

BLACK POLITICS - 1993

FEBRUARY .

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Star 11/21/93

Hani denies he plans (11A) to break with ANC

Star Foreign Service
and Political Staff

South African Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Chris Hani has denied he told a London newspaper he planned to break away from the African National Congress after a general election to form a socialist alliance.

Yesterday's London Sunday Times reported Hani as saying he would join trade unionists and other left-wing parties after the election to set up a socialist alliance which might stand against a future government.

Hani said he had been misunderstood by the paper's reporter.

He had told the reporter that after the election it would be "important for the forces of the Left to work together for the realisation of socialist objectives".

He did not dispute the report, which contended he did not wish to take part in a new ANC-led government as a Minister.

Sources close to the ANC said Hani would, however, play a key role in the ANC's election



Hani . . . won't serve in an ANC-led government.

campaign which would be fought on a single platform with the SACP.

"Once a democratic government is in place, however, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance could well take a new form," the source said.

MK to be disbanded, says ANC (11/13)

DURBAN.— The ANC has committed itself to disbanding its armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe before a national election, to forestall suggestions that it is reserving for itself a "Savimbi option".

The head of the ANC's

department of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said at the weekend that a multi-party structure had to be formed to take control of all armed formations including the SADF, MK and the armies of the TBVC countries.

Similar bodies to deal with the matters of party finance, regional and local government, and foreign affairs should also be set up.

Mr Mbeki said it would be "clearly incorrect" for the ANC to go into elec-

tions while retaining an armed wing in its pocket".

"One of the things it suggests, is that we are reserving for ourselves a Savimbi option — that is, if elections do not go the way we want them to go then we will go back to the gun.

"Therefore we need a governmental structure with all the necessary legal powers ... so that the country is reassured that there is no one that has the possibility to revert to a Savimbi option," he said.

Hani 'anti' break with ANC



CT/12/93

Staff Reporter

SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani has rejected reports by the London Sunday Times newspaper that he plans to break with the ANC after a general election.

SACP national chairman Mr Joe Slovo yesterday said Mr Hani had told him the report was "completely distorted" and there would be no break in the alliance after a general election. Mr Hani was not available for comment.

Mr Slovo said the alliance would be addressed after the elections, but "there was no question of the SACP entering into a competing alliance to pressurise the new democratic government".

He said the alliance's aim was "to get rid of the racist government".

'Test'

Mr Slovo denied Mr Hani had plans for a socialist alliance with Mrs Winnie Mandela.

However, political commentator Professor Sampie Terreblanche said Mrs Winnie Mandela's speech at the funeral of activist Mrs Helen Joseph sent "up-flyers to test the wind".

In her speech, Mrs Mandela said the ANC hierarchy were being seduced by the fruits of political power.

Prof Terreblanche said a new political dispensation would "spell the end of the alliance".

While the size of SACP support was unknown, a new government would face difficulty in fulfilling their election promises, thus increasing the SACP's attractiveness.

ANC paper: A business move

11A CT 1/2/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Sanlam senior media relations manager Mr Boet van der Spuy confirmed that his company had received a request from the ANC to invest in its venture to produce a newspaper and magazines and that it was seriously considering the proposal.

Mr Van der Spuy was unable to provide details of the amount involved as Sanlam had to respect the confidentiality of its clients.

Mr Van der Spuy was reacting to a report in Sunday newspapers that the ANC would be launching a daily newspaper and three magazines by June this year and that several top South African companies had been approached to fund the publications.

The reports also said one of the backers was former Lonrho head Mr Tiny Rowland.

Publishing a big risk — editors

By DAN SIMON

PAST and present newspaper editors yesterday reacted to ANC plans to launch a daily newspaper — warning the organisation that it may be biting off more than it could chew.

Commenting on the proposed launch, former Cape Times editor Mr Tony Heard said there was a "desperate need for greater press diversity".

"I hope they realise there is only

one way to lose money more rapidly and that's drilling for oil."

Former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw said: "I think the ANC is embarking on a difficult project."

South editor Mr Guy Berger said: "Everyone should have the right to publish, including political parties."

The Burger's editor Mr Ebbe Dommisse said: "The trend in South Africa has been one of political parties moving away from owning newspapers."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said reports that the ANC was to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines in June were "incorrect and misleading", Sapa reports.

"The ANC will only facilitate the launching of the publications. The publications will in no way be ANC-owned and no firm date has been set," he said.

Mr Niehaus hoped other parties might be interested in the venture and help with the creation of a "democratic press".

Mr Van der Spuy denied that

Sanlam was asked to donate the money to the ANC. Sanlam did not involve itself in politics.

The request was being viewed purely as a potential business transaction, and a decision on whether to go ahead with it would be made soon.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports that Donald Trelford, editor of the Lonrho-owned Observer in London, confirmed that he had met ANC members "interested in a newspaper project" in London recently but denied the Observer was directly involved.

ANC publications 'democratic'

By Helen Grange

11/17



The ANC has insisted that the newspaper and three magazines it is jointly planning with other concerns will not be ANC publications, but "democratic publications".

The ANC is playing a facilitating role in the planned launch of a daily newspaper, a weekly news magazine, an up-market women's magazine and a magazine directed at the coloured community, spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said a 15-member Nigeri-

an delegation headed by Chief Abiola — head of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, newspaper proprietor and owner of several companies — would arrive in Johannesburg today to "discuss and consult" about the matter.

A Sunday newspaper said a number of top South African companies, including insurance giant Sanlam, had been approached to invest in the businesses.

It said the ANC was planning to invest about R20 million in the projects, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

NEWS SACP to continue on Leninist road

Chris Hani to 'quit ANC'

Sowetan 1/2/93 (11A)

SOUTH AFRICAN Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani has announced he intends breaking away from the African National Congress after the next general election to form a socialist alliance with trade unionists, other parties and Mrs Winnie Mandela, according to a newspaper report.

However, Hani told *Sowetan* yesterday that the London *Sunday Times* had "sensationalised the story".

According to that report Hani had said he was also not prepared to serve as a minister in any pre- or post-election government.

The aim of the SACP/ANC alliance, he said, was to defeat the National Party, and once this had been achieved, he wanted the SACP to use

■ **STORY SENSATIONALISED** Newspaper report did not paint a complete picture:

mass action to exert pressure on a new government. Hani said he planned to take the country down "a very different leftwing road" from that envisaged by either Mr Nelson Mandela or State President FW de Klerk.

Hani said yesterday that "I told the journalist as a communist party we are committed to Marxist-Leninist principles and we are going to go ahead and fight for those principles even after the elections and a new government.

"As a communist party, we are concerned

about the poor and we intend to continue to make them our concern even after the elections. I did not say it as a challenge to the ANC but as a hypothetical question that may occur in the future," Hani said.

But according to the paper, Hani had decided on "a significant shift in strategy" that is bound to cause tension in the ANC once it is known.

"He has decided effectively to break away from the ANC after South Africa's first general election."

SACP will ditch ANC, says Hani

THE SA Communist Party would break away from its alliance with the ANC after nonracial elections next year, SACP general secretary Chris Hani announced at the weekend. *B10M 112/93*

In an interview with the London Sunday Times, Hani said that although party members may be represented in an interim government, "my feeling is the party will need to move in different directions".

In defeating the NP at the polls, Hani said the SACP would have achieved its primary objective, leaving the way open to forming an alliance with disillusioned ANC members, trade unionists and other parties. Winnie Mandela could have a place in the new alliance. *11A*

It was possible the alliance would take on the ANC in the general election scheduled for 1999, Hani said.

ADRIAN HADLAND

The report suggested that Hani could take advantage of the growing dissent within the SACP/ANC alliance over its collaboration with the NP, by offering a more radical alternative.

Hani's appeal to the youth together with the problems of fulfilling post-election expectations could contribute to his success.

But senior SACP sources have indicated that no firm decision regarding the break-up of the SACP/ANC alliance had been taken by either side.

Hani also ruled out the possibility of assuming for himself any position within an interim or ANC government.

"I want the freedom to criticise from outside, to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressure the new government into doing the right things," he said.

Hani denies plans to break with ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani has denied a London Sunday Times report that he plans to break with the ANC.

He told Radio 702 yesterday that it was an issue which would have to be addressed by his party, the ANC and other organisations.

Mr Hani also denied he would form a rival alliance with trade unions which could include Mrs Winnie Mandela, or that there would be a formal alliance or grouping of any kind.

But he did say there would be closer co-operation with leftwing groups.

Mr Hani said he had been misunderstood by a London Sunday Times reporter. He had told the reporter that after an election it would be "important for the forces of the left to work together for the realisation of socialist objectives".

He said he could not speak for Mrs Mandela as she was a member of the ANC and he had not had contact with her on the issue.

Mr Hani was quoted in the Sunday Times as saying he planned to take the country down "a very different leftwing road" from that envisaged by either Nelson Mandela or President De Klerk.

According to the newspaper Mr Hani has decided on "a significant shift in strategy" that is bound to cause tension in the ANC once it is known.

"He has decided effectively to break away from the ANC after South Africa's first general election and to set up an alternative 'socialist alliance'

that might stand against it in future elections."

Mr Hani gave Richard Ellis, the newspaper's correspondent in Johannesburg, "a clear sign of his intention to capitalise on growing black disillusion and to stake his own claim to power when moderate ANC figures are in government".

Taking what the Sunday Times calls a tactical decision to disclose his plans to a British newspaper, Mr Hani said he was not prepared to serve as a Minister either in the pre-election government of national unity, or soon after, in an ANC-led government.

He was quoted as saying: "I don't want to be involved. I want the freedom to criticise from outside, to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressurise the new government into doing the right things."

Although he supports a temporary power-sharing arrangement, Mr Hani is said to be distancing himself from the deal being negotiated by Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

He spoke of "building a new partnership between the SACP and left-wingers and radicals", the newspaper added.

This would embrace disaffected ANC members, trade unionists, members of the other parties and "even Winnie Mandela", the paper reported.

It added: "His statements will be considered by many as an early bid for the hearts and minds of rank and file ANC supporters. The sheer scale of the problems facing a new ANC-led government would be likely to work in Mr Hani's favour". — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.

PAC terms for negotiations

Sowetan 1/2/93.

(11A) (SOWETA)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ Rumoured divisions within NEC fail to materialise at crucial meeting:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday closed ranks and restated its position on negotiations — that a new forum outside of Codesa should be created to reach a political settlement.

The PAC's national executive committee held its quarterly strategy meeting in Johannesburg where it discussed the negotiations process, its impact on the international scene and the relationship with its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Although the full statement on the meeting will only be issued today, the PAC rejected out

of hand deals between the Government, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The PAC also reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations and increased its negotiations team from six to nine members.

The meeting, described in political circles as an emergency, also focused on the PAC's relationship with Apla and decided the two were united and had a common purpose. It also came when speculation was rife that a split within its leadership ranks was imminent, fuelled by reports last week that three national executive

members were to announce their resignation.

The PAC's political affairs secretary, Mr Jackie Seroke, told *Sowetan* yesterday that this rumour was discussed and the three members concerned said they had no intention of resigning.

Seroke said the PAC rejected conditions set by the Government last week demanding that the organisation denounce Apla and the armed struggle.

"We are committed to negotiations but we will do so without conditions and without entering into any form of bilateral deals."

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Star 1/2/93
Call to beg for Apla

UMTATA — Members and supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei have been told to go from door to door begging for money and clothing for its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Speaking at the organisation's biannual regional conference in Umtata on Saturday, PAC regional secretary Zingisa Mkhalele told delegates from 26 Transkei districts the time had come to support the armed struggle.

"Make it your commitment to go from door to door begging for money, clothing and other valuable material in

aid our boys at Apla," he urged.

Mkhalele said it had become evident his organisation would never get financial support from the Organisation of African Unity, which had become critical of the PAC after recent reports of alleged Apla attacks.

He blamed the OAU for selling out the black people of South Africa.

The conference passed a resolution pledging commitment to the armed struggle.

It also resolved to continue the sit-in at the offices of the Daily Dispatch newspaper in Umtata. — Sapa.



Journals 'won't be owned by the ANC'

Sowetan 11/21/93
■ Media reports 'incorrect
and misleading':

THE publications to be launched in the future "are not African National Congress publications", but "democratic publications", the ANC said yesterday.

Reacting to media reports at the weekend that the organisation was to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines in June, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the reports were "incorrect and misleading".

"The ANC will only help launch the publications which will in no way be ANC-owned and no firm date has been set," he said. Niehaus said it was hoped other parties might be interested in the venture and join in helping create a "democratic Press".

He confirmed a 15-member Nigerian delegation headed by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, and newspaper owner, would arrive in Johannesburg today to "discuss and consult" about the matter. - *Sapa*.

Azapo expands its central committee 11A

■ Decision-making central committee now numbers 38: *Southern 11/2/93.*

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has announced new members of its extended central committee, which will now have 38 members.

The new lineup is as follows:

Former deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape takes charge of strategy and logistics, while former publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley is personal secretary to the president.

Mr Mandla Seleoane (economics); the Rev Joe Seoka (foreign affairs); Dr Khotso Mokhele and deputy Mr Sedupe Ramokgopa (education). Mrs Mojanku Gumbi (constitutional affairs); Miss Thandeka Mgoduso (women's affairs); Mrs Asha Moodley (information and publications); Miss Nomonde Jafta (youth). Mr Peter Jones and deputy Dr Frank Andersen (sports); Dr Oupa Mpe (health).

Professor Takatso Mofokeng (research and documentation); Miss Petal Thring (statistics and demography); the Rev Busani Ngubane (religious affairs). Mr Cyril Morolo and Mr Kabelo Seabi (legal affairs); the Rev Kgotsopo Leputu and Dr Victor Dlamini (transport); Mrs Morongoa Magongoa (social welfare). Mr Pule Monama (housing); Mr Zithulele Cindi and Mr Monwabisi Vika (labour).

Sanlam asked to back paper

SANLAM senior media relations manager Boet van der Spuy confirmed yesterday that Sanlam had received a request from the ANC to invest in the publication of a daily newspaper. He added his company was considering the proposal seriously.

Van der Spuy was unable to provide any details of monies involved as Sanlam had a duty to respect the confidentiality of its clients.

He was reacting to reports in Sunday newspapers that the ANC would be launching a daily newspaper and three magazines by June this year, and that several top SA companies had been approached to fund the publications.

The reports also said one of the top backers of the scheme was former Lonrho

KELVIN BROWN

head Tiny Rowland.

However, the ANC yesterday denied the publications would be for the ANC, saying they would be "democratic publications".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said reports that the ANC was to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines in June were "incorrect and misleading", Sapa reports. "The ANC will only facilitate the launching of the publications. The publications will in no way be ANC-owned and no firm date has been set."

Niehaus said it was hoped other parties might be interested in the venture and help create a "democratic Press".

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BLOAM 11/2/93

Sanlam BLOAM 11/2/93

Van der Spuy dismissed reports that Sanlam was asked to donate the money to the ANC.

Sanlam had a policy not to donate money to any political organisation and did not involve itself in politics.

"If we did, this would upset some of our policyholders. We have all types of policyholders representing the whole spectrum of political thought," Van der Spuy said.

The request was being viewed as a potential business transaction.

"Any decision to invest would be based purely on whether the investment offers good returns and provides adequate guarantees. We do not want to lose money," Van der Spuy said.

A decision on whether to proceed with the investment would be made soon.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports that Donald Trelford, editor of the Observer in London which is owned by Lonrho, confirmed that he had met ANC members "interested in a newspaper project" in London recently, but he denied that the Observer was direct-

From Page 1

ly involved.

A spokesman for his office said: "ANC people interested in a newspaper project were in London and he invited them for lunch. That is the sum total of the Observer's involvement."

She said suggestions that the newspaper was sending a team to SA to assist in setting up a newspaper were wrong.

She could not speculate on Lonrho involvement in the project although the Sunday Times said yesterday Rowland's recent undertaking to support the project had ensured publication dates had been fixed for June this year.

The newspaper said the ANC would be investing up to R20m of its own capital in the project.

Niehaus confirmed that a 15-member Nigerian delegation headed by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, newspaper owner and owner of several companies, would arrive in Johannesburg on Monday to "discuss and consult" on the matter.

(11A) (11B) (11C)

Star 2121 93

Agreement firming on power-sharing

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the Government are moving closer together in negotiations on the crucial issues of power-sharing and regionalism.

The possibility of compromise on these two central questions — and therefore an early settlement — is emerging in political circles after the recent ANC-Government meetings.

The two sides are now considering draft joint proposals on a government of national unity, regionalism, control of the security forces and reincorporation of the homelands.

These proposals have not been agreed to by negotiators and will be discussed when they meet again this week.

But if they are agreed upon, it could lead to the Government and ANC promoting a joint approach in multiparty negotia-

tions.

Both sides have stressed that this does not amount to a "deal" to be imposed on other parties.

Yesterday, in a wide-ranging briefing on the state of negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated that the Government was rethinking its previously tough position on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution, and that the ANC was easing its opposition to the Government's plan that the powers and boundaries of regions should be decided in multiparty negotiations before the implementation of a transitional constitution.

Entrenched power-sharing in perpetuity is at present the keystone of National Party constitutional thinking. Meyer said the ANC had originally been opposed to power-sharing but by the last quarter of last year had become "very favourable" to the idea.

This referred mainly to the transitional phase, and details

still had to be worked out on issues such as constructing an executive.

"But the question remains what will happen thereafter — in other words, how we are to construct power-sharing in the final model."

On regionalism, Meyer said the ANC had originally been opposed to the idea of letting regions have a say in determining their own positions during the transition.

Since then, there had been growing convergence that the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be agreed to before the transitional phase, and that these should be changed only with the co-operation of regional representatives in the constitution-making process.

If the issue of regionalism were resolved, then the problem of the majority required to pass a final constitution would fall into place, the Minister said.

This was the issue that had wrecked Codesa 2.

Bilateral Star 212193 talks out,

says PAC

(IIA) (ZONA)

A new negotiating forum free from the flaws of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was needed, Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Speaking after a two-day national executive committee meeting, he said the PAC had committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly "unfettered by bilateral dealings".

"Bilateral talks have served their purpose and continuing with them would be a source of serious conflict," he said.

Alexander said a new negotiating forum should:

- Consist only of political parties with a national character.
- Have neutral, international involvement in convenership, chairmanship, administration and security.
- Be transparent, so that the media and the public could follow the process and not only the results.

He added that the forum should not be a decision-making body, but rather a facilitating body for the realisation of a constituent assembly.

● The PAC and SA Council of Churches met yesterday. A joint press statement said the organisations talked about a patriotic united front. — Sapa.

Fighting for an image of peace

Sowetan 2/2/93

11A

■ **BURNING DESIRE** *A Diminutive*

bundle of dynamite throws her weight behind the ANC voting campaign:

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

JESSIE DUARTE SEEMS dwarfed by the desk she occupies within Nelson Mandela's stately office in downtown Johannesburg.

She is wearing a casual black and pink sleeveless blouse which matches her curly black hair and soft pink skirt. She is dainty and, one could say, not suited to the task of securing five million votes for the African National Congress.

But there is a certain fire inside her when she says: "As the ANC we say we would like to go into government with the confidence of the people."

The ANC has declared 1993 "the year of votes for all — peace, freedom and democracy".

Says information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan: "That's where our energies are focused right now."

Duarte heads the elections committee of the ANC's most powerful region, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area. This is a new responsibility added to her portfolio as the head of the region's campaigns committee.

She spoke to *Sowetan* in an interview as the ANC PWV and Western Cape regional general councils throw their weight behind a three-pronged programme of action (POA) for mass voter education.

The first phase would be the building of election structures at branch level, development of a manual for a door-to-door campaign and the creation of street and block committees.

The second phase would be the actual door-to-door dissemination of information and recruitment of members.

The third phase would be devoted to the "votes for all" election campaign.

Duarte stresses that the ANC is

gunning for political victory; that this can be attained if people are made to understand the organisation's policies on education, health, housing.

"It is important for people to understand, at local level, the ANC's call for a united South Africa; what we mean when we talk about democracy and democratic processes.

"We want people to understand what we mean by peace, freedom and justice.

"Also, we want to see our people at local level confirming and shaping the development and implementation of these policies."

"Therefore," she says "activist motivation and consolidation of our structures are top in our POA."

The ANC claims a membership of 175 000 out of an estimated 2,5 million potential voters in the PWV.

"We have the task of building activists, volunteers who will go door-to-door to teach people on voter education," she says.

This is how she sees her task: "For the ANC to win elections convincingly it has to embark on a programme that will reach out at the masses in this region and elsewhere in the country.

"We must reach out to the people in all localities, suburbs, settlements, hostels, factories, schools, in the backyards of some houses — domestic workers — townships, towns, cities, on the small farms within our region, in Bophuthatswana and some parts in KwaNdebele.

"We must double our membership figure. But the state of the organisation on the ground is appalling.

"Many branches are not functioning, do not meet and when they do they only discuss matters arising out of violence. As a result meetings are poorly attended.

"Our people are sick and tired of the violence and the killings. They are calling for peace. We must take



Jessie Duarte ... the ANC claims a membership of 175 000 in the PWV.

Long-time activist

Age: 40

Present positions: Member of ANC PWV regional executive committee. Head of campaigns committee. Assistant in the office of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Background: Activism dates back to United Democratic Front days in 1980s. Former general secretary of the Federation of Transvaal Women. Detained without trial several times and was banned three times in the 1980s.

advantage of the situation, seize the opportunity of projecting the ANC as a peace-loving organisation."

Duarte says while the ANC and National Party might be seen as negotiating partners, the two are political opponents. "The ANC and National Party are not running a joint election campaign. We have to win the election decisively. And this means if we have 80 percent support we should translate it into votes for a future government in a clear and unquestionable way. "The ANC and Government are opponents and will remain that way. We are negotiating precisely because there is a problem."



Jessie Duarte has high hopes for the ANC.

PICS: JOE MOLEFE

Apla set to dominate state/PAC discussion

11A
APR 25/12/93

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE pressure is on to persuade the Pan-Africanist Congress and its armed wing, Apla, to abandon the "armed struggle".

This is said to be the top issue to be discussed at scheduled talks on Monday between government and PAC delegations.

If the PAC abandons its armed struggle, the way virtually will be open for the PAC to take part in multi-party negotiations.

However, some uncertainty has arisen over Monday's talks after 11th-hour complications which resulted in a switch of venue.

The talks were to have been held in Windhoek, but now are to be moved to Gaborone.

Apla terror attacks are top of the agenda for the talks and no discussion on constitutional matters is expected.

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who will lead the government team, confirmed yesterday the talks would be held in Gaborone.

Other members of the government team include the deputy ministers of justice and of constitutional development, Mr Danie Schutte and Mr Fanus Rautenbach, and senior officials from government departments.

The PAC delegation will be led by secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and will include senior members of Apla's high command.

■ See page 18.

Boesak role in balance

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

(11A) ^{ANC 2 2 1993}
THE African National Congress regional leadership was locked in urgent discussions today over the future of their embattled chairman Dr Allan Boesak following reports that he had, or was about to resign.

Dr Boesak is expected to make a statement later.

It was not clear whether he was involved in the discussions at the ANC's regional headquarters in Woodstock.

Media spokeswoman Ms Rashieda Abdullah said: "Discussions are going on right now and we will have something concrete later."

She could not say whether Dr Boesak was at the meeting and declined to comment on the veracity of news-

paper reports that he had resigned. A report in a morning newspaper today said Dr Boesak had resigned over sharp differences with militants on the regional committee.

It is understood there has been friction in the ranks over strategy.

He has also been under pressure from Christian members of the ANC over the movement's links with the Communist Party.

Dr Boesak, who was re-elected chairman for a second term in October, is reported to have denied resigning last night, describing the claim as "absolute rubbish".

ANC head office spokesman Mr Karl Niehaus declined to comment, saying "at the moment we're leaving it to come from the Western Cape office".

WEATHER — P2 BUSINESS — P12, P13 LETTERS


PAC sit-in continues

Sowetan 2/2/93
THE sit-in by members of the Pan Africanist Congress at the *Daily Dispatch* bureau in Umtata continued yesterday — despite a weekend meeting between the two parties in Umtata.

Transkei PAC regional secretary Mr Zingisa Mkhabe said yesterday that PAC members were still at the *Dispatch* office in a "big way".

The PAC's Transkei region launched the sit-in last week to protest against what the PAC called a "campaign of silence" waged by the *Dispatch* against the organisation.

The distribution of the *Daily Dispatch* to Transkei is still suspended.
Mkhabe said there could be another meeting

■ No agreement despite meeting with management of the *Daily Dispatch*: *IIA* 

 with the *Dispatch* management.

Daily Dispatch editor Glyn Williams was not available for comment yesterday morning.

The newspaper yesterday published the Transkei PAC's Christmas-New Year message. The *Dispatch*'s failure to publish the message in full was cited by the PAC as an example of the alleged campaign against the organisation. - *Elnews*.

Patrick Laurence advises journalists to prepare to defend press freedom once more

Star 3/2/93

'New Nats' already bristling

THE interregnum between the final demise of the apartheid regime and the long-awaited birth of a new order is providing the press with perhaps the greatest freedom that it has enjoyed since the formation in 1910 of the modern South African state.

The fetters which were imposed on newspapers by the ruling National Party under President de Klerk's authoritarian predecessors have been removed. The draconian laws which were used to close down newspapers have been put into cold storage.

Afrikaner nationalists — the "Old Nats" — as they have been labelled by political observers — have belatedly allowed journalists to enjoy their newly acquired freedom from legislative constraints and, for the most part, police surveillance and harassment. And they are encouraged by declarations from African nationalists — the "New Nats" — committing themselves to protecting this freedom.

Journalists, however, would be naive to take these declarations by the Pan-Africanist Congress,

the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party at face value.

Individuals in these organisations may be sincere but politicians, whoever they are, have a penchant for trying to control the press when they come to power. Their inclination to do so is matched by their ability to find excuses for restraining the press.

South African history is littered with rationalisations: the "Old Nats" used to affirm their commitment to a "free but responsible press" and accuse non-compliant journalists of being polemicists and subversives — and even "media terrorists".

Already ominous signs are emanating from the ranks of the "New Nats" suggesting that their commitment to press freedom will prove stronger in the abstract than in practice.

The most recent of these omens is the occupation of the Umtata office of the East London-based Daily Dispatch by PAC zealots in protest against the "campaign of silence" allegedly waged against it by the Dispatch.

The occupation has been made

particularly acrimonious by PAC charges that the Dispatch is conniving with the security police because it faxed a PAC New Year statement, warning of an intensification of its "liberation war", to the police for comment.

The protest action has been reinforced by a warning from the Transkei PAC secretary, Zingisa Mkabile, to distributors not to sell the Dispatch while the dispute is unresolved.

The implications of his warning are unmistakable: "Doing so will not only affect your ability to serve your customers (but) will not be a safe thing to do both for you and your business."

As Karen Stander, general secretary of the Southern African Union of Journalists (SAUJ), has remarked, the PAC actions have placed assurances that it will not harm journalists in grave doubt.

These assurances should be seen in the context of an attack on white journalists by young men suspected of being PAC members at the funeral last June of the victims of the Boipatong massacre. The attack is identified as a threat

to press freedom in a recent US State Department report.

Since the attack, the PAC has refused to sign a declaration drawn up by the SAUJ, in which political organisations pledge to use their influence to "promote the safe conduct and physical safety of journalists" in return for a promise by the union to promote adherence to its code of conduct — and that of the International Federation of Journalists — in its ranks.

The US report also focuses on the behaviour of IFP militants in April last year. "Journalists from the Natal Witness who were covering an Inkatha Freedom Party rally were charged by a group of youths, verbally abused and stoned," it says.

Another potentially sinister development is related by the US report: the boycott organised by the local ANC of the Port Elizabeth-based newspapers, the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post, for alleged bias.

The boycott — which was graphically reinforced by the burning of copies of the newspapers in front of the Port Eliza-

beth headquarters of the publishing company, Times Media Limited — stands out as a bid to influence the direction of editorial policy and undermine the independence of newspapers.

As Raymond Louw, chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, has noted, the boycott was a "dangerous precedent for the future".

The boycott must be seen, too, in the context of frequent references in ANC circles to South Africa's main newspapers as the "commercial press", a phrase which implies — and is meant to imply — that they are controlled by the capitalist companies who own them.

The insinuation is reinforced sporadically by allegations that the "commercial press" sided with P W Botha and B J Vorster during the struggle against apartheid. It is a manifestation of the shibboleth that apartheid and capitalism are "two sides of the same bloody coin".

Recent events have given new pertinence to the incisive book, *Mau-Mauing the Media, New Censorship for the New South Africa*. Published by the Institute

of Race Relations, it contains a number of disturbing articles by either black journalists or people involved in newspapers catering mainly for the black community.

Two articles are particularly worth reading or re-reading: the first by Thami Mazwai, until recently an assistant editor on the Sowetan, and the second by Arthur Konigkramer, managing editor of Mandla-Matla Publishing, owner of the IFP-linked newspaper, Ilanga.

Mazwai tells how journalists are "being threatened and handled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and ... told to toe the line or else". The line, one gathers between the lines, is that of the dominant ANC-led alliance.

Konigkramer relates how Ilanga was boycotted, how shop-owners selling it were warned to stop doing so and how people who defied the ban were forced to eat the newspaper.

Journalists should relish the interregnum while it lasts, but put iron in their souls and steel in their hearts for the coming battles in defence of press freedom. □

Imagine! Nats sponsoring own 'ultimate nightmare'

STAR 3/2/93.

BEHIND the carefully coded language of their public statements, it is clear that the Government and the ANC have narrowed the gap between them to a finger's breadth and that we are on our way to majority rule far sooner than most South Africans realise.

Within five months, the transition will begin. An all-party Transitional Executive Council will be appointed.

It won't be a government in the strict legal sense — the State President and Cabinet will remain in office under the present constitution — but it will function in tandem with the Government which will give legal effect to its decisions.

For the first time in this country's long history, black people will have positions of decision-making authority in the central political system.

Three months after that we shall have a new constitution. Still merely a transitional one, but nevertheless one which will give black people the vote.

And maybe only two months after that, or at most four, a one-man one-vote election.

Imagine it! Through all the years



Allister Sparks

they were in power, this was the Nats' ultimate nightmare, the one thing they swore they would never allow here.

The very phrase became a slogan, a kind of verbal hand grenade that they hurled at their opponents over the years, from poor old Sir de Villiers Graaff to Jan-nie Steytler and Helen Suzman and Colin Eglin and Van Zyl Stabbert, telling them even their most modest policies of reform — even "white leadership with justice", the old United Party maxim — would open the floodgates to this appalling evil that would swamp the Afrikaner and destroy white civilisation.

Yet now it is about to happen under their own sponsorship. Truly, politics is a wondrous thing.

The election will be for a constituent assembly to draft the new constitution. It will double as an interim parliament. The constitu-

tion drafting should take only a few months. Then we shall probably have a five-year period of coalition government before full majority rule.

Tough negotiating is still taking place, and I do not want to give the impression, as some commentators are doing, that the Nats and ANC are getting into bed together. They are not. As Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer told Parliament on Monday: "In terms of the prevailing political realities, there is no possibility that the Government and the ANC could be allies in the coming elections."

What they are doing is negotiating an agreement, the way trade unions and managements routinely do to resolve industrial disputes.

It involves making compromises on both sides, and compromises are tough to sell to one's followers. Which is why the parties are being so cautious in what they say.

What has happened is that the two teams of negotiators have reached a set of agreements on a number of critical issues, which they now have to sell to their "principals" — President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his 100-strong National Execu-

tive Committee.

Though there are no clear-cut statements from either side, it is becoming clear that the Government is backing away from the constitutional model it adopted two years ago, which provided for a complicated system of "power sharing" with compulsory coalition rule, minority veto powers and a presidency that would rotate among the three or five major parties.

That, Roelf Meyer told reporters at a briefing in Cape Town on Monday, should now be regarded as "a kind of example" of what the Government wanted. It still stood by the principles, he said, but clearly the means of giving effect to them were changeable.

"For example, there may be better arrangements for the executive," Meyer said, a clear indication that the rotating presidency idea has been dropped.

The Government also appears to be backing away from its plan for permanent power-sharing, through a constitutional requirement that the major parties form a coalition government. When I asked Meyer about this he offered the kind of elliptical answer politicians use

when they can't give a straightforward "yes".

"That is a relevant question on which we will have to take a clear position," he said. Considering that the Government had a clear position in its original constitutional model, the implication is clear.

For its part, the ANC has backed away from its original demand for immediate majority rule. It did so after Joe Slovo mooted the idea of "sunset clauses" in the constitution to provide for temporary power sharing after the election. Although the phrase itself was dropped the national executive committee accepted the principle in formulating a new negotiating strategy last November.

What seems likely, then, is that some form of temporary power-sharing is being agreed. If it is not a "sunset clause", the simplest formula would be an agreement not to have another election after the new constitution is drafted — Namibia provides a convenient precedent — but to allow the transitional "government of national unity", the coalition of major parties that will take over after the first election, to carry on and serve out a full five-year term.

In that case full majority rule would begin only after the second election.

There are still some differences. The most serious is over the integration of the security forces. The ANC wants its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to be merged with the SADF under a new, integrated command structure. The Government insists Umkhonto must first be disbanded and its members can then apply individually to join the Defence Force.

There is still argument, too, over pre-agreement on constitutional principles which will bind the constituent assembly when it drafts the new constitution, and over how much autonomy the regions should have.

But my strong sense is that the deal is almost done. The Government and the ANC will meet again next week and it should be possible to conclude it then.

No doubt the smaller parties, especially the IFP, will make a fuss about the deal-cutting by the big ones. But the deal is fair and minorities fearful of elections cannot be allowed to call the tune. In the end "sufficient consensus" will carry the day. □



MAN TO THE MINISTRY ... Dr Allan Boesak explains his dilemma about returning to the ministry.

Church to act on Boesak

Staff Reporters

THE political future of Western Cape ANC leader Dr Allan Boesak is in the hands of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa — and his resignation could deal the ANC in the Western Cape a body blow.

Dr Boesak's application to return to the ministry came "out of the blue" last week, a church spokesman said.

It would be considered by the general synodical committee in Bloemfontein on February 16.

The church does not allow ministers to hold political positions and Dr Boesak would be forced to quit if he is recalled as a minister.

"Dr Boesak would have to choose between the church or a political career," confirmed

the acting actuary, the Rev Anton Doyer.

Yesterday, Dr Boesak described his dilemma outside his Constantia home after holding meetings with top Western Cape ANC officials.

"Ever since I left the ministry, I have felt a constant pain. I miss the pulpit. This is part of my agony and part of what keeps me awake at night. Where can I do best?" he asked.

He said he would ideally like to retain his current political position and become a minister again — but realised this was not possible.

Disgraced after disclosures that he was having an extramarital affair with his present wife, Dr Boesak resigned from all his church positions in July 1990.

Dr Boesak dismissed reports of rifts locally within the organisation.

Attempts are being made to convince Dr Boesak that it is "crucial" he remain in his current ANC leadership position, ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said.

While Mr Yengeni said the ANC understood that Dr Boesak's work revolved around his faith and the ministry, the organisation believed he was "needed here and now" to contribute to a new democracy.

Mr Yengeni said he had "no ambition" to assume the ANC leadership in the Western Cape. (MA) 273/2/93

"There is no tension whatsoever, not even on a personal level. Our relationship is one of integrity," he said.

Star 2/2/93

New round of talks begins tomorrow

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A new round of meetings aimed at restarting multiparty talks begins in Cape Town tomorrow.

The three sets of talks between the ANC and Government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, are a continuation of meetings begun last month.

Tomorrow, the ANC and Government discuss security matters at "sub-committee level".

A fully fledged two-day ANC-Government meeting takes place in Cape Town next Wednes-

day and Thursday.

The Government and IFP meet in Cape Town on Monday. After a meeting last month the two parties said preparations for a multiparty planning conference were being discussed.

The Government and the ANC are considering draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, regionalism, and reincorporation of homelands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC remained opposed to entrenched power-sharing.

Breakthrough in talks indicated

BILLY PADDOCK
THE ANC said yesterday it was in favour of the common proposals thrashed out with government earlier this year on constitutional principles. This points to a breakthrough in talks with government.

The common proposals on the constitutional principles bind an elected constitution-making body and an interim constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa also spelt out yesterday the differences between his organisation and government on the two key stumbling blocks in their talks — power-sharing and regionalism.

Because both parties had shifted from their mandated positions the proposals had to be taken back to their principals. *BIDM 3/2/93*

In a statement released by Ramaphosa yesterday he indicated clearly that the ANC was happy with them.

He said the ANC had been meeting patriotic front members to report back on the extended bilateral meetings the organisation had with government between January 20 and 26.

"The proposals and the general approach emerging from the bilateral meetings are not in conflict with key policy positions of the ANC," he said.

However, he said the ANC remained opposed to a new constitution providing for an entrenched power-sharing model.

However, his organisation was happy with power-sharing in an interim constitution.

Transition plan set to be delayed

BIDM 3/2/93

THE implementation of the first stage of interim government could be delayed and the transition schedule disrupted while political parties battled to agree on an interim constitution, negotiation sources said yesterday.

There are two major problems facing negotiators trying to keep the talks and agreement within the time frames announced by President F W de Klerk in November.

In terms of agreements reached at Codesa and other meetings the transitional executive council — the first stage of an interim government — cannot be finalised until agreement has been reached on an interim constitution.

This was mainly at the insistence of the ANC which sought to guard against government introducing the first stage of an interim government and then delaying the whole process.

Secondly, Inkatha is insisting the multiparty planning conference be a fullscale negotiations forum.

The ANC, government and Inkatha want the planning conference to take place by mid-February so a new multiparty forum could start constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March.

But according to a government source time was running out fast and

BILLY PADDOCK

BILLY PADDOCK

the planning conference would probably happen later, possibly only in March.

"At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the backburner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

Government and the ANC will meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences on "constitutional and other issues" to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC source confirmed yesterday.

And another joint ANC/government committee, trying to resolve problems of joint control and monitoring of the variety of armed formations and state security forces, will meet tomorrow.

According to the source, if the implementation of the transitional executive council and the establishment of an electoral commission could be brought forward "it would greatly facilitate agreements being reached on an interim government".

He acknowledged that government saw substantial problems with Inkatha's position of wanting to withdraw from the planning conference.

Vlok outlines new measures to keep offenders in jail

BIDM 3/2/93
CAPE TOWN — Stacked prison bunk beds, correctional supervision and building more jail cells featured in a new government strategy to phase out early prisoner releases, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

President F W de Klerk had emphasised that government would fight crime and violence with all

available means, and extensive measures were being considered to increase the department's efficiency and capacity, Vlok said.

The measures included abandoning remission of sentence, setting up an infrastructure for effective correctional supervision, increasing prison accommodation and creating a more comprehensive parole system.

SA's daily jail population was about 106 000; more than 2 000 offenders were under correctional supervision. It cost R42 a day to keep a person in prison, against R15 a day for correctional supervision.

Vlok said he had no plans to resign, after former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan's announced his intention to resign this week. — Sapa.

Health

Health services to coalesce

CAPE TOWN — Own affairs and national health departments would amalgamate by April 1, reducing 14 departments to 11, National Health Minister Rina Venter said yesterday.

The new health department would have minimum executive functions, most of which would devolve to regional and local authorities.

Venter said rationalisation would not result in significant savings as only 8% of the total health budget was allocated to the three departments, "but it will enable us to address our problems more efficiently".

The move follows last week's announcement by President FW de Klerk that own affairs in health, education and agriculture would be phased out.

Venter said rationalisation of other public departments of health, including provincial administrations and self-governing territories and possibly some of the TBVC countries, would depend on progress made with the constitutional reform process.

B/D/M 3/2/93
Present co-ordinating structures and co-operation agreements should be used until a new political dispensation was established. Reconstructing the fragmented health services system was important.

SA's expensive hospital and curative-based model placed a greater strain on state coffers than the three own affairs departments. Good progress had been made with government's new approach to rendering health care and expanding primary community health care facilities.

The Academic Policy Council had accepted a draft Bill which would be put before Cabinet and Parliament.

"This will enable academic complexes to manage their own affairs," she said.

Also to be introduced this session would be the Tobacco Bill, which aimed to protect the right of non-smokers to clean air.

She said tuberculosis and AIDS would be major priorities of the National Health Department — Sapa.

