating teams and administration staff finally made their way home after 7.30am after their last all-nighter in the hangar-like building beside the airport.

Earlier the Negotiating Council decided to approve a draft bill authorising the "homecoming" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which will allow these citizens to vote in the election.

The decision was hailed by South African Communist Party negotiator Joe Slovo.

He said it symbolised the final collapse of the Verwoerdian dream of the fragmentation of South Africa and it gave the birthright back to millions of South Africans.

But the Freedom Alliance, which includes the leaders of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — who oppose reincorporation — is expected to be enraged by the step and to strongly resist it.

Freedom Alliance leader and Bophuthatswana government representative Rowan Cronje said today that the decision would hold no weight without the support and approval of the alliance and the national states concerned.

"It's just another decision," he said.

The draft bill will be submitted to parliament for approval before the sitting ends some time this month.

The reincorporation will coincide with the coming into effect of the interim constitution — hammered out during months of negotiation at the World Trade Centre.

Exhausted negotiators battled in vain to reach final agreement yesterday, which they had set as the deadline to complete the interim constitution and other outstanding issues.

Official negotiations were finally concluded just before dawn.

But one outstanding issue is a "reconciliation clause" proposed for the interim constitution which will be discussed in a "last" Negotiating Council sitting in Cape Town on Monday.

Major decisions finalised by the Negotiating Council last night included the transfer of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands to Namibia.

The controversial Local Government Transitional Bill, which was criticised by the DP and the PAC, was also approved and will be submitted to parliament.

The ANC's chief ally, the SACP, expressed "serious qualms" about the Local Government Bill but said it had decided against opposing the bill to avoid delaying progress.

But SACP negotiator Essop Pahad welcomed the decision on Walvis Bay, saying it marked "a historic occasion because it marks the end of the decolonisation process".

The council also approved the repeal of discriminatory legislature as well as of laws impeding free political activity in South Africa, including the six self-governing homelands.

Also consigned to the scrapbook of history was Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, in terms of which many political activists were detained without trial in the past.

The Transitional Executive Council, which has to ensure a free and fair election on April 27, holds its first meeting in Cape Town next week.

The venue for both meetings will be the old President's Council building.

The "citizenship clause" agreed to at the World Trade Centre will be called the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship to Certain Citizens of the Republics of Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Territories Act, 1993, "and shall come into operation on January 1, 1994".

● See page 4

Political Staff and Sapa

Companies take steps to educate staff for election

(30419) ARG 2/12/93

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

VOTER education has been "very successful" in the Western Cape with companies taking the initiative to educate their workers, says Susan Hayter, regional co-ordinator of the Independent Mediation Services of SA (Imssa).

Ms Hayter said Imssa's balloting and election service, which started two months ago, had "mushroomed" in the region.

"We are being called on to do a lot of voter education. Some companies may be wary of getting Cosatu to do the voter education, so they ask Imssa — a neutral third party — to do it."

Imssa, which opened its Western Cape branch in March, would run training programmes for election monitors and marshals.

Imssa's voter education training programme was being used by other companies and organisations like Lawyers for Human Rights.

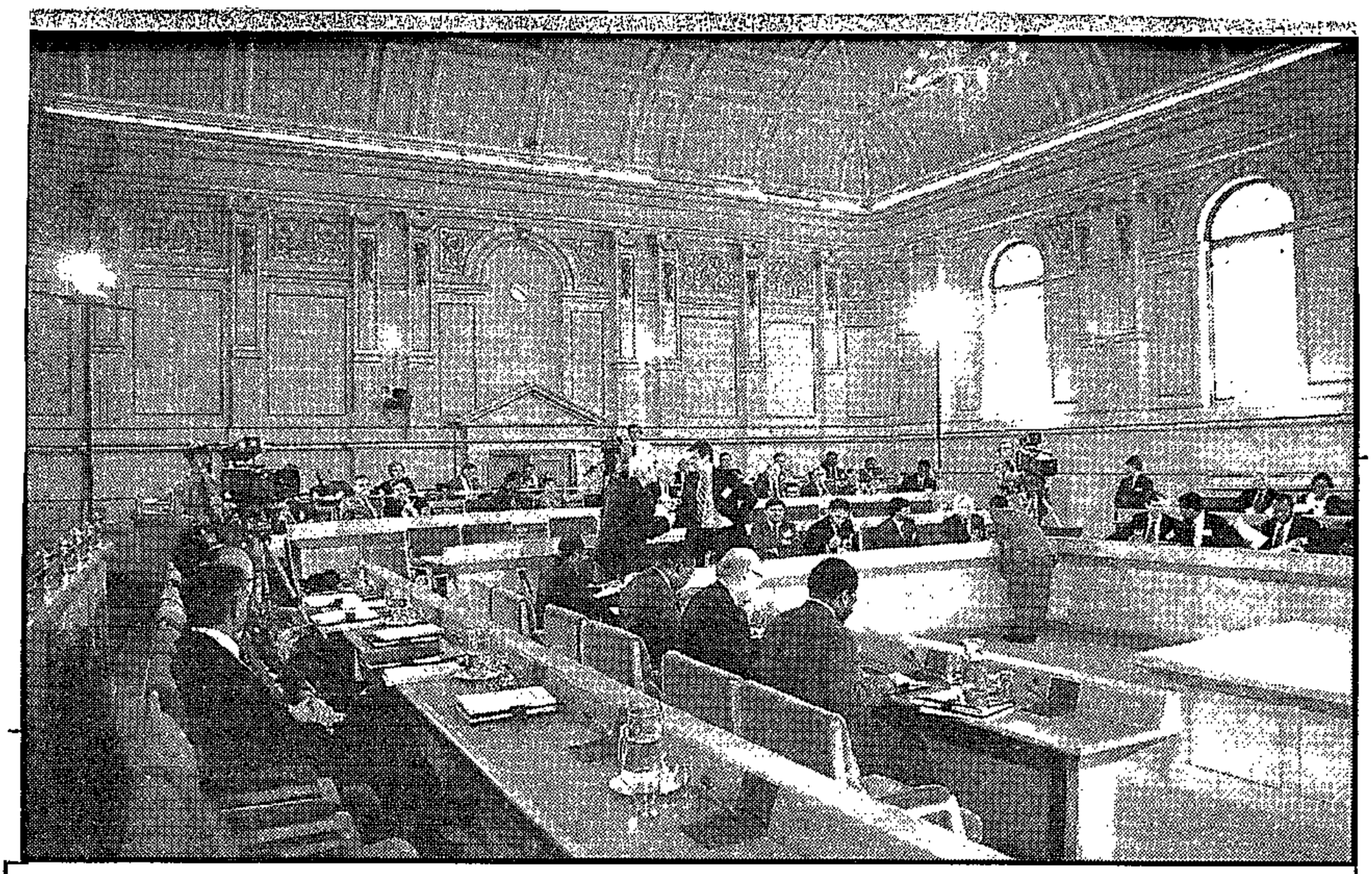
"We have put together a pack which includes posters and a training kit. We train voters directly, or train 'trainers' who in turn train voters," she said.

"We look for key people in the community . . . it's been very successful so far, mostly in companies. We actually thought the programme would take off in communities but this has not happened."

Companies called on Imssa to train their shop stewards to become trainers.

Ms Hayter said: "Western Cape companies have taken on the responsibility of training their workers."

Imssa had also done a lot of training in rural areas, such as at the Langeberg Co-operative.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

IN SESSION: The new Transitional Executive Council in its first session in the old President's Council chamber on Stalplein today.

CP delays bring extended hours

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

ARG 7/12/93

DELAYING tactics by the Conservative Party will force parliament to sit very long hours next week to pass the new interim constitution.

From Monday a joint session of parliament is expected to have morning, afternoon and night sessions in an effort to get the constitutional bill through by the end of next week.

It was initially planned that the debate would start later this week but CP actions at a parliamentary joint standing committee, which had to process the interim constitution bill beforehand, put a stop to this.

The party refused to take part in an informal discussion in the committee on the bill because it had not yet been officially tabled in parliament, because it was not available in Afrikaans and because it did not have the usual explanatory memorandum.

Now the committee will have to wait until the bill has been translated in full.

The Chief Whip of parliament, Alex van Breda, today accused the CP of "cheap politicking" and of endlessly prolonging the parliamentarty process while it knew that could not finally block the legislation.

The CP has in turn accused the government of ignoring the rules of parliament in an effort to steamroller the interim constitution through parliament.

Freedom Alliance having more talks about negotiations

☐ ANC, government show signs of impatience

Political Staff

LEADERS of the Freedom Alliance are to meet in Mmabatho today to once again assess their position following another hitch in talks with the government.

Talks designed to bring the Alliance on board a political settlement collapsed yesterday — making it increasingly likely that a new dispensation will get under way without the dissenting grouping.

Hopes now hinge on a change of mind at the meeting of Alliance leaders on what was effectively an ultimatum by the government and African National Congress.

But there are growing indications of impatience and frustration on the side of the government and ANC negotiators, with both groups questioning the Alliance's commitment to finding a solution.

A planned three-way meeting of the Alliance, government and ANC in Cape Town did not take place when the Alliance refused to give a commitment to take part in transitional structures — like the Transitional Executive Council — and the April 27 election.

This would be part of the "package" of agreements negotiated with the Alliance in recent weeks.

Instead the talks broke down after separate government and ANC discussions with the Alliance negotiators.

Government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said he did not know "whether they seriously want to find solutions".

SA Communist Party and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said after discussions with the Alliance's Rowan Cronje and Walter Felgate that "their responses were so irrational that one wonders whether they are serious in their approach towards the negotiation process".

ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said: "Time is running out, if it has not already."

But Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje said they were committed to a solution and "will do everything within our means to find that solution".

He said it would be "most unfortunate" if the government and ANC proceeded without the Alliance.

"We would then have to assess alternatives ... I pray to God that does not happen."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the government had indicated separately to the Alliance that "it seems to us there is a preparedness by the ANC to discuss some of the proposals on key elements of the constitution".

These proposals have been thrashed out in discussions between the government and the Alliance and are close to resolution. They are designed to bring the boycotting Alliance parties into an agreement.

But the government and the ANC indicated they would require the commitment that, once there was agreement on constitutional issues, there would be participation by the Alliance in validating the constitution, transitional structures and election.

"The FA indicated they were not prepared to give that commitment. It needs a mandate (from leaders) and is not in a position to proceed," said Mr Meyer.

Talks on SA's future reach critical stage

☐ Alliance must decide over taking part in poll

ARG 6/12/93 (3044)

Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS on the political future reach a critical stage today with the Freedom Alliance having to say whether it will take part in the transitional process and in next year's election.

Last-minute talks in Cape Town today are aimed at drawing the alliance into the process. The alliance's participation in the election hinges on a deal on the constitution.

As parliament's joint committee on constitutional affairs began discussions for the first time today on the interim constitution, government and Freedom Alliance negotiators resumed talks in the hope of securing a deal — possibly ahead of tonight's first meeting in Cape Town of the multiparty Negotiating Council.

The government is expecting a response from the Freedom Alliance leaders to proposals put to the alliance's negotiators during a long bilateral meeting on Friday.

Government negotiators are seeking a commitment from the alliance that it will take part in the transitional process and the election in exchange for amendments to the constitution on key points, including regional powers and the deadlock-breaking mechanism.

Neither side would be drawn on the prospect of a breakthrough before this evening's meeting of the Negotiating Council in the old President's Council chamber.

Sources said tentative plans for a tripartite meeting between the African National Congress, the government and the Freedom Alliance would depend on progress in talks this morning.

Among the key points to be settled with the Freedom Alliance are:

- Exclusive powers for regions, as well as clear demarcation of, and constitutional protection for, regional borders.
- The right of regional governments to write their own constitutions, provided they are consistent with the Bill of Rights.

The Alliance is also deeply opposed to a single ballot in the April election.

Meanwhile it is possible the Negotiating Council will consider a proposal to include in the interim constitution a chapter on "reconciliation" which would deal, in part, with an amnesty for political offences.

ANC facing 'fine line' after ballot

☐ Jobs a priority UK told in TV film

ALAN ROBINSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — An incoming ANC government after South Africa's crucial April 27 elections will walk a fine line between democracy and disaster.

That was the overriding impression given to millions of Britons in a peak-time documentary investigation broadcast here on Tuesday night.

The burden of meeting the enormous expectations of black people and of dealing with recalcitrant whites will be huge and ANC leaders admitted it in a revealing programme compiled by the BBC's South Africa correspondent John Harrison.

Countless black people came to the microphone to tell Mr Harrison of their hopes in the immediate post-apartheid days: Without fail, the message was peace, jobs, good money, decent houses, proper schools and universities.

Some were convinced that it would all come within two years because "the government has lots of money".

ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba was blunt: "Jobs are the highest priority. If we don't provide jobs for the people, we face a disaster . . . no doubt about that."

Economics supremo Trevor Manuel agreed: "Apartheid has left us with a legacy of massive distortion in the labour sphere. Democracy won't have q chance without speedy and intensive affirmative action. We know that."

But there were warnings from foreign industrialists that South Africa's labour costs were already too high and that its exports would not find a ready market abroad because other countries could easily undercut them. Jobs would have to be shed and yast sums spent on plant and machinery.

President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela told Mr Harrison: "When we win this election, we will hold office. We won't gain political power. That would mean control of the public service and the security forces which will come later."

But he was not deterred: "We are not the first liberation movement to take office without experience."

There was a firm warning to recalcitrant civil servants from Mandela's senior adviser Jessie Duarte. She said any employee who did not intend to accept the policies of and work with the new government should resign now, and added: "If they don't, we will fire them."

Earlier, British viewers were given a horrifying picture of the black-on-black violence that is rocking the townships.

Mr Harrison chose the story of the death and burial of Peter Ngubeni in Thokoza to illustrate the grim reality of ANC-Inkatha warfare.

Mr Ngubeni was burned to death by "ANC comrades" as a suspected Inkatha informer. The comrades refused to allow his family to bury him, shot up his home as a warning and then burned it to the ground.

Even though the official ANC promised to help give him a funeral in Thokoza, he had to be "buried like a dog" in an unmarked grave in the veld 19 days after his death.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC condemned what had happened: "We condemn anyone who would fight against the dead," he said and admitted there were gangs running out of control in some townships.

Nats claim Umkhonto members are defecting to the NP

B1Day 31/12/93

THE NP fired off a new election campaign salvo yesterday, claiming a number of Umkhonto we Sizwe members had joined the NP because they considered the ANC dictatorial, Xhosa-dominated and corrupt.

NP federal council liaison director Jacko Maree said the party had been approached recently by a number of dissatisfied MK members. "It would appear that there is deep dissatisfaction in MK ranks over the ANC and its leadership."

The ANC dismissed the allegations with "contempt and disgust", saying they were "reminiscent of the NP's malicious propaganda against the ANC since time immemorial". The ANC and the public were aware that people joined the NP not out of conviction but for pecuniary gain.

TIM COHEN

"The statement is yet another attempt by the NP to stoke fires within the ranks of MK. Instead of making unfounded allegations, the NP should clean the ranks of the SADF, which is riddled with CCB and hit squad elements, and lend its weight to efforts to create a new and nonracial defence force," the ANC said.

Maree said the main reasons for dissatisfaction were:

☐ The ANC was autocratic and dictatorial in its dealings with MK members;

☐ The ANC leadership was made up overwhelmingly of Xhosas who received preference in appointments and promotions;

☐ There was bitter animosity in MK between commander Joe Modise and military intelligence deputy head L W Ngculu, whose MK name is James Makhaya. Xhosas in the SACP were openly favouring Makhaya and trying to influence MK members to side with him against Modise; (304B)

☐ The R10m promised to MK was still in ANC president Nelson Mandela's London bank account. But the R2 143 intended for each MK member was a pittance;

☐ MK members believed that ANC election lists would favour Cosatu members;

☐ MK members, as well as Modise and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, were extremely unhappy about Mandela's decision to invite Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa on his European tour, without consulting the ANC national executive council: "They see Holomisa as a threat to Modise's own position"; and

☐ MK members were shocked by the widespread corruption within the ANC.

"They point out that pro-ANC homeland

☐ To Page 2

Umkhonto

B1Day 31/12/93

☐ From Page 1

governments had been exposed to have been engaged in massive corruption. Auditors have identified financial mismanagement in the ANC southern Natal region and the ANC Border region. The ANC Transkei region has also suffered from massive financial mismanagement and corruption," the statement alleged. (304A)

The ANC said NP allegations of corruption were absurd considering the party's own track record of maladministration and financial mismanagement and its direct responsibility for fraud and corruption in the homelands.

Clarifying his statement, Maree said the NP had cross-checked the corruption charges, which tallied with newspaper reports and with ANC internal documents, particularly the treasurer-general's August 1993 report.

He could not say exactly how many MK members had defected to the NP, as NP offices were too short-staffed during the holiday season to collate the information.

But he said the NP had been extremely cautious about admitting MK members, as it was worried about the possibility of being infiltrated. However, there was no bar to MK members joining the NP.

ANC hecklers dog De Klerk

B1Day 29/12/93

GENADENDAL — President F W de Klerk, dogged by hecklers on his first campaign outing yesterday, said the protesters were proof of ANC intolerance.

On a whistlestop election tour through the Overberg in the Cape, De Klerk was drowned out by a group of about 20 protesters chanting: "De Klerk's hands are covered in blood," and singing ANC songs, as he tried to address about 100 supporters in the coloured town of Genadendal.

De Klerk later said the disruption was "proof once again of the lack of tolerance on the side of the ANC. They make a big song and dance about wanting to be able to spread their messages in every corner of SA. I say they are entitled to it. But we are also entitled to it." (304A)

While the NP was a party of peace, the ANC was a party of stone-throwers and intimidation. "We have corrected what was wrong in our past, and made the NP a party of reconciliation. We represent the peaceful, silent majority."

The election would not be about what happened 20 years ago, but about the future. The vision of the NP was to have the nation fulfil its potential of being a better SA for all its people. "I promise I won't drop you," De Klerk said.

He said the ANC would ruin SA's economy. "The outside world will have faith in the country only if the NP is strong. Until April 27 we must spread that message to make the NP a winner," he said at Riviersonderend.

The ANC protesters followed De Klerk

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De Klerk

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to the white town of Greyton, where their shouts drifted into the hall where he shared tea with several local residents. (304A)

"We are not afraid of the ANC," De Klerk said as he left. The demonstrators chanted back: "First you took our houses, now you want our votes."

As he left Greyton, De Klerk stopped to talk to farm workers picking onions along a dirt road. He linked the ANC to communism, telling the workers, who said they earned between R18 and R30 a day, that people in half the world were struggling under communism.

"The ANC is dangerous. It is a dangerous party, and there are many wild people within it. If you make me your leader, then in five years after the election, we will make SA a better place." — Sapa-AP.