Boesak wants to return to the ministry

CAPE TOWN — ANC western Cape regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday indicated that he had a strong desire to return to the ministry with the Dutch Reformed Sendingkerk.

"Over the past few days the ANC, both at a national and regional level, have had a number of discussions with Dr Boesak regarding his future as the rules of the church state that no elected official of a political party

B/D/M 3/2/93
will be eligible for the ministry," western Cape regional secretary Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

Boesak rejected speculation that he had been ousted by a militant western Cape faction, but he said there had been differences of opinion with the SACP and conservative factions.

LINDA ENSOR (1/2)

Star 4/2/93

Boesak opts for ANC over clergy

CAPE TOWN — The chairman of the ANC's western Cape regional executive, Dr Allan Boesak, yesterday told a news conference he is not resigning his post or returning to the clergy.

Boesak said ANC president Nelson Mandela had played a "persuasive" role in his decision to stay, and said he would stand for future elections if nominated as an ANC candidate.

Glasgow honour for Mandela

Star 4/12/93
GLASGOW — ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to receive the freedom of Glasgow — conferred on him more than 10 years ago — when he visits the Scottish city on February 25. Glasgow gave Mandela its freedom in 1981 when he was in prison. Mandela will also receive the freedom of nine other towns and cities.

(11A)



I'M STAYING . . . Dr Allan Boesak with Western Cape ANC vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako (left) and Mr Christ-mas Tinto at yesterday's news conference. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Boesak 'to stand for election'

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak yesterday said he would stand for election to South Africa's first democratic Parliament, scotching speculation that he would quit as the ANC's chairman in the Western Cape.

Despite persistent reports that he would resign to rejoin the Dutch Reformed Mission Church as a priest, he has now set his sights on a political career — at least for the foreseeable future.

Speaking at a news conference, he said although his decision meant he would "postpone" his return to the church, he would remain active in the ANC as long as he was wanted.

Dr Boesak also said he was "now fully committed both to leading the ANC Western Cape to a victory in the coming elections and to playing whatever role I can in the shaping of a democratic constitution".

He said he had been convinced that he could serve the broader commu-

ity more effectively at this critical time by retaining his position as ANC chairman in the region.

Over the last few days, he had held discussions about his future with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio of the religious studies department at the University of Cape Town and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Dr Boesak added he would now withdraw his application for reinstatement as a minister.

(11A) CT412193

Norway takes ANC to task

OSLO. — Norway has demanded that the ANC explain the fate of a \$735 000 (about R2,2m) grant that was intended to help set up a print shop and provide jobs, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

The money was placed in an investment company instead of being used to buy printing equipment, said foreign ministry spokesman Mr Ingvard Havnen.

"Clearly, it wasn't used for the purpose for which it was allotted," he said.

The ANC had not responded by last night. — Sapa

(11A) CT 4/2/93

Sowetan 4/2/93
Boesak not quitting ANC post

THE chairman of the ANC's Western Cape regional executive, Dr Allan Boesak, is not resigning his post or returning to the ministry. (11A)

Boesak ended speculation about his resignation and friction within the regional executive committee at a media conference yesterday by announcing that he had decided to stay in office. He had postponed his return to the ministry and would stand for future elections if nominated as an ANC candidate.

Benefactor queries grant to ANC

NORWAY has demanded that the African National Congress explain the fate of a grant of R2,2 million intended to help set up a print shop and provide jobs.

The money was placed in an investment company instead of being used to buy printing equipment, said Norwegian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Ingyard Havnen.

"Clearly, it wasn't used for the purpose for which it was allotted," he said. "It is definitely in the best interest of the ANC to clarify this."

Havnen said Norway wanted the ANC to use

Svefer 42193

■ Norway has learnt that R2,2 million was invested in a private company with top ANC members as directors: 11A ~~11A~~

the money as agreed, or allot it to other democracy building projects approved by the Norwegian state aid agency.

Urgent transfer

Last year the ANC asked for an urgent transfer of the promised funds, he said. The intent was for the organisation to set up its own print shop.

The Norwegian government asked to see the

new print shop, only to learn that it did not exist and that the funds had been placed in TB Invest.

It said it had reason to believe that top ANC members are on the company's board of directors. It said a foreign ministry official was checking ANC records to track down what happened to other contributions.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said a full statement would be issued later. — *Sapa-AP*.

Boesak 'will not resign'

BIDM 4/2/93

(11A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Allan Boesak announced yesterday that he would stand for election to SA's first democratic Parliament, scotching speculation that he would quit as ANC western Cape chairman.

He said he would "postpone" rejoining the church as a priest and would remain active in the ANC as long as he was wanted.

He said he was now "fully committed both to leading the ANC western Cape to a victory in the coming elections and to playing whatever role I can in the shaping of a democratic constitution that will ensure a share in the future of our country for all our people".

Boesak said he had been convinced that he could serve the broader community more effectively at this critical time by retaining his ANC post.

During the past few days he had held discussions with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Anglican Arch-

bishop Desmond Tutu.

Boesak said he had applied for reinstatement as a Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk minister, but had decided to withdraw his application and retain his position as ANC western Cape chairman.

He said he had applied for reinstatement last year, but had been refused on the technicality that the church required someone to be a member of a congregation for two years before he could be a priest.

He wanted to return to the ministry and had initially thought he could best serve the struggle for a non-racial democracy in this way. But he had been "convinced by the ANC that my participation in the work required to ensure free and democratic elections in the coming year must be my most important priority".

FM licence for Wits radio

BIDM 4/2/93
KATHRYN STRACHAN

LISTENERS from all over Johannesburg can now tune into the Voice of Wits radio station next week after it was granted a five-day FM signal licence for a 50km radius.

And the station is optimistic the licence will be extended permanently.

The move is seen as a relaxation of the stringent broadcasting laws enforced by the Home Affairs Department and the SABC.

Voice of Wits station manager Damian Hardy said he hoped the temporary licence could signal the beginning of "community radio" in SA.

The commercial station Showtime Music Radio and Pretoria University had also been given temporary FM signals, Hardy said.

The station can broadcast stereo on 95.9 FM within a 50km radius.

Homelands' water beyond govt control

BIDM 4/2/93
(S) (L) (A)
EDWARD WEST
GOVERNMENT had a water supply target of at least 15 litres a person a day in drought-stricken homeland rural areas, Water Affairs and Forestry Department deputy director-general Tiny Krige said this week.

Krige told the SA Association of Consulting Engineers forum his department was unaware of the serious problems of water supply in those areas as affairs of homeland governments were outside its jurisdiction.

Barring a few exceptions, homeland structures did not have the expertise or capacity to maintain existing water supply schemes, he said.

A survey by the department had found that during the past two months no maintenance work had been done and water pumps had broken down again.

The drought had emphasised the fact that SA, with its severe climatic conditions and water scarcity, could not fragment development and control over the country's water resources.

EDWARD WEST

Central government should be responsible for overall development and control, with any work done at regional or local level falling within the policy framework determined by central government, he said.

Krige said government was developing a management strategy to deal with future droughts, but in the meantime it would continue maintenance work, supplying water by tankers to some areas and with a borehole drilling programme.

Drought Consultative Forum convener Len Abrahams said in June 1992 the Development Bank of SA estimated that 2,5-million rural people could be faced with the need to relocate to survive the drought. To date, the forum had provided drought relief aid to about 750 villages.

The forum concluded the underlying issues in black rural communities were mainly poverty, neglect, and inadequate investment.



A policeman stands guard as a taxi is towed away after drivers tried to barricade a city street in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

ANC misused R2,3m Norway

BIDM 4/2/93
(H) (A)
OSLO — Norway had demanded the ANC explain the fate of a R2,3m grant intended to help set up a print shop and provide jobs, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

Foreign ministry spokesman Ingvard Havnen said the 5-million kroner were placed in an investment company instead of being used to buy printing equipment, Sapa reported.

BIDM 4/2/93
"Clearly, it wasn't used for the purpose for which it was allotted," said Havnen. "It is definitely in the best interest of the ANC to clarify this."

The ANC had asked for an urgent transfer of the promised funds, he said. Norwegian state radio network NRK

said it had reason to believe key ANC members were on the board of directors of the investment company, TB Invest.

It said a foreign ministry official was checking ANC records in Johannesburg to track down what had happened to other contributions.

The Norwegian government gave about \$5,8m to the ANC last year.

DIRK HARTFORD reports an ANC spokesman was yesterday unable to comment on the Norwegians' allegations.

He said the matter had been referred to ANC NEC members and the organisation would comment as soon as information was available.

Early warning system would help relief workers

BIDM 4/2/93
SA IS in urgent need of a national early warning system on food security to enable relief workers to respond to emerging crises more efficiently, says a Consultative Forum on Drought committee report.

The system would also need to provide early warning of "hazards that affect the ability of households to

(S) (L) (A)
RAY HARTLEY

obtain adequate food and water".

The report proposed a system involving the disciplines of meteorology, hydrology, agriculture, natural resource management and finance. While the major risk was drought, others were pests, hail and flooding.

While warning systems were relatively well developed for large-scale farm production, the effect of weather on small farms and in the homelands had not yet been analysed fully.

Recommendations had been formulated for nutrition surveillance of children younger than five.

ANC had asked for an urgent transfer of the promised funds, he said. Norwegian state radio network NRK

the nation in brief

'Govt involved in violence'

THE delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), on a one-week fact-finding mission to South Africa, said yesterday that it had discovered that the Government was directly and indirectly involved in violence.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Durban, ICFTU secretary-general Enzo Friso claimed the security forces were exploiting political differences to destabilise democratic forces in the black community. He said he wondered why the security forces were unable to curb the violence because they had been able to crush black political organisations when they were still banned.

Sowetan 4/2/93

Boesak not quitting ANC post

THE chairman of the ANC's Western Cape regional executive, Dr Allan Boesak, is not resigning his post or returning to the ministry.

Boesak ended speculation about his resignation and friction within the regional executive committee at a media conference yesterday by announcing that he had decided to stay in office. He had postponed his return to the ministry and would stand for future elections if nominated as an ANC candidate.

Potential cancer victims

ONE out of every four South Africans is a potential cancer victim, according to statistics released by the National Cancer Association of South Africa (NCA).

The NCA said yesterday 90 percent of cancers were linked to dietary factors and certain living habits. A healthy, balanced diet with low fat, a moderate intake of alcohol and no smoking were indispensable in the fight against cancer. - Sapa

form a socialist alliance. It'll be no bad thing.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani stated in an address to the Black Management Forum late last year that "we have improved our position strategically over the last year, quite dramatically." But, he asked, "do we continue the war of attrition indefinitely?"

He added: "We believe that it is absolutely imperative that we now move very rapidly towards a negotiated political settlement, with elections for a constituent assembly next year. We need the certainty of an election date. And we need then to build the rest around such a firm date.

"This will go a long way to introducing some purpose and direction into what is now a very dangerous and drifting situation."

Hani was recently quoted in the London *Sunday Times* as saying that he planned to break from the ANC after the general election to join the unions, other socialist parties and Winnie Mandela. Such an alliance might stand against the government of the day. It would be important, he added, "for the forces of the Left to work together for the realisation of socialist objectives." Hani is also quoted as saying he did not wish to be a Minister in an ANC-led government — even though he plays a leading role in the ANC alliance's election campaign.

Hani subsequently claimed that the report was "sensationalised," though he did not dispute its contents. He explained to the *Sowetan*: "I told the journalist that as a communist party we are committed to Marxist-Leninist principles, even after the elections and a new government."

In reality, none of this is new. The SACP in particular always viewed the struggle as a two-stage process, the first being the national democratic revolution, followed by the socialist project.

It does, however, touch on a rift in the alliance — which is, after all, a broad church — concerning the direction in which negotia-

tions are proceeding, and what negotiations are for. Winnie Mandela's charge of a "sell-out" by a "self-interested elite" in the ANC captures these tendencies.

A major debate within the ANC alliance was sparked by the article by SACP chairman Joe Slovo last year, titled "Negotiations: what room for compromises?" The cudgels have been taken up, notably by ANC information chief Pallo Jordan (not an SACP member, though a Marxist), who argues that negotiations concerned with a national liberation struggle (as opposed to industrial bargaining) are aimed, not at settling differences, but "the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics."

No apology

According to an editorial in the current issue of *African Communist*, no apology is needed for "the spectacle of ANC and SACP leaders publicly debating with each other, sometimes in a heated, polemical way," the strategic questions raised by Slovo, as it affects all our futures.

It would be patronising to activists and the people at large to be fed a "predigested line from the top," the editorial said. This did not mean that leaders should not lead, or that "unity of strategic purpose" was not absolutely desirable. "But a false unity, a unity that is simply papered-over differences, a dead unity, a dogmatic unity, is no unity at all."

It was simplistic to see the debate as simply one between those in favour and those opposed to some kind of power-sharing for a limited period, defined by a "sunset clause," says the organ of the SACP.

Its complexity is, in part, due to there being "a number of areas where different comrades are saying very similar things, but where there are mutual suspicions that the apparent agreements are only apparent . . ."

"For instance, Slovo and his most outspoken critics all agree that the fundamental objectives of our struggle have not, and must not, be altered. But while Slovo explicitly argues this, his critics believe that he and the ANC Negotiations Commission are, in practice, watering down these objectives. The critics believe that in the interests of negotiating tactics, our fundamental strategic objectives are being altered."

In contrast, those closer to Slovo believe that it is the critics who are tending to confuse tactics and strategic goals — but this time in the other direction.

The critics, they argue, are turning longer-term strategic objectives (like the complete destruction of apartheid) into immediate tactical options.

The editorial asks whether either set of suspicions is justified, and advises: "On this the reader must decide." We hope there are voters who would prefer to get some clarity before they decide.

Though the arguments may seem to the uninitiated like hair-splitting, they obviously carry implications for ANC strategy and tactics.



Hani . . . improved position over the last year

THE LEFT FM 5/2/93

Facing the sunset (11A)

Despite the denials, it is clear that the SACP intends — once a democratic government is in place — to break away from the ANC and

Wooing country hearts



Smaller towns and townships will play an important role in determining the outcome of the pending nonracial election. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports on his visit to Harri-smith and its environs.

FNOCH Mlangeni had a simple but powerful message for his audience of township folk: "Our talking will be done through the ballot box... The people shall govern."

The young ANC organiser was addressing a meeting in the town hall at 42nd Hill, a small township on the outskirts of Harri-smith in the Free State. He and his comrades were determined to contribute to an ANC victory in South Africa's pending first nonracial election.

I had gone to Harri-smith and the neighbouring town of Phuthaditjhaba, in the partially self-governing polity of Qwaqwa, on a dual quest: to observe at first hand what was happening on the ground in smaller remote areas and to look at a locality where Zach de Beer's small Democratic Party was said to be flourishing in the black community.

James Selfe, the DP executive director, had identified Harri-smith and Phuthaditjhaba as areas where the DP had been able to establish itself in the black community. DP meetings there, Selfe had said, had not been broken up by zealous from the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and the DP's new members had not been terrified into inactivity or apostasy.

But when I arrived at Harri-smith the most audible and visible presence at 42nd Hill was that of the ANC, whose branch chairman is a township headmaster, Peter Mlangeni. A quietly spoken man, Mlangeni related how he faced incessant demands from ANC members to see their president, Nelson Mandela.

The DP, however, had been quickest off the mark in the post-1990 political era, with De Beer addressing a meeting at 42nd Hill's town hall before the ANC had even established a

branch there. De Beer's meeting, ANC members acknowledged during the visit, had been a success.

But in the past four or five months the situation had changed: the ANC had established a branch. Cas Human, the man who had by all accounts played a critical role in propagating the DP's cause had gone over to the ANC, making his office, telephone and fax — and great enthusiasm and energy — available to the ANC.

Impressions, however, can be misleading. I decided to defer judgment until my scheduled visit to Phuthaditjhaba. I had been given the name of the DP man there, Abel Motang, his telephone number and the address of his office.

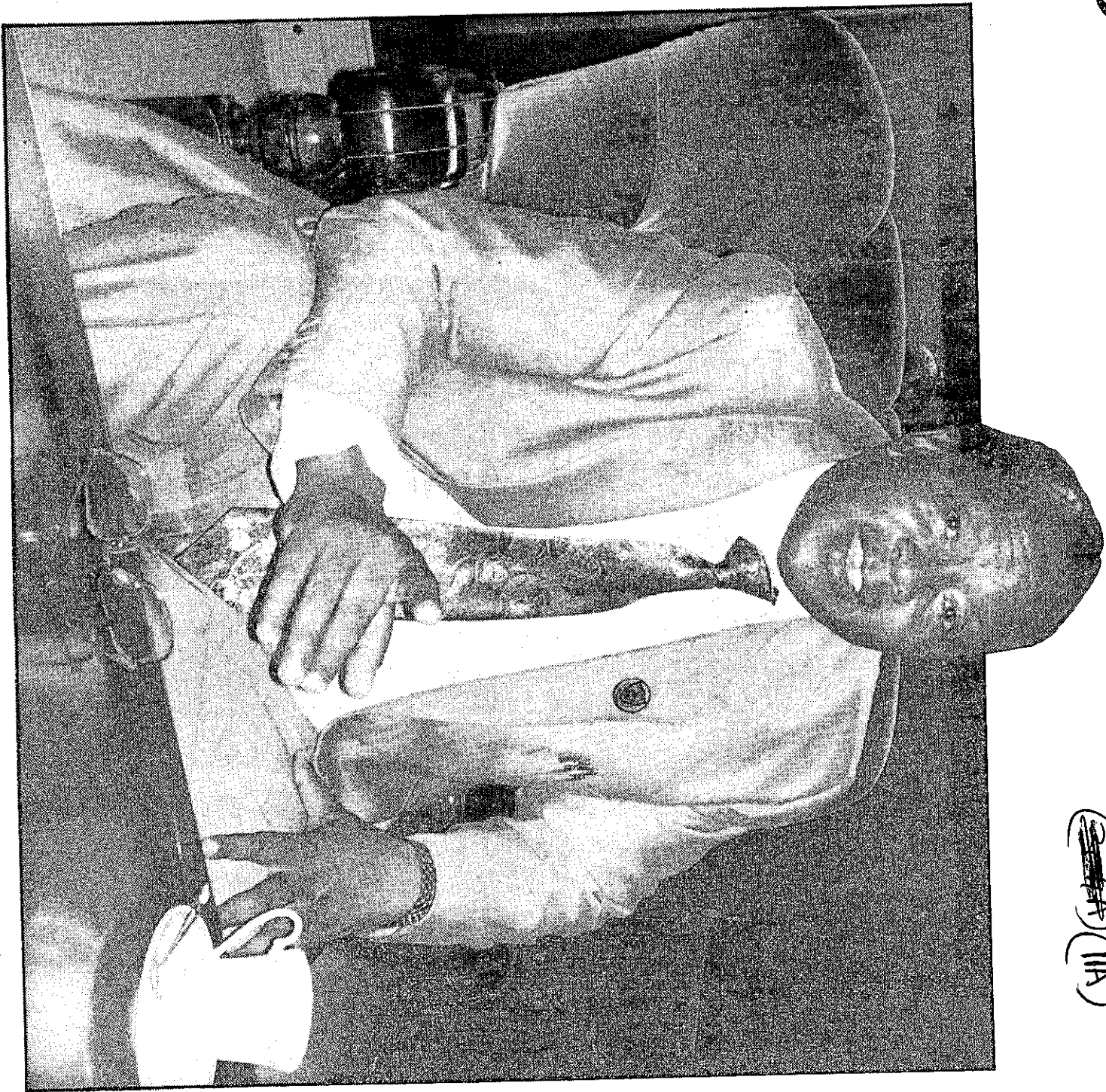
The signs had not been positive. I had phoned several times during the past few days to make an appointment but there had been no reply. The visit to Phuthaditjhaba was fruitless.

The winding alleys and plethora of street stalls in Phuthaditjhaba's Seting Shopping Complex, where the DP had its office, appeared to be a labyrinthine. I eventually located Shop 15, where Motang was meant to be. The two women there had never heard of the DP or Motang.

Inquiries about the whereabouts of the DP or Motang elicited blank stares and shrugging shoulders. Two youths, however, offered their assistance. They assumed that I was looking for the ANC's Steve Phohlela and happily took me to his office. He, however, was attending a funeral.

Later, after continuing my vain search for the DP's Motang, I phoned another DP contact, Pierre de Vos, the DP's man in Bethlehem. Perhaps he could help, I thought.

"I have long given up hope," De Vos said. "I can never find anyone since Cas Human left.



Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli... his party has pulverised the QwaQwa opposition in four elections.

State-Qwaqwa region in a federation.

"We have always considered ourselves part of South Africa," Mopeli said. "Our slogan is, 'One South Africa, one economy, one citizenship and one passport'."

Mopeli related how he had resisted an invitation to join an ANC-led alliance, with the promise of places for Dikwankwella candidates on an ANC list.

His reasons for doing so were differences in policy. Dikwankwella wants regional powers to be constitutionally entrenched and favours a "free market" economy, positions it shares with President de Klerk's National Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mopeli, however, insisted that the convergence with the NP on those issues was conditional, that there was no question of Dikwankwella being an adjunct to the NP, as ANC supporting youths alleged last year when they broke up Dikwankwella meetings in Bothaville in the northern Free State and in the Vaal Triangle.

Dikwankwella intended to contest the pending non-racial election in its own right, with its own distinct identity, Mopeli declared. Assessing its chances, he predicted that Dikwankwella could win 500 000 votes and 10 seats in a 400-member constituent assembly.

The ANC, however, would field a powerful alliance while Dikwankwella and the parties with which its policies converged — notably the NP and the IFP — would be on their own.

I put it to Mopeli that political wisdom demanded a counter-alliance of like-minded parties. He replied that he was keeping his options open, judging from recent comments by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and De Klerk himself, the NP has foreclosed that option, preferring, it seems, to contest the election on its own.

To fulfil De Klerk's boast, made in Cape Town at an international press briefing, that the NP could emerge as the biggest single party, it will have to win a substantial share of the votes in black communities.

I saw no evidence to support De Klerk's optimism. □

Human did a marvellous job but we didn't follow up. The DP did have a strong branch in Qwaqwa but that was under the guidance of Cas Human. We were lax. Unfortunately things came apart at the seams."

Free State, to whom I had been referred by Selfe, offered an explanation for the absence of Motang: he had taken "a post-Christmas break".

Botha largely endorsed De Vos's assessment of the DP position in Qwaqwa. The DP had been very active in Qwaqwa under Human's leadership but it had since become less active, if not quiescent.

Mopeli was reconciled to the absorption of his polity into a greater South Africa, provided that it formed a part of a Free

Not remaining silent

FM S12193

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS by Ken Owen (Jonathan Ball, 314pp, R89,95).

Any practising politician who wants to find out what he has done wrong during the last few years need only consult this book. But as it has no index, my quotations are garnished with page references.

Returning from a sickbed to the chair at *Business Day* two weeks after President F W De Klerk's pronouncement of February 2 1990, Owen wrote: "The release of Nelson Mandela was first celebrated, appropriately, by the looting of a booze shop — an early example of the policy of appropriating other people's property, to which Mandela immediately gave his support. Nationalisation is at heart the policy of the hooligan. UDF marshalls, missing the point, tried to stop the looting and got roughed up. It's a mistake to come between a freedom fighter and his bottle." (Page 234). Will the intoxication of *uhuru* be less potent than that of liquor?

Owen's early reaction to the process of change since February 2 1990 was one of optimism. Horrified as he was by people's courts and necklacing on suspicion, he headed one of his early articles in *Business Day* "Hope Outweighs the Violence." Not by much; he was soon to attack "the savage totalitarian spirit which prevails in the townships" and the condonation of this by public opinion: "... we have for so long condoned some killings while condemning others, applauded mob violence while condemning police violence, and overlooked kangaroo court executions while campaigning against the death penalty, that our moral sense has become corrupted; we remain silent." (Page 235).

Owen analyses the strategies open to the ANC: the armed struggle, mass action and sanctions. Of these, sanctions "constitute the only credible pressure that moderate leaders like Mandela can invoke." So Owen characterised white calls for the ending of sanctions as unrealistic.

In the bright dawn of early 1990, he felt no nostalgia for apartheid: "I am not one of those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President De Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook. He is not, like Ian Smith, bankrupt and beaten as he goes to the negotiating table." (Page 251). Whether Owen sees De Klerk as having negotiated wisely is another matter.

On the role of liberals, Owen's views have changed little: "The prospect that English liberals, and in fact the English community as a whole, will be further marginalised by



Editor Owen ... a fierce eye on corruption

the negotiating process is great. It's no great tragedy. Events — and indeed the diverse character of the nation — are forcing all parties towards a solution that will, in its essential elements, be liberal." (Page 253, but see pages 294-296). It seems paradoxical to suppose that liberal solutions will somehow impose themselves on negotiators of whom none, or few, espouse liberalism.

After examining the incomes of the unionised workers in Soweto, Owen says: "In such a community, any talk of 'redistributing wealth' goes down well only if it is cast in racist terms ... from 'rich whites' to 'poor blacks.' But the union leaders are not stupid; they know that increasingly the interests of the unionised workers diverge from the interests of the deprived underclass. The underclass may respond with passion to the call for revolution, but the unionised workers, if they are to keep the relative privileges which they have already gained, need stability, investment, growth, order. They don't need mayhem." (Page 263).

Yet the example of the NP will make it harder for the forces of reason within the ANC/Cosatu alliance to prevail against the spoilers. One of Owen's most forceful articles, titled "Like Topsy, it just Grows and Grows," shows how Afrikaner employment has been kept from falling by letting the public service grow as its functions diminish. (Page 298).

Owen delights in what he calls the discomfiture of the Left, which, he says, "is in total disarray, its theories have been disproved by events; its violent strategies have been revealed as barbarous and futile; its most prominent leaders are hobnobbing daily with the Nats, commuting by Mercedes. Yet the chimera of supporting 'the struggle' still exerts its appeal. (Some) DP members can't

bring themselves to join the ANC, but want to sidle close." (Page 268).

"The chimera of supporting the 'struggle' ... but a struggle which bears the scars of historical reality breeds the kind of chimera that is invincible, whatever its programmatic shortcomings.

Could this horrid truth find more forceful expression? Owen says: "Having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government." (Page 301).

That is to say, one which "makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total ...

"On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding 'control' of State media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power." (Page 302).

If Owen were the sort of oracle whose responses were completely consistent, he would be less impressive. *Radford Jordan*

Needling the ANC

Fm 5/2/93 (11A)

Nearly three years after admitting it tortured and murdered its dissident members in exile, critics say, the ANC has yet to publicly censure those responsible.

Last month's Douglas report caused an uproar by implicating top officials in the ANC/SACP alliance, including Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Oliver Tambo. It has pumped new life into an issue that refuses to die.

In April 1990, a London newspaper quoted seven former ANC members who sent an open letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela, detailing the torture in ANC camps abroad. At the time, Mandela said the security department officials responsible had been disciplined and the camp leaders dismissed. He added that he hoped government would act with equal alacrity to address similar allegations against security forces.

Though President FW de Klerk has expunged high-ranking generals, demoted ministers of Defence and Police and appointed high-profile commissions of inquiry into the security forces, the ANC has not been as forthcoming. The ANC's own investigation last year into the allegations turned up a list of responsible officials, which quickly went into Mandela's personal file. The ANC says it wants to give the accused time to defend themselves before naming them.

Conceding that Douglas's information is in line with the findings of its own commission of inquiry in October and that of Amnesty International in September, the ANC, nevertheless, dismisses the report as "anti-communist propaganda, vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders and blatant fabrications." It has not denied the substance of the report — that the high-level ANC officials named were responsible for the atrocities and that the SACP organised and supervised the camps. (The ANC has not responded to calls by the *FM* over the past two weeks.)

Instead, the ANC has focused on the organisation behind the report, the International Freedom Foundation (IFF). In commissioning the report, says the ANC, the IFF aimed to undermine the ANC and sow divisions within its ranks and those of its allies and to create a misleading perception of the ANC in exile.

The IFF says it aims to promote "democracy and the free-market system worldwide." Based in Washington, the foundation operates an office in Johannesburg. It has asked De Klerk to extend the powers of the Goldstone Commission to investigate Douglas's findings.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon says: "It is not enough for the ANC to respond to the Douglas report by questioning the credentials of the commissioner and his sponsors."

The IFF and opponents of the ANC do stand to gain political mileage from the report. But, in picking Durban advocate Bob

Douglas to conduct the investigation, the IFF chose someone whose credentials it knew would be difficult to attack (*People* January 29). Douglas, who has practised for 30 years, was asked to investigate the causes of violence in Natal on behalf of the ANC-affiliated Congress of Traditional Leaders in 1989/1990; and his findings favoured the ANC over Inkatha. He is also a long-standing member of the DP and its predecessors and stood as a Progressive Federal Party candidate for parliament in 1970.

The IFF is not a clandestine movement. Established in SA in 1986, its aims are in line with classical libertarian movements such as the Heritage Foundation in Washington and the London-based Adam Smith Institute. Over the years, critics have tried to discredit the foundation as a government front. But it was not on De Klerk's list of organisations receiving government funds during Inkathagate, according to a De Klerk spokesman.

Washington-based executive director Jeffrey Pandin denies the SA government makes any financial contribution to the or-



IFF's Crystal ... "foundation has no political allegiance"

ganisation: "We have never received a penny from any government. All our funds are from private donations, largely from the US and Europe."

Executive director Russel Crystal says the IFF is funded by corporations, foundations and private donations with 20% sourced locally and the rest from overseas. He declines to release a list of contributors.

The question of IFF's connection to government is raised through Crystal's long-standing membership of the National Party. Crystal (35) first caught the public eye in

student politics when he formed the Student Moderate Alliance at Wits University in the early Eighties while at law school. The alliance was little more than a branch of the NP youth but it gave the Left on campus a run for its money by putting up candidates endorsed by the PFP in student government elections.

He later formed the National Student Federation, which was vilified for its outspoken anti-Left stance. The federation did appear on the Inkathagate funding list, though the funds were received years after Crystal had left Wits, without his law degree, and gone on to head the IFF.

Since 1991, Crystal has been an NP-nominated member of the President's Council but he doesn't always go along with the NP line. His NP colleagues were amazed at his virulent attack of the Indemnity Bill late last year, which De Klerk eventually pushed through the council. Says Crystal: "I agreed with the ANC that the Bill enjoyed no consensus and shouldn't be binding on a future government."

He is adamant that the IFF has no political allegiance, a claim substantiated by its regular and scathing attacks of government policy.

What, then, were his motivations in briefing Douglas? "The fact that human rights violations have taken place concerns the IFF. We are concerned that these allegations be dealt with before a general election. We hope that the report will strengthen the position of the democrats within the ANC, who we believe are in the majority yet hold little power in the organisation."

Crystal believes the ANC will put its own interests first. "Mandela is a good statesman but he knows that some of his best organisers are within the SACP bloc. He can't afford a split right now."

More than ever, the ANC is feeling the pressure to oust the primary culprits. The Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee (Recc) has stepped up its pressure on Mandela to take action and compensate the victims. And the report has received an endorsement of support from the independent, Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights, a group approved by the United Nations.

Representing the ANC victims, Recc spokesman Mwezi Twala says: "By appointing another commission, the ANC hopes to delay the issue until it's in government where it will be more difficult to challenge its decisions."

Says Leon: "Unless the ANC takes swift, decisive and far-reaching action over the violations of fundamental human rights committed in its name in camps under its command, these matters will continue to haunt the organisation and bedevil the establishment of a rights-based culture in SA."

* CONTINUE *

Star 5/2/93

PAC aims to nationalise all farmland

By Jo-Anne Collinge

(11A)

The PAC proposes to nationalise and redistribute all agricultural land, so that no individual farmer would be entitled to lease more than 300 ha.

The first detailed PAC discussion document on land reform is understood to insist that the land question lies at the heart of reshaping society.

"The central objective of the national liberation struggle is the repossession of the land from the settler-colonialists and its redistribution to its rightful owners, the African people."

The document proposes all privately held land be expropriated and transferred to the State. Compensation will not be paid for the land itself, but will be paid for improvements.

Land should be leased back to farmers, with an upper limit of 300 ha per farmer. The leasehold may be willed to the farmers' heirs, but private land transactions will be abolished.

In relation to residential land, rural and urban, the PAC envisages each family be entitled to own one residential structure

ANC denies it misused funds

CT 5/2/22
THE ANC has denied allegations by the Norwegian government that it misappropriated a R2,2m grant intended for the establishment of a printing business.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday said the claims were unfounded but refused to comment fully until the ANC had received a statement from Norway.

On Wednesday the Norwegian foreign ministry demanded to know the fate of money it granted the ANC (UJA)

Govt threatens to pull out

Talks crisis over ANC arms cache

BIDAY 5/2/93

(11A) (30)

THE ANC/government negotiations were plunged into crisis yesterday over the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe following the arrest of MK cadres and the seizure of a large arms cache.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told diplomats in a special briefing that government might withdraw from talks with the ANC unless MK's role during the transition was defined.

But in urgent talks last night, senior ANC and government members managed to reach a compromise to defuse the crisis.

The ANC leadership convinced government that neither it nor top MK structures had known anything about the arms smuggling incident.

Police had found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golela on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons apparently came from Mozambique and included two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 34 hand-grenades, about 3 000 AK-47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols.

Botha told diplomats that three MK members were arrested — one commander in Natal and two cadres acting under his instructions.

He said they had made confessions and the "purpose of the action was to kill more Inkatha people".

Botha said that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe had warned government that MK was still operative, but government had denied this and defended the ANC.

The meeting last night resolved that the

BILLY PADDOCK

top leadership of MK, including its commander in chief, would go to Durban, see the three detainees and assist the police fully in investigating the matter.

The top-level negotiations involved Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

It is understood the ANC was badly shaken by the incident, with the discovery of the smuggling operation weakening its negotiators' position that the organisation was disciplined and in control.

Low-level subcommittee talks yesterday — displaced by the crisis — had been expected to move towards closing the deal whereby the ANC would surrender control of its weapons' stockpile and share political control of all security forces.

In 1991 the ANC signed an agreement with government to suspend the armed struggle and stop the traffic of weapons and cadres into the country.

Botha, in his briefing to the diplomats, said that government would not tolerate such flagrant disregard of agreements and MK's continued unlawful actions.

He threatened that if the ANC did not distance itself from the action and condemn it, government would pull out of negotiations with the ANC.

This would have resulted in a total breakdown of constitutional talks.

Botha appealed to the foreign commun-

□ To Page 2

Arms cache

BIDAY 5/2/93
to put pressure on the ANC and suggested that the ANC negotiate with the ANC to take control of its weapons.

Botha said that if the ANC could not fully control its armed wing, the country would be plunged into "civil war".

Diplomats commented that Botha's "grave despondency" could have been more bluster than a real commitment to carry out his threat.

There was a belief among some members of the diplomatic community that it could be a strategy by government, which might have known about the cache earlier,

From Page 1
to weaken the ANC's negotiating position on MK and at the same time facilitate Monday's bilateral meeting with Inkatha.

It is understood in government circles that Botha did not "intend to give an ultimatum" but rather to state that the MK issue had to be resolved before any further talks could proceed.

Talks between government and the ANC on constitutional issues were scheduled for today and tomorrow. These discussions were expected to pave the way for agreement on a joint constitutional proposal.

POLITICS

ANC warning over land deals

By Day 8/2/93

BILLY PADDOCK

114

THE ANC yesterday threatened that a "future democratic government" would not honour land transactions in which government sold off state-owned land or transferred land to homelands.

In a statement reacting to announcements by Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers, the ANC said it had warned government before and was repeating the warning.

On Monday Scheepers said government would not place a moratorium on selling or transferring state-owned land and that it was involved in bilateral negotiations with the ANC on land affairs.

The public altercation between government and the ANC over the matter could bedevil sensitive constitutional talks. It is understood that at the December round of bilateral talks there was agreement that a moratorium would be placed on land transfers and sales.

The ANC said that while "the country is

praying for a peaceful political settlement, the department responsible for the misery of millions of black South Africans is saying it will continue to sell off land and transfer land to the bantustans. It is outrageous."

The ANC said it had had only one discussion with Scheepers on land matters at his request.

"At that meeting he was warned that land transfers to the bantustans would be ill-advised and confrontational."

Despite the De Meyer report of massive corruption and maladministration in Lebowa, Scheepers ignored the ANC's advice and transferred land to both Lebowa and QwaQwa, the organisation said.

Scheepers said it was regrettable that the ANC was hampering attempts to find mutually beneficial and workable solutions to "this highly emotional issue".

The organisation was trying to perpetuate the notion that government was engaged in the indiscriminate selling of state-owned land.

"Despite the facts, with which they are familiar, they persist in alleging that land has been transferred to the self-governing territories," he said.

He said the land in question would remain part of SA and did not form part of a self-governing territory.

The land was to be transferred to individuals, tribes, communities and development corporations, he said.

Joint administration of the land in question would ensure clean administration and political co-responsibility between government and self-governing territories' administrations.

Government did not believe in large-scale redistribution of land, but it recognised the need for greater access to land and that people must be enabled to buy and settle on land.

Food there, but not all share it

CAPE TOWN — A balance has to be found between government support for commercial farming and aid to the poor, says Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk.

Speaking yesterday in the debate on the State President's opening address to Parliament, he said the country produced enough food.

But not everyone had enough on their plate, he added.

Government's agricultural aid programme also had to assist fledgling farmers, but not at the expense of commercial producers.

"Food has to be affordable, but farmers will not produce if there is not a profit motive in agriculture."

Land hunger had to be dealt with sensibly. Farming land had the potential to yield produce and profits, but there were also limits to this. "Not all South Africans will be able to own land."

Politicians should guard against land being used to gain support.

In Bloemfontein, Free State Agricultural Union president Pieter Gous said farmers listened to reason but "rejected with contempt senseless rubbish" such as the proposal by Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers that farmers should donate land to their employees or make them co-owners of their farms.

Gous described Scheepers's suggestion as "one of the most senseless remarks ever made by a government spokesman".

He asked how Scheepers could justify such a proposal if he represented a government which supported and propagated the free market system and market forces. Farmers, he said, would also like to have free shares and joint ownership in mines, banks, shipping companies and other institutions. — Sapa.

ANC 'jumping the gun'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC was "jumping up and down for nothing" by protesting that a delegation of Dutch policemen had been refused visas, Home Affairs deputy director-general Johan van Wyk said yesterday.

The fact was that no decision had been taken yet.

Yesterday the ANC attacked government and the SAP for being inward-looking and "unwilling to open their minds to enlightened police methods and approaches".

In a statement the ANC said government had refused to grant visas to a delegation of Dutch police unions who wanted to look into complaints regarding violence.

"The SA government constantly harps on the impartiality of the police . . . they should be eager to interact with police officials who wish to make a contribution to ending the violence," the ANC said.

Van Wyk said the SA embassy in the Netherlands had taken no decision on the visas and had sent the applications to Pretoria. "We have not yet seen the applications but expect the details tomorrow of the people in the delegation. Once we have the details we can consider the applications and make a decision," he said.

Remaining Solidarity MPs

POLITICS

ANC warning over land deals

Byron 5/27/93

SEA 11A

BILLY PADDOCK

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Bartlett not a cut above his fellows

BIDM 5/2/93
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Have you ever wondered why Minister George Bartlett does not consider himself a cut above his fellow man?

The NP's Natal leader went to great lengths at a news conference to convince foreign and local media of his respect for various cultures.

He said: "I understand the Zulus" and "I respect their cultural accoutrements," which some people call dangerous weapons."

From the Zulus, he turned to the British: "If you go to Scotland you may find a Scotsman walking around with a woman's clothes on, but he also will have a dagger at his side."

But it was Bartlett's next assertion that raised eyebrows: "I respect Jews being circumcised," he said before making his startling disclosure: "Not that I was."

By last night Bartlett was being referred to in political circles as the uncircumcised member for Amanzimtoti.

Sunday blasting law will not be changed

BIDM 5/2/93
CAPE TOWN — Legislation banning Sunday blasting would not be changed, but exemptions would be granted if it was in the national interest, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said yesterday.

He said government would help marginal mines survive if they could be viable. There was no virtue in giving long-term financial support to fundamentally unviable mines.

Government was doing what it could, he said. This week Cabinet had agreed to provide Gazgold with bridging finance because of the difficulties it was facing.

A pumping subsidy had also been agreed for Rand Mine's Durban Roodepoort Deep, he said. He declined to give details of the assistance, but said the subsidies took the form of repayable loans granted on evidence of a viable development or recovery programme.

Durban Deep received a quarterly pumping subsidy of about R2,1m.

Reuter reports that Bartlett said: "Gazgold has asked for a little bit of extra bridging finance because of various problems. They have gone to a seven-day shift and they have put in some improved plant that is going to improve extraction and recovery. In the case of Durban Roodepoort Deep, it's in my budget for next year. We have agreed to assist with pumping subsidies there."

TIM COHEN

Bartlett said he was aware of the support for allowing blasting on Sundays, but if changes to legislation were permitted, this would not be done without the support of all parties including the trade unions.

He said he had agreed to allow blasting at Harmony and Loraine gold mines after extensive negotiations with all parties. Harmony had since become profitable.

No other mines had applied and there were no plans to change legislation to allow mines to decide on Sunday blasting on their own accord.

Our political staff reports that Bartlett denied that government had seen the results of a study into the impact of the proposed dune mining of Lake St Lucia's eastern shore — and urged others not to prejudge the issue.

His comments came amid increasing speculation that government was poised to give the nod to the controversial project when the results of the environmental impact assessment were made public on March 18.

"I don't know what is in it," he said. He described the assessment as "the most intensive ever done in the world" and repeated assertions that government would not approve the project if it was shown irreparable damage would result.

Dalling predicts that the DP will be crushed

TIM COHEN *11/7 3/2/93*

CAPE TOWN — Independent MP and ANC member Dave Dalling yesterday predicted the DP would be "crushed", and the ANC and SACP would separate.

Dalling said at a media briefing he did not regard the DP as an enemy and felt it would have a future role. But fighting corruption and advocating "puritanical" free enterprise was unlikely to win the party the 5% popular support necessary to gain representation in Parliament. *BIDM 5/2/93*

The major difficulty facing the DP was that it contained three camps: one inclined towards the ANC; one inclined towards the NP; and another faction which wanted the party to retain its independence to support liberal values.

The problem was that each camp felt so strongly about its position that if the party shifted towards the view of any one of the camps, it would have to shed the supporters of the other positions.

The party appeared to be taking the independent path and if it maintained this position "I think it will be crushed", he said.

On the SACP, Dalling said he was not a communist — he never had been and never would be. Although he realised whites considered the connection between the ANC and the SACP to be a problem, surveys had shown that blacks did not. "Quite the opposite."

The connection occurred for historical reasons and the policies of the organisations would probably cause their separation in time, although this was not imminent, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Labour Party leader Allen Hendrickse said his party was seeking a further alliance with the ANC. He said the matter would be discussed at a meeting with the ANC on February 15.

Hendrickse emphasised that the Labour Party would not support the NP in an election. — Sapa.

Talks crisis

over MK

Edwelan
5/2/93

11A
~~SECRET~~
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THE HARMONIOUS RELATIONS between the ANC and the Government received a setback yesterday after revelations of alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe gun-running into Natal.

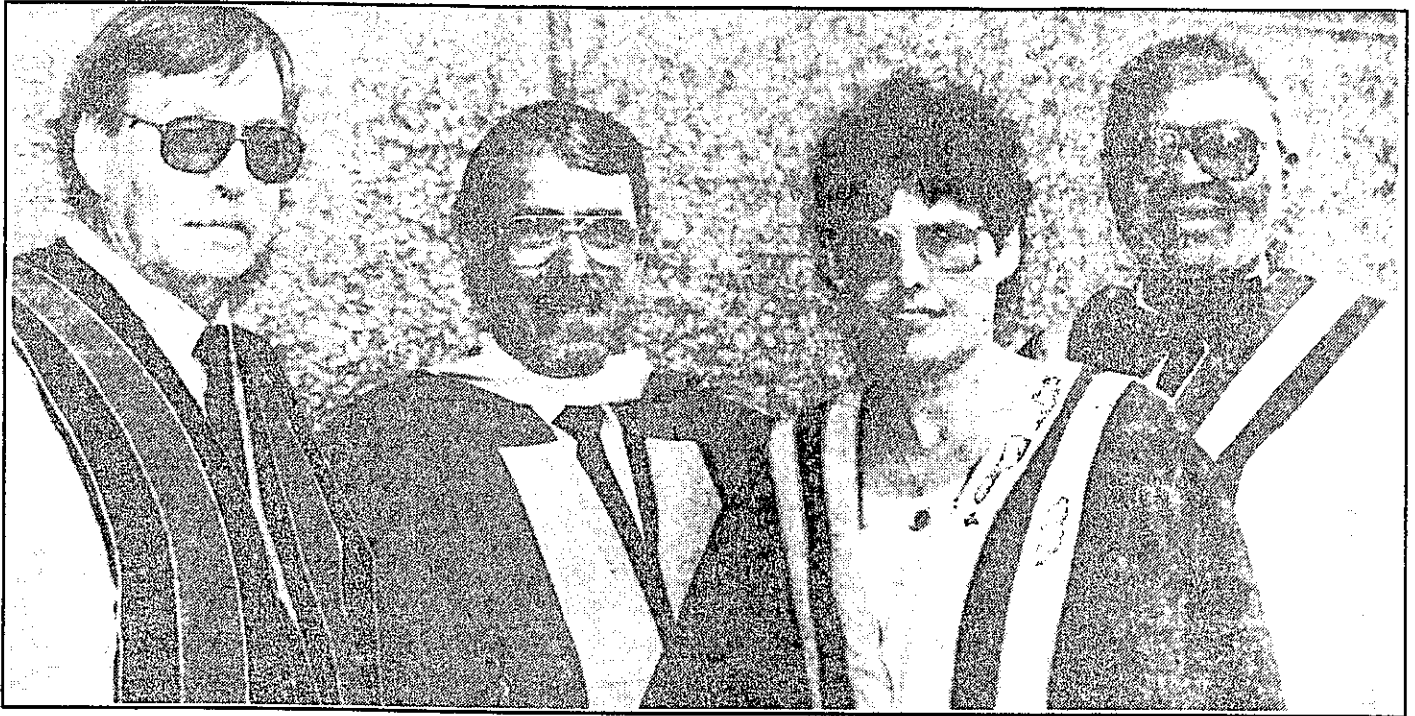
The arrest on the Swaziland border of two alleged ANC cadres with arms, cast a cloud over bilateral talks which was scheduled for yesterday.

While senior Government and ANC officials met to discuss the issue, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha summoned diplomats to inform them of the "urgent crisis" in the country.

See page 2

'gun smuggling'

NEWS Pik Botha briefs diplomats on alleged MK arms cache



Some of the staff members at the Daveyton College of Education which was officially opened yesterday. In the picture are, from left, college councillor Mr C Stander, Deputy Director-General of the Department of Education and Training Dr DH Meiring, acting vice-rector Mrs GC Nel and rector Mr MB Kumalo. Hundreds of people attended the opening ceremony. PIC: PATTY MOENG

Talks hurt by arms find

Sowetan 5/2/93

~~SIPA~~ ~~SEE~~ (11A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **TOP PRIORITY** Government will focus on

Umkhonto we Sizwe in next round of talks:

RELATIONS BETWEEN the Government and the ANC have been severely damaged after police discovered a major arms cache in Natal this week.

Senior Government officials yesterday urgently met their negotiation counterparts in the ANC after police reportedly arrested two ANC members, a Mr Vusimusi Derek Ngobese and a Mr Mandlankosi Clifford Makhoba, during a routine check on the Swaziland border on Wednesday and confiscated a big arms cache that included RPG rocket launchers, handgrenades and small firearms.

The weapons were said to have been smuggled into the country from Mozambique on the instructions of a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe official whom the Government has identified as

a Mr Siphso Daniel Joel Sithole.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday summoned diplomats in Cape Town and told them about the "urgent crisis" in the country and the "destructive impact" the incident has on the negotiation process.

Botha reportedly told the diplomats that the men had confessed "before a magistrate" that Sithole, allegedly an MK commander in Natal, had instructed them.

Botha told the diplomats "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had warned us about MK's activities in Natal" and that proof had now been found.

He is believed to have said that "the ANC either knew about the operation or it did not" and

that the movement was guilty in both instances.

Botha said he expected the ANC to distance themselves from the incident or contact between the two would be jeopardised.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation could not "simply accept the information the Government submitted to us.

"We regard it necessary for the ANC to undertake an investigation into this incident. We cannot at this stage confirm whether the people that are in South African Police custody are ANC members."

Ramaphosa said the organisation was fully committed to the negotiation process.

(11A) APR 5/2/93

ANC warned on arms

Talks in jeopardy after two border arrests — Pik

Political Staff

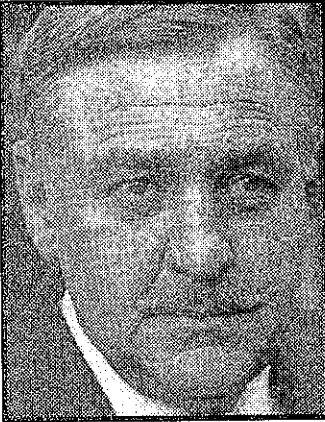
UNLESS ways could be found to control the African National Congress's weapons, the government could not continue with negotiations, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Cape Town today.

He was questioned at an international Press conference about the arrest of two men at the Swazi border on Monday for allegedly trying to smuggle arms to Kwamashu, Durban.

The men claimed they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and had been acting on the instructions of the alleged MK commander in Natal. The ANC is investigating these claims intself and has raised the possibility that the two were criminal gun-runners now trying to hide behind the ANC.

Mr Botha said he had told diplomats yesterday this was a very serious matter.

"Unless a satisfactory solution can be found to this problem of the control of arms.



Mr Pik Botha

then it will be impossible for this government to continue with negotiatons. We hope that a solution can be found."

His reading of the ANC's response so far led him to believe "that we might be on the way to finding a solution".

Mr Botha disclosed that the Pan-Africanist Congress gave the government an undertaking at their bilateral meeting in

Gaborone in November that it would suspend the "armed struggle" and enter negotiations.

He had asked Mr Dikgang Moseneke — "and it is unfortunate that he resigned because I have high regard for him" — why a joint statement could not announce that the PAC was suspending the struggle.

The PAC responded that in practice this would be the case but that it could not announce a suspension of the armed struggle in so many words until its April congress had considered the issue.

The PAC was at pains to spell out that it was not involved in violence and had in fact offered to act as mediator between the ANC and Inkatha.

Asked about the future of negotiations with the PAC, Mr Botha said he did not like to say "never" and added: "There will be contact."

The government broke off talks with the PAC after the King William's Town and

Queenstown terrorist attacks for which Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility.

Mr Botha also told the conference that the government had initially helped Mozambique's rebel movement, Renamo, but had stopped doing so some time ago, reports Sapa.

He could not say whether individual South Africans had continued to support Renamo.

Mozambique President Joachim Chissano had accepted that the government was no longer giving Renamo military aid and the relationship between the two countries was better than before.

Turning to Angola, Mr Botha said he was fed up with both the Unita rebel movement and the MPLA government. South Africa was no longer providing military aid to either.

The South African government supported all efforts by the United Nations to return the process in Angola to a parliamentary democracy.

SPECULATION is rife in political circles that more senior leaders from the National Party and the Democratic Party are set to defect to Inkatha — or retire from politics — in the run-up to South Africa's first all-race elections.

The focal point in the poaching game is Natal, as members of the two parties apparently believe that the key contestants in an election in this province would be the African National Congress and Inkatha — and they should either join them or get out of politics. The ANC poached five MPs from the DP last year and it now appears to be Inkatha's turn.

Inkatha has already snatched the NP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, and the DP MP for Maritzburg North, Mike Tarr.

Two Nats who may cross the floor to Inkatha soon are the MP for Point, Cliff Matthee, and the MP for Klip Rivier, Jaco Maree. Other NP men named as potential defectors are Peter Miller, co-chairman of the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) and Val Volker, the JEA's administrator.

Both have developed a close relationship with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and with other Inkatha leaders on the JEA. They apparently believe that the NP is committed to striking a deal with the ANC — at Inkatha's expense.

Sources say the men are deeply disappointed with the government — including President FW de Klerk — for its firm rejection of Buthelezi's UDI-style constitutional proposals and with George Bartlett's leadership in Natal.

Significantly, commenting on the defection of

Poaching games in the rumour factory

W/Mail 5/2-11/2/93
Who will cross the floor, who is quitting and who will stay put? The betting's heating up in parliament's rumour factory, reports FAROUK CHOTHIA

Mentz and Tarr, Miller said: "There are more people whose sympathies lie with a federal Natal than has been estimated."

One parliamentary source said he would be surprised if a wave of Nat MPs defected, explaining that they spoke one language when in Natal "with the sugar barons and the Ulundi politicians", and another in Cape Town, where it had become clearer that Inkatha was a small player in the national context.

The source cited the case of a prominent Nat rightwing MP from Natal, Johann Steenkamp, who is apparently distancing himself from Inkatha: "He is a deep thinker and yet he has been totally mesmerised by Roelf Meyer (the minister of constitutional affairs, who has taken a tough line with Inkatha)."

The same source added that the NP recently held a "secret meeting" where a Human Sciences

Research Council (HSRC) survey on possible voter trends was tabled. "The survey showed that Inkatha won't even make it in Natal," he said.

Another source believed the DP would be hardest hit by the current flux in politics as it was much smaller than the NP, but that DP MPs were more likely to step out of politics than join Inkatha.

Tarr's decision to defect came as a major blow. Apart from being the MP for Maritzburg North, he was also the DP's Midlands chairman. His resignation leaves the DP with only one MP in the region: Wessel Nel in Mooi River.

Midlands South chairman Rob Haswell — who defected to the ANC last year — said Tarr had considered joining the ANC with him. "He spoke to me. He put out feelers, wanting to know how he would be received in the ANC," Haswell said.

Haswell predicted that there would be a "regional list and a national list" in elections. If Natal politicians wanted to carve out careers for themselves, they had to choose between Inkatha and the ANC.

"I think white politicians are beginning to realise that in regional elections the ANC and

Inkatha would be the main contenders. This explains the defections," Haswell commented.

He added that the floor crossings were "ironic" as the NP was pushing for regionalism and the DP for federalism. "It is now proving to be their undoing (in Natal)."

In the DP, the spotlight has fallen on the MP for Berea, Denis Worrall, as a possibility for defection or retirement from party politics. Worrall has changed his political colours on many occasions in the past. In sharp contrast to DP leader Zach de Beer, who was scathing in his criticism of Tarr, Worrall said he understood Tarr's decision and wished him well.

"Everybody in a changing South Africa must decide where they want to make their contribution," Worrall said. He then denied that he intended to quit. "I'll certainly continue in the DP," he added.

Sources said that the DP chief whip and MP for Pinetown, Roger Burrows, may leave politics entirely in the long run. The die-hard DP member is studying law and qualifies for a pension.

But Burrows laughed at this speculation, saying: "At the moment, parliament is a rumour factory. I'm certainly not going anywhere." He confidently predicted that his party would do remarkably well in an election.

The DP MP for Durban North and its Natal Coastal chairman, Mike Ellis, may switch over to Inkatha at some stage, sources said. Describing him as a "centrist", the sources added that he is unlikely to quit politics as he does not qualify for a pension.

Ellis vehemently denied the speculation, saying: "I'm not selling my soul to anybody."

512-1112193

Doubts over ANC

newspaper

By NEIDI KRIZ

QUESTIONS have been raised about a reported backer of the African National Congress' publishing project, Nigerian press magnate and multi-millionaire Chief MKO Abiola.

London publishing sources said that when Abiola took over the highly regarded London-based *Africa Economic Digest*, he put his son in charge, sacked the staff, and ran it on the cheap. It has never recovered its reputation or its financial stability, the sources said.

Abiola, currently a presidential contender in Nigeria, is also reported to have gone over the head of the editor of one of his Nigerian newspapers. When the Nigerian government closed down the paper for printing a critical report, Abiola, against his editor's wishes, issued a formal apology and retraction. The paper was then allowed to reopen.

This strengthens doubts about whether the daily newspaper which the ANC plans to "facilitate" — with June this year as the reported launch date — can be the independent, democratic organ the movement says it envisages.

Interviewed at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel this week, Abiola said: "All of our publications are independent and free of any political bias." He would not say whether he was committed to the ANC publishing project, nor how much money was involved. "My family is in the publishing business. You can draw your own conclusions," he said.

As this was only his second visit to South Africa, he added, he had not yet determined the commercial viability of such a project.

Lonrho chief Tiny Rowland, reported as another backer, is also a problematic figure. With far-flung business interests in Africa, including South African mining, he is known to have bullied the London paper the *Observer* into editorial policies that supported those interests when he took it over a few years ago.

Casting doubts on the feasibility of



Press magnate ... Chief MKO Abiola is rumoured to be backing the proposed ANC newspaper

the project, Campaign for Open Media spokesman Raymond Louw estimated a daily newspaper would need "the best part of R80-million over five years" to be viable.

Louw said that as far as he understood, financial backing for the newspaper was still uncertain, and no source had yet committed funding.

Times Media Ltd managing director David Kovarsky added that it would be very difficult to find printers who could accommodate a new project. A new printing press would cost more than R20-million, the amount reported as the seed money currently available to the ANC.

Louw doubted the daily envisaged could be truly free and democratic, saying that one of the key architects of the project, Moeletsi Mbeki of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, had other ideas. "Moeletsi is very keen on making it an ANC newspaper," he said.

Joel Netshitenzhe, editor of the ANC magazine, *Mayibuye*, said the

plan was to have an independent editorial board and trust comprised of a number of organisations, including the South African Communist Party, the trade union movement and church organisations. "We want to have a paper that is owned by democratic forces," he said. "The problem (with existing papers) is the concentration of ownership."

Netshitenzhe said the envisaged newspaper would provide a free and democratic alternative to the existing press.

Louw disagreed. "No matter what the intentions are of the people in the DIP (Department of Information and Publicity), the very genesis of the newspaper will give it the aura of being an ANC newspaper."

"To go into the daily field is to make them suspect. One need only look at the Afrikaans newspapers; their information is perceived to be tainted. Political newspapers do not go over well in this country, or any other country."

Boesak opts for politics over pulpit

WIM and 512-1112/93
By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

ALLAN BOESAK was this week like a man trapped in a revolving door, with a breathless public waiting to see on which side he would finally emerge: that of the church, or that of politics.

The charismatic leader of the African National Congress in the western Cape has never made a secret of his ambition to be both a politician and clergyman. What is less clear, however, is whether the crisis into which he pitched the ANC this week was impelled by a genuine desire to return to the church or political brinkmanship.

When the door stopped spinning this week, Boesak announced he had been persuaded by the ANC leadership — including president Nelson Mandela — that he should remain in the post he wanted to resign from to open the way for his reinstatement as a Dutch Reformed Mission Church clergyman.

It was a "tough decision to make" but "at this particular moment in history, staying in the political arena and trying to make my contribution there is the right thing to do", Boesak said, declaring he would make himself available for the country's first free elections.

While the press conference at which he announced his decision was intended to do away with speculation surrounding his move — which included suggestions that he had been ousted by a militant, South African Communist Party-led faction within his regional executive — questions remained.



Tough decision ... Churchman Allan Boesak plumps for politics

Returning to the church after being forced, in 1990, to resign his all his posts when details of his extra-marital affair with Elna Botha — now his wife — became known, would have involved a lengthy vetting process.

Furthermore, as the church forbids its clergy to hold political office, pursuing his ambition of being both politician and man of the cloth would have seen his career headed into a cul-de-sac.

The key possibly lies in his statement that he came to believe he could "best serve the struggle for an open and non-racial democracy" by returning to the church. The implication is that by remaining an ANC official he could not.

Perhaps this week's drama arose from his chafing at a parochial bit, or being cast as what one commentator called "an ethnic Lorelei" — wooing the coloured vote in a region where even ANC activists concede it may already have been captured by the National Party.

For now, he is "convinced" that the ANC and the forthcoming elections must be his "most important priority".

He says he is "fully committed" to leading the ANC in the western Cape to an election victory and also to "playing whatever role I can in the shaping of a democratic constitution" — one that would ensure "a share in the future of our country for all our people".

Time has come to put country ahead of self

STAR 6/2/93.

(11A)

(20/11/93)

WE cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others, writes DAVID ALLEN.

CIVILISATION is never the inevitable outcome of the mere passing of time. Nor does it happen by accident. And it will not last if society's unavoidable harshnesses are not tempered by compromise, co-operation and compassion.

Rather, civilisation is born and endures when people accept that they have to suspend the gratification of some of their desires for personal wealth and power for the sake of something beyond themselves.

Kennedy understood this very well in the early 1960s when he said: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." In our world, however, burdened as it is by an excessive individualism, that sentiment has lost much of its meaning.

A number of recent incidents illustrate how far some political leaders have moved from the spirit of Kennedy's pronouncement. Our failed Mama of the Nation turned mother of all social workers, Winnie Mandela, recently tried to whip up emotions by suggesting that elites in the NP and ANC, cosseted between "silken sheets", were making political deals at the expense of the poor and unemployed whose support she has been trying to win from the back seat of her white Mercedes.

Her desire to see negotiations derailed was obviously not motivated by concern for the masses. Rather it was to try to create a gap for herself near the top of the heap (let's not be coy: at the top of the heap).

Then the concept of press freedom was thoroughly mangled by the Pan Africanist Congress when it threatened to use its influence to close down the Daily Dispatch in East London unless it published its propaganda — all done in the name of press freedom, of course.

More sinister was the threat by a movement of indeterminate and probably insignificant membership on the lunatic fringe of the political spectrum, the Boere Weerstandsbeweging, which threatened to take up arms against all who do not sympathise with its cause.

The Conservative Party too threatened armed resistance against "any future dispensation in which the ANC played a dominant role without the white

voters being consulted" — meaning without its being consulted.

Not much sign of putting country before self there. Because these factions do exert an influence, their simplistic distortions have taken root in the hearts and minds of ordinary South Africans.

They were reflected in the attitude of many Johannesburg citizens to the spectacle of the taxi protest this week. The fact that on the first day of the protest more policemen were injured than demonstrators should be a sign that we have progressed.

This is not to say it is a good thing policemen got injured. It is meant rather as a tribute to their controlled handling of a very volatile situation and to point out how very different things would have been had the taximen tried this sort of thing five years ago.

But because the citizens felt inconvenienced by the disruption of the city and the mess made when trash cans were overturned, they began saying the police had been too soft and could have brought the matter to an end much sooner had they shot a few more.

Thus the view gathers momentum: what I want is paramount; I have an inalienable right to it; give it to me or I will crush you, hurt you or maybe even kill you.

Something has clearly gone wrong with our moral universe.

Our greatest national failure has been to neglect — indeed avoid — the cultivation of an enduring moral sense by which all may know what is morally acceptable and what is not. How else were we able to devise a system like apartheid and live with it for so long?

Now it is neither fashionable nor popular to face with any real intent our moral and ethical dilemmas. But such blissful ignorance cannot last. We cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others.

This is anathema to many. But the world can never be made to reflect only our particular values or to become so value-free that laws and customs embody no ethical system and no belief about what is good for humanity.

Pure self-interest is not only not an option any more, but has never been an option. Read Adam Smith. He knew it, which should give at least one influential sector in South Africa food for thought.

Pik firm on PAC ceasefire

CAPE TOWN — The Pan Africanist Congress assured the Government during their two-day meeting in Botswana late last year that it would suspend its armed struggle, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha, who led the Government's delega-

tion to the meeting with the PAC in Gaborone in November, told a press briefing in Cape Town that the PAC delegation — led by then second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke — had committed itself to the suspension of its armed struggle.

A month later Moseneke resigned from the leadership of the Africanist organisation, citing family and work pres-

sures as a reason.

Two weeks before his resignation, however, the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), staged attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown. Five people died and many others were injured in the attacks.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke yesterday said Botha had apparently misunderstood his organisa-

PIK BOTHA has reiterated that the PAC last year gave an undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

(IIP) ~~(IIP)~~
 tion's position at the meeting, and denied that any undertaking that the armed struggle be suspended had been given.

Seroke, who was a member of the PAC's delegation, said the PAC

had told the Government that a decision to suspend the armed struggle would be made by the organisation's annual congress originally scheduled for April this year.

Botha told the brief-

ing: "When I said to Moseneke — who, unfortunately, has since resigned, and I have great respect for him — that we should write that agreement into the joint statement, they said that was the situation on the ground.

"They told us they were not involved in violence, and that they had offered to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Hence, our joint statement, that the Govern-

ment and the PAC had committed themselves to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems, meant that they would suspend the armed struggle.

"I am happy that Botswana's Foreign Affairs Minister, Dr (G K) Chiepe, chaired the meeting, and she can testify to this."

Botha said the PAC leadership had undertaken to take this agreement to its next annual congress where it would

be discussed and, hopefully, ratified.

Contacted for comment yesterday, Moseneke said he was now out of public life and would therefore not comment on Botha's statement.

Botha reiterated the Government's position that Pretoria would not be able to agree to any PAC involvement in negotiations until the organisation had distanced itself from Apla — and he thought the ANC shared his view.

'Bullets are the Star 6/2/93 answer until (IIA) (scribble) broad ballot'

NEIL MOORHOUSE
Africa News Service

CAIRO — The Pan Africanist Congress would not give up its armed struggle until the ballot was secured for all citizens, regardless of race, the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said during a week-long visit to Egypt.

After meeting Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, Ebrahim said it was inevitable that the senseless killings in the townships would spill over into the white neighbourhoods. "Only a quickening of the electoral process, based on democratic, nonracial principles, can stop this," he said.

Quoted by the semi-official Al Ahram newspaper, Ebrahim warned Egypt of the South African Government's alleged use of African and European mercenaries from neighbouring African countries and other parts of the world. He pointed out that 119 people had died in police custody in 1992, and that the Government had failed to account for these deaths.

"As long as Government-instigated violence continues, the PAC is under no obligation to suspend its armed struggle," he said.

Reconvene Patriotic Front

During his stay at the invitation of the Egyptian government, Ebrahim called on Egypt to assist in reconvening the Patriotic Front, particularly in view of Egypt's chairmanship of the OAU.

Egypt has made moves in the last year to strengthen ties with all the various political parties in South Africa. Last year, it provided a training course in diplomacy for PAC and ANC members. Al Ahram said training was also provided in the police force, especially in customs. No training was, however, provided for the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Egypt has seen South Africa as a vital trading partner, but has delayed restoring diplomatic links until elections are held for a fully representative government. The opening of a South African mission in Egypt has been delayed until the middle of this year.

Star 6/2/93

ANC denies it misused Oslo's cash

THE ANC moved yesterday to smother suspicions that it had misused R2,2 million from the Norwegian government for the establishment of a printing press.

The ANC said in a statement it had put the funds in an investment company as a step towards establishing an autonomous printing shop.

Norwegian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ingvar Havnen declined to react until his government had seen the ANC's full report on the matter.

Sapa.

(TIA)

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C

PAC: Armed struggle truce claim untrue

27
118
27/6/93
JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday described as untrue a statement reportedly made by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that leaders of the organisation had undertaken to suspend the armed struggle.

The PAC said that at the last meeting with the government in Botswana, the two parties reached common understanding that the discussions of the armed struggle could not be treated in isolation from the broader political conflict.

The two parties also agreed there could be no unilateral suspension of the armed struggle. — Sapa

ANC, SACP 'could split'

Political Staff

THE ANC and the SA Communist Party could separate and collaborate as two independent entities with defined areas of co-operation, the SACP general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday. (114)

This, however, was one of the many possibilities that faced the SACP after a democratic government was in place, he said in an interview published in Vrye Weekblad yesterday. CF 6/2/93

The SACP was fighting for a socialist South Africa, he said.

A TASTE OF HANI

■ One of the stormy petrels of South African politics, Mr Chris Hani, has a reputation for being a ruthless and hardline Marxist; he also loves English poets like Shelley and Keats. British journalist PETER HITCHENS interviewed him . . .

WHEN Chris Hani suddenly starts talking about "re-educating" South Africa's whites, you remember with a jolt that he is a communist. Most of the time, it is easy to forget that this man is a hardened graduate of a secret Moscow military training school.

It is difficult to believe he has fought and killed in two bitter African wars and was, until a few months ago, the commander-in-chief of a guerrilla army. He has faced air attack and survived it. He has infiltrated his own country. He is brave and tough, and dangerous to his enemies.

There is some dispute about whether he is ruthless as well. White hardliners accuse him of involvement in torture and executions in secret camps in Angola. He denies it and says he protested against such things.

Charming and intelligent, he is much happier talking about his taste in poetry than torture in prison camps.

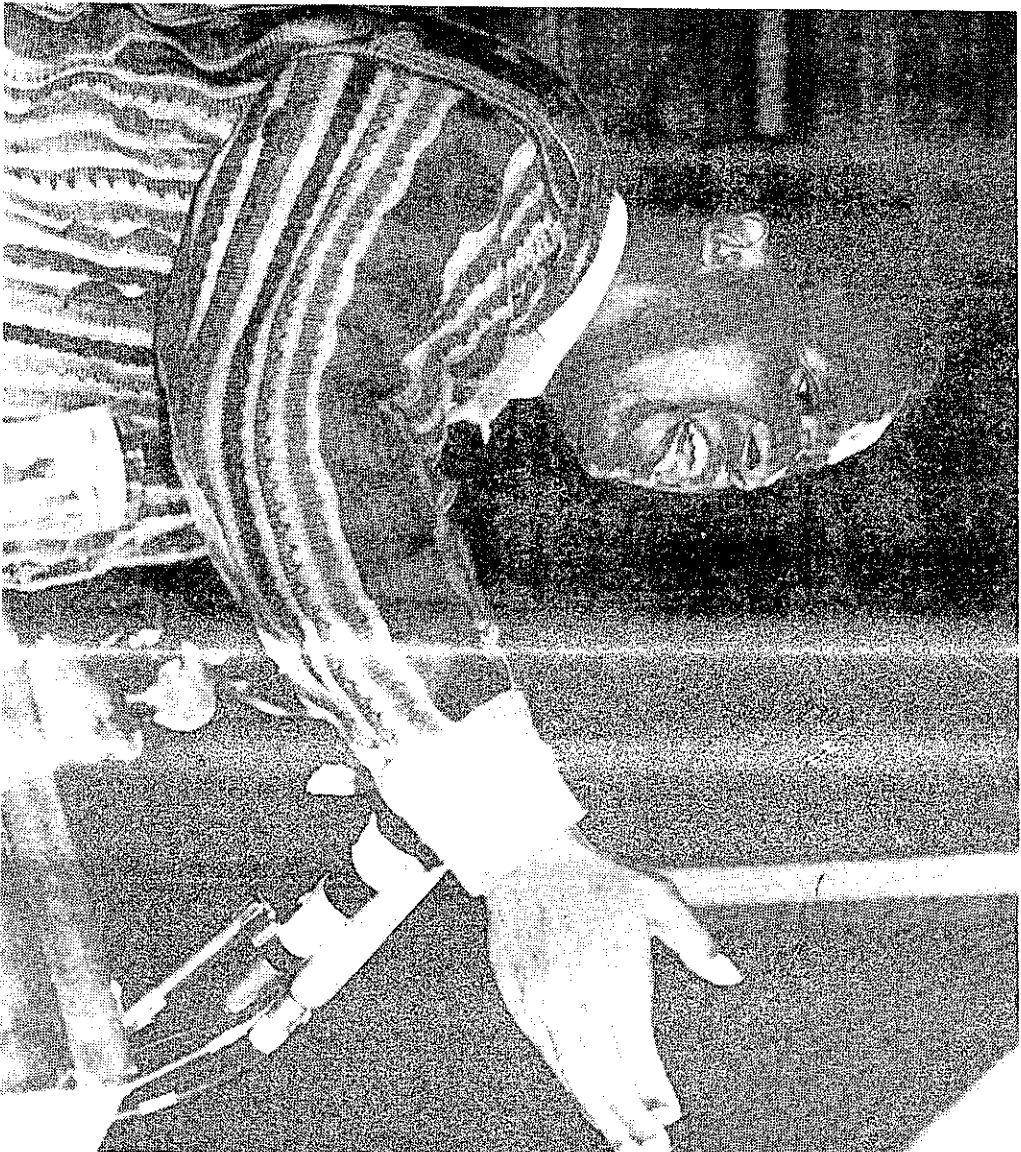
He pens the occasional line of verse and writes short stories — when he is not busy overthrowing apartheid!

He is fond of the works of Shelley and John Donne. Keats's *Ode To A Nightingale* is one of his favourites and he can quote Shakespeare by the kilometre.

More beguiling still, he is blessed with a sense of humour, something that has been surgically excised from most Marxists.

He even tells how he moved into one of the Transvaal's most conservative white towns, Boksburg, by mistake, when at last he was allowed to re-enter his homeland legally (It is, by the way, cheaper to buy a house in Boksburg than in the wealthy parts of Soweto).

"My wife comes from a different part of the



□ **COMRADES:** Mr Chris Hani says: "I just pick up the phone and can fix a meeting with Mandela . . ."

country, and didn't realise what sort of area it was," he laughs.

Understandably, the neighbours were a little shocked to find they were sharing their boundaries with the former chief of staff of the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

All very nice, almost like th happy ending to a multiracial fairytale.

But, Mr Hani is a communist. In fact, he is the communist, secretary-general of the now-legal SACP, tiny but thriving and fanastically influential!

Whites hate and mistrust the party. Blacks, on the other hand, are quite unworried by its strength.

Many whisper that this man, one of the most powerful advisers of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and almost certain to be the first black president of South Africa!

He confirms the rumours. Sitting in his austere office, shaken by traffic noise coming through the open windows because he cannot afford air-conditioning, he gestures towards his telephone and says: "Whenever I want to see him, I just pick up the phone and arrange an appointment. I think we're friends. He calls me at home and says: 'Can we please meet?'"

He emphasises that Mr Mandela is not acting alone, that all his decisions are taken after consulting carefully with close colleagues, Chris Hani very much included.

However much the West may admire and fete him as a brave individual, Mr Mandela has debts to pay and forces to placate.

Mr Hani puts it this way: "Basically, he is a comrade who makes sure that what he does receives the understanding and support of as many people as possible."

There it is again. The jarring use of the word "comrade" summoning up memories of the world's failed hammer-and-sickle states. It is difficult to find out exactly what flavour of communism this man likes.

Perhaps the most significant pointer is that he is still a communist, in a world that has almost entirely turned its back on the idea in theory or practice.

He readily admits he always used to be a dedicated follower of Krenin in fashion. He spent a year in the USSR in 1963, being trained for the violent overthrow of white South Africa.

"We supported anything. The invasion of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia. There was always a good reason. We thought the gulag was an invention of hostile imperialist propaganda."

He even accepts that he didn't have any doubts until after Mikhail Gorbachev had them. He tells how the SACP condemned the Moscow headline

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coup in August 1991 — the day after it happened. They wanted to be sure of what was going on, he says. But, on the crucial Monday, when many people thought the putsch would succeed, Mr Hani's party stayed silent. We shall never know where they would have stood if the plotters had triumphed by Tuesday.

He is also strangely vague on China (party members are being urged to win a trip to Beijing in a jolly contest). Yes, he condemns the massacre in Tiananmen Square — but, he can't remember if the party denounced it at the time. Can't remember? This man is secretary-general of the party, for heavens sake!

The same alarming vagueness creeps into other areas. On crucial affairs like taxation, economic policy and nationalisation, he quickly slips into generalisations which could mean anything. He is against any curbs on the media, but he does want a black government to help an "independent Press", while accepting that such a Press might be indebted to the state.

He predicts also that "the white Press will criticise us and make racist insinuations!"

He favours "healthy laws to prevent racist insults". Such laws, in South Africa, might have a very different meaning from Britain's Race Relations Acts.

What about "re-education"? Mr Hani says firmly: "Whites must be re-educated. They must accept that they can no longer live in an island of prosperity while all around them is a sea of poverty."

Once again, he is unclear as to how this process will take place.

Most whites, are, in any case, getting used to the new realities — not least Mr Hani's Boksburg neighbours. What they do not know is how far and how fast a Mandela government, advised by Mr Hani, will go!

Will it tax them till their pips squeak? Will it forbid them (as Zimbabwe has) to take no more than a few rands abroad?

Will it rush to promote blacks to senior positions in the civil service, the police and the judiciary? To impose its power and pay off its supporters?

What they fear, and with some reason, is that many of these epoch-making decisions will be heavily influenced by a man who has spent his life as a communist, who learned how to shoot, and not to think, in Moscow!

Boesak opts for politics with prayer

11/10
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JEAN LE MAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

DR Allan Boesak has told of the weeks of agony and the crisis of conscience he endured while wrestling with a decision on whether to stay in politics or return to the church.

The controversial leader, who was at one time president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and now heads the Western Cape region of the ANC, ended a fortnight of speculation about his future when he announced he had reversed his decision to go back to the ministry and had decided to stay in politics.

"It was not a sudden decision," he said in an exclusive interview yesterday. "Everybody close to me, my friends and family, knew I longed to return to the ministry.

"The situation has been developing slowly over months. I knew that if I did return to the ministry it would mean resigning from the ANC, and I had to agonise over the decision for a long time.

"Last Christmas was the first time in eight years I have taken a month's holiday and I was able to think things out very clearly and discuss it with the people close to me.

"When I told the ANC of my decision it led to more discussions — and in the end I was persuaded to stay in politics. It was not just a matter of talking it over with Mr Mandela, although of course I kept in constant touch with him.

"I spoke to people in the region as widely as possible, outside my immediate circle.

"I have been very hurt by stories there is bad blood between Tony Yengeni and myself. It is the unkindest cut of all. Tony and all the others in the ANC here in

■ His decision to stay in politics instead of returning to the ministry was reached only after a real crisis of conscience, says the ANC's Cape leader, Dr Allan Boesak.



□ **DILEMMA:** Dr Allan Boesak

the western Cape have given me tremendous support. People say the unity and co-operation between us is closer than ever before.

"When I was unanimously elected western Cape leader of the ANC at its conference in October, Tony actually stood down to make way for me and campaigned actively for me.

"I know he has a military background and is a communist, while I am a committed Christian who believes non-violence is the only way. But that makes no difference to our relationship: it is the sort of situation which an organisation such as the ANC, which has affiliation with many other bodies, can take in its stride — and so can I.

"It is the purest, purest rubbish to say, as I have heard said, that Tony Yengeni was part of a plot to get rid of me."

Dr Boesak admitted the on-off decision to return to the ministry

must have been a traumatic experience for the church as well as for himself.

"There are people in the church who actively encouraged my return," he said. "It has been said that since I left the Sendingkerk is no longer in a leadership role, both in the ecumenical movement in South Africa and internationally.

"On the other hand, people in the political arena have asked me how I could ever think of standing back now, as the country approaches its most dramatic changes. They ask how I can withdraw, after having spent 15 years striving for the democratisation of South Africa, now that we are on the threshold of great events."

Asked whether financial implications had had any effect on his decision, Dr Boesak laughed and said he "hadn't really thought about it".

"I suppose, if you look at it, one makes more money in politics than in the ministry. But there are no signs I shall have a great position in the future South Africa. In fact some people actually said I was thinking of leaving politics because the ANC hadn't given me any big position.

"A theologian once told me that when one has a choice between two very difficult decisions, the best thing to do is to choose the more difficult because in that way one will be given strength to carry it out.

"I yearn to return to the ministry some day, but when people close to me ask me now whether I've made the right decision, I can say I know I have and I'm at peace with myself about it."

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Weekend Argus Political Staff

It wasn't us, says the ANC

OFFICIALS of the Southern Natal region of the African National Congress have denied that the organisation was involved in the arms allegedly being smuggled between Swaziland and Kwamashu, Natal.

Police arrested three men at the Swazi border on Monday, allegedly in possession of an arms cache. Police said two admitted they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe acting on MK instructions. Details of the third person have not yet been released.

The incident has once again focused attention on the long-tandling dispute between the government and ANC over control of MK arms caches.

In a statement yesterday the ANC's Southern Natal region said the government was trying to use this incident to "achieve its long-cherished goal of delaying the negotiation process so it could cling to power for the foreseeable future".

"The ANC and our people will ensure that the government does not achieve this goal.

"We demand access to the arrested cadresso we can complete our investigation into the matter. So far we have concluded that no member of the regional executive committee had prior

knowledge of the incident. Further, we have established that the MK Southern Natal regional command was not involved.

"Our investigation is continuing and where necessary we shall take the appropriate disciplinary action."