Freedom Alliance votes against

Parliament approves new constitution

B/DAY 23/12/93

CAPE TOWN — Amid scenes of high drama, SA's new constitution was enacted by Parliament yesterday heralding "a new chapter in the history of our country".

Signalling the end of apartheid and the birth of the new SA, 237 MPs from the joint Houses of Assembly, Delegates and Representatives voted in favour of adopting the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill, while 45 CP, Inkatha Freedom Party and independent MPs voted against.

The constitutional debate, at the end of a gruelling parliamentary session, was marked by controversy.

Three CP MPs, Fanie Jacobs (Losberg), Jan Hoon (Kuruman) and Arrie Paulus (Carletonville), were ordered out of the chamber for calling supporters of the Bill "traitors". The entire CP caucus, accompanied by a contingent of supporters in the public gallery, stood to attention and sang Die Stem shortly before the vote.

One onlooker was frog-marched out by security officials after yelling "you are busy with treason" at parliamentarians.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said SA would have a new constitution, but not a solution. A whole block of South Africans was being excluded as the constitution did not provide for nations that wanted to be free. "It is a transition to communism."

Corne Mulder (Randfontein) said if the constitution was not changed to meet the demands of the Freedom Alliance, the freedom struggle would begin again more seriously than ever before.

After the vote, eight ANC MPs leapt to their feet to shout "Amandla, awethu".

ADRIAN HADLAND

The constitution which, according to its text, "lays the foundation for the people of SA to transcend the divisions and strife of the past", is the result of almost four years of arduous multiparty negotiations.

And while the Freedom Alliance parties have signalled their opposition to the Bill the way remains open for the incorporation of their views. (3044)

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim told Parliament that "like in the US we also have the opportunity of passing the first amendment in January ... which will promote the sound and decisive principle of making the provincial government system of government indestructible".

Fellow Inkatha MP Jurie Mentz said the Bill in its present form was "a formula for constitutional disaster". Inkatha would make things "impossible" for government if it did not accept Inkatha's reasonable amendments.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the adoption of the constitution represented a "big moment".

As the text states: "This constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on a recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex."

Government negotiator Dawie de Villiers likened the constitution to a house: "It

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Constitution

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may not be perfect, but it is something we have built together and can live in."

After next year's election, a government of national unity — which is intended to exist for up to five years — will have two years to fine-tune the document into the permanent foundations of the new SA.

Elaborate dispute-breaking mechanisms have been put in place if a two-thirds majority cannot be obtained when framing a new text in the Senate and the National Assembly. These include a national referendum and the dissolution and re-election of Parliament. (3044)

The constitution was passed shortly after what ANC MP Dave Dalling described as "the last meeting of the last white Parliament". While it seemed likely that a joint session of Parliament would be held in mid-January, "the House of Assembly is no more".

DP leader Zach de Beer said the constitution, while flawed by its failure to entrench federalism, signalled that the principles of democracy were finally being established in SA.

It encompassed most of the things the DP and its predecessors had fought for. But he said: "Let nobody believe that because we support it, we believe the struggle is over." The DP would still address the problems of the single ballot, the exclusion from Parliament of MPs who changed parties, and inadequate federal proposals.

House of Assembly Chairman Helgard van Rensburg said it had been "a rather emotional and even traumatic experience to adjourn this House for the last time".

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We are on a new Great Trek — FW

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — SA had embarked on a new Great Trek into the future, President F W De Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Closing the fifth session of the ninth and final tricameral Parliament, De Klerk said that by accepting the new constitution, SA had been taken "over the threshold of history into a new era" B/Day

In bidding farewell to the Westminster system of government, Parliament's currently unfettered powers would be constrained under the new order. "Henceforth, all decisions taken by all legislatures at all levels in SA will be tested against the values and rules set out in the constitution and the Bill of Rights." 23/12/93

De Klerk called on all political parties to engage in serious efforts to strive for greater accord on the transition to a new dispensation. Opportunities had been created to achieve that, he said. "There is no better way to avert the threat of left-wing and right-wing radicalism — from communism or nazism — than to do it democratically at the polling booths" (30/4/A)

He realised many South Africans were deeply concerned, fearful of change, sharing and the future. "To such fellow South Africans I want to say that there is but one way to counter the threat which you fear — and that is to tackle it head on, to sally forth and to confront the forces which threaten proven values and stability."

The parliamentarians who had voted in

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De Klerk B/Day 23/12/93

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favour of the constitution had taken such a step. "We are on our way to a new SA and we are determined to settle there in peace and co-operation with all our fellow countrymen." (30/4/A)

The constitution did not detract from the existing rights of any individual or community or preclude the right to self-determination. "It does not open the way to domination of any group by any other, or to the tyranny of the majority."

The end of the tricameral Parliament was not a funeral but a birth, De Klerk said. "It is not the end, but a new beginning."

The next Parliament, while continuing the traditions of the past, would no longer suffer from problems of legitimacy or operate with "the albatross of injustice, exclusion and discrimination hanging about its neck". The new system could unlock SA's potential while creating a balanced and representative democracy.

"And the moderate majority of South Africans of every people and language will ensure that democracy works."

He was aware of the threats and the dangers. "But we are confident in the justice of our cause. Confident in our own ability to achieve success. Confident that we are moving once again with — not against — the great stream of history."

De Klerk said he prayed that God would care for violence-torn SA and that He would influence the hearts of all those involved in negotiations to seek the path of justice. "My prayer is that we, through negotiation as the Word requires of us, will be able to bury the wrong, the hate and bitterness in this country and allow hope, love and faith to emerge."

Commission gears up to monitor election

CAPE TOWN — The Independent Electoral Commission, charged with overseeing and certifying SA's first democratic election, met for the first time yesterday.

Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler said its work was the culmination of the whole negotiation process and would shape the country's future. "If the election is not fair and free, all of the work would have been done in vain." B 1 DAY

The commission's main pre-election tasks include the monitoring of voter education programmes and the behaviour of political parties. 21/12/93

It was important that voter education was conducted in a neutral manner, Kriegler said. "Many organisations, including non-governmental organisations, have political rows to hoe and it is our statutory obligation to ensure voter education is properly done."

Kriegler said he would recommend the commission set up a system of certifying education agencies and programmes.

The commission had been given substantial powers to act against individuals and parties which "misbehaved in a manner calculated to disrupt the election". These included fines, imprisonment, the deletion

ADRIAN HADLAND

of candidates' names from party lists and party disqualification. Kriegler said, however, the preferred option in resolving disputes would be mediation.

The commission would establish central and regional offices by the end of January. "Before the formal announcement of the election, it will be all systems go regarding the monitoring of parties and the education of voters." (30 DAY)

The commission yesterday appointed several senior personnel, including CEO Renosi Mokate.

The 11 commissioners are advocate Dikgang Moseneke, SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, Institute for Multiparty Democracy head Oscar Dhlomo, former President's Council deputy chairman Johann Heyns, administrator Rosil Jager, Eskom human resources senior GM Dawn Mokhobo, Independent Mediator Services of SA director Charles Nupen, former MP Helen Suzman, Independent Development Trust director B van der Ross and advocate Zach Yacoob.

The commission's five foreign advisers will be appointed tomorrow.

Afrikaners edge closer to volkstaat

Volksfront set to sign pact with ANC

B/Day 21/12/93

WILSON ZWANE

RIGHT-wing Afrikaners are edging closer to securing their own homeland with the signing of a "strategic" interim agreement between the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront today.

The agreement, reached after a series of meetings over the past four months, provides for renewed negotiations on regional autonomy for Afrikaners as well as right-wing involvement in next year's elections.

The agreement is due to be signed by Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel.

Idasa has been facilitating discussions between the two organisations, which resulted in the agreement in Pretoria at the weekend. According to a statement, issued by Idasa on behalf of the two organisations, the agreement could, subject to its "fruition into a detailed final accord", open the way for the Volksfront to take part in interim structures and the elections.

The statement said the agreement was "strategic" and could have far-reaching effects on the relationship between conservative Afrikaners and the ANC.

It said the two parties supported the introduction of a nonracial democracy. "They also see the need to seek ways to address the desire of many Afrikaners for self-determination in a volkstaat."

A source said a working group would be set up to fine-tune the agreement. It is understood that the group will be looking into the demarcation, functions and powers of a homeland for Afrikaners. A final agreement was expected to be signed early next year. (304A)

Viljoen yesterday met President F W de Klerk in Cape Town, where it is understood that he briefed him on the agreement with the ANC. President's office spokesman Richard Carter confirmed the meeting and said: "The general wanted to inform the President of certain developments to be made public at a later stage."

The agreement comes less than a month after ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated the possibility still existed of providing Afrikaners with a homeland. He told last month's meeting of the Patriotic Front it might be possible to grant Afrikaners a homeland in the eastern Transvaal.

This homeland would include Pretoria but would exclude the neighbouring townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. The region would have a majority of Afrikaners, but could not be race-based as that would clash with the interim constitution.

However, the CP said last week its "referendum" had shown that whites living in the Free State rejected "the new SA and a communist takeover" and wanted the province to be part of a volkstaat.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer told Par-

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liament during yesterday's debate on the constitution: "Government has spent much time and effort in trying to reach an agreement on Afrikaner self-determination with the Volksfront, but this was bluntly called off by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg with the launch of the Freedom Alliance in October. (304A)

"A draft document between the government and the Volksfront catered for self-determination, the nature of the state under a new constitution, citizenship, provincial powers and possible borders for the Afrikaner volkstaat.

"Government bent over backwards to make the new constitutional dispensation acceptable to the Volksfront....

"Afrikaner self-determination and a volkstaat based on non-discrimination and in accordance with fundamental rights could be realised.

"Government even looked at territory in the Transvaal and the possible inclusion of Pretoria in a volkstaat, but this was all sabotaged with the arrival of the Freedom Alliance."

Alliance 'too late' to influence constitution

BD 04 22/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Alliance had missed the opportunity of including its demands in the constitution, spokesman Rowan Cronje conceded yesterday.

Even if an agreement could be reached with government and the ANC, it was "too late for this process".

Parliament is due to vote on the constitution today, before breaking for the Christmas recess.

Monday night's deadlock continued when the 15-member task force failed to resolve outstanding problems by its 8am deadline yesterday.

Alliance spokesmen blamed the breakdown on the ANC insistence that all alliance leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, sign an unequivocal commitment to participate in the elections before finalising agreements with government and the ANC.

The alliance indicated that any agreement would have to be ratified by its five members' governments or executive bodies before any commitments could be given regarding the elections or transitional arrangements. (30 HA)

Government and the ANC however described the commitment as reasonable and made it a precondition to discussion of other alliance demands, including the single ballot and regional powers.

In the continuing efforts to resolve the deadlock, a smaller subcommittee was formed yesterday, consisting of government's Roelf Meyer, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha Freedom Party's Ben Ngubane and Bophuthatswana's Cronje.

"As long as the door remains open, we are willing to negotiate a way forward," Cronje said. He said negotiators had consulted their leaders yesterday.

The subcommittee was due to report back to the task force last night.

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WILSON ZWANE

Volksfront does about-turn on pact

IN AN abrupt about-turn yesterday Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen announced that his organisation was unable to sign the agreement it had reached with the ANC.

He said he was unwilling to create the impression that there was a rift in the Freedom Alliance. He also cited government's rejection of the Volkfront's proposed amendments to the constitution as a reason for not signing the agreement.

Referring to the failure of the government/ANC/alliance talks, Viljoen said the "attitude of the people in the Cape" made it clear there was no intention of recognising the ANC/Volksfront agreement.

"We feel betrayed," he said.

He said government's rejection of the "mild" amendments proposed by the Volksfront and the Freedom Alliance was calculated to exclude right-wing Afrikaners from next year's elections. In the absence of the Volksfront and its allies, government would attract more votes.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said the ANC had learnt that the agreement would not be signed just before the Johannesburg news conference. The two organisations had agreed it would be "wisest" not to sign the pact.

While the ANC believed the agreement was the right approach, it realised that

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those who were not party to it would scupper it. There was no basis for signing the agreement if it was not supported by the Volksfront's allies, he said.

Both Zuma and Viljoen stressed that the agreement had not been nullified.

"Postponing the signing of the document does not cancel the agreement. Instead, it strengthens it because those who are outside will recognise that we respect their views and that we want them to participate in the process," Zuma said.

In "hours, weeks or months, we will be in a position to sign the agreement".

Viljoen hailed the agreement as a signal of hope, and said the failure to sign it was not the end of the road. However, a gesture that the process was important was needed "from some people in the Cape".

Zuma said the ANC was serious about an inclusive political settlement. It would do everything possible to get other parties on board. But the process, as spelt out in the interim agreement, would go ahead.

The agreement says the ANC and the Volksfront are determined to find "an acceptable and sustainable accommodation for all". They agreed that the aspirations of many Afrikaners to govern themselves in their own territory should be addressed.

They set up a joint working group to examine, among other issues:

☐ Financial and economic viability of a volkstaat and its monetary and fiscal relationship with the rest of the country;

☐ Civil rights for Afrikaners outside the volkstaat and civil liberties of non-Afrikaners in the volkstaat; and

☐ The volkstaat's relations with local, regional and central government structures.

This working group is expected to report back to its principals by January 20.

The two organisations have already sent a joint delegation to Belgium and Sweden to determine whether aspects of those countries' political systems could be helpful in resolving SA's problems.

The Volksfront pledged that it had "accepted the ANC's good faith" to actively discourage any action calculated to destabilise the transitional process.

"The culmination of this strategic agreement into a final settlement will enable the Volksfront and its affiliates to consider participating in the transitional structures and process as well as in the election."

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a letter — read on his behalf by Viljoen — that the agreement had his support.

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SACC names interim head

WILSON ZWANE

SA Council of Churches deputy general secretary Brigalia Bam has been appointed as the SACC's interim general secretary.

Bam replaces Frank Chikane who has been appointed by President F W de Klerk to the Independent Electoral Commission.

The SACC stressed Chikane was appointed to the commission in his personal capacity and not to represent the council or any member churches. He would take unpaid leave.

The Rev Abraham Maja is to be interim deputy general secretary

FW challenges Mandela to debate on TV

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday challenged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to a pre-election debate on national TV and radio. B/Day

Announcing the official launch of the NP's election campaign, De Klerk said no preconditions would apply. 22/12/93

"If he accepts, we will negotiate a date as well as the framework and rules of the debate," De Klerk said. The debate would take place live on TV and be simultaneously broadcast on radio. (304A)

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC had noted De Klerk's challenge to Mandela and would respond in due course.

De Klerk said the main contest in the elections would be between the ANC and NP. The NP's campaign aimed to expose ANC weaknesses. These included the presence of extremists in senior ANC posts, its inability to deliver on promises, perceived divisions and its alleged intimidation of other parties' supporters.

De Klerk said he would embark on a nationwide campaign trail "to every corner of SA", starting in the southern Cape before the month end. The NP campaign, which would be co-ordinated by the party's national information and management committee, would be based on "facts, not hopes or wishes". A federal congress would be held on February 2 and the NP's election manifesto would be published, followed by a candidates' conference.

The NP had decided not to use a national list of electoral candidates, but would draw up lists for provincial governments and the national assembly on a regional basis. This would ensure strong regional representation, the democratic appointment of candidates and a fairer reflection of where the NP's support lay.

With the change of the electoral system to proportional representation and a much larger electorate, it was vital the NP made use of "new and imaginative ideas".

TEC warns Reserve Bank

BIDAY 22/12/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — The Reserve Bank should be reminded that it had an obligation to consult the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on any loans or expenditures it incurred in the months leading to next year's elections, the TEC said yesterday.

This directive also applied to other state or parastatal institutions, such as the Industrial Development Corporation and the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

At its fourth meeting, the TEC said a circular would be sent to these institutions urging them to familiarise themselves with the TEC Act's conditions and clauses.

The Act states that the TEC's finance subcouncil is entitled "to monitor any expenditure of state funds by any government or any department of state or institution funded wholly or partly from state funds".

The TEC directive followed news that the Development Bank had failed to respond to a TEC request for more information on its pending loans.

TEC ANC representative Cyril Ramaphosa said: "When the Development Bank grants loans, these are regarded as expenditure and therefore the TEC is fully entitled to act." (304A)

Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses representative Pravin Gordhan said informing the institutions of their obligations was an "emergency measure" which would receive priority at the TEC finance subcouncil's first meeting today.

Ramaphosa said organisations which could be affected by TEC decisions should familiarise themselves with the Act.

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Pleading ignorance did not constitute an excuse as the TEC Act was now the law.

The TEC also resolved to summon KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During to give evidence before the council.

During has so far rebuffed two TEC requests for information on the existence of hit squads in the KwaZulu Police. In a communique on December 18 During said: "Any request for information ... must be directed not to a subordinate official such as myself but to the political head of my department in the KwaZulu government".

The TEC agreed that, in terms of the TEC Act, the council was empowered to demand During's presence so that he could give "information and an explanation of hit squad activities". (304A)

TEC can send in SAP

A CONFERENCE on election monitoring has heard that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will have automatic powers to deploy the South African Police in homeland territories if necessary.

The role of the police in protecting the rights of voters and preventing the disruption of elections was one of the subjects that came under the spotlight at the conference in Kempton Park.

ANC adviser Mr Mark Philips indicated that the police would come under pressure from the TEC and monitors to be seen to be playing an unbiased role.

He said the ideal would be to develop joint responsibility and decision-making in the policing of the election process. CT 10/12/93

Mr Philips said the national peace structures should continue to play an important role in the run-up to elections. — Sapa (BOYA)

Most in govt 'political criminals'

ET 10/12/93 (3049)

OSLO. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said here that almost the entire South African government were "political criminals" but that there was no alternative to working with them.

In an interview with the private Norwegian television station TV2, Mr Mandela said the only alternative would have been "for us to resort to arms, where more innocent people would die, (and) we have chosen the path of negotiation and reconciliation".

Mr Mandela's comments came on the eve of the presentation ceremony at which he and President F W de Klerk are jointly to receive the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, and contrasted with his earlier conciliatory tone.

Asked to comment on his accusation last month that Mr De Klerk was allowing the slaughter of innocent people, Mr Mandela said: "I am not working with him because I think he is an angel.

"One of the things that strains between Mr De Klerk and myself is (that he allows) the slaughter of innocent people because they are black.

"But the reality of our situation is that we should work with him because he is the head of the government."

Mr Mandela said he had agreed to accept the joint Nobel award "as a gesture of reconciliation". — Sapa-AFP

Interim rules for state money

TRANSITIONAL measures were being enacted to regulate public sector finances until the election next year, the Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, said yesterday.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Second Finance Bill, he said the arrangements were necessary because another session of Parliament was not foreseen until after the election.

A provision in the bill regulates the phasing out of remaining own affairs functions and their transfer to general affairs votes in the next financial year. CT 8/12/93

Mr Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville) and Mr Daan Nolte (CP Delmas) supported the bill. — Sapa (304A)

Govt slated by PAC

(3049) CT 8/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress has slated the government for "heavy-handed intimidation of national liberation movements — particularly the PAC".