The regional leadership said it remained committed to the letter and spirit of all bilateral agreements between the ANC and the government.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for Minister

of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel, said yesterday that the ANC would be allowed access to the men as soon as police had completed their investigation.

He said the incident re-emphasised the need for control of the armed structures of all political formations.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate the alleged incident.

However, the ANC said the question of MK

and arms caches had been dealt with in the DF Malan Agreement which made provision for a liaison committee consisting of representatives of the Government and the ANC to investigate violations.

The ANC would not want to violate that agreement now by bringing in the Goldstone Commission, an ANC spokesman said.

A committee of the Goldstone Commission is to include the incident in its public inquiry to be held in Durban on February 15, Mr Justice Goldstone announced in Pretoria.

The committee would be chaired Mr M N Sithole, with members Mr L S van Zyl and Mr S Roberts. Anyone with information about these allegations was requested to address them to the commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001.

ANC 6/2/93

WHAT strikes one about Mr Ebrahim Rasool's one-sided political polemic against

the National Party in last week's SOUTH, is how he seems to be out of step with the ANC's leadership.

Secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma, among others, are preparing the ANC to enter into a government of national unity with the National Party and other major political parties, while Rasool employs the rhetoric of violence when he talks about "forcing the National Party to give up the power to which it so fiercely clings".

But the opposite is true. The State President in his speech at the Opening of Parliament last Friday made it clear that the NP is in a hurry to get the interim government — which will involve the leadership of the ANC and other major parties — established as soon as possible.

Mr De Klerk said that if multi-party negotiations could be resumed by March, "we shall be able to move well within our projected time scales which can result in a transitional executive council in June and a new transitional constitution in September 1993". This is certainly not clinging to power.

Rasool has raised a number of other points which merit a reply:

● He claims that those who voted "no" in the 1983 referendum for the three-chamber parliament have been vindicated.

We disagree. For all its faults, this structure, which was never intended to be permanent, was a can-opening exercise which changed peoples perceptions about each other's communities and prepared the way for full democracy.

Former president PW Botha said as much when he opened the new parliament in 1984. The three-chamber parliament was born at a time when "gradualism" was con-

CROSS TALK

NP is not
clinging to
power

S04TH
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Sheila Camerer, MP, a member of the National Party Federal Information Service, responds to **Ebrahim Rasool**, a member of the ANC regional executive, whose article appeared in SOUTH last week:

sidered by many to be the key to democratising South Africa.

Today the pace has changed. Less than a year ago, 70 percent of white voters mandated the state president to pursue with all due speed a power-sharing democracy (without domination on a winner-takes-all basis). This should be based on universal adult franchise, strong regional government and a free market.

● Rasool claims that "the tricameral teeth have been drawn and it must now make for a real government of the people ..." etc.

The NP would like to point out that the dentist in this case was none other than FW de Klerk, the leader of the National Party. The initiator of the disappearance of the three-chamber parliament and the



advent of a full democracy in South Africa was the National Party and its leader and I would like to re-emphasise that the National Party is a more than willing participant in the tricameral system's demise.

'The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the first multi-party negotiations was our idea'

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the first multi-party negotiations, was our idea, though of course endorsed by all the other major political players.

● Mr Rasool alleges that the NP had a double agenda at Codesa. This is simply not true — the NP had no double agenda. ANC and National Party negotiators were in daily contact during January to May 1992 meetings of Codesa and the ANC were willing participants in the agreements reached in the working groups, which they subsequently reneged on.

It was quite clear to the National Party negotiators that it was the ANC which torpedoed proceedings in Working Group 2 (and thus at Codesa II), by introducing last minute demands for a deadlock-breaking mechanism which they knew could never be agreed without extensive debate.

● Rasool talks about the National Party's "wolfish democratic proposals in sheep's clothing". Emotive language is not going to change the facts of the matter which are that the National Party put its constitutional principles very clearly on the table from the beginning and that a broad consensus is beginning to take shape around these principles, such as power-sharing, strong regional government, checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, economic security for owners and investors and security of tenure for state officials and teachers, etc.

● Turning to the violence Rasool claims that "unknown forces waged a war in our townships". This is disingenuous. A number of legal commissions, including the Goldstone Commission, which have been liberal in their criticism of the security forces, have made a specific finding: that most of the violence in the townships is caused by the political battle between the ANC and Inkatha, a fact which Rasool conveniently fails to mention.

We were glad to find common ground with Rasool when he said that a new democratic government is not a panacea for all ills but will have to co-operate with civil society to rebuild our country.

De Klerk emphasised the point at the opening of parliament when he said that 1993 offers our country the opportunity to make a major breakthrough to peace, stability and progress and that every leader and every party will have to make a contribution to constructive and creative thinking and action.

He said: "We shall fail if everyone clings relentlessly to points of view that serve their own interests well but undermine those of others. We shall succeed if we agree on solutions that serve and protect the interests of everybody".

The NP has long acknowledged and apologised for the harm done by apartheid. Its bona fides in working for a full democracy should now be acknowledged by the regional leadership of the ANC as well as by its top negotiators.

Boesak emerges stronger

By Rehana Rossouw

11A

PART of the drama of Dr Allan Boesak's on-off future with the ANC this week were serious concerns he expressed in an eight-page letter to Mr Nelson Mandela last month.

Boesak is at pains to stress that these were not the reason for him considering quitting politics, but the ANC regional chairperson still spoke openly about some of his problems in an exclusive interview with SOUTH on Wednesday.

He also revealed his personal frustration about being cast in a limited ethnic role and as a mobiliser of the coloured vote, when there were other contributions he could make in the ANC.

While acknowledging some problems with the ANC, however, he discounted rumours of a split in the regional executive as politically-motivated press reporting.

Flanked by most members of the regional executive committee at a press conference on Wednesday, Boesak announced he had decided to "sacrifice" his clerical aspirations in favour of his political commitment.

His dilemma of choosing between church and politics was resolved after a passionate appeal by Mandela to the church to allow him to stay with the ANC, and appeals by other ANC officials for him to stay on.

This outcome has substantially strengthened Boesak's political standing in the ANC.

In his interview with SOUTH, Boesak poured scorn on reports in Die Burger that he was at loggerheads with communists in the ANC.

"Tony Yengeni (regional ANC secretary and Communist Party member) was not part of any group wanting to oust me from the ANC," he said.

"Die Burger is the mouthpiece of the National Party, and it is their job to be as negative as possible about the ANC and its leadership."

Among the issues he raised with

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ALLAN BOESAK

Mandela, besides his desire to return to the ministry, was the strategic direction of the ANC.

"There is certainly not enough clarity about where we should be going. We can do far better than we are doing presently," he told SOUTH.

"Because of the geographical and demographic position the Western Cape holds, we will have more

ALLAN Boesak is concerned about what he sees as the limited role he is expected to play in the ANC.

During the heyday of the United Democratic Front, the charismatic Western Cape leader was patron of the organisation and the terrain of his duties stretched all over South Africa into every community.

In the ecumenical community, he played an international role for almost a decade.

When he joined the ANC, he made it clear to the organisation that he saw his role in anti-apartheid politics as a national one.

"What I was trying to do was to put paid to the idea that Boesak was in the ANC simply to deliver the coloured vote," he told SOUTH this week.

"The next step will be tokenism and I am deeply offended by that."

'More people are becoming disillusioned with politics, especially in the coloured community'

problems fighting an election here and there are limits to what the region can do."

Boesak said the ANC national office determined what the organisation's relationship was with minority communities.

"We have to fight two battles in the ANC. We have to make sure that the region follows a clear line of policy, and fight a battle for recognition of our ideas at a national level."

Boesak said he told Mandela in his letter, dated January 21, that the

ANC held the majority support of the coloured community in the Western Cape firmly in its grasp, and the organisation could win an election here "convincingly".

But Boesak said his experience also told him that the number of people becoming disillusioned with the political process was growing. This was especially marked in the coloured community.

"I don't think the ANC nationally has taken up the issues raised by people in this community. Unless they start doing so soon they are going to be disappointed come election day."

Boesak said he had raised several questions about the ANC's "strategic perspective" in his communication with Mandela.

He warned that the ANC should guard against estranging its membership and supporters by being seen to be entering into a union with the National Party.

"In our desire for agreements, we should not allow short-term gains to dictate to us," he warned.

'Token coloured role offensive'

Boesak said all he wanted from the ANC was an opportunity to exploit his energy and talents to the full.

He said he was not sure whether everyone understood what he meant by this.

"If you really want people to give their best to the movement and draw the best people, you take people because of what they can offer you.

"So many prominent UDF activists have disappeared today. The ANC will one day find that this is to their detriment.

"I certainly do not believe that the ANC is exploiting to the fullest what I think I can give to the movement.

"This leaves me extremely frustrated"

Boesak said the time had come for "people to raise real questions

and acknowledge that there are problems in the ANC today".

"The movement has enormous strengths, but we would be fooling ourselves if we thought that liberation was near."

In his talks with the national and regional leadership of the ANC in the past week, he had not insisted that they discuss a new role for him to play in the organisation, he said.

"I know that in the region the most important role I can play is to lead the election campaign.

"Nationally, I am a member of the national executive committee of the ANC and I will continue to take the viewpoints of this region to their meetings.

"Anything else I do nationally depends on the national leadership, but this has not come up in discussions yet."

Communists to review strategy

By Quentin Wilson

WITH the ANC set to become the next government, the role of its alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, is under review.

The SACP, found to be the second most popular party in black urban areas after the ANC in a Markinor poll, will plot a new course at a groundbreaking national conference in April.

The party has rejected as unfounded the remarks of a break with the ANC attributed to SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

While a complete split is unlikely, there are signs of a shift in SACP strategy. This was highlighted by the recent announcement by the SACP that the party would try to draw the ANC into a pact, binding

the ANC to more of a socialist position on economic issues.

According to Mr Jeremy Cronin, SACP spokesperson, this "reconstruction pact" will try to ensure that "the ANC holds a course that puts the masses first".

Cronin said the pact would be made between a "range of mass democratic forces and the ANC" which would spell out what the macro-economic orientation of the future government should be.

It would include policy guidelines on housing, education and health and a formula for ensuring participatory democracy at all levels of government".

"This pact will have to be agreed to before the ANC goes into an election, so that it would inform the make-up of their election platform,"

Cronin added.

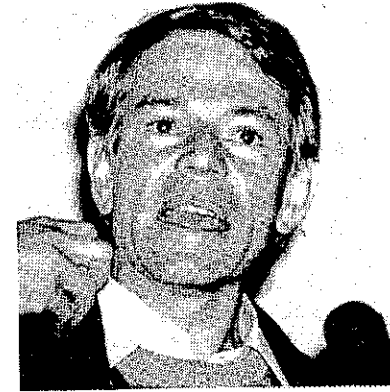
"It is unlikely that the party will ditch the ANC in the foreseeable future. This will only be forced upon us if the ANC is hijacked by some liberal project."

He said this scenario will be discussed at the conference in April.

"The most likely scenario is that we will remain in the alliance and continue to do what we do best — be a catalyst that spurs a process of change in a direction that favours the broad masses.

"This includes pushing for a working class bias within the ANC; guarding against opportunism and demogogy as well as playing a key role in strategising for the democratic movement," Cronin said.

"We will definitely be going into the first election under an ANC



JEREMY CRONIN

banner. This is not an opportunistic move but is strategically correct for the huge national democratic tasks ahead of us.

"Certainly the first of these tasks will be to win the election handsomely to install a transitional government dominated by progressive forces," Cronin said.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC inquiry into weapons cache

S/Times 7/2/93

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SENIOR ANC officials will travel to Natal this week to investigate the circumstances surrounding the arrest of three alleged ANC members linked to an arms cache discovered by police at a Swaziland border post.

ANC officials on Friday remained tight-lipped, saying they were investigating the matter.

But the organisation released a statement yesterday confirming it would co-operate fully with the Goldstone commission probe into the allegations scheduled for February 15.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced on Friday that his commission's public inquiry into the illegal importation of automatic weapons and explosives into SA would include the discovery of arms on Monday in a vehicle travelling between Swaziland and SA.

Three ANC members were arrested when the cache was discovered.

Norway presses ANC on R2m it got for printing equipment

By CHARIS PERKINS and
PETER MALHERBE

THE Norwegian government has given the ANC until the middle of this month to account for more than R2-million it was given to buy a printing press.

The ANC was meant to report back to the Norwegian government on how the funds were being used by December, but yesterday a spokesman in Oslo said this had not been done so far.

In a statement issued on Friday, however, the ANC's information department said it had given Norway "full reports" in which it accounted for the money.

The ANC channelled the funds into a private investment company, Thebe Investment Corporation, in

October to set up a national printing trust.

It said it told the Norwegian government that the printing equipment would be acquired last month and the plant would begin operating by the end of June.

Explanation

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the printing equipment had arrived in Durban.

But Norwegian foreign ministry spokesman Ingvar Havnen said his government was still waiting for a full explanation from the ANC about the use of the funds.

He said the government's representative in Johannesburg, Inger Heldal, monitored the use of all Norway's grants to the ANC and had brought the matter of the funds to its attention.

"We were surprised to hear the ANC had transferred the funds to Thebe Investment," he said.

"We asked the ANC for an explanation in December, and renewed the request a few days ago."

Thebe Investment managing director Vusi Khan-yile said his company was "quite satisfied" Norway had been fully informed.

"We believe the grant is

being utilised for the purpose it was intended for," he said.

He would not say whether the trust would print the daily newspaper and three magazines the ANC plans to launch in June.

Catalyst

"The trust is a printing company, not a publishing company," he said.

Thebe was established by the community-based Batho-Batho Trust in July to "act as a catalyst to redress the economic imbalances" in South Africa.

Its chairman is the former chief minister of KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Enos Mabuza.

S/Times
7/21/93.

ROB HASWELL

ROB HASWELL finds it hard to accept Mike Tarr's decision to leave the DP and join the IFP.

"It is clear the election battle in Natal is between the IFP and the ANC. In the process, the NP and the DP are mosquitoes," he says.

He can therefore understand Mr Tarr's desire to play a relevant political role in Natal, as his decision to leave the DP was also based on this consideration.

But on a personal level, Mr Haswell says he cannot understand Mr Tarr's deci-

sion to choose a party which has brought so much death and destruction to the people of Maritzburg.

Mr Haswell has known Mr Tarr for more than 20 years. They belonged to the same rugby club, and he believes relations between them in Parliament will remain cordial.

The sense of personal outrage Mr Haswell expresses at Mr Tarr's decision to join the IFP is similar to that of his own white constituency when he left the DP to join the ANC in April last year. There were calls for him to resign from parliament.

Mr Haswell used to be an independent city councillor before he joined the DP in 1989. He then won the election for Maritzburg South, a seat held by Mr Tarr for six years.

His disillusionment with the DP grew after the party failed to implement its programme of action aimed at forming pacts with like-minded organisations such as the ANC.

"Despite a number of meetings with the ANC, it became clear that the DP intended to stay exactly where it was — smack in the centre with a holier-than-thou attitude," he says.

His views brought him into increasing conflict with the DP, and he left with four others to join the ANC. His decision to go the

ANC route was influenced by his experiences of the violence in Maritzburg.

"Shortly after being elected to Parliament, I came into increasing contact with people from the township, mostly ANC members," he says.

"The real turning point came when the IFP invaded Edendale during what became known as the seven-day war. More than 20 000 people were made homeless and over 100 killed in what can only be described as an Inkatha rampage, aided and abetted by those entrusted with keeping law and order."

He became frustrated with the lack of sympathy for the ANC in Natal in his caucus, and admired what he described as the ANC's sincere and creative attempts to find solutions to the country's problems.

Mr Haswell is uncompromising in his view that the people of Natal have a right to defend themselves from the violence.

"We are still involved in a bloody war. The ANC is still effectively banned in Natal. ANC people are harassed and arrested, while armed IFP people are treated with respect.

"What are we supposed to do? Just allow ourselves to be assassinated?"

Despite his ANC membership, he says he strives in Parliament to serve Maritzburg as a whole.



OPPOSITE SIDES ... DP defectors Rob Haswell and Mike Tarr

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

C. Przes 7/2/93

PAC concerned at 'gun-running'

THE PAC said on Friday it was "greatly concerned" at reports of alleged gun-running into Natal by the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

(UA) (SFA)
PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said in a statement that since the ANC had suspended its armed struggle against the government and its security forces, the ANC should explain for what purpose the arms were to be used in the province.

Norway's R2,2-m question to ANC

By ELIAS MALULEKE
and DESMOND BLOW

City Press
7/2/93

THE Norwegian government has sent an accountant to SA to probe whether payments made to the ANC have been spent on projects for which they were intended.

Norwegian Ambassador to SA Jens Otterbech said the accountant found that R2,2-million, to set up a print shop and provide jobs, had been channelled through a private company, Thebe Investment Corporation.

This contradicted a statement by ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus, who claimed the ANC had satisfied the Norwegian government on their handling of the funds.

Enquiries by City Press revealed the directors of Thebe Investment Corporation included Enos Mabuza, former chief minister of Kangwane, and Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the Johannesburg region of the ANC.

The main objective of Thebe, as detailed at the Registrar of Companies' office in Pretoria, is "a private investment company with limited rights to transfer restricted shares".

A report from Norway quoted Foreign Ministry spokesman Ingvard Havnen as saying: "Clearly, the money wasn't used for the purpose for which it was allotted and it is definitely in the best interest of the ANC to clarify this."

Unusual

An investigation by City Press found that although Thebe was founded in April 1992, no shareholders had been listed other than the nominee, Maureen Elizabeth Steele, a secretary for accountants, Cooper, Theron and Du Toit of Johannesburg.

A spokesman for Cooper, Theron and Du Toit said it was unusual for shareholders not to be named over such a long period.

But the managing director of Thebe, Vusi Khanyle, told City Press that the shareholding in Thebe was held by the Batho-Batho Trust of which Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were members.

However, the ANC's Gill Marcus named the trust as the National Printing Trust.

She said it had been decided to establish the print shop as an autonomous entity that would not only serve the ANC, but also the rest of the community.

"There is certainly no abuse of funds. The last consultation with the Norwegian government was in December last year and the ANC informed them that the plant would be in operation by June," she said.

Havnen declined to comment on the ANC statement until his government had received a full report on the matter from the ANC.

Inkatha ^{Express} leader ^{12/1983} let off hook ^(IA)

By **MONWABISI
NOMADOLO** ⁽²⁵⁾

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres will not prosecute Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for leading two defiance marches last year.

In October Buthelezi led two marches in Johannesburg and Durban, protesting against the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and the fencing off of Reef hostels.

The ban was a sequel to the government and the ANC's agreement in the record of understanding which Inkatha strongly objected to.

The marchers, in the name of the "Zulu nation", defied a police ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons - claiming these were cultural weapons.

SAP Witwatersrand regional commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus had turned down a request by march organisers to carry weapons in public.

It has taken the A-G more than a month to reach a decision on the Buthelezi docket. The file was handed to his office just before Christmas.

Von Lieres said from police video footage it would appear the minister was carrying a cane or a walking stick and not a knobkierie.

The ANC, meanwhile, slammed the A-G's decision, saying it would send a "very wrong signal."

Azapo spokesman Dr Gomolemo Mokae said the decision was "utterly regrettable", adding violence would persist until the A-G and security forces got to be "even-handed in meting out justice".

8/2/93
ANC mum on 'gun-running row'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The ANC is remaining tight-lipped on the alleged involvement of three Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members in cross-border weapons smuggling, despite media speculation that the arrests have set Natal regions of the organisation at odds with the national leadership.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday it was likely that ANC representatives would be permitted today to visit the men arrested in connection with a weapons haul on the Swazi

border last week. (11A) (S)

Marcus said the ANC was certain of the identity of only one of the detainees, Siphosithole. She confirmed he was a senior ANC member.

The other two men were identified in a Sunday newspaper report as Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese, chief of personnel for MK in southern Natal, and Mandla Clifford Makhoba.

"Although we know that Siphosithole has been arrested, we don't know his relationship to the other two or to the events under

investigation," Marcus said.

She questioned the basis of a Sunday newspaper report on a growing rift in the ANC as a result of the arrests. A press release, which had reportedly given offence to Natal regions by referring to the arrested men as "criminal gun runners", was in fact issued by a Natal region and not by ANC headquarters, she stressed.

According to the report, Natal ANC members believed that cadres had been "disowned" in the interests of keeping negotiations on track.

Star 8/2/93

Govt 'no' to PAC inclusion (LIA)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government would not support an invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to attend the multiparty planning conference, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

He has reiterated the Government's position that it would not meet the PAC until the organisation had clarified its relationship with its military wing, the Azanian

People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Invitations to the planning conference — which is expected to take place at the end of the month or the beginning of March — would be the product of bilateral discussions with various parties, he said.

But the Government would not support an invitation to the PAC unless it had clarified its position regarding Apla "to the satisfaction of the Government".

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said his organisation would not attend the planning conference because a number of issues, including a new negotiating forum, first had to be resolved bilaterally with the Government.

It would also not attend a multiparty forum which it had had no part in organising.

At its national executive committee meeting a week ago, the PAC stressed the need for

multiparty negotiations and the need for a new negotiating forum.

In a policy shift, the PAC dropped its demand for multiparty negotiations to take place outside South Africa.

Seroke said the demand was dropped for practical reasons, including the cost involved in such an exercise.

The PAC, however, still insists that the talks should take place under a neutral chairman.

Star 8/2/93

ANC to retrench up to 300 staff

The ANC is to retrench up to 300 of its permanent staff members in all departments and affiliated organisations country-wide.

Several employees — clerical, administrative and general staff at the ANC Johannesburg head office were given retrenchment notices on February 2. Circulars issued last week at the offices of the ANC,

(1A) the ANC Women's League and Youth League followed meetings at which workers were informed of the phased retrenchments. One letter cited redundancy, over-staffing and lack of finances as reasons.

ANC staff members who did not want to be named said they had been given no retrenchment benefits.

Among those already dis-

missed from the Women's League is Regina Nzo, wife of former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

A dismissed ANC headquarters clerk said: "I had worked for the ANC since its unbanning in 1990, earning R1 500 a month. Now I am stranded and jobs are scarce." — Own Correspondent.

Anger over plan to pay off MPs

Star 8/2/93



(11A)

Staff Reporter

There are clear signs from extra-parliamentary organisations that any attempt by members of the tricameral Parliament to vote themselves cushy pensions and big cash sums will be loudly opposed.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would be urgently looking into ways of countering the measures.

"They would be pillaging what little remains, after bringing this country to the brink of bankruptcy," said Marcus.

She added that President de Klerk himself had to be taken to task. "The way he deals with this will be a measure of his sincerity about the new South Africa," she said.

Details of the proposed payout to present and past MPs were published in newspapers yesterday.

Reports stated that the total cost of the scheme of gratuities and pensions would be about R850 million.

According to the reports, many MPs stood to become instant millionaires.

The payments would free the post-apartheid government of any financial obligations to politicians serving under the old order, reports said.

Marcus said it was repugnant

that those who had enforced apartheid could use their powers to ensure they were "rewarded for destroying the country" while the victims of apartheid, including many exiles, were battling to make a living.

The question of retiring politicians could not be seen in isolation from the general issue of pensions, she said.

Marcus said she believed that the ANC was not alone in its anger over the move. All "right-thinking people across the board" would be in opposition to the proposed pensions for MPs, she said.

Freemarket Foundation executive director Leon Louw said he would be at the forefront of any campaign which prevented politicians getting pay increases exceeding the growth rate — or excessive pension settlements.

"This (pension scheme) corresponds to the whole process that has been going on in the civil service, a process of frantically cashing in the chips before transition."

Louw added: "It's a disgrace that the people who spent us into this deficit should now be adding insult to injury by lining their pockets with what little is left in ours."

Until the people of South Africa began to treat politicians as their servants, and not as their masters, actions such as these were inevitable, he said.

ANC launches
drive for votes

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's PWV region yesterday formally launched a drive to win the votes of Soweto residents.

Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a mass meeting yesterday was the first of a series which would be held throughout the region.

It had been decided that March 21 would be "the day of the sacred flag". The ANC's black, green and gold would be hoisted at rallies across the PWV to familiarise residents with the organisation's election colours. The ANC was also drawing up election profiles of local communities.

A million pamphlets covering ANC policy on basic voter grievances would be distributed.

ANC may retrench employees

(11A)

APR 8/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — A committee of African National Congress staff members has been formed to negotiate retrenchment packages after the organisation found itself with 300 too many employees.

A reliable source within the ANC said the matter was under discussion with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The source said the ANC had 300 staff members too many, but not all of them would necessarily be retrenched.

The overstaffing problem had arisen due to a work overload and an unco-ordinated employment policy.

The ANC has not commented officially on the retrenchments.

— Sapa.

NEWS Pupils at the contr

Majority rule put on hold, say diplomats

Sowetan 8/2/93

11A (C) 11A

■ Introduction of full democracy to be delayed until year 2000 - claim:

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators were working on a constitutional deal that would delay the introduction of full democracy until the turn of the century, political and diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The embryonic accord, facing potentially powerful opposition, would effectively put black majority rule on hold for the sake of stability, they said.

The power-sharing plan entails major concessions by both parties.

The sources say the basis of the agreement taking shape in secret talks is a multi-party interim government of national unity that would remain in office for five years after the first universal franchise election.

That poll, for a constituent assembly, is due to take place in 1994.

Under the plan, the assembly would draft the first democratic constitution and double as a parliament.

The country would be run by the coalition, comprising party representatives in proportion to votes cast for the assembly.

The coalition would remain in power until, it is hoped, consensus politics smoothed over South Africa's myriad racial and tribal conflicts and produced sufficient harmony for full-scale majority rule elections in 1999 or 2000.

"No one is terribly anxious for a full-fledged election a few months after the election for a constituent assembly," said one western diplomat. "There will be power-sharing for an extended period."

The deal would mean the National Party giving up its goal of indefinite and compulsory power-sharing even under the full constitution, minority vetoes, and an interim rotating presidency. - Sapa-Reuter.

ANC silent over alleged MK role in arms trade

(11A) ARG 8/2/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is remaining tight-lipped on the alleged involvement of three Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members in cross-border weapons smuggling, in spite of speculation that the arrests have set Natal regions of the liberation organisation at odds with national leadership.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday it was likely ANC representatives would be permitted today to visit the three men, who had been arrested in connection with a huge weapons haul on the Swazi border last week.

Ms Marcus added that at this

stage the ANC was certain of the identity of only one of the detainees, Siphso Sithole, who was detained at the organisation's offices in Durban. He was a senior ANC member.

The other two men were identified in a Sunday newspaper report as Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese, chief of personnel for MK in southern Natal, and Mandla Clifford Makhoba.

She questioned the basis of the Sunday newspaper report on a growing rift in the ANC as a result of the arrests. The Press release that had apparently offended Natal regions was in fact issued by a Natal region and not by ANC headquarters, she emphasised.

ANC mum on alleged MK trio

Sowetan 8/2/93

■ Organisation demands to see
arrested cadres:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE ANC is remaining tight-lipped on the alleged involvement of three Umkhonto we Sizwe members in cross-border weapons smuggling.

Despite media speculation that the arrests have set Natal regions of the liberation organisation at odds with the national leadership, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday said it was likely that ANC representatives would today be permitted to visit the three men.

"We are asking for access to all three and we believe it is going to be granted," she said.

Marcus said the ANC was certain of the identity of only one of the detainees, Siphosiso Sithole, who was detained at the organisation's offices in Durban.

She confirmed he was a senior ANC member.

The other two men were identified in a Sunday newspaper report as Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese, chief of personnel for MK in southern Natal, and Mandla Clifford Makhoba.

"Although we know that Sithole has been arrested, we don't know his relationship to the other two or to the events under investigation.

"Police arrested him as a result of information supplied by the men taken at the border and we need to know the circumstances under which such information was given," Marcus said.



Mrs Gertrude Mohau of Tshiawelo Flats is the latest winner of R25 000 first prize in the *Sowetan* Hunt for Cash competition.

ANC staff members are being retrenched

Sowetan 8/2/93

■ Wife of former secretary-general out:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter



THE African National Congress is to retrench up to 300 of its permanent staff members in all departments and affiliated organisations countrywide.

Several employees - clerical, administrative and general staff - at the ANC Johannesburg headquarters have already been given retrenchment notices on February 2, *Sowetan* has learned.

Circulars issued last week at the offices of the ANC, ANC Women's League (ANCWL) and Youth League (ANCYL) followed meetings at which workers were informed of the phased retrenchments.

ANC staff members who spoke on condition of anonymity said they had been given no retrenchment benefits.

At least one dismissed employee charged that the ANC was replacing them with returning exiles. One letter cited redundancy, over-staffing and lack of finances as reasons.

ANC foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki is said to have told employees the organisation was going through "difficult times".

Among those already dismissed is Mrs Regina Nzo, wife of former ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo. Her services in the ANCWL health department were terminated last Thursday. Although Nzo confirmed her dismissal to *Sowetan*, she referred further enquiries to the ANCWL.

Efforts to obtain comment from ANC spokesmen were fruitless yesterday. ANCWL chairman Mrs Gertrude Shope would not comment yesterday and said enquiries should be directed to the "office tomorrow".

A dismissed ANC headquarters clerk told *Sowetan*: "I had worked for the ANC since its unbanning in 1990, earning R1 500 a month. Now I am stranded and jobs are scarce."

● ANC chief spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma resigned his post in December for a private project.

Civil servant receives R5-m in Venda scam

Sowetan 8/2/93

By Mathatha Tsedu

A VENDA civil servant has received R4.9 million in the latest episode of the pension scandal.

But the man, Mr FB Mudzili, allegedly of the department of education, could not be traced in any government files, leading to fears that he may be a phantom creation of corrupt officials who are benefiting from the money.

4948120, according to documentation in our possession.

When the pension fund was privatised early last year, he was given R4 948 120 and our information is that the money has already been transferred to an insurance scheme.

This means that the person is drawing interest on the money, the amount of which depends on the type of scheme the money was invested in.

■ Windfall man not in department's records:

official.

The Venda civil service pension was privatised last April, resulting in seven senior officials, including military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, becoming instant millionaires.

The amounts have been queried by



SA branch for Muslim League

NEW offices for the South African branch of the World Muslim League were opened in Johannesburg on Saturday by the organisation's secretary-general, Dr Abdullah Omar Naseef. (S) (11A)

He expressed the hope that the Muslim community in South Africa would have the opportunity of working towards peace and reconciliation. The WML was founded in 1962 with the aim of creating unity among Muslims and removing causes of social dismemberment.

Sowetan 8/2/93.

Talks on Star 9/2/93 unity govt timespan

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

ANC and Government negotiators are discussing lengthening the lifetime of a Government of National Unity after the adoption of a new constitution. The option emerged from the last round of extended talks between the ANC and Government two weeks ago and will be debated further tomorrow at another bilateral meeting.

It was agreed at Codesa last year that a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) be appointed to level the political playing field for elections for an interim government.

A transitional Government of National Unity would act both as a legislature and a constitution-making body until the completion of a new constitution. After the drafting of a new constitution the second elections would be held to elect the first democratic government.

The new element in the option of lengthening the rule of a Government of National Unity is that it may not suit the situation in the country, and most political parties may not consider it desirable, to contest a second round of elections soon after elections for a Government of National Unity. Observers point out that the Namibian constitution was adopted after only two months.

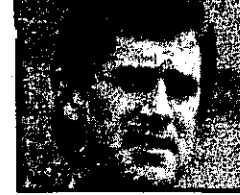
Observers said the Government would find it difficult to continue with its view that power-sharing should be entrenched in a new constitution because it would limit the possibility of a settlement being reached with the ANC. Negotiators yesterday said a period of "phasing in" of the new constitution would probably be required, for example the phasing in of regional governments, the establishment of a constitutional court, and changes in the security forces.

It is understood the option of a Government of National Unity being installed for up to five years is under discussion. ANC negotiators said the circumstances would probably be such that the government would agree to enter a permanent power-sharing arrangement because that would have the effect of the permanent government of democracy and majority rule, the ANC's objective. It was firm that any further negotiations should be voluntary and decided by the party which won the majority support in the second elections.

ROCKED BY REBELS



Cyril Ramaphosa



Roelf Meyer

By S'BU MNGADI

THE ANC faces possible rebellion from its three Natal regions.

Members of the southern Natal region have dubbed as a "capitulation" to the government the organisation's initial response to the arrest near the Swazi border of two Umkhonto weSizwe cadres with a large quantity of arms - and the subsequent arrest of a senior ANC member in Durban.

Arms find splits ANC

Following an ANC statement describing the men as "a gang of criminal gun runners" - and a further statement that the movement could not confirm that the men were Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) members until the government had granted ANC representatives access to them - members from the Natal regions claimed the cadres were "disowned" by the ANC.

Sources in the ANC and MK in southern Natal cited this as the "last straw", saying the three were "trusted Umkhonto weSizwe officers".

This incident could further widen the rift between the ANC headquarters and the three Natal regions.

Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese and Mandla Clifford Makhoba, both of Durban, were arrested by police on Monday at the Golela border post with Swaziland.

They were in possession of 34 F1 hand-grenades, 40 hand-grenade detonators, nine Makarov pistols, 13 Stechkin pistols, 26 Stechkin magazines, two RPG7 rocket-grenade launchers, six RPG7 missiles, six RPG7 propellant charges and 2 800 rounds of AK-47 ammunition.

Ngobese is southern Natal MK Command's chief of personnel.

The find initially threatened to scuttle the ANC-SA government negotiation process until the ANC released a media statement describing the two cadres as "criminal gun-runners". The statement was preceded by an urgent meeting in Cape Town between ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC said it was not convinced that Ngobese and Makhoba were MK members. It claimed the two were a gun-running gang trying to hide behind the ANC flag. This prompted Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to say the organisation was adopting a responsi-

■ To Page 2



ANC rocked by rebels

■ From Page 1
 bert attitude and should be given a chance to resolve the issue.

The arrests have apparently touched a raw nerve in southern Natal, where MK cadres described the seized consignment as "a tip of the iceberg".

On Wednesday, senior ANC member Sipho Sithole was detained by security police from the southern Natal ANC offices in Umgeni Road, Durban, after it was discovered the car two were driving belonged to him.

Sithole's arrest triggered off a wave of panic

in the southern Natal regional executive committee, whose members also hold senior positions in the southern Natal MK command, MK cadres told City Press.

The region's lawyer, Bheka Shezi, whom police refused access to the three on Friday, said he believed the investigators expected to make further arrests soon.

Shezi said the SAP's Legal Services Department had granted him permission to consult with the three detainees.

However, on reaching Piet Retief, a Brig Sie-

bert, commanding officer of the eastern Transvaal Crime Investigations Services, put his foot down.

Siebert told Shezi he had spoken to senior ANC members in the Legal Department in Johannesburg who had arranged to interview the three only tomorrow.

Shezi said Siebert informed him that two of the detainees were "very co-operative", while the third man swore at his interrogators.

The Goldstone Commission has indicated it will look at the arms cache issue.



ing the wildest taxi drivers' ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

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Star 9/21/93

Retrenchment of ANC staff denied

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC yesterday denied that it had retrenched 300 of its employees, and dismissed press reports to the contrary as disinformation.

Commenting on reports that it was in the process of retrenching 300 of its permanent employees "in all departments and affiliated organisations countrywide", the ANC said it had not instituted a policy of retrenchment, and none of its em-

ployees had been retrenched. However, the organisation said the ANC Youth League laid off five staff members in October last year, while the ANC Women's League shed two of its staff members last month. "All were paid retrenchment packages in keeping with usual retrenchment procedures," said the ANC.

The reports said several ANC employees at the Johannesburg head office were given retrenchment notices last Tuesday.

Star 9/2/93

Talks on unity government

ANC and Government negotiators are talking about lengthening the lifetime of a government of national unity after the adoption of a new constitution.

● Page 6

(304A)

(11A)

ANC denies ^(11A) retrenchments

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress denied yesterday that it had retrenched 300 staff members, branding news reports to the contrary fiction and propaganda.

The movement confirmed that five staff members of the Youth League and two others from the Women's League had been retrenched in October and January respectively.

"The ANC has not instituted a policy of retrenchment," the ANC said in a statement. —

Sapa CT 9/2/93

ANC says ^(11A) cr 9/2/43 caught arms men are MK

DURBAN. — Senior ANC officials yesterday travelled to Middleburg in the Transvaal to meet three uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres detained after an arms haul on the Swazi border last week.

ANC executive member Mr Matthew Phosa later confirmed, after several hours of talks with the suspects, that they were ANC members.

Two of the men were arrested last Monday after a large number of arms was found in their vehicle.

Yesterday senior ANC officials, including MK chief of staff Mr Sphiwe Nyanda and southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Radebe, met the three suspects at police headquarters, said ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

The Ministry of Law and Order confirmed the meeting.

The three suspects were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, said spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

● ANC southern Natal spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye rejected media speculation that the arms find has led to tension between his region and the ANC's leadership.

"Our region is fully behind the ANC leadership of which we are an integral part," said Mr Makhaye.

● A radical ANC leader said yesterday ANC members were probably smuggling arms into the country to defend themselves in township warfare.

Mr Harry Gwala, a hardline communist and leader of the ANC's Natal Midlands region, said the rival IFP was armed by the government. — Sapa-Reuter

PAC warns ANC, Nats

11A

of 9/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday warned the ANC and the National Party they were playing with fire unless they involved all parties in the search for democracy.

The PAC was reacting to unconfirmed reports of a "deal between the ANC and the regime (government) to delay majority rule until the end of the century".

It was not surprised at reports of the deal. Among the indications that it existed were:

- The government had made it abundantly clear it was not negotiating itself out of power, but seeking to share power.

- The ANC had proposed a "sunset-clause" of joint rule even after elections.

- The ANC was rapidly running out of funds and support and had to get its foot in the door of Parliament quickly and at all costs.

- The ANC had broken off working relations with those who sought the destruction of the government.

- The NP had purged or relegated all those opposed to sharing power.

"We must warn the NP/ANC/South African Communist Party alliance they are playing with fire. Not only should the outcome of the process be truly democratic, the route towards the goal should be characterised by the democratic participation of everybody," the PAC statement said. — Sapa

Star 9/2/93

Hani on five-day Cuban visit

Chris Hani, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party and ANC national executive committee member, began a five-day visit to Cuba yesterday at the invitation of Cuban President Fidel Castro, the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina said. It quoted Hani as saying on his arrival that his visit was intended to show solidarity and friendship with Cuba.

(14)

Report on ANC jobs is rejected

11A
Sowetan 9/2/93
■ Sources say Ramaphosa is
handling retrenchments:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress yesterday denied it was retrenching 300 of its permanent staff.

Reacting to an article which appeared in *Sowetan* yesterday, the ANC said in statement that five staff members of the ANC Youth League and two others from the Women's League were retrenched in October and January.

"The ANC has not instituted a policy of retrenchment and no ANC staff members have been retrenched."

The organisation also said the report was a fabrication.

"Disinformation about the ANC is reaching such proportions that stories in the Press resemble fiction rather than investigative journalism."

However, *Sowetan's* informants were employed at the ANC's Johannesburg national headquarters and produced circulars and letters of dismissal.

Meanwhile, *Sapa* reports that a reliable source said earlier yesterday that a committee had been appointed to negotiate retrenchment packages with the 300 affected employees.

The source said the matter was under discussion with the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

DP calls for openness

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The new Chief Justice should not be appointed secretly as in the past, but openly in a procedure agreed to by all political parties, the DP said yesterday. *BIDM*

"Openness is what is called for," DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said.

The current Chief Justice, Judge Michael Corbett, is due to retire this year, but Leon said a possible solution would be to ask Corbett to continue in an acting position until a new constitution was in place.

"Nothing could be worse than for the current government to appoint a new Chief Justice and then say goodbye." *9/2/93*

This would place the post under political pressures, which should not happen under any circumstances, as the Chief Justice would have considerable powers.

Govt, ANC to meet tomorrow

BIDM 9/2/93
(11A)
BILLY PADDOCK

FUNDAMENTAL problems still divided government and the ANC but much common ground was being found on the process which the parties hoped would bring them closer together on the core issues of regionalism and power-sharing.

Negotiators from both camps yesterday firmly denied any agreements had been reached in bilateral talks which they said were "exploratory".

"The only agreement we have been able to come to has been that there should be a preparatory planning conference prior to a new multiparty forum being convened," one source said.

Government and the ANC were seeking common ground to satisfy minimum demands which would provide a basis for the two parties to argue in tandem during multilateral talks.