In a statement yesterday PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani listed a number of cases where PAC activists had allegedly been abducted, arrested and intimidated during the year.

He cited the arrest of 20 PAC youths in Ficksburg, in the Free State, in February and March, the raid on PAC offices and homes of PAC activists around the country on March 25, and other incidents involving senior PAC officials

"From all these systematic abuses of the law by coercive instruments of the regime, namely the SADF and the SAP, a clear pattern of political gangsterism emerges," he said. — Sapa

Men 'entered SA illegally'

ST 2/12/93 (304 99)

FAR Northern Transvaal police say four of the 39 suspects held under the Internal Security Act for allegedly undergoing a secret weapons training course had entered South Africa illegally.

The men were arrested on Monday in a large cave in the Strydpoort mountains in Lebowa. They are said to belong to the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) — the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

Police allege they were undergoing military training in order to disrupt next year's general election.

A quantity of arms and ammunition and documents were seized, Major Arno Vogel said from Pietersberg yesterday.

Major Vogel said it had been established after questioning that four of the suspects — who claimed they were commanders of the training group — had entered South Africa illegally from "another country".

"We still don't know what country they came from and this is being investigated," he said.

Meyer, De Villiers get TEC positions

CT 2/12/93

30/A

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer is to represent the government on the Transitional Executive Council and the National Party will be represented by its Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

The government and the NP last night released their nominations for the TEC and its seven sub-councils.

The TEC, which has to ensure a free and fair election on April 27, is to hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Mr Leon Wessels will be the NP's alternative TEC member and Mr Fanie van der Merwe the government's.

The nominees, giving those for the government first and for the NP second, are:

- Defence: General Kat Liebenberg and Defence Deputy Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach.
- Law and Order: Lt-Gen Louw Malan, Law and Order Deputy Minister Mr Gert Myburgh.
- Intelligence: Mr G Rothmann, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman.
- Finance: Deputy Finance Minister Mr Theo Alant, Mr Gerald Morkel.
- Foreign Affairs: Dr Brand Fourie, Mr Wessels.
- Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities: Deputy Local Government Minister Mr Yakoob Makda, Deputy Agriculture Minister Mr Tobie Meyer.
- Status of Women: MsFrancis Bosman, Dr Tersia King. — Sapa

De Klerk 'available' for summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday declared himself "absolutely available" to attend a summit between Freedom Alliance leaders and those of the non-alliance axis. CT 2/12/93

However, he told Parliament that he could not force the leadership of the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party to participate in such a meeting designed to break the current political impasse.

Replying to a question during State President's question time from Mr Narend Singh (Solidarity, Umzinto), he said the IFP did not want to attend a summit on violence and the ANC did not want to attend a summit dealing with constitutional matters.

Mr De Klerk said that he and his government were doing their utmost to ensure that progress was made in bilateral discussions with parties that continued to boycott multi-party talks.

Mr De Klerk appealed to right-wing Afrikaners to stop their war talk and inflammatory rhetoric.

He said that every attempt by Afrikaners since 1910 to promote violence had ended in tragedy which had cost the Afrikaner dearly.

The CP had been comprehensively defeated in two elections and two referendums and it was time this party abided by the will of the majority. (304A)

FREEDOM ALLIANCE

The last ditch

Fm 3/12/93

(304A)

The white Right probably has less than a week to strike a compromise deal with government if it wants its demands accommodated in the new constitution.

Failure to do so means it will either have to participate in next year's general election without winning further concessions from the multiparty negotiators or resort to armed resistance in an effort to prevent the poll.

Time effectively ran out for the Freedom Alliance partners when agreement could not be reached during yet another last-ditch meeting with government in Pretoria on Monday. Alliance leaders will now meet within the next few days to consider their options.

But, with the Transitional Executive Council due to meet for the first time on Monday and parliament all set to debate the interim constitution Bill next week, the Alliance has little room to manoeuvre.

Its difficult position was exacerbated last weekend when the Afrikaner Volksfront threatened what amounts to UDI by vowing to set up a rival TEC and hold whites-only elections in a yet-to-be demarcated white homeland. Further details of a programme of action leading to the establishment of a white homeland by March will be announced soon, according to CP leader and AVF action committee chairman Ferdi Hartzenberg.

The AVF says the move is justified to protect Afrikaners against possible "communist-orientated TEC or government aggression." The AVF's retaliation was sparked by the signing into law on Monday by President F W de Klerk of the TEC Act.

Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen appealed to supporters over Radio Pretoria not to resort to violence. But the SADF is taking no chances. All military leave has been cancelled for the second weekend running.

It is now clear that the Alliance is deeply divided on strategy and policy. Spokesman Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana appears desperate for a settlement and reportedly radiates optimism after every new round of talks with government.

As far as he is concerned, a package of only four issues including regional powers and the power to levy taxes needs to be resolved.

Alliance member Inkatha has a list of six demands that must be met before it will take part in the election. Nevertheless, it is forging ahead in all seriousness with an election campaign — including spending R2m on press advertising.

On the other hand, the hardline leaders of the Volksfront are far from reaching agreement with government on changes to the interim constitution. Stripped of any niceties, their demand is for an autonomous state in which whites will effectively be allowed to continue applying apartheid policies. Politically, it would be impossible for either government or the ANC to agree to this.

To confuse the issue further, AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger said after this week's Alliance meeting with government that the talks were encouraging. He did not elaborate.

Some believe the AVF's threats are all bluster and part of a strategy that will eventually lead to participation in the election on the basis that the white Right (and possibly Alliance partners) is all that stands between SA and a communist takeover.

The aim would be to win enough votes to come second to the ANC, which will entitle the AVF/Alliance to appoint a vice-president and claim a number of Cabinet seats. In theory, the right wing could then make it virtually impossible for the ANC to govern effectively in a coalition.

Government and the ANC have reacted with cautious criticism to the latest developments.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned at an impromptu press conference after talks with US Trade Secretary Ron Brown in Cape Town this week that the formation of an anti-fascist front was an option if the Alliance continued with threats of armed resistance. He hopes this will not become necessary.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the AVF's threats to form its own TEC and a white homeland are "strange and incomprehensible." ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says the AVF has no right to talk on behalf of Afrikaners because it is not supported by most of them.

"Only 14% of all whites are prepared to move to a white homeland. In fact not even the majority of Afrikaners support the AVF, and, according to a recent survey, only six out of 10 of the AVF's own supporters consider a *volkstaat* a viable option."

Niehaus says it appears that the majority of Afrikaners support the transition to democracy and will actually need protection against threats from the AVF, whose actions could plunge SA into a race war.

Results published this week of a Markinor telephone poll among 800 whites last month show that only 28% favour the formation of a white homeland; only 22% believe it is feasible; and only 14% would be willing to move there. Only 43% of AVF supporters and 42% of CP supporters say they will be willing to move to a white homeland.

Residents of the coastal cities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London are the least willing to move to any proposed white homeland.

Ironically, 12% of respondents who said they supported the Inkatha and 11% of NP supporters (both of whose parties reject race-based homelands) favoured the establishment of a white homeland. ■



FM 3/12/93

THE ELECTION

One man, one calculator

Precisely how seats will be filled in the new national assembly and provincial legislatures, based on only one vote per person on April 27, was finally agreed to by sufficient consensus at the negotiating council last Friday. (304A)

Opposition by the DP, the PAC and other minor parties to having a single ballot determine national and provincial representation was unfortunately not enough to reopen the matter. The agreement is complicated, which is inevitable in an election run according to proportional representation.

In effect, your single vote will be counted three times: to determine the national and regional components of the national assembly and the composition of provincial assemblies.

It will work roughly like this. Registered parties will nominate candidates for election to the national assembly and provincial legislatures, on lists of individuals presented in order of the party's preference in terms of the Electoral Act 1993.

The 400 national assembly seats will be filled thus:

☐ 200 seats from regional lists, with a fixed number being allocated to each region by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), taking into account available scientific data on voter numbers and representations by interested parties, and with regard to the following distribution (which is unlikely to change much): PWV 43 seats; Natal 40; eastern Cape 26; western Cape 21; northern Transvaal 20; North-west 17; Free State 15; eastern Transvaal 14; and northern Cape 4. Total 200.

☐ 200 seats from national lists in order to restore proportionality in accordance with the total number of votes cast for each party in the national election.

To fill the 200 national assembly seats from regional lists, the total number of votes cast in a region will be divided by the number of seats allocated to that region. The result will be the quota of votes per seat. The total number of votes cast in favour of a party is then divided by the quota of votes per seat, to give the number of seats allocated to that party in that region.

FM 3/12/93 (304A)

To fill the other 200 national assembly seats from national lists is relatively straightforward. The total number of votes cast in the election will be divided by 200, producing the quota of votes per seat. The total number of votes cast for a party will then be divided by this quota to give the number of seats it won.

If a list contains fewer candidates than a party is entitled to, that party will be allocated only the number of representatives on its list and forfeit its excess entitlement. If this happens, a new quota will be worked out.

Electing members of the nine provincial legislatures will be along these lines:

A fixed number of seats will be allocated to each province by the IEC, again based on available data and party submissions — provided that no province has fewer than 30 or more than 100 seats, and based on this distribution: PWV 86 seats; Natal 80; eastern Cape 52; western Cape 42; northern Transvaal 40; North-west 34; Free State 30; northern Cape 30; and eastern Transvaal 30.