Sources said yesterday the government/ANC bilateral meeting tomorrow would be tense because the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue had moved to the top of the agenda following last week's disclosure of an arms smuggling operation in Natal.

Government believes a decision on how to deal with the security forces and armed formations such as MK is vital to allow multiparty talks to move to the next stage.

It believes that once this has been achieved there would be a firm basis for multiparty talks to move on, especially with Inkatha demanding MK's disbandment before it joins negotiations.

Meanwhile, at the government/Inkatha bilateral talks yesterday, priority attention was devoted to political violence and the control of weapons by armed forces other than security forces.

In a joint statement after the meeting, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said they had discussed at length violence "by armed bands sowing death and destruction amongst their public and private opponents".

Linked to this was discussion on the acquisition and distribution of arms and armaments and the "destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process, as well as the question of private armies in an election process", the statement said.

They said the rest of the time was spent on the proposed planning conference and on the exploration of common ground on constitutional matters. The delegations said they hoped the conference would take place before the month-end and they decided to meet for three days

from February 17 to 19.

Meanwhile senior MK and ANC officials, including MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda and southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, went to Middelburg yesterday to discuss the alleged operation with the three cadres detained after the discovery of the cache.

Senior ANC negotiators told government last week that senior officials were not involved and the matter would be fully investigated.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the investigating team would report back today.

Four major areas of disagreement between the ANC and government remain to be discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

These are: how comprehensive should an interim constitution be; at what stage should the powers, functions and duties of regions be determined; how to build in checks and balances that dispense with the need for entrenched power-sharing; and what level of authority the transitional executive council will have, especially over security forces.

The government negotiator said the parties were trying to find agreement on a phased approach to regionalism. Government and the ANC held similar views on the issue, but differed with regard to timing and implementation.

Quelea control halted

CAPE TOWN — Chemical spraying of red-billed quelea, an agricultural pest, has been suspended pending an Agriculture Department investigation following fears that the programme has been poisoning wildlife.

Sapa reports that Agriculture Minister Kraai van Nierkerk said yesterday he was deeply concerned about the alleged ecological effects of quelea spraying on a farm in the northwestern Transvaal.

The moratorium was being imposed to revise the control policy. The department had a legal responsibility to control quelea but it understood the concern expressed about the effect of these measures on nature and wildlife.

MARIANNE MERTEN reports that the poison working group has described as farcical government claims that recent experimental toxic spraying in the Dwaalboom district had killed about 3-million quelea.

The group estimated that the area contained no more than 500 000 queleas, half of which were unaffected by the poison. A monitoring team visited the sprayed area on Sunday and found a number of poisoned queleas alive. These birds were now a risk to predators. More than 124 birds of prey had died of poisoning in the area.

The working group criticised the Agriculture Department for failing to do a follow-up investigation. No ecologist or other qualified person had been present during the spraying. *BIDM 9/2/93*

The DP yesterday condemned the spraying and called for an end to toxic chemical experiments.

Heated debate likely

It may be silent,
but not half

Cop guilty of lawyer's murder

Sowetan 9/2/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **DIRECT INTENTION** Matlotse to

plead in mitigation of sentence today:

A SPECIAL CONSTABLE WAS yesterday convicted of murdering Johannesburg lawyer Mr Legwai Pitje.

The policeman, Rodney Matlotse (25) of Kagiso, Krugersdorp was, however, acquitted of kidnapping and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Mr Justice TD Cloete found Matlotse had a direct intention to murder Pitje when he stabbed him on July 12 last year. He acquitted Matlotse of robbing Pitje of his borrowed car, a gold watch and a diamond ring, but found him guilty of the lesser crime of theft.

Co-accused Mr Mohali Motlhabi (24), also of Kagiso, was acquitted on

all counts.

Motlhabi claimed Matlotse had stabbed and threatened him with a firearm to induce his co-operation. The judge found the State had not proved this version was not possibly true.

Pitje had been arrested but not charged with drunken driving the night before his death. When he was released from the Magaliesberg police cells, Matlotse drove his (Pitje's) car to Motlhabi's home.

The three men then visited other people where they ate food and drank beer.

An argument broke out at one of the

houses and Pitje and the two accused left. Motlhabi told the court Matlotse and Pitje argued in the car. Matlotse attacked Pitje, stabbing him several times before gouging out his eyes.

Pitje's body was thrown into the boot, wrapped in a plastic bag and hidden.

The judge said he could not explain why Pitje had left the police station with Matlotse. Pitje was a lawyer who knew his rights and would have understood that he had not been charged and that there was no reason for Matlotse to escort him. The case was adjourned to today for argument.

Azapo fumes at TV omission

By Victor Metsamere

THE omission of Azapo from the David Frost interview series was because "the SABC is afraid to let the organisation's ideas be heard by the rest of the world".

This claim was made by Azapo's presidential secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, yesterday.

Meanwhile, callers to Sowetan yesterday wanted to know why the Democratic Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were, like Azapo, excluded from the CCV TV interviews.

Azapo also said Frost, who is scheduled to talk to Mr Nelson Mandela (ANC), Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (IFP), Mr Clarence Makwetu (PAC) and President FW de Klerk, was afraid

of the organisation.

"Any journalist likes pliant interviewees rather than ones who challenge. There has been an ongoing conspiracy in all sections to suppress the ideas and opinions of Azapo," said Moodley.

The general manager of CCV TV, Mr Madala Mphahlele, and other top officials in the news department were not available for comment yesterday.

Star 9/2/93
New turn

in ANC
(LIA) ~~ANC~~
arms row

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Senior African National Congress officials were travelling to Durban today to question a further six people arrested in connection with an arms haul at the Swazi border last week, an ANC spokesman said.

A police spokesman said no request had been received yet from the ANC for such interviews and he could not confirm the arrest of the six men.

The officials, led by ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa, yesterday interviewed three detained MK members — Sipho Sithole, Vusumuzi Ngobese and Mandla Makhoba — for almost 10 hours in Middelburg.

Phosa said today the ANC team had established "beyond reasonable doubt" the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) and southern Natal regional executive committee were not involved.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in southern Natal had no part in the operation.

The ANC investigating team, which includes MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda and southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe, will make recommendations to the NEC on "how to handle the matter politically".

The Government asked the ANC last week to declare whether any members of its NEC or MK had been involved in the arms smuggling.

The ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

Haul threatens talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Progress in talks between the ANC and Government may be delayed if the ANC leadership does not distance itself from the alleged smuggling of arms into the country by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), say Government negotiators.

The negotiators have been told to get a "proper reply" from the ANC at today's meeting in Cape Town on the arms haul at the Swazi border last Monday.

They said the matter would be the first item on the meeting's agenda.

ANC officials yesterday questioned six of the nine arrested men in Durban. Two of the six were released yesterday, said ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa. The officials questioned three ANC members in Middelburg on Monday.

The ANC undertook at last Thursday's meeting on security matters to report back today to the Government on its investigation into the arrests.

Phosa said yesterday the investigation had established "beyond reasonable doubt" that the national executive committee (NEC) and the Southern Natal regional

executive committee were not involved in smuggling arms.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in Southern Natal had no part in the operation.

Immediately after last week's meeting the ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

The ANC is understood to have told the Government at the meeting it could have tried to derail talks by making an issue of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC.

IFP will stop ANC takeover — Mentz

(11A) (2)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Any attempt to govern South Africa without Inkatha would force the party to go underground and the resulting conflict would make the Mozambique war look like "child's play", National Party defector Jurie Mentz warned last night.

At Inkatha's second major public meeting in the western Cape, a forceful Mentz told an audience of about 250 at the Claremont Civic Centre that the combination of "Boer and Zulu" was formidable.

"They are two difficult peoples. History has proved that. I am not hammering on ethnicity, but history... and anybody who tackles the Boers and the Zulus will have something on their hands."

Mentz, who defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party recently, said it was clear the ANC did not want to share power,

but take it.

"But we are not going to allow that. My leader will not allow that. I know these people."

"If the ANC and the National Party go on one side and negotiate an agreement between themselves, these people in the IFP will make sure nobody will be able to govern the country."

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mozambique will be child's play in comparison."

He noted that neither the Boers nor the British had been able "to break the spirit of freedom and self-determination" of the Zulus.

To rousing applause — and some heckling — Mentz declared: "I can assure you, in spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in ruling this country alone."

Mentz admitted that he was not in the habit of speaking anything but Afrikaans and Zulu, in which he is fluent. Then he added: "But I can tell you, my English has improved a lot in the past week."

After delivering his opening remarks in Zulu, he stuck to English for the remainder of his speech.

The head of the IFP's international department, Musa Myeni, who urged the audience to join the "reasonable majority" of the IFP and enable it to dominate the western Cape in a new dispensation, strengthened speculation that the issue of the disbanding of private armies such as the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was developing into a major stumbling block in negotiations.

"There seems to be a deadlock on that issue," he said. "It may become a major stumbling block in future multiparty talks."

Earlier, Democratic Party defector Mike Tarr said the movement of whites to predominantly black parties would break the ethnic mould of the past.

He did not believe the DP would attract a sufficient level of black support "to make them a significant force at the polls".

Star 10/21/93

Clever footwork as FW redefines 'power-sharing'

AS THE Government and the ANC draw closer to agreement on South Africa's future constitution, President de Klerk and his Ministers are subtly redefining the term "power-sharing" to disguise the fact that they are discarding the central feature of their original plan.

Initially the term meant a system of compulsory coalition government, entrenched in the constitution, with a Cabinet drawn from the three major parties to emerge from an election and a presidency that would rotate among the leaders of those parties.

Now De Klerk and his Ministers are defining "power-sharing" as being limitations on the majority party's exercise of power through constitutional checks and balances, a Bill of human rights and the devolution of power to states or regions.

The idea of permanently entrenched coalition rule has been dropped.

The change radically alters the Government's negotiating stance. From when he first unbanned the ANC and announced the start of negotiations, De Klerk has insisted that he would not accept majority rule, or what he called a "winner-takes-all" system.

He argued that this was inappropriate for a multiracial and multicultural society. Citing Switzerland as an example, he said South Africa needed a system of "power-sharing" between the different groups, who should rule by consensus in a coalition Cabinet with a rotating presidency.

Such a system has been advanced by some political scientists under the ponderous name of "consociationalism", but it doesn't exist anywhere in the real world in the form the Nationalists advocated. Even Switzerland, the closest example, doesn't have its power-sharing system entrenched in the constitution. It is a voluntary agreement that any of the participating parties can end any time they want to.

De Klerk and his earlier negotiators wanted this consensus system further bolstered by a set of entrenched "group rights". These group rights would be entrenched in a Bill of Rights, and there would be a Senate in which minority groups would have a power of veto over legislation passed by the Lower House where the majority would be dominant.

The ANC rejected the concept, deriding it as a "loser-keeps-all"



Allister Sparks

System that would enable the whites to block any attempt to redress the inequalities created by apartheid. The socio-economic status quo would be frozen. Nelson Mandela proclaimed majority rule to be his bottom line.

It became clear that finding a compromise between these two seemingly incompatible positions — majority rule or no majority rule — was going to be the toughest part of the negotiations. Yet now it is on the point of happening. The Government has dropped its "group rights" idea: its Bill of Fundamental Rights published last week makes no mention of them. The rotating presidency has been quietly forgotten. Now "power-sharing" is being re-defined.

In the trade-offs that have led to this, the ANC has also backed off some cherished positions. Where it initially demanded a centralised unitary state, it has

now accepted "regionalism" with a substantial devolution of powers to between five and 10 states or provinces. The regions will also have representation in the central government, possibly in a Senate with powers of review over Lower House legislation. But the representation will not be on a racial or "group" basis.

The ANC has also agreed to coalition rule during the interim government stage while the new constitution is being drafted by an elected constituent assembly. It has accepted temporary, but not permanent, "power-sharing".

What is likely to happen is that a "government of national unity" will be formed from all the parties which get 10 percent or more of the vote in the country's first one-person-one-vote elections, due either late this year or early 1994. This coalition government will be headed by the leader of the majority party, who will act with restricted powers.

The interim government will rule while the elected constituent assembly — which will double as an interim legislature — drafts the new constitution, a process likely to take about nine months. Once the new constitution is

drafted, the interim legislature will make it law — but the "government of national unity" will remain in power and serve out a full five-year term. The second election will then be held under the new constitution, which will have no provision for a compulsory coalition.

That is the compromise formula that is emerging. It will displease the puritans on both sides, as compromises always do, but it has the great merit of being both sensible and workable.

In the first place it will allow the transition to take place gradually, without the kind of shock that can destabilise a society. Ordinary people will have time to adjust. The existing civil service will not feel totally alienated, and so will be able to stay in place long enough to keep the country running while others are trained to move in and change the services' racial and political complexion.

There are political advantages too. As the Democratic Party's Dr Zach de Beer has said, even if the Archangel Gabriel were to take over the country he would not be able to cope with the legacy of problems left by 45 years of apartheid. The disadvantaged masses

cannot be given houses and jobs and a better standard of living overnight. A crisis of expectations is bound to arise, and it is better that a single party, especially the main party of liberation, should not have to face it alone.

The ANC certainly didn't create the conditions of structural disadvantage that will produce this crisis and it should not have to suffer the backlash because of it. Better for the sake of future democracy that the wrath of the disillusioned be shared for a while.

But not for too long. The problem with coalition rule is that it deadens opposition politics. The opposition parties become part of the regime so that their voices become muted and they acquire a vested interest in covering up blunders. Adversarial debate ceases and there are no watchdogs. It is not much different from a one-party system.

As a temporary measure for binding a country together in a national crisis, in a war or through the kind of difficult transition we are now undergoing, it is useful and appropriate. But beyond that "power-sharing" becomes an abomination. If we want democracy, we must have opposition. □

Star 10/2/93

Kasparov, Bowe at ANC meeting

(11A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Chess grandmaster Garry Kasparov and world heavyweight boxing champion Riddick Bowe will attend an ANC conference aimed at the international community later this month.

Conference convener and London ANC chief representative Mendi Msimang said yesterday the three-day Johannesburg conference would also be attended by John Reed, a special envoy of

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Msimang said the international delegates would be asked to continue with their support until after the adoption of a new constitution "to address the imbalances that our people have suffered".

The conference will be attended by 400 representatives of international labour movements, academics, parliamentarians, political parties and sportsmen as well as women's and youth organisations.

Delegates will look at negotiations and consider obstacles in the transition process, such as violence, as well as the creation of a climate for free political activity.

Msimang said Kasparov would play several exhibition matches to raise funds for the ANC, and Bowe would conduct boxing clinics.

Bowe would also present ANC president Nelson Mandela with one of his gowns in ANC colours.

The keynote address will be delivered by Mandela.

Star 10/2/93

Raided again

The Soweto home of Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) president Kgabs Mosunkuthu was raided yesterday for the second time this week.

While CAST leaders threatened to bring an urgent interdict against the SAP, claiming police raided Mosunkuthu's Pimville home "for weapons", Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni denied any knowledge of the raid, saying no policeman was authorised to raid the house. — Staff Reporter.

Top stars for ANC (11A)

CHESS grand master Gary Kasparov and world heavyweight boxing champion Riddick Bowe will attend an ANC conference aimed at the international community later this month in Johannesburg. *Journal 10/2/93*

Conference convener and ANC chief representative in London Mandy Msimang said yesterday the three-day conference would also be attended by John Reed, a special envoy of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The conference will be attended by 400 representatives of international labour movements, academics, parliamentarians, political parties, sportsmen as well as women's and youth organisations.

Training for ANC members

A PARA-LEGAL training programme, which might be the answer to ending violence in the country, has been unveiled by Lawyers for Human Rights and the ANC's PWV region. (25/11/93)

LHR national director Mr Brian Currin told a news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday the programme, which would begin on Saturday and last for three months, was intended for ANC members in the region. But as the LHR was not trying to empower one organisation with the skills, it was prepared to train members of other organisations which approached his institution. — *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Sowetan 10/2/93.

SA leaders real heroes — Cohen

Star 11/2/93

(A)
11A

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON - South Africans should not allow progress towards democracy to be held hostage by political violence, and should press ahead with elections and an interim government even if violence continues, according to the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who is due to retire next month after a distinguished career spanning nine presidencies, said in an interview there was "a great deal of curiosity" about investing in South Africa and that the country was better placed to attract US business and capital than any of the former Soviet republics.

He warned that differences between the US and South Africa over the manufacture of sophisticated weapons by Armcor, including missiles capable of launching space vehicles, was a problem that remained unresolved.

Criticism

It would have to be "sorted out" with the new Clinton administration.

Asked about his past criticism of SA leaders, Cohen said this had been made in the context of past developments, but he said he regarded both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela as "real heroes".

"I think that Mr Mandela's style of being a team player has frustrated us from time to time because at times he's allowed radical minorities in the ANC to overwhelm the negotiating process. But maybe in his own culture this is what was needed to reach a final stage where everyone was on board. So maybe we Americans are too impatient.

"But in general his overall leadership has, in effect, got the mainstream of black opinion in South Africa to accept that the white community has a significant role to play in a multiracial South Africa and that the blacks would be a lot worse off if the whites were to all move out. That is a fantastically important contribution he has made.

"President de Klerk is also a hero in my view in that he has persuaded the mainstream of the white community that unless the black community is made a full partner both politically and economically then the white community itself would be doomed.

"Having persuaded the whites to come hundreds of years in their thinking in the space of three years is nothing less than remarkable," Cohen said.

He warned that the declining South African economy was having a direct effect on the political situation because it was enlarging the mass of unemployed young people who were left with no option but to embrace radical politics.

Asked about a warning by Mandela that the ANC might not live up to the expectations of its supporters in the coming elections, Cohen said: "The longer the time the ANC goes between the point where it was a liberation movement to the point where it is a full political party, the more they have to answer a political constituency that is demanding jobs and housing and therefore they risk losing support."

Dealing with weapons proliferation, Cohen said the US knew that South Africa had acquired significant technology, both nuclear and in the missile area.

Where "we are having a rather difficult discussion is in the area of transferring military missiles to a space launch capability".

ture and a unilateral act.

Clinton man may aid ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A key adviser to President Bill Clinton during the US presidential campaign has offered his services to the ANC.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said Mr Stan Greenberg had offered his services for the ANC's election campaign. The issue could be decided at next week's national executive committee meeting.

Mr Greenberg was credited with much of the success of Clinton's campaign. *CT 11/2/93*

LP walk out over ruling

Political Staff

THE Labour Party caucus walked out of the House of Representatives yesterday when chairman Mr Phillip Sanders ruled that a National Party nominee to the President's Council could be appointed retrospectively.

The row began when the Leader of the House Mr Paul Kleinsmidt proposed Mr Peter Goliath be appointed to the President's Council retrospectively from January 29. *(S)*

The motion was put to the vote and passed.

CT 11/2/93

Too late for
classification

DEATHS

SOUTHWICK

Dennis, our dearest friend and man, tragically killed. Remembered Audrey

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Star 3/21/93

Heat is on all leaders — FW

LONDON — All political leaders in South Africa are now under pressure to reach agreement, according to President de Klerk.

He dismissed suggestions in a BBC television interview that he was the one under pressure to clinch a deal.

"Neither can the ANC or Inkatha afford further long delays because their supporters are getting restive too," he said.

"The whole mood in the country down at ground level is that people are getting disillusioned with political leaders because

of the lack of progress. All political leaders are feeling this pressure."

De Klerk said he was convinced progress in multiparty negotiations would lead to a reduction in violence.

The removal of violence was a condition for the holding of free and fair elections, he said.

He warned he would postpone elections if there were no let-up in the violence.

"I'm not prepared to hand the country over into chaos."

The BBC showed the interview with De Klerk as part of a second programme on South

Africa in its *Panorama* current affairs series. The first was shown last week.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were also interviewed.

Mandela said the ANC was confident of winning a general election.

"But the problem that faces us is to retain political power, to defend it," he said.

Mandela said he favoured a government of national unity in the early stages of the democracy process because "to assume political power is going to be a

protracted process because it means we have to gain control of the civil service, of the army, of the police force, and to get the co-operation of business.

"These three services (civil service, army and police) were built up in order to defend apartheid, white minority rule, and gaining control of them 'cannot be done overnight'."

Buthelezi said he could not be ignored in any agreement.

"If anyone thinks my constituency can be ignored, I mean clearly it is someone who doesn't want to see any peace," he said. — Sapa.

IFP men also accused of gun smuggling

Star 11/2/93

MK weapons

(IIA) (BIA) (SIA)

row bypassed

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

Government and ANC negotiators last night decided to bypass their row over alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) arms smuggling — but not before the ANC negotiators hit back with a disclosure that four men, allegedly including an Inkatha Freedom Party official, had been arrested for smuggling arms at the weekend.

On the tough first day of a three-day meeting in Cape Town, the ANC team claimed that Izak Godi Ntsele — whom the ANC alleged is a member of the IFP central committee — his son and two Mozambicans had been arrested in the northern Transvaal on Saturday for allegedly being in possession of at least 13 AK-47s.

After checking, the Government negotiators confirmed the arrests.

Relations between the ANC and the Government were soured after three ANC members were arrested for allegedly smuggling arms at the Golela border post with Swaziland, and the arrest of eight more people in follow-up operations. Three of them have been released, including one yesterday.

The ANC has confirmed that some of the arrested men are ANC members, but has denied knowledge of the alleged smuggling.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said today the party had no knowledge of a Ntsele on the central committee of the IFP, calling news of the arrests "a pathetic attempt to divert attention" from the MK arrests.

The IFP did not involve itself in the smuggling of arms and IFP members found to be engaged in such activities must face the full weight of the law, she said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze today confirmed the arrests of six men in connection with the smuggling of arms — Ntsele, his son Justice, two other men and two Mozambicans. Kotze said Ntsele was the chairman of the IFP branch at Emanguze in Northern Natal.

After yesterday's meeting, Government sources said the ANC had not yet satisfied its insistence that the ANC distance itself from arms smuggling, give a reassurance that it would not recur, and take disciplinary steps against those involved.

The ANC is expected to issue a statement today giving its official response to the Golela haul.

● To Page 3 ●

MK weapons row bypassed in key talks

Star 11/2/93

● From Page 1

Sources close to negotiations said although progress had been made, the negotiators had not fully resolved the matter, but had decided to put it aside so that they could move on with talks on constitutional issues.

The sources said these issues were regarded as too important to be delayed.

Responding to Government pressure for the ANC leadership to distance itself from the arms cache, the ANC negotiators said the ANC had sent the Government a letter explaining that its investigations showed its, and

MK's, top leadership knew nothing about the alleged operation. Sources said Government was still "not very happy with the ANC's position".

The ANC faces a constituency problem on the issue and is reluctant to condemn the arms smuggling in too strong terms for fear of alienating its militant structures in Natal.

For Government negotiators, the issue has turned up the pressure on the ANC to exert greater control over MK, while on the other hand it has strengthened the hand of the conservative forces in the Gov-

ernment who oppose concessions being made to the ANC.

Today's talks are expected to focus on a wide range of constitutional options for the transition, including extending the life span of a government of national unity to five years.

The Government's team was led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer with Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Gene Louw.

The ANC's team was led by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Star 11/2/93



Civil war or miracle Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had an equal chance of descending into full-scale civil war or becoming a racial miracle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a television interview last night with veteran broadcaster Sir David Frost.

(UA)

In a 30-minute interview filmed at Ulundi, Buthelezi said he had never considered secession as an option for KwaZulu.

He told Frost that Mr Justice Goldstone had been glib in de-

scribing the KwaZulu Police as a private army, and in his comment that the IFP had been partly responsible for violence.

Buthelezi said it still had to be determined whether the Government and the ANC were plotting an agenda. He agreed with the PAC that any ANC-Government deal would amount to playing with fire.

The last word had not yet been spoken on the September 1992 Record of Understanding between the Government and

ANC, the chief told Frost.

He was, however, heartened that a planning conference for multiparty talks would be taking place, adding that he would attend a multiparty conference.

The IFP had withdrawn from talks because the Zulus had been excluded while other tribal governments, such as Transkei and Ciskei, had been represented. He was however committed to negotiations.

The IFP was a multiracial party, he added. — Sapa.

'Group of exiles' claim murder of ANC men

PRETORIA. — A group calling itself the South African Republican Army said they killed six people in Daveyton on Sunday and assassinated a top ANC official last year.

(11A)
Sara claim to be returned exiles opposed to the ANC. Three of those killed were MK members, they said, and had been involved in the torture of exiles. Police said they had noted the claims but said they had no confirmation that Sara existed.

Mr Douglas Ndlovu called the Citizen with the claims saying Sara also killed ANC official Mr Reggie Hadebe. — Sapa (274) CT 11/2/93

BILLY PADDOCK

A KEY adviser to Bill Clinton during the US presidential campaign has offered his services to the ANC.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she understood Stan Greenberg had offered his services to the ANC's election campaign at the end of the year or early next year. The issue could be decided at next week's national executive committee meeting.

Greenberg was credited with much of the success of Clinton's campaign, with his particular skill in assessing the mood of the electorate. He helped devise a "middle-of-the-road" strategy for the president by researching disaffected Democrats at the start of the campaign.

He devised questionnaires for opinion

Clinton poll aide might assist ANC

polls on the Clinton election trail, consulted on advertising strategy and helped speech writers target specific audiences on the basis of poll results. (11A)

Greenberg has a specific interest in SA, having been a visiting lecturer at Wits University during 1973/74. He is researching change in multiracial societies and is focusing on SA and the US South.

Meanwhile, informed diplomatic sources say the NP is preparing to seek about R200 000 in international funding for its election campaign.

The sources believe the party is seeking funds for voter education.

11/21/73
R10A

Sowetan 11/2/93

ANC meets IFP ^{U/A}

TOP African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders meet in Durban today for a third and possibly final round of talks aimed at facilitating a summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. At their last meeting in Durban last month, a joint ANC-IFP committee established to pave the way for the proposed summit, said a date for the meeting could be announced at their next discussions.

Star 11/2/93

ANC 'not in full control'

Star Africa Service

MAPUTO — ANC leader Nelson Mandela is reported to have admitted to a group of foreign journalists that the ANC is not in full control of its armed forces.

While speaking to Portuguese and Mozambican journalists in Johannesburg this week, preparatory to visiting Portugal later this month, Mandela was asked about the arrest of ANC members for allegedly smuggling arms into SA from Swaziland.

The Mozambican news agency, AIM, claimed Mandela said the ANC was not in full control of its armed

forces — just as the Government of President de Klerk was not in full control of the security apparatus.

"We asked people to lay down their guns and to give peace a chance," Mandela said, "but there are many people who, rightly or wrongly, believe the defence and security forces are involved in violence and want guns to protect themselves.

"People who have lost relatives in the violence have difficulty in accepting our guidelines."

AIM says that when Mandela was asked about speculation that the ANC would form an alliance with the National Party, he empha-

sised there were key differences between the two.

"The NP wants to retain white minority domination," he said. "It does not want to go into opposition; it wants the right of veto over majority decisions."

Mandela expressed confidence that a non-racial general election would be held in South Africa this year or early in 1994. He believed Codesa would be restructured and revived.

He said the ANC was opposed to setting up some other multiparty forum, which could take a year to put in place and further delay the formation of a government of national unity.

UNITY, NOT JUST BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED but between all South Africans, is the critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country."

Nelson Mandela uttered these words three years ago today.

This was shortly after he triumphantly stepped from behind prison walls after 27 years.

Mandela the enigma had indeed become the man, a reality, as hope soared for a truly democratic outcome in beleaguered South Africa.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy," said Mandela, adding that he was more hopeful than he had been for many years.

On-off negotiations

Three years have come to pass and the country still limps ahead amid violence and the on-off negotiation process.

Meanwhile, the international community still continues to pin its hopes on the man regarded as a true fighter for democracy, peace and justice. Indeed, the world is beginning to doubt the Government's sincerity in curbing the killings.

In 1990, a leading Johannesburg newspaper commented on Mandela's release: "Freedom for Nelson Mandela must become freedom for all South Africans.

"His release is itself not the moment of reconciliation. It is only a stepping stone... Mr Mandela has at last been given the chance to go free. Now he must be given the chance to show whether he can lead."

Has he? State President FW de Klerk, who ordered his release, said at the time that he was convinced Mandela was "committed to a peaceful solution and a peaceful process".

Three years have truly passed and, arguably, a far cry from De Klerk's famous February 2 1990 speech which preceded Mandela's historic release.

Violence condemned

Significantly, in the United States today, President Bill Clinton is being urged to publicly condemn "apartheid's violence".

Mayors of several cities, including New York, Los Angeles and Detroit, are issuing proclamations declaring February 7 to 14 Stop Apartheid's Violence Week. This is meant to coincide with Mandela's third anniversary out of prison.

Whether such multiparty talks would resume, as hoped, in a matter of weeks, remains a question for speculation.

The ANC and Government are presently trying to prevent the arrest of several ANC members after the seizure of an arms cache last week.

Nelson Mandela celebrates his third year outside prison today. Political reporter **Themba Molefe** takes a look at events evolving from the moment the ANC leader triumphantly stepped from behind prison walls after 27 years:



11A Sowetan 11/2/93



Nelson Mandela ... a free man for three years today.

Already there is talk that the Government might, as it did with the Pan Africanist Congress last December, break off talks with the ANC if the arms cache issue is not resolved.

Eventful months

Indeed, behind Mandela lies an eventful 36 months dating back to February 10 1990 when De Klerk announced his release in an extraordinary Press conference on a Saturday afternoon inside a building called Hendrik Verwoerd in Cape Town.

Here are some highlights:

● February 11 1990: Mandela is released at 4pm from the Viktor Verster Prison in Paarl.

From the steps of Cape Town's City Hall he tells a huge crowd: "I am your servant... I place my life in your hands."

● May 1990: Groote Schuur Minute is signed after De Klerk and Mandela led three days of bargaining.

Working groups established to pave way for the lifting of the state of emergency, release of political prisoners and return of exiles. ANC undertakes to review armed struggle.

● June-July 1990: Mandela visits United States as guest of Bush administration. Scores first by addressing full US Congress.

● August 6 1990: Pretoria Minute is signed after Government undertakes to lift state of emergency and review security legislation. Exploratory talks begin on constitutional negotiations.

● August 1990: Mandela announces suspension of armed struggle.

● February 12 1991: Mandela and De Klerk sign DF Malan Accord in which ANC makes more concessions on negotiations, a move which angers militants in the movement.

● April 5 1991: Mandela suspends talks with Government after Sebokeng vigil massacre in which 35 people were killed. Demands the curbing of violence and dismissal of General Magnus Malan, then Minister of Defence.

● June 1991: Mandela elected ANC president at national congress of the organisation.

● September 14 1991: Mandela, De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi sign National Peace Accord and commit themselves to ending violence.

● February 6 1992: Mandela and De Klerk open first multiparty negotiations forum known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Mandela lashes out at De Klerk but insists he is committed to negotiations.

● May 1992: Codesa 2 collapses after failing to reach agreement on transition.

● June 17 1992: Mandela announces ANC breaks all contact with Government after massacre of 40 Boipatong residents. Codesa 2 finally collapses.

● September 17 1992: Mandela and De Klerk sign Record of Understanding aimed at restarting multilateral talks.

PAC leader to open branches

Political Staff

(11) 1/2/73
PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu is to open new PAC branches in Uitsig and Milner-ton at the weekend, bringing to 45 the number of branches in the Western Cape.

He is also due to speak at a PAC rally in Langa on Sunday.

The PAC leader will launch the organisation's Uitsig branch at midday on Saturday before touring the township. He will then head for Marconi Beam squatter camp, Milner-ton, to launch another branch.

He will open the regional conference of the African Women's Organisation in Lwazi Centre, Langa, on the same day.

Lion of the Natal Midlands speaks

Sowetan 11/2/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ COLLEAGUES EMBARRASSED

ANC leader Gwala calls a spade a spade:

NATAL MIDLANDS AFRICAN National Congress chairman Mr Harry Gwala is known as the "Lion of the Midlands".

An outspoken man, Gwala is known for calling a spade a spade, sometimes to the embarrassment of his colleagues.

Sowetan had a quick interview with him during his whistle stop visit to Bruntville, Mooi River, where he and ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu addressed meetings.

The Natal Midlands have been hit by violence on such a scale that some townships have become ghost towns after residents fled their devastated homes.

We asked Gwala what the causes of the violence were and what part the ANC played in it, especially in view of the latest development where members of the ANC have been arrested while allegedly transporting large caches of arms into Natal from Swaziland.

The ANC has repeatedly blamed Inkatha for being the aggressor in the violence that has wrecked the whole of Natal and taken many lives. Now that some members of Umkhonto weSizwe have been arrested this week while allegedly smuggling arms into Natal, would you still say the ANC is the innocent party?

Gwala: People in this country are naive. They suggest that Inkatha and Gqozo should arm themselves but the ANC should not defend itself.

We are not involved in this case but I do not condemn people who arm themselves. We are victims of violence and we are not theorising. In Wembezi, Bruntville and Bulwer, we bury people every week, yet people have the audac-

ity to say we should not defend ourselves.

Recent reports have insinuated that the ANC in Natal is breaking away from the leadership at Shell House and going it alone. Is it true?

Gwala: No, it is not true. We are part of the ANC but we will continue to defend ourselves:

'In Wembezi, Bruntville and Bulwer we bury people every week, yet people have the audacity to say we should not defend ourselves'

You have earned yourself a reputation as a radical. Is it because you say things that other people do not have the guts to say?

Gwala: I do not know why some people think I am radical. I think that for someone in this kind of situation I am very moderate.

I do not say things that other people do not have the guts to say. They probably emphasise other things. I put the emphasis on people liberating themselves.

Therefore they must engage in every corner of the struggle, in particular mass action.

The township of Wembezi in Estcourt has been declared an unrest area because of the on-going violence there. What is your opinion of Wembezi. What do you think is happening there?

Gwala: What is happening is that Wembezi was the base of Inkatha in the northern part of the Natal Midlands. When we organised ANC members in that area, it was like a declaration of war as far as Inkatha was concerned.

They started attacking comrades right and left. Where there is no ANC people are not attacked. But as soon as we try to organise ANC members in an area, Inkatha will attack them and the police will come to harass them.

So Wembezi was on the receiving end precisely for that reason.

The situation has become so grave that in some families the son has had to leave home because his parents belong to Inkatha while he is in the ANC. Families have been broken up because of their affiliation to different political organisations. What do you think the solution is?

Gwala: What is going to happen is that we will destroy apartheid. When apartheid is destroyed and people win their liberation, there will be a process of consolidation. The counter revolutionary forces will try to destabilise the country. It will take some time for things to become normal.

What role can those who are not



Harry Gwala ... we will continue to defend ourselves.

caught up in the violence play in bringing about peace?

Gwala: The hidden agenda of the De Klerk Government in fuelling the violence by arming Inkatha should be exposed.

The police are not impartial, they are serving to clear the place for Inkatha.

Once the Government is exposed, Inkatha will not have the capacity to wage this violence. So the violence will eventually die down because Inkatha will not have the arms to attack communities.

Would you say there is a definable pattern to the violence and what is it?

Gwala: Yes there is a definite pattern and it is State orchestrated. It comes in two forms. Where Inkatha has been eliminated, the Government organises criminals to start trouble in the areas occupied by the ANC.

Has the violence in Natal got any con-

nection with the train violence in the Transvaal?

Gwala: Very much so because we cannot understand why people who do not even speak the local languages come to attack people in trains.

What are the issues that are close to your heart?

Gwala: Fighting against slums. We must fight for a South Africa where there are no slums. I have been a trade unionist all my life and I have fought for the improvement of the working conditions of men and women of this country.

Is there any possibility of the people of Natal healing these wounds that have been caused by political violence?

Gwala: The wounds will be healed by people taking part in elections and voting into power those they think will bring about change in the country.

ANC tries to defuse arms smuggling row

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THE ANC tried yesterday to defuse the row over Umkhonto we Sizwe involvement in the arms smuggling operation by arguing government and Inkatha were just as guilty of threatening negotiations.

However, government kept up the pressure on the ANC to provide "a proper reply and explanation" for the arms haul and to state its commitment to the suspension of the armed struggle.

A senior ANC source said the organisation and government were struggling to avert a "major crisis in the talks that could cause fundamental damage" following the arrest of nine alleged MK cadres. One of

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the nine was released yesterday.

In its bid to limit the damage, the ANC said by deploying 32 Battalion members to patrol the Transkei and Ciskei borders government confirmed that it remained the "private army of the NP". It said government had not carried out its undertaking to disband the battalion, and battalion members should be confined to barracks "without delay".

The ANC also said an Inkatha central committee member, Isaac Ntsele, had been arrested in possession of arms and ammunition and had appeared in court on

Monday. It said Ntsele had been arrested with his son and two Mozambican nationals at Kangwanase in the Manguze district in possession of 13 AK-47 rifles, two assault rifles, ammunition and spare magazines.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Ntsele's arrest was a different matter to that of the smuggling operation and there had been no attempt to disguise it. "The Inkatha incident was that of an individual who is not a member of a private army," he said.

The ANC said its national executive committee, the southern Natal regional executive, military headquarters and the

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ANC *BIDM* 11/2/93. *11A* *S*

regional military command were unaware of the smuggling operation.

The ANC argued that the arms cache and smuggling operation were the issue talks were geared to resolving and should thus not be used to derail talks.

It said it could have made an issue out of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC, but had not done so.

The ANC questioned the fact that government had issued statements on the discovery of the arms smuggling operation on

From Page 1
the eve of sensitive talks on MK and armed formations. No statements of concern had been issued on the large weapons cache found at the Inkatha-dominated Dube hostel on Tuesday.

Kotze said it had not yet been established who was responsible for the Dube cache. He said the number of ANC cadres arrested "proves this is an operation of a whole network and not just a few maverick members on their own".

Police were still investigating, he said.

● Comment: Page 10

Patrick Laurence reports that the two teams carry unhappy and suspicious followers

Star 12/21/93

NP-ANC 'deal' puts both at risk



THE anticipated compromise agreement between the ANC and the De Klerk administration, deferring majority rule until the turn of the century, carries major risks for both parties.

The prospective settlement, in which a power-sharing government of national unity will remain in power for five years or perhaps longer after the election of a constituent assembly, is calculated to increase dissatisfaction in the ranks of both Nelson Mandela's ANC and De Klerk's NP.

The ANC leadership has already been criticised by Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, for wanting to get into bed with the NP elite to enjoy the luxury of silk sheets.

Winnie Mandela, bent on a political comeback and positioning herself as populist leader of the "oppressed masses", has accused the ANC's leaders of abandoning the ANC's objective of liberation "in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals".

Her words resonate amid growing suspicions that the ANC leadership is already succumbing to

the charms — and the money — of the corporate rich (who, according to the Marxist theories espoused by many ANC intellectuals, are not always distinguishable from the NP's financial backers.)

There are uncontradicted reports that the grand lifestyle enjoyed by former ANC president Oliver Tambo has been made possible by the generosity of Thy Rowland, the immediate past chairman of Lonrho, and that Zinzi Mandela's honeymoon was financed by casino and hotel magnate Sol Kerzner (whom the Transkeian authorities want extradited to stand trial for allegedly bribing deposed Transkei Prime Minister George Mafanizima).

These reports are reinforced by the extravagant tastes of some ANC leaders for limousines, mansions, watches which duplicate as jewellery, and expensive clothes, tastes which blend incongruously with their proclaimed concern for "the people" and commitment to social justice.

Winnie Mandela's credibility as an aspirant populist is, however, reduced by her reputation as a sybarite. As her political foes in the ANC point out, the aspirant

champion of the proletariat lives in a mansion, drives cars of matching status, wears expensive clothes and has her own private dress designer.

Winnie Mandela, however, is not alone. Her criticisms of the ANC's proposed compromise — first outlined by Joe Slovo in the African Communist late last year — echo, in some respects, criticisms from a wide range of ANC and SACP leaders.

The ANC Youth League has challenged Slovo's premise that compromise — including assurances that the contracts and pensions of civil service and security force personnel will be honoured — is necessary, as the ANC is, in Slovo's words, "not dealing with a defeated enemy".

The Youth League says: "A study of the short record of negotiations does not give evidence that we have made any gains by making compromises, instead we have suffered setbacks."

Declaring that "the regime perceives compromises as weaknesses", the league adds: "There is more evidence that ... the breakthroughs we have made have been the result of unrelenting struggles."