Parties' provincial lists will contain the names of not more than the number of seats being contested. The formula used to determine the quota of votes per seat, and party support (based on dividing the total votes cast in the province by the number of seats) also applies at this level.

As if all this were not complicated enough, there is also provision for one party to declare its support of another party and have the votes counted accordingly.

So, if a party wishes to contest one or more of the provincial legislatures, but not the national assembly election, it may — in a prescribed time and manner — declare that it supports a party contesting the national assembly. In that case, all votes cast in its favour will, for the assembly election, be deemed to be a vote for that other party.

Similarly, if a party wishes to contest the national assembly election, but not one or more of the provincial legislatures, it may declare support for a party that is, and votes cast for it in that province will get counted for the named other party.

This also applies where a party wants to contest one or more of the provincial legislatures but not all of them. A party may also declare support for different parties in the different provincial legislatures. ■

OPINION POLLS

Fm 17/12/93

In search of strength

The NP has halted the white slide to the Right, while the ANC, though enjoying overwhelming support among blacks, has still to crack the white market (304A)

In the personal popularity stakes, however, while ANC president Nelson Mandela enjoys a small but slowly growing following among whites, President F W de Klerk is second only to Mandela as a political leader among blacks. Conversely, Inkatha and its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi enjoy a significantly larger (and fast-growing) following than Mandela among whites, but are losing black support.

The white Right, after its post-referendum surge in popularity, also seems to be waning in popularity. That, in essence, is the basis of the latest public opinion poll by Markinor.

The person who emerges from the sample with flying colours is Mandela whose performance, as Idasa executive director Alex Boraine puts it, "increasingly suggests a State President-in-waiting." The implications are, he says, that black support is consolidating behind Mandela and whites behind De Klerk.

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The poll was conducted among 800 whites nationally and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas during October/November. Bearing out Boraine's comments, 43% of whites, when asked which party they would support, said the NP, followed by the DP with 11%.

Inkatha's white support jumped to 9% from 6% in May. However, its Freedom Alliance allies, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the CP, together received only 14% (7% each), a decline of three percentage points from six months ago when the CP alone garnered 17%.

For its part the ANC is still struggling to make headway among whites, with the poll indicating its support in the community at only 2%, but it continues to enjoy broad support among blacks (76%). In the personality stakes, De Klerk has 47% of white support, followed by Buthelezi with 11%, then the Volksfront's Constand Viljoen (10%) and Mandela, whose white support grew marginally to 4% from 3% in May. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

FM 17/12/93

Justifying a role

The Democratic Party hopes to follow up gains it made during party negotiations in shaping the interim constitution. It wants a strong enough showing in next year's election to enable it to influence the drafting of the final constitution. (304A)

The party's "Write it Right" campaign launched by leader Zach de Beer in Cape Town last week will be a key element in efforts to win support. De Beer says that while the DP will vote for the interim constitution in parliament during the current session, it believes certain aspects of the document are "seriously flawed".

The "Write it Right" campaign is aimed at rewriting the flaws which came about "thanks to National Party/ANC agreements." The campaign will focus on:

☐ Stronger provincial powers for real federalism;

☐ Two ballots to give voters the right to choose; and

FM 17/12/93

☐ No further amnesty for "political" criminals. (304A)

De Beer says the DP's achievements during multi-party talks make him confident that changes to the final constitution are possible, particularly if the demand for amendments is backed by strong public sentiment. He argues that the DP alone can be trusted to write a constitution that enshrines the principles of federalism, justice and individual rights that have been undermined by agreements between the Nats and the ANC.

De Beer is particularly concerned by the agreement on a further political amnesty. He says the most appalling aspect is that the NP wants the issue of who benefits and for which crimes, to be resolved secretly.

"What we want to know is what the National Party is hiding. What has it been up to between 1990 (the previous amnesty cut-off date) and 1993 that the public should not know?" ■

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

FM 10/12/93

Treat with caution

The finding that 68% of the 100 top business leaders recently surveyed would like ANC leader Nelson Mandela to be State President is indeed remarkable, but needs to be seen in perspective. (304A)

It seems unlikely that fully two-thirds of this constituency intends voting for the ANC in the general election, in spite of their high regard — an almost universal phenomenon — for the "noble" figure of Mandela personally. (See *Leaders*)

By contrast, President F W de Klerk is favoured by 32% (reaching 80% among Afrikaans businessmen, who made up 15% of the sample), while Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not selected by any of the respondents (which, again, does not necessarily mean that none of them intends voting for Inkatha — if it runs). In any case, it appears that no Natal businessmen were included in the survey.

Comments on the survey by Sacob director general Raymond Parsons are instructive. It was commissioned by *Weekly Mail*, Sacob and the SABC and carried out by Mark Orkin of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case). Parsons says it was intended to be an innovative, "arm's length" survey and points out that the business leaders canvassed were promised anonymity.

"The political leader preferences in any case do not necessarily indicate for which parties business leaders will ultimately vote. In some instances, business persons will prefer the jockey, in other cases they will back the horse."

Being independent of party politics, Sacob will not express preferences for specific political leaders, says Parsons. He adds: "Sacob is more likely to be identified with most of the economic messages embodied in the survey. Implicit in the positive attitudes of many businessmen — and the Sacob business confidence index this week confirms it again — is the message to political leaders that business people are assuming that stability and political progress will be maintained in the period ahead.

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(304A)

"And the assumption is that pragmatism and realism will prevail in the economic policies of a new government — though there is evidence that many investors are also hedging their bets until after April 27 1994."

In his summary, Orkin writes: "Top business people have already embraced the political future and are optimistic about the business prospects heralded by an ANC-led government. The white businessmen among them are largely unfazed by traditional bogeys such as communism. However, they are still deeply suspicious of the sorts of interventions by a new government and the unions, which are increasingly likely to become the norm, and which are supported by black businessmen and women."

All categories, he says, are united by a determination to address the socio-economic legacy of apartheid and a "virtually unanimous commitment to affirmative action to equalise opportunities."

Those interviewed were mainly chairmen, chief executives or divisional heads of 70 of the largest listed companies, selected across sectors and including all the major conglomerates; 25 leading local or foreign unlisted companies and five major public corporations.

The sample included 82 whites (eight of them women) and 18 blacks and Indians. They were interviewed by telephone for between 20 and 35 minutes, with the open-ended questions "thematically interpreted" and the close-ended questions coded and computer crunched.

The survey was conducted as the US lifted sanctions and sent an influential trade mission and as the constitutional negotiations were finalised. Not surprising, then, that 87% felt that the business outlook is improving and 71% thought it would be even better after the election, which nearly all were determined should occur on schedule.

Evidently only 7% see nationalisation as a "real threat", according to Orkin, yet 53% are unhappy at the prospect of having former Cosatu chief Jay Naidoo in the new Cabinet.

Sometimes opinions are not meaningful if the reasons behind them are not explained. ■

PAC, AVF due to hold talks

PRETORIA. — The Pan-Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksfront are to meet at leadership level here next Monday, it was reported yesterday. (3049)

The report said the PAC delegation would be led by PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu while the AVF team would be headed by General Constand Viljoen.

Matters to be discussed included the AVF's demands for a volkstaat and farmers' security. — Sapa

11/12/93

Alliance: 'Demands set pace'

PRETORIA. — The conditions set by the African National Congress and the government would determine the momentum of negotiations, Freedom Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronje said yesterday.

He was replying to an open letter on Wednesday in which Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the Alliance would not have to commit itself to accepting the interim constitution before an agreement was reached.

Mr Cronje said he hoped the prerequisites as well as outstanding issues could be addressed and resolved through negotiations.

● ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa cast doubt on the Alliance's desire to reenter the negotiations process.

Speaking after yesterday's TEC meeting in the city, he said was "not impressed" by Mr Cronje's assurances that the Alliance was still committed to negotiations. — Sapa

City may lose government role

Political Correspondent

THE question of Cape Town's status as legislative capital is again being raised.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said a new government would have to move "very urgently" to merge the administrative and legislative capitals in South Africa.

Pretoria has been the administrative seat of government since Union in 1910, with Cape Town the seat of Parliament.

Mr Meyer told diplomats in Cape Town that Parliament would — as in most countries — have to be able to sit throughout the year after the April poll, with recesses during the summer and over Easter.

Under such an arrangement, "then obviously you cannot talk any longer about two seats of government and Parliament".

Asked by diplomats whether the "continual shuttling" between Pretoria and Cape Town would continue in the new South Africa, Mr Meyer said that in the "immediate first period" after the elections, politicians and diplomats "would probably have to operate very much the same way as now".

However, the new government should deal urgently with the matter of bringing together the two seats.

"You can speculate which will be the one seat," he said.

(3044) 07/12/93

ANC, Nats stand fast against FA claims

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday remained adamant that they would not accommodate the Freedom Alliance's proposed amendments to the interim constitution – a position which dashes any chances of the conservatives rejoining constitutional talks. C1 Affairs

And in what is seen as the hardening of attitudes by the ANC and government, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer lashed out at the FA for failing to take part in negotiations 19112193

ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus told City Press yesterday that although they would like to see the FA as part of the constitutional process, their position remained unchanged – no changes would be allowed to the interim constitution.

"We are not going to give them (FA) more powers for the regions. This is final. Whatever discussions take place with them will be on the basis and within the framework of the interim constitution."