Slovo's proposal has been criticised by Pallo Jordan, the ANC's erudite secretary for information, Harry Gwala, the militant chairman of the Natal Midlands region, and Blade Nzimande, a rising star in the ANC and the SACP in Natal.

A common theme runs through their criticisms of Slovo's proposal: the belief that there are fundamental and irresolvable differences between the ANC and its allies and the "De Klerk regime and its surrogates".

Jordan contends that the ANC's objective is still the "seizure of power," not in a Storming of the Bastille sense but "in the sense of taking power against the will of the oppressor".

Negotiations are not a process of compromise but a struggle between adversaries in which one "must go under", he reasons.

Jordan is opposed to appeasement of the SADF or the SAP in a bid to forestall counter-revolutionary action against a democratically elected government. Appeasement encourages rather than contains violence, he states. Gwala didactically reminds Slovo of the fate of Salvador Al-

lende, the Chilean Marxist who won power via the ballot box in 1970; he tried to woo the military but was overthrown and murdered by them.

Since the ANC encouraged debate on Slovo's paper it does not follow that the dissidents will rebel against the majority view. After five years of power-sharing with the NP, however, their disciplined acceptance of the party line cannot be assumed.

The ANC's rival of more than 30 years, the Pan Africanist Congress, is not under the same immediate constraints.

Already suspicious of "collusion" between the ANC and the De Klerk administration, the PAC will interpret any power-sharing deal as a sell out.

As a PAC statement — which cleverly echoes Winnie Mandela's words — puts it: "The ANC is fast running out of funds and support and has to get its foot in the door of parliament quickly and at all costs."

The PAC's stand recalls the praise given to its late president, Zeph Motopheng, at his funeral; Motopheng was lionised as a "man of the people" who did not give around in air-conditioned luxury

cars or live in mansions (unlike, the audience was left to infer, the ANC's Mandela).

De Klerk, however, also faces risks if he concludes a deal with the ANC which excludes or alienates Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. There have been rumblings of discontent and concern in the NP caucus over his perceived conciliation of the ANC, and alienation of the IFP, ever since he signed the Record of Understanding with Mandela last September.

The defection of NP front-bencher Jurie Mentz to the IFP last month is a sign that the anxiety in the caucus has not been assuaged. Mentz believes that a decisive struggle for the control of Natal between the IFP and the ANC is inevitable, and that the NP must choose between the two adversaries.

He has made his choice. Some or all of the NP's remaining nine Natal MPs may follow him if De Klerk leans back too far in the direction of the ANC. A reported slip of the tongue by Natal NP leader George Bartlett is pertinent: he is said to have remarked that he saw no need to join the IFP "at present". □

~~(200A)~~ (11A) (11B)
 continue to claim to represent a constituency when he is no longer travelling on the party ticket that got him to parliament? But then Westminster electoral principle provides that, ultimately, the individual is the representative, not the party.

Durban businessmen were reluctant to support the moves openly for fear of being seen to take political sides. Yet the change seems to have been welcomed in general.

One top Natal businessman rejected the "expert" opinion which talks of political musical chairs and irrelevant convulsions in the last days of SA's white parliament. He believes the defections indicate a significant realignment of white political sentiment in Natal/KwaZulu.

He says: "The jungle drums suggest there are a lot of white politicians, Nat and DP, not only at the top of the national heap, but influential people in the regional and local political arena, who will switch to Inkatha. They will do this because they believe some form of regional dispensation must come through. If it doesn't, the country is lost because there is enough opposition in Natal/KwaZulu to destabilise the SA economy for years."

Based on this, he believes that the IFP, with strong white support (which cannot be discounted), will become the most important regional force, followed by the ANC and the NP. "I doubt the DP will make the cut."

He adds that if white politicians are seen to be moving to Inkatha, the white electorate might see this as a standard behind which they can regroup to repel the ANC threat.

Though this might be as romantic as the perception of Natal being the last outpost of the British Empire, it has a jingoistic ring to it which could catch on — especially when Natal's historical antipathy towards the National Party is taken into account. Many English-speaking Natalians learnt Zulu before they learnt Afrikaans. ■

NATAL (200A) (11A) FM 12/2/93.
Ahead of the game? (11B)

Viva la difference, viva Natal! That seems to be how white Natalians have responded to the defection of Nat and DP members of parliament to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Businessmen and others have welcomed the moves as a sign that the MPs are putting the province before themselves.

"There's a realisation that nobody is interested in the plight of Natal and Natalians must take a grip of the situation and look after things themselves," says one Durban businessman.

Maritzburg is most affected by the changes. It is where two DP MPs have gone off in different directions: Rob Haswell joined the ANC last year and Mike Tarr



Buthelezi ... regional push pulling in white support

recently became a member of Inkatha.

Maritzburg Chamber of Industry director Roly Waller welcomes the defections: "From a business viewpoint, it's great that these chaps have nailed their flags to the mast. At least we now know who we're dealing with. Furthermore, white involvement in the predominantly black parties has to be a good thing for all and perhaps they can make a meaningful contribution to the peace process in the troubled Natal Midlands."

Waller's one concern is: how can an MP



Rather more complicated

The long-standing "on-off" theory of violence, which holds that political violence is turned on and off to fit political agendas, has surfaced again. The SA Council of Churches was reported on January 20 as saying that violence in the country "is being switched on and off at will." (11A) (20)

The theory has been propagated assiduously by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) in a joint report of March 1992 and an earlier one on Reef violence. The theory purports to explain that the conflict in SA provides us with villains and heroes and pinpoints blame for the carnage that surrounds us.

On closer inspection, however, the theory falls apart.

Case argues that "it is difficult to believe that the sharp monthly variations (in politi-

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cally-related fatality figures) ... are random." The variations "suggest that the Reef violence is subject to control. It seems to be switched on at key moments."

The joint report says "the scale of the brutality ... is clear evidence that the violence erupts at points when it most weakens the ANC and its allies, and dies down dramatically when it would most harm the government of F W de Klerk."

The joint report uses a bar graph which "illustrates the linkage between violence and unfolding political events." Though only violence on the Reef is dealt with in the report, fatality trends in this violence are linked to national events.

There are a number of problems with the on-off switch theory of violence, however.

If one were to accept that people could be manipulated and misled into murderous actions on a massive scale, on a month-to-month basis, how would one explain the "switch off" part of the theory?

To assume that groups of people could simply be incited to violence at certain times and then just as simply persuaded to be peaceful at other times is to ignore the phenomena of counterattacks, cycles of violence, score-settling and other human factors inherent in the conflict.

This is not the only weakness in the on-off theory, nor is the choice of examples in the report consistent.

The graph uses as one example of the claimed linkage a rise in fatalities at the time of the Pretoria Minute, signed between government and the ANC in August 1990. The ANC/government D F Malan Accord of February 1991 — when there was a decline in fatalities — is not mentioned.

Case and the HRC show that Reef fatalities were turned up again — presumably to weaken the ANC — at the time of that organisation's consultative conference in December 1990. The relatively low number of fatalities during July 1991 — at the time of the ANC's 48th national conference — is not dealt with. Nor is this conference even mentioned.

The Patriotic Front conference of October 1991, which brought the ANC and 94 other organisations together in alliance against the government, saw a decline in Reef fatalities. This conference is not mentioned either, nor is the first national conference of the ANC Women's League, which was held in April 1991, also a month of declining Reef fatalities.

Thus we are not told why violence should have been turned on for the one conference and off for the others.

The Case/HRC report also tells us that "political campaigns initiated by the ANC, such as the call for a constituent assembly, are met with a massive upsurge of violence." The report's graph, however, shows the constituent assembly campaign as occurring in September 1990, a month of declining fatalities.

Further, the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's national campaign against Vat in No-

ember 1991 happened at a time which saw relatively few fatalities on the Reef. This campaign is not mentioned in the report.

Case deputy director David Everatt says the "government-sponsored peace conference in June (1991), boycotted by the liberation movements but attended by Inkatha, saw a major diminution of violence." June 1991 did see a major drop in violence. But the conference was in May 1991 — a month which, according to Case's own figures, had the third highest incidence of fatalities during the period under review.

There is unfortunately no simple answer to the problem of violence; a problem which cannot be dealt with until its complexities are fully analysed and understood. Simplistic "good versus evil" theories do not help us in the quest for peace.

This analysis was contributed by Paul Pereira, a researcher at the SA Institute of Race Relations; it is an excerpt from an article which appears in the latest edition of Race Relations News.

Buthelezi asks for Mandela meeting

Star 12/2/93

(11A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wrote an emotion-charged letter to Nelson Mandela at the beginning of this month, urging the ANC president to join him in a series of joint public meetings aimed at stopping the killing in Natal.

The Star is in possession of a copy of the letter from the Inkatha Freedom Party leader as well as Mandela's reply two days later. In his reply Mandela said joint rallies could take place only if thorough preparations were completed by representatives of both organisations.

In Durban, ANC and IFP delegations yesterday again agreed in principle that the two leaders should meet, but set no date for the meeting.

Buthelezi's letter, sent from Mahlabathini on February 1, contained this appeal: "I am now writing to you directly and openly, Madiba (Mandela's clan

name), because it behoves us as leaders to demonstrate and exercise political tolerance ourselves, to lead by example, and earnestly to endeavour to save lives which are tragically being lost day after day."

Buthelezi said the two leaders "simply could not wait" for their representatives to finalise a formal meeting between the two organisations, as it was "long overdue that you and I are held accountable for what we are doing, every day, to personally promote non-violence".

In his response on February 3 — addressed to "Shenge" — Mandela said: "I genuinely believe that any initiative we take jointly, including a mere meeting, would have disastrous counter-productive effects if it failed actually to reduce the level of violence about which we are both concerned.

"It would, for instance, be completely unacceptable if, after our departure from a strife-torn area, having addressed a public meeting, violence were to break out despite

our joint call for peace."

Mandela said the preparations had to be thorough.

Buthelezi proposed that areas for rallies should be identified under the auspices of the regional dispute resolution committees.

Buthelezi said the leaders of the IFP and ANC were specifically vulnerable "after the Goldstone Commission has told the world that the political violence there is in the country is between our members".

Mandela said he had no objections in principle to such joint rallies but a meeting between himself and the IFP leader should be thoroughly prepared to ensure its success.

However, preparations for a summit should not delay the summit itself or the proposed joint rallies.

"Similarly, we should approach this initiative as one of a number of measures that should be part of a comprehensive strategy against violence that would come out of our meeting," Mandela said.

Star 12/21/93

Mandela, Buthelezi (U.A.) may meet in March

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

The joint announcement after a successful ANC-IFP meeting yesterday, has injected fresh hope into negotiations which were threatening to bog down over accusations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

The row completely dominated Tuesday's high-level bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town. But after failing to resolve it, the two negotiating teams decided to press on with discussions aimed at getting multiparty negotiations started and reaching consensus on the structuring of the transition.

These discussions continued late last night.

However Government sources said they were aiming at holding a multiparty planning conference towards the end of February to prepare for the resumption of formal negotiations.

Sources said today the Government-ANC talks would end at midday, indicating that progress had been made.

They stressed that extremely difficult constitutional issues were now being tackled, including the questions of power-sharing and regional autonomy during the transition and in the final constitution.

ANC sources said they believed the gun-running row had blown over and had been somewhat neutralised by the ANC's counter-claims of IFP arms smuggling from Mozambique into Natal.

However, Government sources gave a different interpretation, saying that although the arms issues had been removed from the agenda of the present Government-ANC talks, it had by no means been settled.

It is understood the Government is demanding that the ANC should effectively appoint the equivalent of the Steyn Commission — a probe into allegations of misconduct by members of the security forces — to investigate the allegations of arms smuggling by members of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday hotly denied ANC accusations that the Government and the SAP had been partial to the IFP in its treatment of the two cases of arms smuggling.

He said the Government had not revealed the arrest of IFP members at the weekend because it had expected another consignment of arms to cross the border. He also said the two cases differed.

● Buthelezi asks for meeting. — Page 3

THE ANC FM 12/2/93.

Arms and the men



The detention of four more ANC members on Monday in connection with last week's seizure of a large arms and ammunition cache at Golel on the SA-Swaziland border, is likely to ensure that the controversial issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will dominate this week's bilateral meeting between government and the ANC.

The ANC has admitted that the three suspects detained earlier in Middelburg in connection with the arms find were members of the ANC. The three are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

On Tuesday, Inkatha attacked ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala for justifying arms smuggling by MK.

It appears the weapons were being taken to Natal. The cache included 34 grenades, 22 pistols and two rocket-grenade launchers with six missiles.

Interestingly, the PAC, too, has criticised the ANC over the weapons find — which is rich indeed, in view of the PAC's continued commitment to armed struggle.

The arms find threatened to derail what appeared to be sweet progress in talks between the ANC and government aimed at reconvening multiparty talks. However, the ANC quickly held talks with government officials on the matter and has begun an internal inquiry.

Tension between the ANC Midlands and Southern regions and the ANC leadership is being denied — though the leaders clearly will have to rein in the "Gwala-ites" if negotiations are to be kept on track.

The tone of the ANC leadership's response indicates it is surprised and concerned at the evidence that MK members are still bringing in arms. ■

Govt promises harder line against Inkatha

STAN 12/2/93
GOVERNMENT, stung by ANC criticism of its "double standards" regarding arms smuggling by Inkatha, has promised to take a hard line with Inkatha next week.

The latest indications were that while the row over smuggling involving MK cadres had not been "completely and satisfactorily resolved" as far as government was concerned, constitutional negotiations were more urgent.

The two-day bilateral meeting was provisionally extended by a further day to deal with constitutional issues of power-sharing, regionalism, an interim constitution and a transitional executive council.

In a statement yesterday, Law and

~~PHS~~ (11A) ~~3044~~
BILLY PADDOCK

Order Minister Hennis Kriel said the same issues discussed with the ANC during bilateral talks this week would be put to Inkatha. "Government views the Inkatha incident in a very serious light," Kriel said.

But he nonetheless argued that the two smuggling cases were different.

Kriel's statement, and an ANC response, are expected to redress the balance in negotiations. Recent sensitive talks between government, the ANC and Inkatha are aimed at keeping progress towards multiparty negotiations on track.

On the smuggling case allegedly involv-

ing Inkatha's Emanguzi branch chairman Isaac Ntsele and five others, Kriel said the arrests happened at the weekend. Two of the six suspects were Mozambicans, while another two suspects were also Inkatha members.

The SAP had not made facts about the arrests public at the time because another consignment of weapons was expected to cross the border. The untimely publicity meant this would not happen now.

Kriel said that when evaluating government and police response to the Inkatha and ANC incidents, the following should be borne in mind:

□ To Page 2

Inkatha ^{B10m} 12/2/93. (11A) ~~PHS~~ From Page 1

□ MK had a recognised and extensive underground structure which, according to information, was involved in the recent weapons smuggling incident;

□ Arms smuggling by MK members placed MK in direct contravention of the law and of agreements between government and the ANC;

□ In the case of the Inkatha members, no information had yet been received indicating the weapons were destined for any structure with which Inkatha, as a political organisation, was involved; and

□ The weapons seized from MK included powerful RPG rockets and launchers

which could destroy armoured vehicles.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday it was Inkatha's policy that members contravening the law be left to fend for themselves.

Meanwhile, another arms cache was discovered in Natal yesterday and three more people were arrested, one a suspected ANC member. The ANC planned to investigate.

The men were arrested after a police raid on a home in KwaMashu, north of Durban, netted army uniforms and weaponry. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze could not say whether the find was linked to the cache discovered at the Swaziland border last week.

BILLY PADDOCK

THE way has been cleared for ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet.

A joint ANC/Inkatha committee has recommended that the two leaders meet soon. (11A) (11B)

Delegations from the two parties, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, took the decision yesterday after a fourth round of talks.

No date was announced, but Mdlalose and Zuma said preparations should be finalised by March 5, when the leaders would have to sanction a date.

It is hoped that the meeting — the first in more than a year and only the third since Mandela's release from jail — will help

Mandela, Buthelezi meeting to go ahead

reduce violence in Natal. The parties said the discovery of arms smuggling had increased the urgency for ending the conflict between their supporters.

The parties did not say how obstacles in the way of the meeting had been cleared. These included Mandela's insistence that Buthelezi accept the record of understanding reached between government and the ANC last September. This made provision for a ban on the public display of traditional weapons, fencing hostels and the acceptance of Codesa agreements.

Another obstacle was KwaZulu's adoption of a "federal constitution".

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Plea to Mandela and Buthelezi

Sowetan 12/2/93

(11A) (circled)

A HIGH-POWERED joint African National Congress-Inkatha committee is to recommend to Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that they meet for bilateral talks aimed at ending the violence.

But no date has been set for the proposed summit, announced after a fourth round of talks in Durban yesterday between top ANC and Inkatha officials.

A joint statement afterwards said revelations of weapons smuggling emphasised the urgency for both parties to do everything in their power

■ IFP-ANC committee urge them to meet in bid to end violence:

to end the conflict between their supporters.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who is leading his delegation, and his ANC counterpart, Mr Jacob Zuma, remained tight-lipped during a lunch-break about whether a summit between Mandela and Buthelezi would be finalised at yesterday's talks.

This is the joint ANC-IFP committee's fourth round of talks geared to removing obstacles to a meeting of their leaders.

At their gathering in January they undertook to make "firm recommendations" at this meeting.

Mandela has met Buthelezi once in bilateral talks since his release from prison.

Although their much publicised January 1991 meeting did not have the desired effect of bringing some calm to Natal's war-torn townships, there has been great pressure on the leaders to meet again. — Sapa.

ANC 'welcome to take part in regional bodies'

18/01/93 12/2/93
CAPE TOWN — Government would not object if political parties, including the ANC, participated in regional committees established to co-ordinate the consolidation of provincial authorities and self-governing states, Deputy Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said yesterday.

It was unclear whether such a move was practical, or whether the self-governing states would react favourably, but government would have no objections in principle, Fourie said in an interview.

He was reacting to ANC objections to the announcement that enabling legislation would be promulgated to allow the integration of government and self-governing administrations.

He said the intention was not to create new structures or to preempt the negotiations process. A major aim was to reduce duplication of services.

For instance, pension payments were handled by provincial authorities as well as by self-governing states. Significant savings could be gained if the payment process was rationalised, Fourie said.

The administration of roads and even education could also be rationalised, if the

Bill will help councils' fund-raising

CAPE TOWN — A Bill enabling local authorities to surmount their fund-raising difficulties on the capital market has been tabled in Parliament. 18/01/93 12/2/93

The memorandum to the Local Authorities Loans Fund Amendment Bill said the need for an amendment arose from the problems experienced by local authorities in obtaining sufficient loans on the capital market. The Bill proposes to allow the Local Authorities Loans Fund Board to grant loans to specified local authorities which do not have to be repaid by means of annuities, as required at present.

In terms of annuity loans, a portion of the capital and interest payments have to be paid back in six monthly instalments.

Local Authorities Loans Fund Board secretary Neill Marais said yesterday the

LINDA ENSOR
amendment would allow larger local authorities to use the money they had set aside each year to repay the loan as collateral to raise additional finance.

Further funds would be released for utilisation by the local authorities as the amount set aside each year would be less than would have to be paid back to the board in six monthly instalments.

Marais said all annuity loans granted to date would continue on an annuity basis and only local authorities who met the criteria of the board's executive committee would be granted non-annuity funding. Once applications for non-annuity funding were received, the committee would consider the criteria to be employed.

11A
TIM COHEN

separate administrations were to come to an agreement on how this could be done.

Government envisaged the establishment of committees involving representatives of the states, government and provincial authorities, but even this was subject to the approval of the parties concerned.

None of the structures had been formally set up, although discussions had taken place with the self-governing states.

Fourie said no time frames had been set, but it was possible that quick progress could be achieved.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha national chairman and Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday welcomed the prospect of the proposed legislation.

He said: "This is a step towards a federal state type of constitution, as an interim measure."

It would give the joint authority a greater and more effective say on decisions affecting the region, he said.

There would be a widening of powers on such issues as health, education and housing, Mdlalose said.



**LYDENBURG
PLATINUM
LIMITED**

Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa
(Registration No. 01/08063/06)

DECLARATION OF INTERIM DIVIDEND

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that an interim dividend (No 78) of 39 cents per share, in respect of the year ending 31 October 1993 has been declared payable to members registered at the close of business on 26 February 1993.

The register of the company will be closed from 1 March 1993 to 5 March 1993, both days inclusive.

I'm not a lackey, says Rajbansi

Sowetan
12/2/93

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NATIONAL Peoples Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi last night said he would be on the side of the liberation movements as soon as the Transitional Executive Council was established.

Rajbansi, who was a guest speaker on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night, said he would announce his break with the tricameral in June when the TEC would "hopefully" be in place.

"I shall be part of the liberation movement. With people like Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, I hope we'll have a great future for our country," he said.

Rajbansi refuted charges that he had discredited himself when he joined the

tricameral parliament. He told listeners that the National Party was shocked when it discovered he was not the lackey it considered him to be.

He quoted Mahatma Gandhi and Mandela at length on "using the system for social upliftment and addressing the bread and butter issues".

"Once the TEC has been established, a social change that will direct the Indian community towards the liberation movements will take place.

"This change shall be pioneered by Indian students and trade unionists who are the vanguard of our community," he said.

Two callers supported him and said he had done a "good job". Three other callers, however, regarded him as an opportunist.

They said his latest stance came rather too late in his political career.

"You (Rajbansi) discredited yourself with the Indian community as well as the wider community. You went into the system to use us because it was there, and not for the interests of the Indian community."

Anonymous, Durban.
"You (Rajbansi) must stop using the name of Gandhi because we

love and revere him and there is no way you can associate yourself with him."

Barney, Pretoria

"There has been a lot of 'horse-trading' and corruption in the House of Delegates. At one time you (Rajbansi) sanctioned the eviction of a poor family from a house and tried to give him a flat when the matter flared up."

Hockey, Lenasia

Deal on dissolving MK tantalisingly close — but rank and file won't buy it

Rift in ANC over arms cache fiasco

IIA

W/Mail

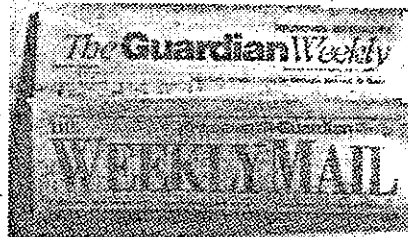
12/2-18/2/93.

THE government and the African National Congress are tantalisingly close to a deal on the security forces — including dissolving Umkhonto weSizwe. But in the wake of the week's arms cache finds, winning support for the deal in Natal may prove a huge headache for Nelson Mandela.

There are signs of severe tension between a conciliatory ANC head office and the three militant Natal regions. Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been unrepentant about the arms finds, arguing that "in a flood you must climb on any devil's back".

Mandela has acknowledged that head office guidelines are being ignored by certain MK cadres. This week he confessed: "We must acknowledge that among the people caught are a number of ANC members."

See PAGE 2



Tell us what you think of The Weekly Mail

IT'S been nine months since *The Weekly Mail* joined up with *The Guardian Weekly*, and this week, we're asking readers: what do you think of the changed product?

Every two years, we ask readers their opinions of the paper. The results have always provided valuable feedback, with hundreds of readers respond-

Natal cadres resist 'MK disbanding'

Wjmail 12/2 - 18/2/93.

MK cadres in Natal are smuggling

arms for use in the war against

Inkatha. Despite directives from the

ANC head office, they are reluctant to

lay down their weapons.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON and**

FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE government and the African National Congress are tantalisingly close to a deal on the security forces — including the dissolution of Umkhonto weSizwe — but winning support for it in Natal will be a huge headache.

In the wake of last week's arms cache find on the Swaziland border, yet another weapons stockpile was found yesterday in kwaMashu, near Durban, and three men were arrested. One of them, according to police, is a card-carrying ANC member. Most of the arrested men come from kwaMashu, which is known to be an MK stronghold.

There are signs of severe tension between the ANC head office and the three Natal regions. Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been unrepentant about the arms finds, arguing that "in a flood you must climb on any devil's back". Yesterday the ANC Youth League in southern Natal released a statement saying there was no question of MK being dissolved, and that arms smuggling should be seen in the context of "the onslaught (on communities) of the kwaZulu Police, Askaris (turned ANC cadres) and warlords".

Another Natal official said the disbanding of MK would be tantamount to "political suicide"

for the ANC in the province.

President Nelson Mandela has acknowledged that head office guidelines are being ignored by certain MK cadres.

The *Weekly Mail* has been told by Natal MK sources that some of the gun-running is criminal, rather than political, and that jobless cadres back from exile are selling smuggled arms. The group of eight picked up in connection with the Swazi border arms haul, sources said, were linked to a crime syndicate operating in kwaMashu, Chesterville and Lamontville, comprised of MK members with access to arms caches in Mozambique.

One of the arrested men, Mandla Magoba, a

zonal chairman in the ANC's kwaMashu branch, is reported to have strong links with the gang.

Gang members allegedly bring the weapons into the country and sell them to ANC self-defence units, or use the weapons themselves. The syndicate is also said to be involved in other illicit activities such as mandrax smuggling and armed robbery.

A Natal ANC official denied the men intended selling the smuggled arms, insisting they were loyal members of the movement. "They were acting on their interpretation of the defence of people," he said. He admitted, however, that some MK cadres did have unauthorised access to ANC arsenals in frontline states like Mozambique.

The ANC has so far denied any high-level involvement. However, two of the men arrested in connection with last week's arms smuggling operation hold key positions in the ANC's southern Natal region. Siphso Sithole is MK commissar in the region and Derek Ngobese is MK's chief of personnel. Another of the eight arrested, Siphso Magwaza, is on the local dispute resolution committee in Umlazi.

At a press conference this week, Mandela con-

fessed: "We must acknowledge that among the people caught are a number of ANC members. One of them is a highly placed official."

"One day I said to (President FW) De Klerk: 'You have no control over the security forces, the army and the police. They are killing our people. Control your men. He turned around and told me: 'That's your problem too'. I immediately withdrew my accusation."

The *Weekly Mail* learnt yesterday that at last week's bilateral meeting, the government and the ANC were within a hair's breadth of an agreement on multiparty control of the security forces, the control and dissolution of MK before elections, and an end to the recruitment and training of MK cadres outside the country. Reports have appeared recently that the ANC has accepted that MK and all other private armies will have to be disbanded prior to elections.

The government, for its part, is said to have accepted in principle that the security forces have to have credibility and legitimacy, particularly during the transitional process. Government sources said a deal on these lines was "very close".

But yesterday, the ANC's southern Natal Youth League issued a statement, entitled "No Question About MK's Disbandment", asking: "How can MK disband while Inkatha is silent about the trainings at Mandleni camp, Caprivi, Israel etc ..."

Local ANC members in Natal expressed dissatisfaction at a statement made by National Working Committee member Thabo Mbeki in Durban recently to the effect that MK would have to be dissolved before elections. Regional leaders have also stopped short of criticising the actions of the ANC members caught with ammunition.

Northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu said yesterday: "We haven't told them (ANC cadres) to go across the border. You don't have to tell that to people under siege. People try to lay their hands on anything they can get, even if it means going across the border to buy weapons."

Southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe said the ANC would not disown the arrested members, some of whom occupied key positions in the region. "The organisation has trust and confidence in them. Our view of that hasn't changed. We are not disowning them, they are our comrades."

The cache found in kwaMashu contained three F1 hand grenades, two AK47s, two pistols and several rounds of ammunition. A South African Defence Force uniform was also confiscated. One of the three people arrested is ANC member Zimane Ngcobo, according to the police a member of the ANC's Mntolo branch in kwaMashu. No links have yet been established between this cache and the haul on the Swazi border.

The difficulties posed by the demobilisation of MK in Natal have been highlighted by the police discovery of arms hauls in the possession of Inkatha members.

Six people were arrested at the Mozambique border in Hlungulu at the weekend, allegedly bringing AK47s into the country. Among them were two Mozambicans and the IFP's chairman in Ermanguzi, Isaac Ntsele. They appeared in court early this week on charges of possession of arms and ammunition.

This week the police found 15 AK47s, three Makarov pistols and two 9mm pistols in a raid on the Dube Hostel in Soweto.

Perhaps conscious of potential resistance on the ground, both the government and the ANC have been at pains to conceal the measure of agreement on the future of the security forces.

While the smuggling of weapons is a contravention of the DF Malan Accord between the government and ANC, one ANC source insisted the ANC had made no bones about the fact that people had the right to defend themselves against attacks from the IFP in Natal's war zones. "Some people interpret defence in different ways," he said.

There is dissatisfaction among ANC officials that the government went public on the issue instead of dealing with the violations through the liaison committee set up in terms of the accord to deal with such issues.

The ANC is insisting that incidents such as these — and the uncovering of IFP arms caches this week — are proof of the urgent need for multiparty control of the security forces.

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BILL OF RIGHTS FM 12/2/93

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Freedom starts with private property

This week's row between government and the ANC over a Bill of Rights indicates that public bickering will continue to characterise the negotiation process, in spite of claims by both sides that it is progressing well behind the scenes.

It seems unlikely that the latest disagreement will bring talks to a halt. Nevertheless, it is an unhealthy basis on which to build mutual understanding.

The fact that much of the argument seems accessible only to lawyers — and specialised lawyers at that — does not help.

The average citizen easily grows bored with what seems like interminable nit-picking — and boredom could lead to cosy but dangerous deals being made between the main parties in smoke-filled rooms.

There is concern that liberty will not be served, if only because neither of the main parties is particularly liberal by temperament and because they might both be prepared to compromise too readily on matters of principle.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced government's proposals for a Bill of Rights, based on those of the Law Commission, last week amid much fanfare. It will be widely distributed — at taxpayers' expense — as a discussion document.

In essence, the ANC wants to outlaw nearly all the human rights abuses of which Nationalist governments have been guilty for 40 years.

But the ANC says that while some aspects are praiseworthy, others are unacceptable and could in fact entrench race-based privileges and unequal wealth distribution. The organisation says a Bill of Rights can be agreed on and entrenched only by an elected constituent assembly. Government wants an interim rights Bill in place until the formal transition to democracy.

However, the ANC argues — with some force — that an interim Bill guaranteeing equal rights would be nonsensical because most people would not yet have the vote — one of the most fundamental rights. What

the ANC wants instead is some form of transitional rights to level the playing fields to enable the election to be held.

ANC constitutional expert Kadar Asmal describes the government's Bill as "deeply flawed and fraudulent" and not even a sound

basis for further debate. He sees it as a serious obstacle to the negotiation process and an attempt by Coetsee to ensure that negotiations do not succeed.

Asmal's fellow constitutional committee member, Albie Sachs, says the Bill is "an election manifesto in legal form." Adds Sachs: "We've looked forward to a Bill of Rights as a document that will unite SA, but the timing, tone and content (of government's Bill) are all wrong."

In response to ANC criticism, Coetsee accused the organisation of superficial analysis of the Bill in an attempt to smother the debate on human rights. The ANC's contribution is neither academic nor scientific, Coetsee charged.

However, it's clear that fundamental differences between government and the ANC on

what should be protected in a Bill of Rights may be difficult to reconcile. For example, the ANC wants "private apartheid" outlawed, while government's Bill would in essence uphold the right to discriminate on the grounds of freedom of association.

In addition, the ANC wants the effects of apartheid — such as land ownership — redressed through a Bill of Rights, while government wants existing ownership protected. The ANC also wants minimum wages, job security and rights to education and housing entrenched in a Bill of Rights — but it is impossible to see how such rights can be enforced when they depend on objective material conditions. To include them in a Bill of Rights would simply discredit all the other clauses.

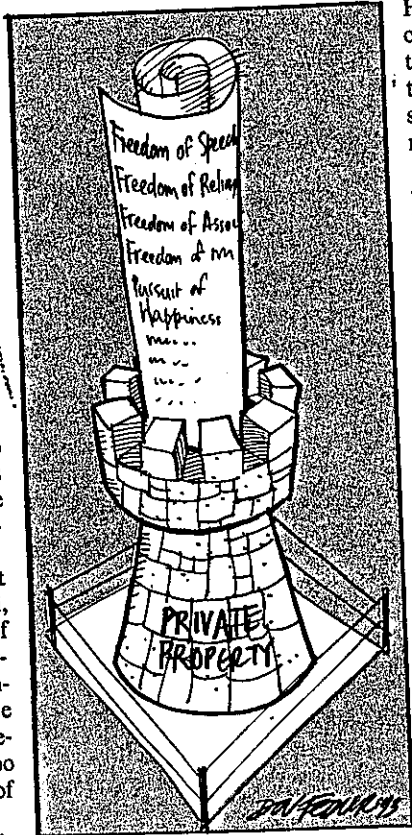
In the end, a solution might be to agree on an entrenched Bill of fundamental rights and freedoms — such as freedom of thought and expression, and freedom from arbitrary arrest — and then to deal with more detailed

issues through special commissions on land, housing, education and employment, and, if necessary, to entrench their findings in legislation.

What we would like to see more of is a passionate defence of private property. As John Locke, that great 17th Century pioneer of political analysis, understood well, the theoretical rights may be all very well and necessary but, without the entrenched and undiluted right of private ownership of property, the rest can be swept away.

The fact that this is decidedly not the view of the ANC does not undermine its validity.

It is no coincidence that the most successful, powerful and prosperous democracy on earth — the US — is also the one which has the greatest respect for private property. This is what underpins the survival of the abstract rights which the founding fathers found self-evident, not the romantic passion of human rights babble. ■



Coloureds w/mail 12/2-18/2/93 may break from ANC

By PAUL STOBER (11A)

COLOURED African National Congress activists, frustrated at the organisation's failure to address the problems of the coloured community in the western Cape, are considering breaking with the ANC and relaunching the Coloured People's Congress (CPC).

They are convinced the regional ANC executive is dominated by an Africanist element which is directing most of the organisation's resources towards the African townships, at the expense of the coloured areas.

"We are unhappy about both the national and regional leadership's attitude to the coloured people," said one activist. "Coloureds are noticing that they are not been spoken of in national politics. There is a great sense of insecurity and they are beginning to feel their minority status."

ANC western Cape regional executive committee member Bulelani Ngcuka agreed that problems existed, but he dismissed any suggestion that the regional structure favoured the African townships.

"The reality is that we have to deal with decades of racism which has permeated our community, and it is natural that some suspicion exists. Africans will say the ANC spends more time trying to win minorities, while some coloureds will say the ANC is concentrating on its traditional constituency in the townships. It depends on who you talk to," he said.

Ngcuka described the withdrawal of coloured support for the ANC as a protest: "There was a lot of anger when we were not able to push President de Klerk quickly, and people blamed us."

In the 1950s, the CPC organised and represented coloured people within the ANC-led congress alliance. It disintegrated after many of its leaders fled into exile and it was banned.

Senior coloured activists now discussing the relaunch of the CPC are keeping their cards close to their chests. Most of them have campaigned for the ANC for many years and are reluctant to break away openly.

But their discussions are likely to be spurred on by the impending election for a constituent assembly. There is concern that the ANC has been swayed by predictions that the organisation will only receive between 3,3 and 17 per cent of the coloured vote in the western Cape, and has decided to write off the coloured areas.

The activists fear that unless these areas are actively canvassed, coloureds will either stay away from the polls because they believe that none of the parties represents them, or they will vote for the Democratic Party. They are confident that the National Party and the Labour Party will not attract many coloured votes.

The CPC would provide a means to galvanise coloured people to take part in the election and make their presence felt, even if not directly in favour of the ANC.

But Ngcuka insisted that the ANC remains totally committed to winning the coloured vote: "We have no intention of giving up on them. The coloured community is our natural constituency because they remain oppressed. When the chips are down, I have no doubt they will support the ANC."

He added that attempts to relaunch the CPC in the western Cape would not succeed: "Since the days of the United Democratic Front, our structures have been closely integrated. The CPC would need credible leadership, which would not come from our hardcore activists."

SA access to IMF, World Bank to be debated at vital meeting

ANC to rethink sanctions

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and
MICHAEL MORRIS



(IAD)

Star 13/2/93

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress's national executive committee is to discuss the crucial issue of South Africa's access to International Monetary Fund and World Bank funds next week and is ready to review its stance on sanctions.

This was said at a briefing yesterday by ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa. He was responding to a statement by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who said he was prepared to write to United States President Bill Clinton asking him to give South Africa access to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

But Archbishop Tutu said he would write to the White House only when a "broadly acceptable transitional authority which would ensure multiparty control of the security forces" had been established.

Moosa said the question of sanctions could no longer be avoided. "Even our president, Nelson Mandela, talked about it on a recent visit to the US. The ANC national executive committee will discuss this matter at our forthcoming meeting."

Moosa said it was urgent that the organisation address the question of financial sanctions while South Africa was in a transitional process.

Archbishop Tutu's views would be taken into account at the NEC meeting, he said.

Disciplinary measures

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday, after three days of talks with the Government, that ANC cadres found responsible for infiltrating arms in breach of instructions from the leadership — and agreements with the Government — could face disciplinary measures.

He said that if ANC members were responsible for the infiltration of weapons, they were acting contrary to policy and in breach of clear instructions from the leadership.

He said the ANC's investigations into the allegations were continuing and that the movement had "offered to co-operate fully with the proposed investigation by the Goldstone Commission."

"The outcome of these investigations will determine our course of action in keeping with the ANC policy and disciplinary procedures."

In the only critical feature of the statement, he added: "We have taken note that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, issued a statement trying to justify the Government's blatant partiality in concentrating on the Swaziland border incident (involving the ANC) while they have tried to avoid publicity around the involvement of Inkatha Freedom Party members in arms smuggling. We believe that this is hypocrisy of the worst kind."

If the Government responded positively to ANC proposals on the control of arms and armed formations such as the SADF, MK, the KwaZulu police, Apla and others, a peaceful and democratic order was within reach, he said.

11A 250
'Allow gays in army'

w/mact 12/2 - 18/2/93.
Weekly Mail Reporter

THE African National Congress believes that gays did sterling work in Umkhonto weSizwe over the years and that there is no reason why they should not continue to do service in a reconstituted South African Defence Force.

The ANC's commitment to gays in a new army is not based so much on their track record as bush fighters as on the principle that there should be no discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation under a new constitution.

The ANC's standpoint was spelt out at a press briefing in Cape Town this week by the organisation's consti-

tutional experts, Kader Asmal and Albie Sachs.

Sachs said gays who had served in the ANC's military wing had not been discriminated against. Instead, they had been judged on their abilities as soldiers.

He said that while the ANC had not formulated a specific policy regarding the eligibility of gays into a new, volunteer defence force, recruitment would clearly have to be based on the principle of non-discrimination.

Asmal was even more categorical on the topic. He said all discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation would have to be outlawed in terms of a future Bill of Rights.

ANC plays down 'division' over arms

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday played down reports of divisions within the organisation over the alleged gun-smuggling by ANC members into Natal.

A senior ANC source pointed out that the ANC's national executive committee — of which militant Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala is a

member — had issued clear instructions to all its structures and members that arms were not to be infiltrated into the country.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a press conference yesterday that the ANC had told the government in bilateral talks this week that neither the NEC nor the ANC's military wing gave any instructions to the individuals recently ar-

rested, or to any other persons, to infiltrate arms.

He added that no regional executive committee of the ANC or regional command of MK gave any such instructions to any ANC members.

"The ANC's investigations into this (gun-running) incident are continuing. The ANC has offered to co-operate fully with the Goldstone Commission."

Any ANC members found responsible for the latest incident of gun-running would not be able to claim amnesty under earlier agreements between the ANC and the government, he said.

● The ANC has confirmed that two of three men arrested in KwaMashu north of Durban on Thursday in connection with an arms cache are its members.

(11A) CT 13/2/93

Mandela relegates SACP role

Political Staff

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela last night effectively relegated its SACP ally to a minor role, after elections for an interim government.

Interviewed by Sir David Frost on television, Mr Mandela said the ANC's national list for the elections would contain both

(11A) CF 15/12/93
members of the SACP and Co-satu.

He said that the SACP had a tiny membership as such and its representation on the national list would reflect this.

He said the ANC had shifted its position on nationalisation and was now in favour of retaining nationalisation as a policy "in case of need".

Asked to make predictions about the future Mr Mandela said that it was very difficult to prophesy. He was content to make predictions on the basis of what had been achieved, he added that "tremendous progress" had been made in the area of negotiations.