Hopes were raised late this week when ANC president Nelson Mandela called on the organisation's secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, to meet with State President FW de Klerk to try and resolve the constitutional deadlock resulting from the non-participation of the FA. (304A) (Ref)

As a result of the meeting between Ramaphosa and De Klerk, who was accompanied by Meyer, it was believed that the two parties were contemplating some "carrots" to woo the FA back to the talks before Parliament votes on the interim constitution on Wednesday.

De Klerk is expected to meet with the FA leadership tomorrow as part of the ongoing process to bring them on board.

Niehaus said no "carrots" were being considered for the FA. However, he expressed the hope that the FA "would see reason and join the mainstream of South Africa politics".

Lashing out at the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront, Meyer said the right to resistance claimed by the two groups had no justification, because they had not taken part in the constitutional process.

Speaking in debate on the constitution, he said: "The CP cannot convincingly say that it exhausted all avenues in trying to get what they wanted."

In one instance the multiparty negotiating council had specifically set aside two days in July to give Inkatha, the KwaZulu Government and the CP the opportunity to make inputs on confederalism and sufficient consensus.

Free a vote a joke on AVF turf

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE manner in which the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) is trying to coerce whites to vote against mixed town councils has caused a stir in some of the less verkrampte west-ern Transvaal dorpies.

According to a white Klerksdorp resident, who wished to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals, the referendum question demands residents choose between a whites-only council and a civic/ANC-controlled one.

The source said those in favour of an all-white council were not to post their ballot-papers back to the organisers, while those in favour of a mixed council should mail their names, addresses, telephone numbers and signatures to the AVF.

"The manner in which the referendum question is phrased is intimidatory and most people have deemed it wise not to vote to avoid unnecessary confrontation. So they can not be sure of the 'real' support they have and they will be surprised on election day," said the source.

The angry resident compared SA to a baby being born as a result of negotiations, but trapped between the violence that refuses to end and the democracy which is being delayed by right-wing organisations.

She said most of the platteland dorpies had been subjected to this type of referendum questions and as a result the responses have been almost 100 percent against black and white councils merging.

ANC regional spokesman Rankoa Molefe has condemned the referendums because the majority were not consulted.

Molefe said those who still believed in apartheid were dreaming and not in touch with reality.

Agreement

C Press 5/12/93

Govt and FA send positive signal after talks

JUST two issues stand in the way of an agreement between the government and the Freedom Alliance, according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

And after four hours of talks between negotiating delegations from the two sides on Friday evening, Meyer felt those two hitches could be ironed out.

Talks are proceeding at technical committee level and further talks this weekend could lead to the two groups hammering out proposals to put to the multiparty negotiating council tomorrow.

The council is to have a special sitting in Cape Town's old President's Council. Meyer told the media that last-minute amendments to the constitution had been one motive for setting the session tomorrow.

FA negotiators will report back once more to their leaders this weekend in what has become a war of nerves between the two sides as the parliamentary countdown reaches the red zone.

The two delegations, led by Meyer and Bophuthatswana Foreign Minister Rowan Cronje, said they had narrowed down an initial 12-point Alliance shopping list to the key issues of a deadlock-breaking mechanism for the adoption or amendment of the constitution by a future parliament/Constituent Assembly, and the unfettered creation of individual constitutions for the envisaged regions or provinces of a new South Africa.

The two men addressed the media as their technical committees sat clarifying their respective positions on these two issues.

"I believe what we have achieved could meet with the satisfaction of the Freedom Alliance," Meyer said.

The issue of a single or double ballot paper for national/regional choices however remains unresolved and poses a serious threat to further agreement this weekend.

Government has refused to alter its position on the single ballot while the FA says a double ballot is fundamental to democratic choice at regional level in a federal system.

Government has now told the Alliance to take up the ballot issue with the ANC which is known to be even more deeply committed to retaining a single ballot paper for the first election.

The two team leaders outlined their respective positions before answering questions.

They left a general impression of optimism on progress and stressed their commitment to strive at all costs to find a solution.

The problem which emerged from their respective viewpoints however focused on whether or not the FA should give its prior commitment to recognising the negotiated transition and to participation in the elections before substantive change to the constitution is taken up with other parties.

The changes, the government insists, are confined to a four-point package of which two matters appear to have been resolved.

They are:

- The expanded clarification of Section 118 of the draft constitution which sets out the division of original powers between central and regional government, concurrent powers and the asymmetrical options of regions to take on these powers; and,
- Taxation powers of the regions (Section 121). These must be accepted as a package which the government will take up in renegotiating with other parties in the negotiation council, once it has the FA's commitment to accept the process and go into elections.

Meyer said it would be pointless to restart negotiations only to have a further rejection of the process by the FA at the end.

Cronje said the FA and particularly its respective leaders had no clear idea of what they were committing themselves to.

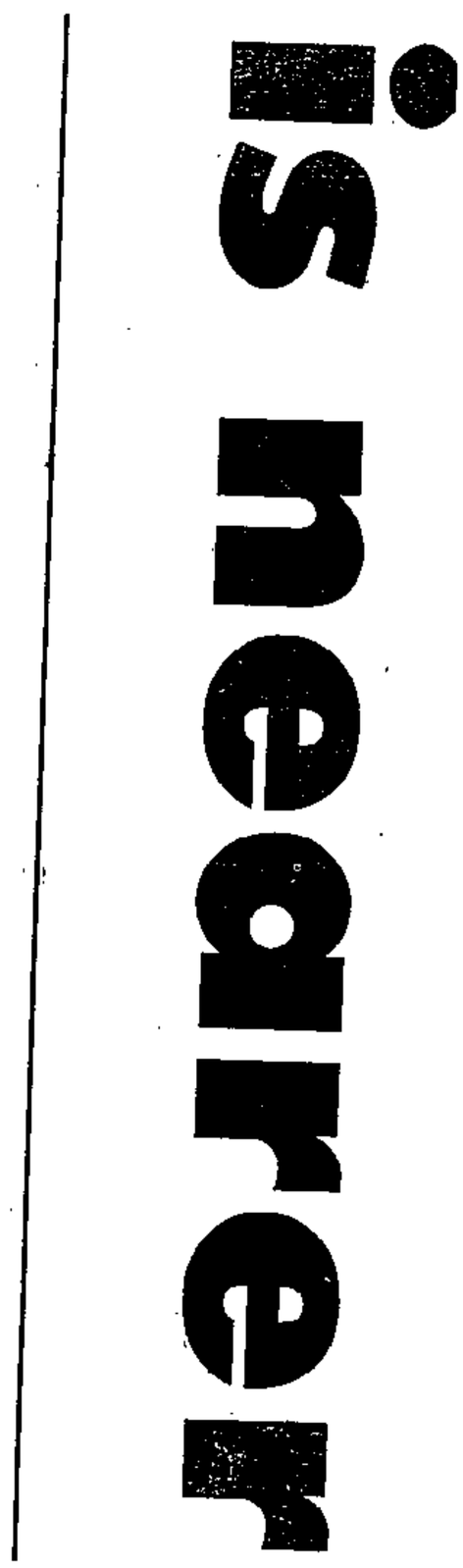
Meyer said the FA needed to commit itself to accepting the transitional process, participate in its structures and the election, "because it is of no convincing effect on other parties to go through the exercise of amendments and changes if it doesn't lead to a settlement".

"We need certainty," he said.

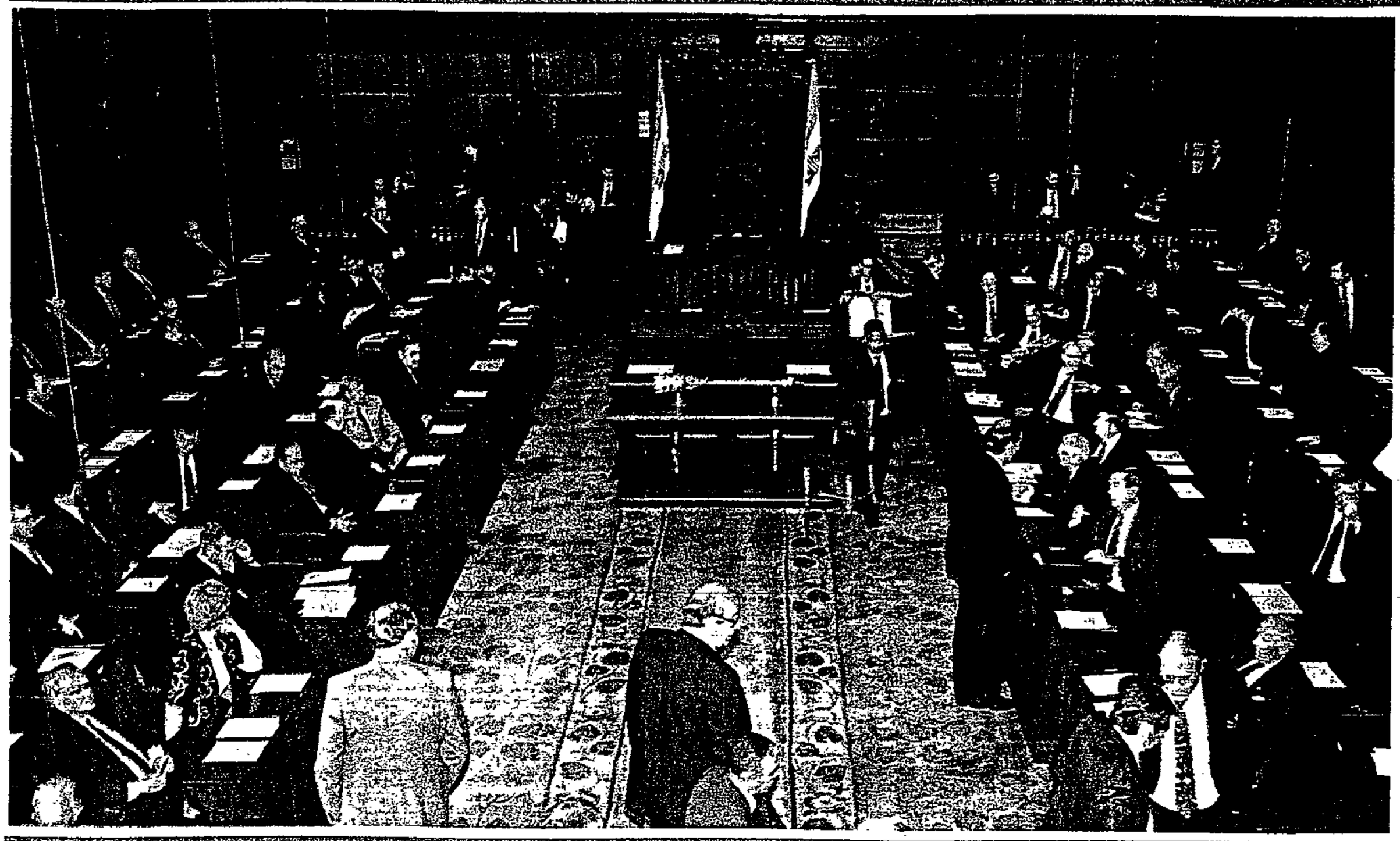
"Then the Alliance becomes part of the total process and establishes a reasonable basis to convince other parties to reopen those matters still under consideration."

Cronje insisted that FA negotiators needed "something to take back to our leaders" from whom they had been given clear mandates.

Asked about the ballot issue, he said it was "fundamentally important if we are talking about democracy". – Sapa



END OF WHITE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA . . .



After 83 years — the final sitting

CT 23/12/93 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE final meeting in 83 years of the 178-member House of Assembly yesterday was marked by an outpouring of nostalgia and emotion.

Even at the separate swansong meetings of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates — in operation for only 10 years — there was a sense that history was in the making and South Africa was finally about to enter a new era of non-racial politics.

But most of the media attention was, inevitably, focused on the last sitting of the white Parliament.

Historic

The Leader of the House, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who like many of his fellow MPs is about to retire, was upbeat about the end of the apartheid era.

He urged MPs intent on pursuing careers into the new order to view yesterday's historic sitting not as the passing of an old order but the beginning of a new one that would bring with it "wonderful opportunities for all of us".

But CP leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg saw it differently, arguing that the disappearance of the House means the loss of Afrikaners' freedom.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the last sitting of the all-white house mirrored the happy fact that "barriers of race are falling all around us".

But in a gesture expressing the hope that some parliamentary rituals will prevail after April 27, some white MPs yesterday wore traditional end-of-session hats.

● End of the Assembly — Page 6

Task force deadlock

CT 21/12/93
3041

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

EFFORTS to draw the five-party Freedom Alliance into an inclusive constitutional settlement with the ANC and the government ended in deadlock last night.

The trilateral task force that battled fruitlessly for much of yesterday to reach a peace-saving solution will meet again at 8am today. Disillusioned negotiators said hopes of a settlement had all but evaporated.

Weary government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers commented after the breakdown in talks: "A miracle is still possible," but quickly added "Only the last few grains of sand in the hour glass remain before we have to admit failure."

Alliance chief negotiatior Mr Rowan Cronje blamed the ANC for the breakdown and told a press conference: "I have never been as disillusioned and sad as I am now.

"The enmity that will flow from this is awesome."

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was adamant last night that Parliament, which last night concluded a three-day debate on the interim constitution, would vote on the measure tomorrow as planned — with or without the Alliance on board.

He blamed the Alliance for doggedly refusing to give an up-front commitment to participate in the transition process in the event of an agreement being reached as the reason for the failure of the make-or-break talks.

Not even news of today's planned unveiling of a "strategic interim agreement" between the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront, recognising the Afrikaners' desire for self-determination in a volkstaat, succeeded in staving off a deadlock.

After negotiators spent much of yesterday bogged down in procedural wrangling instead of trying to cut deals on substantive issues, hopes for a settlement plummeted when the leadership of the Alliance refused to back a Minute of Understanding which required the commitment to participation in elections and the transition process.

Dr De Villiers described the commitment as "not unreasonable because it is unconditional" but Mr Cronje complained last night that no other negotiating party had been asked to meet such a condition.

Yesterday's talks began just after 11.30, with discussion of some of the substantial constitutional issues raised by the Alliance.

However, according to Mr Cronje, the ANC was not prepared to even open the debate on the one-ballot, two-ballot question, and during the day the issue of the commitment became central as a precondition to discussing other matters.

The government had tried to "bridge the gap" at dinner time with a proposal drafted by Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte. This had been accepted by the Alliance with technical amendments but had been rejected by the ANC.

However, the government said the ANC had softened its position to match that of the government on the crucial issue of a commitment from the Alliance.

Mr Cronje said the ANC had insulted Alliance leaders such as the CP's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and had demanded that each of them give a personal unequivocal public commitment to participation before the substantive issues were discussed.

While the talks appear completely deadlocked, Dr De Villiers said the government would push ahead with amendments to the constitution that had been agreed to with the Alliance.

These include aspects of the powers and functions of regions and their fiscal powers.

And, Mr Cronje said the Alliance negotiators would go back to leaders with the new ANC demands.

One source dismissed the deadlock as "brinkmanship" over the voting issue with the Alliance trying to delay the vote and the government and ANC determined that it should go ahead today as planned.

He predicted talks would start again in the new year.

● In a separate development yesterday, it was disclosed that the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront would sign a "strategic interim agreement" today, with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and AVF leader Gen Constand Viljoen scheduled to speak.

A statement issued yesterday committed both sides to a non-racial South Africa, and to seek ways to address the issue of how the desire of Afrikaners for self-determination could be accommodated.

The agreement will be signed in Johannesburg this morning.

General Viljoen also met President F W de Klerk yesterday to brief him confidentially on "certain developments," which would only be made public at a later stage.

CONSTITUTION DEBATE ENDS

See PAGE 2



HAVING ANOTHER GO ... Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen (left) and Conservative Party negotiator Dr Fanie Jacobs on their way to crucial last-minute talks yesterday. General Viljoen also held closed talks with President F W de Klerk yesterday. Picture: BENNY GOOL

24-hour bid to break deadlock

Negotiators reach moment of truth

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

IN a last desperate bid to avert civil war, government and Freedom Alliance negotiators decided late last night to set up a special task force with the ANC in an attempt to clinch a constitutional settlement in the next 24 hours.

The moment of truth for the negotiations process will be 8am tomorrow — the deadline for the trilateral task force to announce whether an all-inclusive deal has been achieved or not.

Weary negotiators from both the government and the Freedom Alliance were hopeful last night after another marathon bargaining session that the 15-person task group will succeed — but emphasised that tough horse-trading still lay ahead.

"This is it: We finally have a clear deadline — it's now make or break," summed up one of the the negotiators after another punishing round of talks in the Verwoerd Building.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, described the initiative as "a final attempt to see if a settlement can be reached".

The Alliance's chief negotiator, Mr Rowan Cronje, commented: "For heaven's sake, we are at one second to midnight — let us solve the problem."

Inkatha negotiator Mr Jurie Mentz said late last night: "This is the final round now we will have to see if it can be done."

In a brief government/Alliance statement — endorsed by the ANC from Johannesburg — the major negotiating blocs agreed that the representatives on the task force will be mandated by their principals to consider and come to agreements on:

- A commitment to the transition process — including the election and participation in the multi-party Transitional Executive Council.
- Proposed amendments in the interim constitution contained in an Alliance document handed to the government last night and "all other relevant documents to the constitution".

If agreement is reached by the task force — which will also consider amendments to the constitution to be proposed by Inkatha and the Conservative Party in Parliament today — the substance of the deal will be put to a joint committee of Parliament tomorrow morning and will be considered by a specially convened meeting of the negotiating council tomorrow afternoon.

Negotiators attending a late-night press conference last night declined to furnish copies of the latest Alliance document to the press, but it is understood to contain the following key elements:

- Greater powers for the regions, including fiscal autonomy.
- Greater powers by regions to draft their own constitutions without interference by the central government — but regional constitutions would have to comply with the principles laid down in the national constitution and rteceive the approval of the constitutional court.
- Only the senate, which comprises regional representatives, and not the constituent assembly, will be able to change regional constitutions.
- Central government should not be allowed to decide how the assets of regions are disposed of.
- Candidates appearing on regional lists will have to reside in those areas.
- The name KwaZulu should be used to refer to the Natal region in the constitution.
- The single-ballot system should be replaced by a two-ballot system, which is seen to favour regional and smaller parties.

Negotiators said last night that they still believed that a compromise package was possible on most of these issues, but cited the single-ballot issue as one of the most difficult.

Earlier Mr Meyer said the government had no intention of altering its stand on a single instead of a double ballot in the election.

But Mr Cronje said before going into last night's talks that the Alliance was adamant about its demand for a two-ballot system, as a single ballot would disavantage regional parties and was contrary to federalism.

Parliament wraps up the debate on the interim constitution tonight, and Mr Meyer said last night that the Wednesday was still the deadline for voting on the measure.

CT 20/12/93 (304A)



URGENT TALK ... CP MP Mr Frank le Roux, Freedom Alliance negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje and Alliance partner Mr B E Keikelame, from Bophuthatswana, on their way to meet government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday.

Picture: ANNE LAING