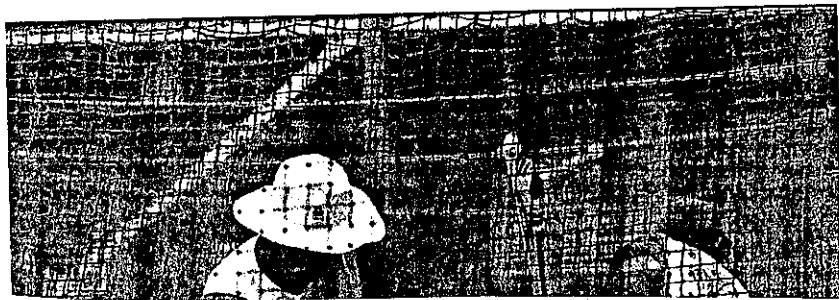
Govt, ANC reach deal on future

Star 13/2/93

(11A)

(SOLA)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent



Saturday Star February 13 1993

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the ANC have agreed that a power-sharing government of national unity should rule the country for at least five years after the first fully democratic elections.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday gave the first official confirmation of speculation that has been rife for some time.

He stated categorically that it had been agreed there would be no second election immediately after a new constitution had been approved.

Important concessions

The government of national unity — representing all parties with more than 5 to 10 percent of the vote — would remain in office for five years in any case.

He was briefing journalists after a three-day meeting with the ANC, where it was clear that important concessions had been made by both sides — especially on the all-important issue of regional powers.

This last issue now seems to have disappeared as an obstacle. The Government has abandoned its previous insistence that a multiparty negotiating body such as Codesa should determine the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

Government negotiators have now agreed — subject to Cabinet approval — that these matters should be finalised instead by the elected constitution-making body (CMB). But it was also clear that the ANC had made hefty concessions on its regional government policy.

Schoeman said agreement had been reached with the ANC that a regional commission was to be set

up to try to reach consensus among all parties on regional powers and boundaries. These proposals would be taken to the CMB for finalisation. Schoeman also explained that the CMB would be bound by constitutional principles which could include regional principles.

He also said regional representatives in the CMB would have a special say — in effect, a veto right — over matters affecting their intimate interests.

ANC sources said there had been convergence between the Government and the ANC on regional government, and that this lay behind the Government's concession.

Top ANC negotiator Valli Moosa also pointed out that Codesa would in fact have to draw up regional boundaries to enable regional representatives to be elected to the CMB.

It appears that the Government has made concessions because it is now confident that the regional commission will come up with an acceptable regional government system.

Schoeman and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the timetable for transition was was firmly back on track and

ANC-Govt deal

● FROM PAGE 1.

that the proposed multiparty conference to plan the resumption of Codesa-style negotiations would take place before the end of the month — possibly on February 25 and 26. This meant that Codesa could take place in March.

Confirming strong rumours, Schoeman stated categorically that the Government and ANC had agreed on the following important features of the transition period:

- There would be elections for a CMB which would also be an interim legislature.

- All parties which obtained more than a minimum percentage of the vote — the range being discussed by the Government and the ANC was between 5 and 10 percent — would be represented in the Cabinet of the government of national unity.

- The CMB would draft a new constitution in a set period which had not yet been agreed. The ANC wanted it to be no more than nine months, the Government no less than three years.

- There would not be a second election after a final constitution had been drawn up by an elected CMB. Instead the government of national unity would remain in office for five years from the first election while the final constitution was "phased in".

It was not clear how this would be done. Schoeman suggested that the interim government could decide to extend its life — although the ANC's Thabo Mbeki was adamant this would not be possible.

It seems that no final agreement has been reached about what should happen after the five years have elapsed. ANC sources said they believed the Government was steadily abandoning its previous insistence that power-sharing

in the government should continue indefinitely.

Schoeman was vague on this point, saying the Government was still trying to secure some form of power-sharing into the future.

He and Ramaphosa stressed that all agreements reached so far would have to be approved by principals — the ANC's national executive committee and the Cabinet.

The arms issue which dominated the start of the talks this week has not been resolved, although both sides agreed to push it aside.

The ANC said that neither ANC nor Umkhonto we Sizwe leadership had ordered the gun-running from Mozambique for which MK members in Natal were arrested. But it seems this did not go far enough to satisfy the Government demand that it should distance itself from the action or take concrete steps to prevent a recurrence.

Other developments at this week's meeting were:

- Agreement on an independent electoral commission to run elections.

- An independent media commission should be appointed. This would play an important role in levelling the playing field for elections.

- ANC proposals for legislation for a transitional executive council — to supervise the run-up to the first elections — were given to the Government to consider.

These focused on proposals for sub-councils of the transitional executive on law and order and defence.

It is understood that agreement on these proposals holds the key to the resolution of the issue of control of MK which at first bedevilled the talks.

The ANC is not prepared to submit MK to outside supervision until some form of joint supervision of all security forces is attained — probably through the transitional executive sub-councils on security forces.

Star 13/2/93

(11A)

ALSO IN 30'S

THE TASTE T

Star 13/2/92

Mandela to meet Major

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to meet British Prime Minister John Major in London on February 22, the ANC's department of publicity and information reports. Mandela will also visit Portugal, where he will be the guest of the government on February 23-24, and Scotland on February 25. — Sapa

(1A)

Star 13/2/93
11A

Calling all people who talk the language of science

AT 27, Roger Jardine is ready for the responsibilities that have descended on his shoulders, and undaunted by the challenge of heading a priority project of the African National Congress.

Appointed as co-ordinator of science and technology policy within the ANC's department of economic planning in October, the Riverlea lad, whose grandmother was a colleague of Helen Joseph, spearheads an ambitious programme aimed at gaining input from a broad spectrum of scientists.

From the outset it is clear that separating the man from his mission is going to be impossible. He is quick to turn the spotlight off himself, and after admitting that he was educated at Woodmead and has an MSc degree in radiation physics from Wayne State Medical School in Detroit, Michigan, he steers the interview back to the four-month-old science and technology (S&T) policy department.

He is quick to emphasise

ANITA ALLEN Science Writer

that the ANC's S&T policy guidelines, which were adopted at its national congress in May last year, commit the organisation to public participation in drawing up its policy. It is openly canvassing for collaboration with science, engineering and technology institutions, and is in the process of building up a network of experts who will submit concept papers.

"We are talking to anyone who wants to talk to us, and it is clear that there is a constituency that wants to discuss the issue," says Jardine. "From our side, we want to make the debate more accessible."

The response to the ANC's initiatives has been almost overwhelmingly positive and has worked across political barriers, he says.

"What has emerged is frustration at the present top-down control of S&T policy and the fragmented system

FORGING LINKS: Roger Jardine, co-ordinator of the ANC's science and technology policy, believes science must serve the needs of all people.

● Photograph: STEPHEN DAVIMES

of research and development funding and organisation.

"It appears that things have been done so badly, that just being able to register their inputs, irrespective of the outcome, is a great relief," Jardine notes.

The ANC has identified four priority areas which will be addressed at conferences in the next six months: S&T education policy; nuclear policy; how to foster technology innovation, and identifying appropriate technology for rural areas.

Scheduled for release on Monday is the survey funded by the Canadian-based International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and conducted by an international delegation which visited South Africa in November



last year at the request of the ANC, the SA National Civic Organisation and Cosatu.

"The ANC recognises that S&T research and development and establishing the right climate for innovation is crucial to economic wellbeing. What we are looking at is how to organise S&T down the line so the benefits

get to all the people and not just a few."

Current expenditure on research in South Africa is 0,76 percent of GNP in 1989/90, the latest available figure, or R1,7 billion. Jardine says that a few well-established research institutions and individuals get funding year after year, but it is very difficult to break new ground.

"A new S&T policy is not just a question of increasing present science budgets and research and development funding. It's a question of refocusing, establishing priorities and improving delivery systems."

As an example, he cites the present policy of mega-funding in nuclear facilities — R685 million to the Atomic Energy Corporation and R28,8 million to the National Accelerator Centre at Faure.

"There are very few friends of a policy which sees them getting so much of the limited funds," says Jardine, and adds that it is not a simple question of closing down

facilities.

He admits that as a radiation physicist, nuclear science is a particular interest. During seven years in the US, he worked on the commissioning of the world's first super-conducting medical cyclotron at the Gershenson Radiation Oncology Centre in Detroit.

The ANC subscribes to the Organisation of African Unity declaration to make Africa a nuclear-free zone, he says, so the nuclear issue is on the organisation's agenda and would be addressed at the nuclear policy conference, possibly in Cape Town in June or July.

Asked what motivates him personally, Jardine says that what sticks with him was something said in conversation with a member of the ANC's Women's League.

"She said the value of technology must be measured by the degree to which all people's needs are met. That is what I strive for."

SEE EDITORIAL
— PAGE 12

Mandela dashes hopes of indaba with Buthelezi

Star 13/2/93

(11A)



STAFF REPORTERS

HOPES raised early yesterday by reports that a meeting between African national Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was close seem to have been dashed by the ANC leader in last night's television interview with British interviewer Sir David Frost.

Asked if the meeting reported in yesterday's papers would go ahead as suggested on March 5, Mandela said that he hoped so, but then splashed cold water on the proposal by adding a series of riders to the planned meeting.

"I don't agree with him that we can just go to the unrest areas and talk to our followers."

He listed three conditions that should first be

met; that there should be a free political climate in KwaZulu, where the ANC could not presently operate; that dangerous weapons should be banned and that the question of fencing and guarding hostels should be resolved.

The pair had to have a tangible message that these issues had been resolved before they could together go and speak to their supporters, he said. "We are still far from that," he concluded.

Asked about his personal relationship with Buthelezi, he said they were friends, but that it pained him that they could not co-operate on political issues.

Animosity

However, during a long discourse on the history of aborted meetings and agreements between the two, a degree of animosity could not help but be detected.

"What else can I do to bring Chief Buthelezi into these multiparty discussions?" he pleaded.

Other points touched on during the interview included the fact that the issue of violence, so long a stumbling-block to successful negotiations, would not be allowed to stand in the way of elections.

To abandon or postpone elections because of violence would only play into the hands of those fostering the violence, he said.

He added that he felt United Nations forces would not need to be deployed in South Africa to ensure free and fair elections, saying that the security forces in the country were strong enough to address the violence.

He said that even if the ANC gained a majority in South Africa's first democratic election, he did not expect his party to be able to govern alone.

"The problems of our country are such that no single party will be able to govern alone. A majority party will be better able to govern if it relies on the support of other political parties," he said.

Mandela gave viewers a surprising insight into how he sees the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions working out at the polls. "We will fight the elections as the ANC, but of course we have an alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions," he told Frost. "Our national list of candidates will include members of the SACP and Cosatu, but we propose to make clear in the list who these people are."

He added, however, that the numbers of SACP members in particular would be small, as research had indicated that support for the party was "tiny".

PAC leader arrives in city to open branches

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Weekend Argus Reporter

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu arrived in the city last night for a weekend during which he will attend the launches of two PAC branches in the Peninsula and officiate at other meetings.

Mr Makwetu will launch a branch at Uitsig at midday today before touring the township en route to Marconi Beam squatter camp near Milnerton where a branch will be opened at 4pm.

Tomorrow he will address a rally in Langa.

During his arrival at D F Malan Airport last night, a 250-strong crowd shook the arrivals hall with the much-ma-

igned "One settler, one bullet", only metres from a bronze bust of D F Malan, the country's first apartheid minister who served from 1948 to 1954.

Reservedly raising a hand in acknowledgment, the PAC leader was welcomed by a crowd singing "One settler, one bullet. One bullet, one settler. Every settler deserves a bullet."

Asked about his welcoming party's chants, Mr Makwetu said: "Why should I comment on a slogan? It is only a slogan ... it has no views."

The PAC leader, who on Tuesday in an interview with Sir David Frost maintained his party would "undoubtedly" win majority support in an election, said the Western Cape was "where the PAC is strongest".

ANC will punish arms smugglers

MICHAEL MORRIS
and **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**
Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress cadres caught smuggling arms in breach of instructions from the leadership — and agreements with the government — could face disciplinary measures, said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Speaking after three days of talks with the government, he said any ANC members smuggling weapons were acting contrary to policy and in breach of clear instructions from the leadership.

The ANC was investigating these allegations and had "offered to co-operate fully with the proposed investigation by the Goldstone Commission".

"The outcome of this will determine our actions in keeping with our policy and disciplinary procedures," he said.

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ARC 13/2/93

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NP-ANC Valentine ahead?

SOUTH 13/2-17/2/93
By Quentin Wilson

IN WHAT has been seen as a fitting prelude to Valentine's Day, the ANC and the NP got together once more this week to continue their private discussions around South Africa's transition.

Their two-day meeting, which started in Cape Town on Wednesday afternoon, is aimed at addressing unresolved issues between the two parties.

While little of these discussions has been disclosed, speculation is rife that the two negotiating teams are edging closer and that a political honeymoon — however brief — is on the cards.

However, caution about the expected Nat-ANC romance has been expressed by Ms Bettina von Lieres, a politics lecturer at UWC.

Said Von Lieres: "There has been a lot of talk about how fast things are moving, but this is premature as it seems very little has actually been agreed upon.

"There are still a number of factors which could put a spanner in the works. Spoiler parties, like the IFP, have not been taken into account and it seems the NP are still maintaining tough bottom lines, like regionalism."

Von Lieres also argued that the ANC was following a dangerous path by continuing to keep silent about the specifics of their talks with the NP so far.

"The danger is the lack of democracy in the process. Full accountability is being deliberately limited in exchange for an efficient management of the process.

"Another danger is the way elections are being undervalued by the ANC at the moment.

"Elections are being flouted as just part of the transitional arrangement instead of producing democratic government.

"Elections seem to be viewed by both parties in a technical way, where post-election processes do not necessarily depend on the outcome. Elections are set to lose their democratic value," she said.

If Von Lieres is right, the anticipated Valentine may simply end up echoing the refrain of "where do broken hearts go ...".

IS THE current session the last sitting of the racist parliament? Or is this idea just a comforting myth? The New Unity Movement does not believe that the National Party and its new allies can or will replace the present parliament with a democratic non-racial one.

There is no truth whatever in the myth that De Klerk is ready to share power, still less to abdicate power to the ANC and any other front or alliance.

Those who believe that this racist parliament is the last, miss two truths.

The first is a clear understanding that South Africa is dominated by the economic and political power of the rich capitalist countries.

The second is that our struggle is against both the South African ruling class and the sight of international capitalism. Both live off racism.

These important facts make our struggle so much more difficult. There is no "quick-fix" solution for our poverty and lack of jobs, homes and social services, etc.

This lack of understanding of the real nature of our problems leads to another gross blunder: a belief that peace, prosperity and justice can come from a government of "national unity" — unity between oppressor and the oppressed. This is self-deception! We must be honest about this and not lie to the masses, as some people are doing. We are dealing with their liberty!

De Klerk will re-fashion the tri-cameral parliament. But all that he said in parliament and all the plans made public so far point to one thing: that the ruling class will create another style of racist parliament.

The Homelands Councils and the tri-cameral parliament were made worthless by popular freedom struggles. That was a victory for non-collaboration. The rulers need new collaborators to get the support of the masses. That is what negotiation and secret talks are all about.

Failure to understand all these things leads to all sorts of false hopes and expectations among peo-

CROSS TALK

De Klerk will revamp racist parliament

SOUTH 13/2-17/2/93.

parliament (11A)

3

The debate over the tri-cameral parliament continues with **Richard Dudley**, the president of the New Unity Movement (NUM), arguing that the National Party will not concede to a democratic parliament:

ple who desperately want peace, jobs and homes.

Before, the rulers spoke bluntly about apartheid for the different "races". Now we hear about ethnicity (racism), cultural diversity and special needs. These ideas lie beneath state plans to set up regional parliaments and a federal parliament. That is the likely format of the new racist parliament.

Certain vital political tasks have been sabotaged by the liberators turned collaborators.

- First is the struggle for national unity among the oppressed. We need to build ONE South African nation to rid this country of racism, tribalism and sectarianism.

- Second is the need for independent, democratic organisations, united upon non-negotiable democratic demands for full and equal citizenship rights, not upon bargaining for petty concessions.

- Third is the defence of our organisations against bribery, corruption and sellouts paid to serve



the ruling class. Political education and organisation of the oppressed majority must provide the real basis for the growth of democracy.

The Evil Results of Negotiations:

"Negotiations" has split and weakened our organisations. The masses have been led to believe that the rulers and collaborators can solve their problems. This lie has become a national myth. That the

No democratic parliament can emerge from this political zoo.

We must tell the masses that simple truth'

ruling class is willing to hand over "power to the people" is another. De Klerk's government is "negotiating" to stay in power. That is the simple truth.

"Negotiations" breeds political hypocrisy.

A part of the leadership has enriched itself with lavish homes, high living, lots of privileges and fat salaries. This destroys the will to struggle along WITH the down-trodden masses. Many oppressed MP's easily joined the NP — the party of oppressors. They gave the Nats a majority in all tri-cameral houses! De Klerk can now do without the President's Council to force the legislation through the present parliament. The lines between liberation politics and the politics of collaboration have been blurred. Political thugs, liberals and "revolutionaries" sat together in Codesa claiming to lay the foundation for "democracy".

They chose to work WITH the rulers, against the interests of the masses. No democratic parliament can emerge from such a political zoo. And we must tell the oppressed majority that simple truth — that that is NOT the road to political democracy.

Mr de Klerk's Bill of Rights is like the American Bill of Rights; it has all the means to entrench racism in many forms. The new Nats will have to support the Bill ... or ?

Negotiations is not "another site of struggle" as workers in trade unions have been made to believe. It is the graveyard of their struggles. It is not the road to political democracy. It is the path to a revamped "apartheid" under a revamped racist parliament. Moreover, the government insists upon a "free-

market" system — the very system that caused today's poverty and social chaos; a system that benefits the few at the expense of the majority. We believe that in our struggle the interests of workers, the landless peasants and the millions of rural poor are paramount.

Who Are The Promoters of Negotiations?

The South African state is one. But who pays the "main players" in negotiations, the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party? The latter recently received more than R20 million from America and Britain. The alliance got over R300 million from rich capitalist nations. "He who pays the piper calls the tune".

America, Britain, Germany and France have been training oppressed students for the new "civil service". They are also funding campaigns to get people to vote in elections — for a racist parliament. This is another raw truth. And we must tell the oppressed that truth. The Unity Movement has, in all its 50 years, always in its programme and policy exposed imperialism and its agents as our greatest enemy. Our duty is clear.

The struggle for national unity and democracy must continue.

Our first political duty in 1993 will be to forge alliances with liberatory organisations and groups to oppose the "elections". A principal message to the oppressed will be that such elections cannot fulfil their demands for liberty, equality, justice, jobs and homes.

Racist parliaments will live on — until a UNITED democratic liberation movement has IN FACT brought the ruling class to its knees and vanquished it.

ANGER OVER POWER DEAL

S/Times 14/2/93

By CHARLENE SMITH and NORMAN WEST

THE historic power-sharing deal struck between the ANC and the government this week has unleashed a bitter political row.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi bluntly warned yesterday that it would require the combined might of the SADF and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to force compliance in Kwazulu and Natal.

The Pan Africanist Congress, once allied to the ANC in the so-called Patriotic Front, slated the deal as elitist, echoing repeated charges by Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that the movement had sold out to the National Party.

The deal has sparked anger within the most senior ranks of the ANC.

Top officials — including information director Pallo Jordan and prominent SA Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin — have already spoken out against such a power-sharing arrangement, and Tuesday's national executive meeting, where the proposal is to be discussed, will be stormy.

The agreement, bartered between the NP and the ANC in a series of private meetings in the last two months, provides for five years of joint rule by the most powerful parties. The proposal by the two parties will be put to a reconvened "Codesa" next month.

In a nutshell, the government has traded its insistence that the powers and functions of regional governments be decided in advance of the holding of an election in return for five years of joint rule with the ANC and any other party that wins five or 10 percent of the vote.

Prior to this week, the government had insisted that "federalism" form part of the principles that an elected constituent assembly would be forced to implement. The Inkatha Freedom Party also held this view.

"Now, however, it will be left up to a constituent assembly to make final decisions on this important constitutional point.

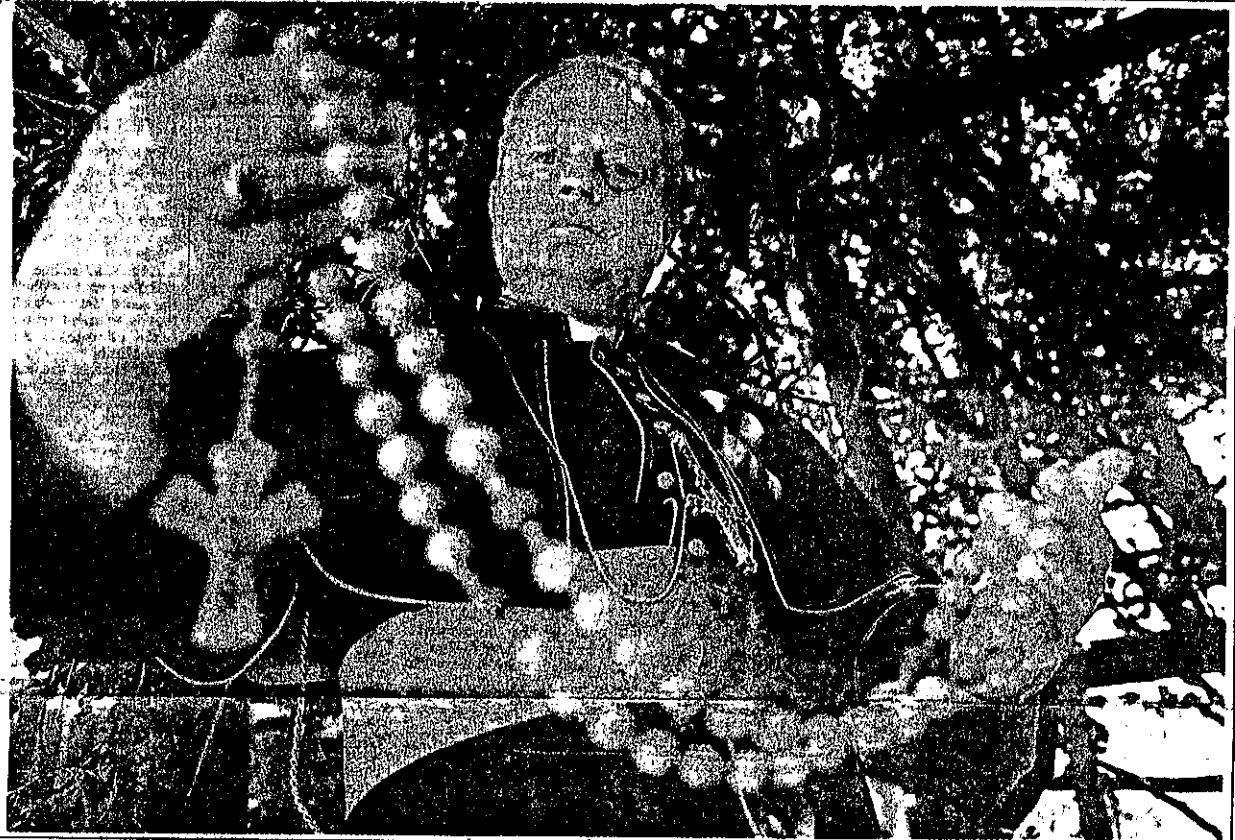
Secret

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Chief Buthelezi asked: "How do the two parties plan to impose such an undemocratic, top-down convivance on the populations, political formations, traditional structures and governments in the regions?"

"They cannot get lasting agreements in this way."

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party said the move confirmed the CP's view that there were secret deals between the government and the ANC. "The ANC now has everything it wanted. The government has totally surrendered."

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The nine steps to power-sharing

must be constitutionally entrenched."

Azapo spokesman Gomoemo Mokae said: "The hantustans, the tricameral Parliament and community councillors know from experience that whoever chooses to collaborate with the regime kisses goodbye to legitimacy in the eyes of the oppressed."

PAC information and publicity secretary Barney Desai said he had "serious doubts whether the deal between the ANC and the regime would be acceptable to the masses".

Last night, Mr Mandela denied the ANC had agreed to a secret power-sharing deal until 1999. What it had accepted was that there should be a government of national unity. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing."

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THE power-sharing deal agreed on by the National Party and ANC has set in motion a process which could see President De Klerk replaced by Nelson Mandela within a year.

These are the nine steps to change...

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2 MARCH: Codesa-style talks to lay down the ground-rules for the transition to a multi-racial government. Decisions will be taken by "sufficient consensus", meaning the government and the ANC can override other parties if necessary.

3 MARCH-APRIL: Experts begin preparations to hold the country's first non-racial election for a Parliament which will double as a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. Special commission draws regional boundaries.

4 JUNE: A transitional executive committee consisting of ANC, Nationalist, Inkatha and other leaders takes office to help President De Klerk govern the country. A multi-party electoral commission is appointed to oversee elec-

5 SEPTEMBER-APRIL: A one-person, two-vote election is held to choose 200 national and 200 regional representatives. Each party gets a number of seats in Parliament according to the size of its vote, and small parties are eliminated.

6 AFTER THE ELECTIONS: The ANC, almost certainly the winning party, elects Mr Nelson Mandela as state president, and he forms a new government. The multi-party cabinet will include representatives of each party that wins more than five or 10 percent of the vote.

7 1994: The constituent assembly (Parliament) draws up a new constitution, operating by a two-thirds majority. The ANC wants the work done in nine months, the government in three years.

8 1994-1999: Elections for regional governments are held in terms of the new constitution.

9 1999: End of enforced power-sharing. After new elections by universal franchise, the winning party

BREAKAWAY BISHOP Robin Connors arrived in South Africa this week to lead an Anglican Church splinter group opposed to the ordination of women priests. Report on Page 5 **Picture: CHRISTINE NESSBITT**

RECORD TIMES

THE Sunday Times achieved a record circulation last Sunday of

587 348

This beat the previous record — set up on February 4, 1990 — by 12 214 copies and once again confirmed the Sunday Times as South Africa's top-selling newspaper — by far

Figures not audited

Royals brace for photo of nude Di

By PETER MALHERBE

London

A GERMAN magazine is set to publish a nude photograph of Princess Diana this month, signalling yet another blow to Britain's beleaguered royal family.

The photograph — said to have been taken when she was a schoolgirl of 17 — is being offered to British newspapers for R250 000.

A German picture agency has refused to say how the photograph was obtained, but experts who have seen a copy of the snapshot believe it is genu-

ine. Apparently it shows Diana sitting nude at the edge of a swimming pool, and was allegedly taken when she was at school in Switzerland.

According to reports, she smiles coyly at the camera as she reclines on the edge of the pool like a pin-up.

Another girl, believed to be her sister, Lady Jane Fellowes, is with her.

A London photographic agency said the unnamed German magazine would be publishing the photograph this month.

See Page 3

Anne has a Telly Fun tot

By CHARIS PERKINS

GLAMOROUS Telly Fun Quiz hostess Anne Tyrell became a mum this week. But fans of the lovely blonde need not despair. Baby Wesley, who weighed 3,73kg, will not prevent her returning to the top-rated show later this year.

"My baby comes first for now, but I will definitely be back," said Anne, 26, from her private room at a Sandton clinic.

"We stopped filming the last series when I was seven months pregnant, so



that the movement had sold out to the National Party.

The deal has sparked anger within the most senior ranks of the ANC. (11A) (304A)

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"They cannot get lasting agreements in this way."

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party said the move confirmed the CP's view that there were secret deals between the government and the ANC. "The ANC now has everything it wanted. The government has totally surrendered."

Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party said the DP had serious reservations about a bill of rights and powers and functions of regions not being decided upon before an election.

"It needs to be agreed how many states there will be, and that they will be granted access to fiscal means of implementing power. Those elements



The nine steps to power-sharing

must be constitutionally entrenched."

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PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN
4 lucky punters received a payout of R296 537,20 each. Numbers: 8; 11; 8, 10; 10; 7; 13.

GREYVILLE
Only 3 punters collected a dividend of R120 112,60 each. Selections: 1; 9; 7; 4; 15; 2.

MILNERTON
There were 41 winners with each receiving R5 988,10. Combinations: 4; 8; 6; 7; 1; 11.

Dingaans rematch in SA?

By GAVIN EVANS: Sacramento
DINGAAN THOBELA has earned a rematch against Tony Lopez after losing against the WBA champion yesterday morning after a close decision.

There is a possibility that the return will be fought in SA, according to his manager Rodney Berman, and

face was unmarked, but in his mouth was a bitter taste of perceived injustice.

The "Rose of Soweto" believed that after 12 vicious rounds he'd done enough to relieve Lopez of his lightweight crown. Most ringsiders agreed.

But this was California — home of two of the four fight officials — and the decision went to Lopez by a slim two points.

PAC slams ANC-govt power 'deal'

STTimes (Cape) memo 14/12/93

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday described the powersharing "deal" between the Government and the ANC as "a betrayal of the liberation struggle".

PAC Secretary for Information and Publicity, Mr Barney Desai, said in Cape Town that arrangements for a five-year "interim government" — still to be vetted by principals and ratified by a multi-party forum — was the result of "collaboration by two stakeholders fooling themselves in their belief that they are speaking on behalf of the majority of South Africans".

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was scheduled to open two more PAC branches in the Peninsula — one at Uitsig and one at Marconi Beam informal settlement camp outside Milnerton.

Today Mr Makwetu will address a rally in Langa.

Mr Desai said the ANC had neglected to consult its constituency.

"That five-year arrangement is a fatal flaw and a recipe for disaster," he said.

How police swooped on ANC's deadly consignment

POLICE had been monitoring two arms-smuggling operations involving top ANC military figures since 1990 before pouncing and arresting 11 people in the past fortnight. *Sunday Times 14/2/93 (11/1)*

More arrests could follow in the arms-smuggling scandal that has strained negotiations between the government and the ANC. Sources close to the investigation claim there were, in fact, two related arms-smuggling operations which centred on the same distributor, who was killed in a shootout last year.

The furore saw the ANC launch its own investigation. It has set back talks apparently near fruition on proposed sub-councils on law and order and defence which could see all armies and their weapons falling under joint control.

The ANC is resisting government pressure for MK to be disbanded and arms caches to be relinquished before this.

Bedevilled

The government, on the other hand, has rejected an ANC demand for all armed formations, including the SADF, to submit lists of their arms and personnel for audit and joint control.

The arrest of senior ANC and IFP officials this week has also bedevilled relations on the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee.

Mr Siphon Thomas Magwaza, ANC representative on the committee, was picked up by police last Saturday in connection with arms-smuggling from Swaziland.

He is one of a number of suspects, among them several ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, being held after the discovery of an arms cache.

Then the chairman of Inkatha's Emanguzi branch in northern Natal, Mr Isaac Ntsele, was arrested after police watched him

By CHARLENE SMITH
and CARMEL RICKARD

and a party of at least nine IFP members cross the Mozambique border and return with an equally lethal arms cache.

The ANC weapons seized by police at Swaziland's Golela border post were apparently being smuggled to ANC warlords in southern Natal. The areas around Amanzimtoti and Port Shepstone, in particular, have seen the worst conflict in Natal over the past year. More than 25 MK cadres have been killed in southern Natal since 1990.

Tomorrow General Krappies Engelbrecht, head of intelligence management at police headquarters, who is overseeing the investigation, travels to Cape Town for government discussions on additional measures to curb gun-running.

Confiscated

While General Engelbrecht is in Cape Town, ANC officials will travel to Middelburg in the Transvaal, where three senior members allegedly involved in arms-smuggling will appear in court.

This week police confiscated an arms cache at the IFP-supporting Dube hostel in Soweto. Fifteen AK-47s, three Makarov pistols and several 9mm pistols were seized.

Four suspects were arrested and more arrests were expected, police said.

Absentee vote could thwart elections

SI Times [C/metro]
14/2/93.

By GLENDA NEVILL

THE absentee vote could be the largest stumbling block to electing a government of the people when South Africa goes to the polls later this year or early in 1994.

This was said yesterday by Mr Randi Erentzen, director of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), based at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Erentzen was speaking at a Project Vote training workshop in Bellville.

"Research has shown that there is a high possibility of a large absentee vote because of fear, violence, lack of confidence and political intolerance," he said.

"We have to take positive steps to stop this from happening. We must motivate our people and change their mind-set. Dependency has set in due to crushed expectations."

Project Vote plans to educate the disenfranchised and instil in them the confidence to exercise their democratic right to vote.

Portable

The weekend workshop was aimed at training "trainers" who will return to their communities or organisations to educate voters and ensure an informed electorate.

It was attended by representatives of the Western Province Council of Churches, Idasa, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, organised labour unions, literacy groups, Nicro and the Call of Islam, among others, some of whom had travelled from the far reaches of the Karoo to attend.

Father Michael Weeder, of CDS, demonstrated a Project Vote portable election training kit to be used by trainers.

It consists of a ballot box, polling booth, simple ballots, posters and a manual and is to be produced in 10 South African languages.

"South Africa has a history of non-participation in elections. We have to alter this and excite enthusiasm and confidence in voters," he said.

Leaders repudiate claims of agreement

Star 15/2/93

No deal - Mandela, FW

Political Staff

President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have strongly denied the Government and the ANC have concluded a five-year power-sharing pact, after a storm of protest from lesser political parties at the weekend and a threat from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a secret pact would plunge the country into war.

Anxious to deflect criticism over the outcome of last week's Cape Town meeting between top negotiators of the two parties, De Klerk and Mandela stressed at the weekend that a final decision on a government of national unity could be taken only at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

They emphasised agreements made between the Government and the ANC first had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive, and then had to be accepted by other political groups in multiparty talks.

The ANC's national executive committee convenes for a three-day meeting from tomorrow, and the Cabinet meets on Wednesday.

ANC and Government negotiators yesterday said the agreement was likely to be ratified by their principals although discussions could take place on the details.

But oversimplified statements after the bilateral meeting in Cape Town may spark strong opposition from hardliners within the two parties' leadership.

Speaking on SABC television in an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost, De Klerk stressed last night: "We are not making deals in our bilateral discussions at the moment. The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong.

"We believe that final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference representative of all the parties in the country. We share that with the ANC. The focus is now on getting the multiparty meeting and negotiations going again."

He said great progress had been made "towards an emerging broad consensus" on the framework of a new constitution and the devolution of power to strong regional government.

De Klerk emphasised the IFP had to be fully part of the negotiation process or South Africa could "go the way of Yugoslavia".

He added: "Inkatha must be part of a new dispensation or we are looking for trouble."

Mandela, in a speech in Sandton on Saturday night, categorically denied the ANC had agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

He told a banquet organised by the ANC's Luthuli/Lenasia branches: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government. These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme."

He said the Government had proposed a form of power-sharing, while the ANC had proposed an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that had won a proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly.

This proposal, the ANC leader added, was not a simple power-sharing formula and was designed to create national unity.

The assurances by De Klerk and Mandela followed a statement made by Government and ANC negotiators on Friday - which culminated in weekend reports to the effect that the parties had struck a power-sharing five-year deal.

After the three-day

● To Page 3

Leaders deny claims on power-sharing

● From Page 1

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Schoeman and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the timetable for transition was firmly back on track.

News of the agreement on a power-sharing government caused an immediate outcry.

Buthelezi said on Saturday the combined might of the SA Defence Force and the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe would have to be used to achieve KwaZulu's compliance with the power-sharing pact.

The Government/ANC agreement will be one of the constitutional issues to feature at a three-day meeting between the IFP and Government in northern Natal, which starts today.

And yesterday, Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu warned the ANC risked being kicked out of the Patriotic Front if it struck a power-sharing deal with the Government.

Makwetu said the ANC would lose its status as a liberation movement if it entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the Government.

He said blacks could not wait another five years for liberation. "We want liberation now. Power-sharing is a luxury we can't afford."

Makwetu said he did not believe the Government and the

ANC would go ahead with the five-year plan.

And on the political right, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said a power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC would be unacceptable.

The issue will also come up today when the Government meets the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Cape Town to discuss violence.

If the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive ratify their negotiators' agreement, the agreement will take the form of a joint proposal at a multiparty negotiating forum, where the Government and ANC would be pushing other parties for its acceptance.

Observers yesterday noted that the agreements - of which the details are not yet finalised - meant that the ANC and Government have begun to address the two fundamental differences between them: power-sharing with veto rights versus a government of national unity, and secondly, regionalism.

● After the Cape Town bilateral meeting, the following steps towards power-sharing emerged:

A multiparty negotiating forum is expected to convene at the end of this month, after which Codesa-style talks will take place to work out mechanisms for a transition.

A general election is expected between April and September next year.

The ANC, once in power, will form a new government according to multiparty cabinet guidelines agreed upon.

During the following five years the constituent assembly (Parliament) will draw up a new constitution.

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Star 15/12/93 Leaders deny claims on power-sharing

From Page 1
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Star 15/3/93

Mandela to tour PWV in bid to woo 5-m voters

By Zingisa Mkhuma

ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit the PWV region this weekend to speak to high-ranking officials about plans to mobilise 5 million potential voters in the area, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

He told a press briefing in Johannesburg that Mandela's visit formed part of an ongoing nationwide campaign in preparation for elections for an interim government of national unity and peace.

He said ANC research showed that the organisation's PWV region could attract at least 5 million of the country's 21 million potential voters.

Mamoepa said election structures had been launched in Pretoria, the Vaal Triangle, Soweto and on the West Rand. Similar structures would be launched in Johannesburg and on the East Rand at the weekend to coincide with the ANC leader's visit.

Mandela's three-day tour would start on Friday with a meeting with the ANC PWV regional executive committee, including representatives of the Youth League and the regional tripartite alliance.

He would brief leaders about progress made in the latest bilateral talks with the Government and deliver a keynote address to the International Solidarity Conference at Nasrec later in the day, Mamoepa said.

This would be followed by a fund-raising banquet in Mandela's honour at the Johannesburg City Hall attended by businessmen and opinion-makers.

On Saturday, Mandela would speak on challenges facing the country and businessmen at a breakfast meeting at the Carlton Hotel.

He would also hold meetings with mass democratic movement leaders including students, teachers, health workers, artists and church leaders.

After meeting Cosatu shop stewards in Soweto on Sunday, Mandela would address a rally at the Mohlakeng Stadium in Randfontein. The theme would be peace, freedom and democracy.

ANC revs up election efforts

By Siphon Mthembu
and Ismail Lagardien

(11A)

THE ANC starts its election campaign in the PWV this weekend where it hopes to mobilise five million voters.

The movement's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, will kick off the campaign when he visits the 14 regions at the weekend as part of the ANC's "reaching out visit", PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

"We have employed a private company to conduct a survey of our support. We are now working towards converting our massive support into votes.

"The president (Mandela) will also have

Sowetan
15/2/93
the opportunity of briefing our structures on the latest developments in the bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government," Mamoepa said.

Mandela has already visited the organisation's regions in the Cape and Natal.

March 21 has also been declared "The day of Hoisting the Flag" by the organisation's PWV region.

"We will hoist flags everywhere throughout the region. This means on everything we can place our flags but we don't know whether the other regions will buy the idea," he said.

Mandela will start the campaign when he delivers the keynote address

■ Objective is to gain five million votes in the PWV:

at the International Solidarity Conference at Nasrec.

The ANC will at this conference consider the necessity of retaining remaining economic sanctions.

The movement is expected to review its position on sanctions during its national executive meeting this week.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who once campaigned for sanctions as a non-violent option against apartheid, said last week that he was prepared to write to US President Bill Clinton and ask him to allow South Africa access to the International Monetary Fund and

the World Bank.

After this meeting, Mandela will proceed to meet leaders of the ANC PWV Regional Executive Committee including the organisation's youth league and, later, representatives of the regional tripartite alliance.

On Saturday he will meet businessmen at the Carlton Hotel and members of the mass democratic movement which includes civics, students, teachers, health workers, churches, artists and others.

The theme of the meeting will be "consolidating a united front".

PAC 'ready for talks with Govt'

11A

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Sowetan 15/2/93.

■ **NEW POINTERS** Indications are that the

organisation will accept Govt invitation:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE PAC WOULD ACCEPT AN INVITATION to attend a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations, the movement's secretary for publicity, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday.

It was established yesterday that Government would extend an invitation to the PAC to attend such a meeting and that the ANC would prefer to have the PAC and Azapo at a new multi-party negotiations forum.

A Government spokesman said it was still expected of the PAC to distance itself from the activities of Apla, but suggested that if Apla ceased its activities then the Africanists could "include themselves in talks".

Desai said the PAC would go to a multi-party planning conference "and put across its views".

"We are emphatic in that we want a constituent assembly elected on a democratic vote and not one that is tied by collateral agreement," he said, with reference to the agreements reached between Government and the ANC last week.

Desai did not preclude the PAC from participating in the elections to a constituent assembly either and said that his organisation would "go to the electorate and ask people to vote for our policies".

Asked whether he thought the PAC's policies were more sovereign than the need to create a government of national unity, Desai said that the PAC's objective was ultimately majority rule (by Africans).

"However, majority rule does not obviate agreements. Majority rule must mean that the majority must rule ... and if parties are elected together, they must rule together."

Govt and ANC struggle to stave off crisis over power sharing

11A
GOVERNMENT and the ANC were struggling yesterday to stave off a new crisis in negotiations arising from confusion about whether the two had agreed to a five-year deal on power sharing.

Both parties said categorically no deal, agreement "or even common understanding" had been reached during three days of talks in Cape Town last week.

However, in a formal announcement on Friday, Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanie Schoeman said agreement had been reached on "power sharing" during the bilateral meeting.

Government and ANC denials did little to allay Inkatha's fears that the two parties had come to a private agreement. Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said that although ANC leader Nelson Mandela had issued a denial, government had waited two days to "clarify" the position and the matter would be "strongly taken up" at a government/Inkatha meeting this week.

The ANC said government was trying to give its negotiations proposals more status than they had, while government argued that the ANC was playing semantic games. ANC leader Nelson Mandela reacted to

B/DAM 15/2/93

BILLY PADDOCK

Schoeman's announcement by saying: "I categorically deny the statement in the Press that the ANC has agreed to power sharing until the year 1999. An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing. What the government has proposed is a form of power sharing."

He said that at the bilateral meeting government had raised the question of a possible government of national unity extending for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. This suggestion

still had to be put to the ANC's national executive committee for discussion.

However, Schoeman responded yesterday by saying: "A government of national unity is power sharing."

Schoeman said what he had said was based on positions arrived at by the two parties' negotiating teams at the three-day meeting; positions which had still to be approved by the principals.

He said there had been agreement that each party which attained specific minimum support in the ballot would be included in government.

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Power sharing

B/DAM 15/2/93

From Page 1

"Either he did not understand what was happening in the meeting, or he has a different agenda," he said.

Niehaus said that, at best, the parties came out of the talks with "convergence on a series of different suggestions to be taken back to the respective principals who will refine these and come up with a clearer position".

He insisted the wording had to be "more careful than even common understanding". The parties discussed time frames and how to have a government of national unity, but there were strong differences on whether the power sharing should be voluntary or contractual or written into the constitution, Niehaus said. "Schoeman jumped the gun. There was some convergence, but it is all still very unclear."

The ANC wanted the elected constitution-making body to finalise the constitution and then decide for what period it should continue governing before full democratic elections for a new government. Government rejected this.

Schoeman said he had stated clearly "at least seven times in the Press conference" that there had been no deal. "I stressed that we explored many issues and that both parties would go to a multiparty forum and argue their own positions based on their proposals," he said.

"But I must stress that it is vital and urgent that a multiparty forum be convened as soon as possible to avoid any more suspicion about bilateral deals."

Inkatha's Felgate accused government of "betraying multiparty trust" and modifying its position in bilaterals, resulting in it ending up in a position they "never would have come to in a multiparty forum". Government would go to a multiparty forum now with radically different proposals in alliance with the ANC, he said.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a statement that government and the ANC/SACP alliance were "dangerously toying with all our lives and the lives of our children and grandchildren".

Comment: Page 6

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate, if it so chooses.

"A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.

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To Page 2

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To Page 2

IN THE quest for a new constitution, the most difficult conflicts to resolve have been procedural ones — how the constitution should be devised. The debate over the substantive principles, with the notable exceptions of the regionalism and the related powersharing questions, has been remarkable for its lack of controversy.

Although all political groups have couched their procedural arguments in the same terms, a commitment to democracy, their true motive is one of the country's worst-hidden secrets. Each is seeking a procedure most likely to ensure that *their* preference on the remaining disputed constitutional issues dominates.

The ANC, confident of a good electoral showing, wants a constitution to be passed by a special majority in a constituent assembly. Inkatha, conscious of the nature of its own support base, wants a procedure which tilts the balance towards small, regionally based parties. The NP wants a process which ensures that the interests of a medium-sized, geographically dispersed party are served. It has vacillated more than most on detail. As the proposed deal with the ANC shows, it is now resigned to extraconstitutional forms of power sharing. Its commitment to a federal decentralisation of power, never a feature of NP practice, is now shown to have been a temporary expedient.

In this pursuit of narrow self-interest — reflected by the interminable struggle over procedure above substance — parties are all losing sight of the function of a constitution. A constitution sets out the rules by which the political game is played. The Western democracies have survived because, whatever the policy differences between competing parties, all are committed to adhering to those rules — the "loyal opposition" syndrome. Attempts to destabilise those societies (such as the efforts of the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany) failed because those societies were sufficiently cohesive to survive those pressures.

The post-1989 Soviet Union/Commonwealth of Independent States, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia,

The politicians have forgotten the role of a constitution

B/DAY

15/2/93

ALAN FINE

IAA

Angola, Kampuchea and others were not. They, like SA, are societies in transition and we cannot ignore the dangers of civil war and/or the secession of regions or subregions. That is why the appeal by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods for a new look at constitution-making (Business Day, February 12) deserves debate.

Woods argued, in essence, that a constitution drafted and approved by the one or two parties gaining the largest proportion of votes in a constituent assembly poll (read ANC and, probably, NP) is likely to provoke new levels of violence by supporters of parties opposed to it (read Inkatha, some homeland leaders and right-wing whites).

A more durable constitution, Woods suggested, would be one drafted by technical experts according to principles supplied by all parties to a multiparty conference.

That this argument reflects Inkatha's interests is no reason, in itself, to reject it. The basic point — that a two-thirds majority in a constituent assembly is no guarantee of a constitution's durability — is undeniable. And if the ANC/NP coalition adopts this narrowly procedural approach to constitution-making, the Woods scenario will come to pass.

UCT history lecturer Christopher Saunders recently argued (Business Day, January 22) that the Namibian experience validates the constituent assembly route. But the real point

about the success of the Namibian constitution is that it was approved unanimously by the assembly.

The Zimbabwean constitution has proved equally durable, aside from its self-defeating sunset clauses on separate white representation. It was drafted at Lancaster House in a forum more akin to a multiparty conference. There, however, there were only three main parties — the Rhodesian Front, Zanu and Zapu, with minor hangers on unable to block agreements between the big three.

And it is here that Woods's argument breaks down, or is at least incomplete. Inkatha has attempted artificially to raise the status of the minor parties to ensure that Inkatha and those smaller than them hold a disproportionate amount of influence in the process.

What is required is a balance. On the one hand, the "reasonable" interests of substantial, minority parties need to be met, and a constituent assembly system could hamper that.

On the other hand, parties without substance, or even substantial minority parties, cannot be permitted to block progress forever — which a Woods-style arrangement would lend itself to. And it is not difficult for minor parties to present themselves as substantial in the absence

of an electoral test — as PAC president Clarence Makwetu showed in his David Frost interview when he claimed majority support.

The process of constitution-making therefore does require an electoral test of the parties involved — be the pretext a constituent assembly or anything else — one which gives a strong sense of regional patterns.

This will give parties a strategic sense of their own strength, and that of their opponents, which may introduce some realism about the degree of give and take required from each in negotiations over the new constitution.

For example, an election may well confirm that the ANC enjoys the support of 50%-60% of the population and the NP 20%-25%. It would probably also show that Makwetu exaggerated the size of his support base by 1 000% or more. Lucas Mangope may wake up to find he is living in a fool's paradise in thinking a majority of his citizens want to retain political independence from SA.

An election would demonstrate, too, that the 900 000 white right-wingers are too weak in numbers and too dispersed geographically to demand that large parts of SA be handed over to a whites-only regime. It would show that even the Afrikaner Volksunie proposal of a far smaller white group area, apart even from other political considerations, appears impractical.

The right-wingers would have to be satisfied with guarantees of their cultural, religious and language rights. And if that leads to a guerrilla war by a handful of zealots, the new government would simply have to deal with that through the normal channels of criminal law.

For Inkatha — the one group with the power seriously to destabilise a majority-supported constitution — and its opponents, a poll would be particularly enlightening. It would show, arguably, that Inkatha and the ANC are both powerful, but not majority, forces in the Natal/KwaZulu region, with the NP and/or the DP holding a balance of power.

It would require some real concessions to Inkatha. An Inkatha totally outcast would be a certain invitation to regional civil war. Given that Inkatha would be extremely powerful in certain subregions, there could be a strong case, as some analysts have suggested, for a Natal divided into three or more regions with strong regional government.

Inkatha's best option, if this is not done, would be to withdraw from participation in establishing the rules of the game. That, as the ANC has twice shown, is a potent weapon for winning concessions. And that is why Inkatha's concern with the form of constitution-making — a constituent assembly — is unnecessary and irrelevant. If it doesn't like the rules being devised it can simply withdraw from the game.

Nevertheless, for Mangosuthu Buthelezi to treat the whole of Natal/KwaZulu as a personal fiefdom in the electoral scenario outlined would be less than realistic. Even if the region were granted autonomy as Inkatha demands, some other coalition of forces could end up ruling it. Under these circumstances, demands for full autonomy, or dreams of secession, would be untenable, and it may be necessary to call Inkatha's bluff despite the risk of heightened and drawn out conflict.

But the real point is that all parties need to drop their fetishes about the constitution-making process and focus on its real point. And, while there are no guarantees because politicians are not always rational, the aim must be the creation of a cohesive but flexible legal basis for a stable society.

ke action ● Politicians clash over definitions of terms



Angolan government soldiers in Benguela, 530km south of Luanda, prepare to board the trucks that will take them to the frontline. A military column left Benguela for the Unita-held city of Caimbambo, 100km to the east.

Talks stall again

Sowetan 15/2/93
 By Ismail Lagardien
 Political Correspondent

■ **HOT AIR** It's back to square one as

Government and ANC disagree again:

AFTER WHAT was billed as decisive talks last week, the ANC and Government yesterday clashed over the definition of agreements reached between them. The deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, yesterday said that Government would have to return to the ANC to try and explain exactly what the Government had in mind when it agreed to power-sharing.

Schoeman announced at the end of last week's meeting that the two parties had agreed to a term of power-sharing

after a constituent assembly had adopted a constitution.

The next day, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, dismissed this as a misrepresentation.

"The ANC proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of seats in a constituent assembly.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," Mandela said. Schoeman said yesterday that Gov-

ernment was not prepared to accept voluntary inclusion and would have to go back to negotiation with the ANC.

"A government of national unity is power-sharing," Schoeman said.

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate if it so chooses.

"A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given, we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.

News in k

'Shun Apla' call

THE Organisation of African Unity should be asked not to give any assistance to The Azanian People's Liberation Army and to pressure the Pan Africanist Congress to end its policy of violence, a lawyer for the police argued on Friday. *Southw 15/2/93*

Lawyer Mr Francois van Zyl was addressing a sitting of the Goldstone Commission in Port Elizabeth. The commission is investigating activities by Apla, the PAC armed wing.

Appeals to pressure the PAC and Apla should also be directed to the United Nations, Van Zyl said.

MIKE TARR

THROUGHOUT his political career, Mike Tarr has been one of those rare individuals who is regarded, even by opponents, as a "good guy". This week, he announced he was leaving the stands to join the scrum.

The MP for Maritzburg North left his party of 33 years for Inkatha. He now sits in the back corner of Parliament next to his former NP opponent and now fellow Inkatha member, Jurie Mentz, with a mish-mash of ANC and Afrikaner Volksunie members.

He did not take the decision lightly. In fact, he thought about it for a year. On Wednesday last week, he made up his mind and phoned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to tell him about his decision.

At the weekend, he kept his head down, and on Tuesday morning, he wandered around Cape Town trying to pluck up courage to hand his resignation to the media. After that, he informed DP leader Zach de Beer.

Mr Tarr sees little significant difference between the policies and constitutional proposals of the IFP and the DP. Mr de Beer's retort to this sentiment is that Mr Tarr could simply have stayed put.

But, for Mr Tarr, fighting a democratic election with the DP in Maritzburg spells political obscurity when the real struggle for power is between the ANC and the IFP.

He considers the question of political opportunism very seriously, but he believes there is no room for both the IFP and the DP in Natal — and he would prefer not to be in the wings.

Mr Tarr, who was brought up on a diet of gentlemanly politics in the DP and its progressive predecessors, knows he will have to adapt to a different ethos in the IFP.

"The DP has always stood on the opposition sidelines, so they never got their hands dirty in corruption and violence," he says.

"An unfortunate situation has developed in Natal, where there is an absolute battle for turf. It's a situation of eat or be eaten, the survival of the fittest. It's an unfortunate ethos."

With an abhorrence for violence, Mr Tarr hopes his presence in Parliament will help to establish a different ethos in the IFP.

"I believe the ANC is a better place because Rob Haswell is there. I hope our presence in Parliament

NORTH VS SOUTH



will be a pre-runner to better understanding between the IFP and the ANC."

He refuses to apologise for the IFP's alleged past abuses; he wants to start afresh from "today".

Mr Tarr said he understood from Mr Buthelezi that he would be appointed to the Inkatha central committee.

In this forum, says Mr Tarr, he will make his views known. And there are several views that are unlikely to be approved of by his new leader.

"There's no way I am going to attend a caucus meeting and not have my say. If that's not tolerated, I'll walk out," he says.

The white electorate of Maritzburg elected two Democratic Party MPs to represent them in Parliament. Both have defected — Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) to the ANC and Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) to its bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party. They speak to EDYTH BULBRING about the parting of their ways

Star 6/2/93
Arms: ANC

men in court

Three ANC members held in connection with alleged arms smuggling between Swaziland and South Africa appeared briefly in the Bethal Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The three accused include Natal Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Vusimusi Derek Ngobesi, Mandlenkosi Clifford Mkhoba and Sipho Sithole.

The case was postponed until March 1. — Sapa

Patrick Laurence looks at Nelson Mandela's aversion to the phrase power-sharing

No big deal on national unity

Star 16/2/93

(11A)

~~(201A)~~

POWER-SHARING, like federalism, has become a loaded concept in South Africa's political lexicon.

Clear evidence of that came at the weekend when the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, emphatically repudiated reports that the ANC negotiating team had agreed to a transitional power-sharing arrangement with President F W de Klerk's negotiators.

"I wish to categorically deny the statement made in the press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999," Mandela said during an address at a banquet in Sandton.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," he said, having earlier rejected reports that there had been a secret power-sharing deal between the ANC and the Government.

Power-sharing, he said, was a primary objective of the De Klerk administration, not the ANC.

The ANC stood for an interim government of national unity, which he defined as a means of achieving national unity rather than a formula for sharing power.

But closer examination of the proposed interim government of

national unity shows that it amounts to a form of power-sharing, although Mandela, for sound political reasons, chooses not to use that label.

The ANC negotiating team's proposal — with which their interlocutors from the De Klerk administration now agree — is that after the election of a constitution-making body a transitional government of national unity (TGNU) should be formed.

The TGNU — which will remain in power for up to five years after the constitution-making body has drafted a new constitution — will have two key tasks: to administer the country and forge national unity and to phase in the new constitution.

It will be composed of all parties which obtain between five and 10 percent of the popular vote (the exact threshold has not yet been fixed); the parties will be represented in the TGNU in proportion to their share of the popular vote.

An arrangement in which parties which obtain, say, 15 percent of the vote but are still guaranteed a place in the government is a form of power-sharing, however

much Mandela may dislike the description.

The question then arises: why does Mandela object to characterising the proposed TGNU as power-sharing?

One part of the explanation lies in reports that the ANC and the De Klerk administration had secretly concluded a deal to share power, with all the connotations of conspiracy and manipulation.

Mandela and the ANC leadership clearly wanted to dissociate themselves from those reports, in large measure because they were untrue.

The agreement reached between the ANC and NP negotiating teams was not secret; its broad details were announced at two separate press conferences by representatives of the two teams. The confusion which resulted appears to have been the product of inadequate briefing rather than deliberate obfuscation.

If and when the proposals have been ratified and modified by De Klerk's Cabinet and the ANC's national executive, they will be placed on the table at the pending multiparty negotiating conference for debate.

There is, however, another aspect to Mandela's aversion to the phrase "power-sharing"; originally a term associated with liberalism, power-sharing was later appropriated by De Klerk and his ruling National Party, who gave it a particular meaning.

In South Africa today and perhaps particularly in the numerically dominant black community, "power-sharing" connotes prolongation of white rule, preservation of white power and dilution of black nationalism.

More specifically, it has come to be associated with the NP's as yet unmodified constitutional proposals as contained in its booklet, "Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy".

Formally presented to the NP's federal congress in September 1991, these proposals caused a stir at the time because of their use of a large array of constitutional devices to thwart the exercise of power by a majority party. Mandela described them at the time as "a recipe for disaster".

It is worth recalling some of these mechanisms:

● A troika presidency made up

of the leaders of the three biggest parties;

● A rotating president chosen at prescribed intervals from the triumvirate of leaders;

● An upper house with a veto over proposed laws and based — in the ingenuous phase of De Klerk's former confidant, Gerrit Viljoen — on a system of "disproportionate representative" calculated to equalise representation between smaller and bigger parties.

● A franchise system at the level of local government in which votes would be weighted in favour of property owners.

Linked into the NP's system was the concept of concurrent majorities, a notion that stipulates that no decision can be taken until it is passed by a majority of every participating unit or party. It is the perfect device for defending the status quo, since nothing can be changed unless it is approved by the smallest of parties.

It is worth recalling that one of the best known protagonists of the notion of concurrent majorities was John C Calhoun, the Southern Senator who defended slavery in the run-up to the Civil War.

Thus it is not surprising that Mandela shies away from the phrase "power-sharing". Like federalism — the "F-word", as it has been labelled — power-sharing has connotations of political obscurity in some communities, including those where many of the ANC's constituents are located.

There is more than a little irony in Mandela's aversion to the phrase.

When P W Botha came to power in 1978, he found the phrase "power-sharing" distasteful; to him it smacked of effete liberalism, of concession and surrender to the black majority.

But when he introduced the now discredited tricameral parliament, he was subscribing to a form of strictly controlled and limited power-sharing, one designed to recruit coloured and Indian auxiliaries for the politically ascendant whites.

To differentiate it from the power-sharing notions of the despised liberals, he called it "healthy power-sharing". It was the NP's first step to appropriating and redefining a term and a policy from its liberal opponents. □

IT IS becoming clear that both the NP Government and the ANC leadership have been changed by the process of negotiating a political settlement. Ideological opposites, driven by an accelerating crisis, have merged substantially to share a mentality of problem-solving.

On the part of the ANC/SACP, socialism has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action. Lenin may still be quoted, but the World Bank exerts an even stronger pull.

For Afrikaner Nationalists, racial obsessions have long given way to a striving for cooperation. Even the Broederbond is now ready to admit black Afrikaners, though, significantly, not women.

THE more far-sighted sections of the business elite, like Lonrho's Tiny Rowland, ingratiate themselves with any political leadership, regardless of their democratic record. Favours are showered on them, including free trips in Lear jets.

To have Nelson Mandela attend the wedding of a daughter or to celebrate a birthday in the company of ANC executives has become a status symbol of the true corporate insider.

Who will exercise power in the "new" South Africa, therefore, has also become irrelevant, especially in light of the looming anarchy: any power that can guarantee a semblance of order and safety is better than the descent into barbarism typified in Yugoslavia, Angola or Somalia.

If there is to be a clampdown

on white or black violent extremism, a joint multiracial emergency coalition could be expected to crush threatening opposition even more effectively than did the old regime.

The ultimate determinants of successful transitions are economic and social factors. The legacy of decades of conflict could reach some point where even the most determined government of national unity will have lost the capacity to reconstruct ravaged communities.

So far, all the peace accords signed have been followed by further violence, and all the well-intentioned development efforts have hardly bridged the gulf between a growing mass of outsiders and an increasing multiracial but still comparatively small section of middle-class insiders.

High expectations, together with already relatively high labour costs, make South Africa uncompetitive in the world market, especially if further accelerated by a populist party in power.

Therefore South Africa is being viewed as unable to afford a genuine democracy, in which the pent-up demands would destroy the delicate balance of antagonist forces.

Yet, despite a few ANC activists breaking up meetings of political opponents, the new rulers at least hold out the promise of democratic accountability. They are not yet as tainted with massive corruption, patronage and maladministration as the old regime.

ABOVE all, they can claim a much broader mandate: they do represent the aspirations of the deprived majority. Deviating from the promise could jeopardise a precious legitimacy on which the ANC depends more than its discredited partner in domination.

The prospects of South Afri-

HERIBERT ADAM explores some of the implications of a power-sharing political settlement between the leaders of the NP Government and the African National Congress.



NEW ROLE: If there is a clampdown, Nelson Mandela, in a joint multiracial emergency coalition, might be expected to crush violence even more effectively than did the Nationalists.

can democracy will depend heavily on the economic performance of the new regime. Democracy without material gains would surely delegitimise a liberation movement that not only fought for symbolic equality but also raised expectations for greater wealth and material equality.

Yet, the democratic dilemma lies in the fact that a "democratic oligarchy" — an authoritarian order with a semblance of popular participation — is likely to perform better economically and attract more foreign capital at lower labour costs than a genuine institutionalisation of the popular will.

The elites of the newly enfranchised will face the real

test when they are unable to deliver on the heightened expectations.

Within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu coalition, the new faultlines revolve around those who, not being part of the new deal, view transitions as "mass-driven", with permanent people's mobilisation, and those who practise usual elite politics with minimal dependence on grassroots.

Already oppositional civics, an alienated youth, frustrated union leaders, township warlords, tribal and religious authorities, oppressed women and several other dissatisfied constituencies vie for more influence.

With roughly 25 percent of

national support for the NP, 45 percent for the ANC and 10 percent for Inkatha in 1993, the NP made the pragmatic choice to abandon a losing anti-ANC coalition with Inkatha and instead aim at establishing a strong centre with the ANC, against traditional ideological leanings.

Only in the western Cape does the NP command a clear majority while in Natal a combined Inkatha-NP coalition would hold majority support, with the ANC securing less than 25 percent of the vote in both regions.

Should these regional interests not be accommodated in a federal constitution, breakaway movements could well gain ground.

Natal, with its highly successful but vulnerable 20 percent Indian minority, and the "European" western Cape with a 56 percent coloured population, could emerge as the Croatia and Slovenia of South Africa.

Rapidly increasing regional discrepancies, however, could be accommodated in a federal system through equalisation payments and revenue sharing. Otherwise, booming high-security enclaves of residual capital and tax benefits, such as Cape Town's world-class waterfront, or obscene fantasies like the Lost City, will thrive increasingly uncomfortably in a sea of surrounding poverty.

REGARDLESS of the future political fault-lines, there remain some fundamentals that allow a far more optimistic outlook for South Africa than can be ventured for other divided societies. While South Africa will remain a largely multiracial rather than nonracial society, it has good prospects of relatively harmonious race relations and even minimal nationhood.

The fundamental cleavages in our society do not concern issue of culture and identity, but social equity.

In legally equal societies, the victims easily blame themselves as individuals for failure; in an institutionalised apartheid order, the "system" was clearly at fault. Because the apartheid State lacked worldwide legitimacy, its victims responded with resistance rather than identification.

The dominant mindset of active protest rather than passive acceptance of slavepile conditions was further reinforced in South Africa by numerical majority status. It makes a crucial difference in self-perception whether the discriminated constitute an indigenous majority or an imported minority.

Moreover, the real clout of numbers and self-reliant institutions enforces relationships of objective interdependence, which minorities dependent on goodwill or their special skills lack.

SOUTH African subordinates, therefore, show little of the ambivalent identities that characterise minorities elsewhere, who are made to feel that they do not belong. Most South Africans of all races do not share such self-doubts but confront each other as equals.

This perception of equality remains an important precondition of successful negotiations and pacting.

So, the chances of a future South African democracy and stability do not falter on incompatible identities but depend mainly on the promise of greater material equality in a common economy.

● The author teaches at the UCT Graduate School of Business and at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia.

ANC rethinking regionalism

CAPE TOWN — The ANC is "refining" its policy on regionalism through a string of regional and branch meetings which could culminate in a national conference on the subject, according to senior members.

Regional meetings, normally a precursor to policy readjustments, had taken place last week in Natal and areas of the Transvaal, and others had taken place at the weekend, they said.

Existing ANC policy is unclear on the subject of regionalism, with official ANC statements pledging that "the maximum possible" powers should be extended to regional and local government.

TIM COHEN (1/1)

However, at the ANC's national policy conference last year the organisation said regional government should have no powers superior to those of national government.

The national policy document drew a distinction between national and regional powers by suggesting national government would make policy and regional government would implement it. *BIDMIST/193*

Senior ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki said one of the questions members would be discussing was whether regions should be able to impose taxes separately

from national government.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation was undergoing "a process of vigorous discussions" on the topic which could culminate in a national conference.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports the ANC also said at the weekend it was ready to review its stand on economic sanctions following Archbishop Desmond Tutu's shift on the issue.

Tutu said on Friday he was ready to call for the lifting of sanctions once the security forces were under the control of a multiracial administration. Ramaphosa said the ANC expected to make a decision within days on sanctions.

NUM president urges union to back ANC/SACP in poll

NUM president James Motlatsi urged the union's 300-member central committee, meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend, to pledge its political and financial support to the ANC and SACP in preparation for elections. *BIDMIST/193*

In his keynote speech, Motlatsi said labour unions should only participate in elections through established political parties and not seek direct representation themselves.

"I hope, therefore, that members and officials will stop trying to make the NUM into a political party and will instead work to make the union more efficient in looking after the direct interests of our members."

Motlatsi called for the establishment of an alliance election fund to support the alliance's electoral bid and to guarantee the ANC and SACP the union's political solidarity.

The fund, to which NUM would ask other labour organisations including Cosatu to contribute, would make it clear "that we see our political future through the activities of the ANC and SACP", he said.

Motlatsi said the unions would need to be involved in the ANC/SACP's policy-making processes.

This would be done in much the

ADRIAN HADLAND

same way "as trade unions in Britain participate in the Labour Party".

Motlatsi also called on the ANC to begin talks on the reshaping of the mining industry. *(1/1)*

"I would like the NUM central committee to mandate the national executive committee to start immediate discussions with the ANC about redesigning the mining industry," Motlatsi said. *(1/1)*

The restructuring would include the "permanent closure of all mines which could not pay reasonable wages to mineworkers," he said.

The NUM central committee agreed to proceed with the establishing a workers' training college.

"We desperately need people to run our union who have knowledge of the industry, the history of our society, the liberation struggle and international relations," Motlatsi said.

With the continuing expansion of NUM membership, the union's officials were becoming increasingly overloaded with work.

Motlatsi suggested either the appointment of regional chairmen and secretaries to full-time posts or the creation of a smaller, full-time executive committee.

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Govt, ANC 'back-pedalling on deal'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Denials by the Government and the ANC that their negotiators have clinched a secret power-sharing deal were nothing but a cover-up to appease critics in its own ranks and strong opposition from other political groups, the PAC and the Conservative Party charged yesterday.

As the rumpus continued, the organisations remained adamant that the Government and the ANC had concluded a pact to share power for five years after the first democratic elections.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend that no secret deals had been made. They said certain agreements on transition which had been concluded during a bilateral meeting in Cape Town last

week still had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive this week.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday accused the ANC of "selling out the struggle".

At a press conference in Johannesburg, he said the PAC believed reports of a secret deal. He warned that South Africa would not know peace unless all organisations were involved in negotiations.

He said denials by Mandela and De Klerk were "weak attempts at a cover-up". He said the "deal" had been deliberately leaked to the media to test public opinion and, now that it had met with a hostile reception, the parties were trying to back-pedal.

In Cape Town yesterday, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the Government-ANC agreement had been an attempt at a coup

d'état to benefit the ANC, Sapa reports.

He said the Government was seriously divided over the agreement, which represented a complete reversal of its position in favour of the ANC.

Power-sharing in the presidency had been abandoned for a single president, and the Government was settling for power-sharing only during the transition. A constituent assembly, which would simultaneously operate as a parliament, would draft a final constitution, to be followed by majority rule.

"The fact that Mr De Klerk is now back-tracking is an attempt to combat the dispute in his own party."

Treurnicht added that the Government had no mandate for the agreement.

The Democratic Party, while welcoming aspects of

the agreement, expressed concern that the final decision on the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be left to an elected constitution-making body to decide.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said the party believed that a Bill of Rights and the key elements of federalism or regionalism should be in place before a constitution-making body was elected.

"It is essential that important checks and balances are in place before a transfer of power takes place," he said.

However, he warned against overreaction to the agreements. Bilateral discussions were necessary and there was often a fine line between finding common ground in bilateral negotiations and pre-empting decisions that should properly be taken at a multiparty conference, Andrew said.

● No big deal — Page 10

Star 16/12/93

NUM star hitched to ANC for poll

The National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) will put forward candidates on an ANC ticket in coming elections if the ANC requests this, union president James Motlatsi told a press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday. (IA) (S)

This follows the NUM central committee's decision at the weekend to support a "reconstruction accord" between its parent body — the Congress of South African Trade Unions — and the ANC.

star 16/2/93
A statement by the union said it had also agreed to use grassroots leadership skills in its ranks to assist the ANC during the election campaign by seconding officials, office bearers, regional leadership as well as fulltime shop stewards and marshals during the campaign. (S)

The NUM would fight for paid time-off for these workers to fulfil tasks associated with elections. It planned to engage retrenched workers for similar duties. — Sapa.

New party on cards

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

A former member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), who returned to South Africa last year, is launching a new political party to contest the country's first all-in elections next year. (U/A)

Dr Thamsanqa Bam, who headed the underground People's National Action Council before leaving in March 1976, said the main political players were not addressing the important issues.

Bam (54) said his

16/12/93
planned People's Democratic Christian Party would address high unemployment, the shortage of housing and the spiralling crime rate.

A founder member of the PAC in 1959, Bam joined the ANC for a year in Dar-es-Salaam then returned to rejoin the PAC. In 1977 he left the PAC to live in Holland.

Bam has studied in the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium. He holds a doctorate in theology and is said to be a "linguist and literacy specialist".

PAC's word on armed struggle

DURBAN. — The PAC has promised it will not continue its armed struggle if it loses a general election, provided its followers can vote. (11) 11/16/49

But, the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, was reported as saying here yesterday that elections could not be held at this stage as the PAC believed that more secret dealings between the ANC and the government would be unveiled. — Sapa



NUM general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe addresses yesterday's news conference on the union's plans for this year. He is flanked by assistant general secretary Marcel Golding, left, and president James Motlatsi. (Picture: BRIAN HENDLER)

Miners' union accuses government of stalling

DIRK HARTFORD

GOVERNMENT was accused yesterday of stalling on making a decision about setting up an independent health and safety commission into the mining industry after eight months of negotiations on the issue.

NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding said in an interview the mining industry and the NUM agreed on the need for an independent judicial commission of inquiry last year, but had waited for months for government to enact it. Golding also slammed Finance Minister Derek Keys for sitting for the past three months on a proposal, supported by employers, for tax breaks on retrenchment packages.

He said government was making a big mistake if it saw the union's reasonableness as weakness. Keys was considering "further attacks on the working class and the poor" with increased VAT, but was apparently not willing to grant tax relief on retrenchment packages.

The NUM wanted government to look to the rich instead of the poor to balance its books. Revenue should be raised through capital gains tax, a wealth tax, increased tax on luxury goods and through the abolition of tax loopholes. *B10M 16/2/93*

There were also negotiations with Health Minister Rina Venter to reform the "racist" Occupational Diseases Act. Black miners were paid 13 times less than white miners in compensation for the same diseases.

NUM agrees to back ANC in election deal

DIRK HARTFORD

THE NUM's 300-strong central committee decided at the weekend to "give its fullest support" to the ANC's election campaign on the basis of a signed reconstruction accord between Cosatu and the ANC.

NUM president James Motlatsi said the accord, which would be binding on the ANC as part of a future government, should include:

- Workers' rights embodied in the workers' charter which should be protected and guaranteed by an ANC government;

- An action programme to address poverty, job creation, education and training; and

- Making sure a new government consulted with "democratic forces" and had an accountable leadership.

The NUM also decided to ask Cosatu to establish an election campaign fund.

It wanted the ANC to ensure that workers from neighbouring countries

who had been in SA for more than five years got SA citizenship and the right to vote. *B10M 16/2/93*

The NUM would set up its own election campaign committee to assist the ANC in the election campaign. This could include releasing experienced organisers and marshals to build the ANC's campaign.

Motlatsi said the union would also be prepared to allow its leaders to stand on an ANC election ticket if requested to do so. The NUM's organisers include two ANC regional chairmen and one SACP regional chairman.

Noting that "nothing can be won by our leaders at the negotiating table if it cannot be defended through mass struggle", the NUM declared 1993 the year of transfer of power to the people.

Tough talking ahead for govt

16/2/93

(11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT is likely to face strong criticism when it meets Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group this week to try and get a multiparty planning conference off the ground before the end of the month.

A flurry of important meetings involving all the major political players this week will try to settle objections, decide on shifts of emphasis in the approach to talks and set the stage for a possible two-day planning conference to get multiparty negotiations going next month.

The controversial preliminary agreement between the ANC and government, that a government of national unity rule the country for five years following elections for a constitution-making body will dominate the talks, a government negotiator said yesterday.

Security issues, particularly the discussions between the ANC and government over the joint control of all armed formations, will also be high on the agenda.

Government meets the Concerned SA Group today to discuss security and violence-related issues. It will be

dominated by the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue, the alleged smuggling of arms into Natal and Inkatha's demand that MK be disbanded.

The group is demanding a full disclosure of government's discussions with the ANC on this matter and any agreements reached by the two on armed formations falling under joint control.

It is understood that the government team headed by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and including Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will be pushing the homeland representatives and Inkatha to accept joint control of their police and armies.

Government meets Inkatha in KwaZulu for three days starting tomorrow, primarily to discuss constitutional issues. However, sources said Kriel would raise the issue of an Inkatha branch chairman and five others involved in arms smuggling. Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate

said his delegation would be taking a hard line towards government for "renegeing" on its position and modifying its policies to move closer to the ANC.

Inkatha will also insist on support for allowing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to lead KwaZulu's team at the planning meeting.

Also to be discussed is the regionalism issue.

Government will also have to try to convince Inkatha that it did not enter into binding agreements with the ANC pre-empting negotiations.

Government and the ANC have stated that their agreement was preliminary and still had to be discussed by their principals.

The ANC's national executive committee meets today for three days to discuss the agreement and the Cabinet meets tomorrow with a similar agenda.

It is expected that the plan of having a government of national unity for four to five years will be accepted by the NEC as this falls comfortably within the terms sought by the NEC.

● Comment Page 14

each

Govt, ANC denial on deal

Sowetan 16/2/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE final decision for a Government of National Unity to rule the country for five years will only be taken at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela moved quickly this weekend to dispel fears that they had struck a secret deal.

Top Government and ANC negotiators agreed in Cape Town on Friday that a Government of National Unity should have a five-year lifespan but the preliminary agreement is still to be endorsed by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee this week.

The NEC of the ANC meets from today until Thursday and the Cabinet tomorrow when the issue will be discussed.

ANC and Government negotiators on Sunday indicated that discussions could take place on the details but they believed the agreement was likely to be ratified by their respective princi-

■ Multiparty negotiating forum will decide on a Government of National Unity for SA:

pals. ~~(S)~~ (11A)
Government and ANC negotiators were adamant that no deal had been struck between them. In terms of an agreement reached between the two parties in December at an extended meeting, bilateral agreements would only be binding on the Government and the ANC.

This means that if the Cabinet and the NEC

ratify the preliminary agreement, the ANC and the Government will push in a multiparty negotiating forum for acceptance of a Government of National Unity to rule for five years after the first democratic elections.

The IFP, the Conservative Party and the PAC are opposed to the preliminary agreement.

PAC accuses ANC of selling out the struggle

11A
ANC 16/2/93

Political Staff

IN the wake of vehement denials by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk of a secret deal between them, the PAC has accused Mr Mandela's organisation of "selling out the struggle".

At a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said his organisation believed reports were true that the two parties had indeed made a secret deal about the future.

He warned that there would be no peace unless all organisations were involved.

"It is with deep regret that we have to indict the ANC for selling out the struggle at the table of convenience.

"There will be no peace if all parties are not democratically involved in destroying apartheid and replacing it with a genuine democratic government," said Mr Alexander.

Although the PAC had accused

the ANC of "selling out" when the ANC first held talks with the government in 1990, the accusations had stopped — until yesterday.

Mr Alexander told the Press conference the denials by Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk of a deal were "weak attempts at a cover-up" because of the negative response the alleged deal had received from many organisations and individuals, including some of the ANC's members.

He said the explanation that agreements reached at last week's meeting were still to be ratified by both the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee was not convincing. Both bodies had long endorsed the concept of power-sharing, he said.

The "deal" had been deliberately leaked to the media and foreign diplomats to test public opinion and, now that it had met with a hostile reception, the two parties were strategically trying to back-pedal.

"We wish to inform the regime and the ANC that they are not fooling anybody, and we are convinced that the regime and the ANC are going to get married and give birth to a baby named neo-colonialism," said Mr Alexander.

The PAC, he said, was "the only growing political organisation" in the country and there would be no lasting settlement without it.

He reiterated the PAC's commitment to negotiations but said the organisation was still waiting for an invitation to multiparty talks from the government.

● In Durban yesterday, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the PAC would not continue its armed struggle if it lost a general election.

However, Mr Makwetu said elections could not be held at this stage since the PAC believed more secret deals between the government and the ANC would be unveiled.

(11A)
Communists meet

The central committee of the SA Communist Party is to meet in Johannesburg this weekend to adopt strategic positions regarding the negotiation process.

According to SACP assistant secretary general Mr Charles Nqakula no major differences with the African National Congress are expected to arise from the conference. However, he expressed concern about ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's remark in an interview with Sir David Frost that the SACP represented a tiny minority.

Sowetan 16/2/93.

Ex-PAC (11)

ARG 16/2/93

man to start new party

Political Staff

A FORMER member of the Pan Africanist Congress who returned to South Africa last year is to launch a new political party which will contest the country's first all-in elections next year, he said.

Dr Thamsanqa Bam, who headed the Soweto-based underground People's National Action Council before he left the country in March 1976, said it was becoming apparent that the main political players in the country were not addressing important issues.

Dr Bam, 54, said his soon-to-be-launched People's Democratic Christian Party — so far consisting of educationists, intellectuals and returned exiles — would address "the problems which face the country" such as high unemployment, the shortage of housing and the spiralling crime rate.

A founder member of the PAC in 1959, Dr Bam joined the ANC for a year in Dar es-Salaam before returning to the PAC a year later. In 1977 he left the PAC "because things did not go right" and trekked to Holland, where he has lived until he returned home last year.

During his stay abroad he studied in the United States, Britain and Belgium, and now holds a doctorate in theology.

He described himself as a linguist and literacy specialist.

ported to be progressing well.

NUM will help the ANC (21P)

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) will put forward candidates on an ANC ticket in coming elections if the ANC requests this; union president Mr James Motlatsi told a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday. *Sowetan 16/2/93*

This follows the NUM's central committee meeting decision at the weekend to support a Reconstruction Accord between its parent body, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and the ANC. The NUM said it had also agreed to use grassroots leadership skills in its ranks to assist the ANC during the election campaign by seconding officials, office bearers, regional leadership and full-time shop stewards and marshals. (140A) (11A)

PAC stand on elections (11A)

THE Pan Africanist Congress has promised it will not continue its armed struggle if it loses a general election, provided its followers can vote. But the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, told SABC radio news in Durban yesterday that elections could not be held at this stage as the PAC believed that more secret dealings between the ANC and the Government would be unveiled. *Sowetan 16/2/93*

Vehicles badly damaged

NEWS PAC secretary-general says the ANC and Government have agreement

Power-sharing deal a reality — Alexander

Sowetan 16/2/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday insisted that the Government and African National Congress had agreed on a power-sharing deal.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the diplomatic corps inside and outside South Africa confirmed that both parties will share power until 1999.

"It is with deep regret that the PAC has to indict the ANC for selling out the struggle at the table of convenience of a few elite," Alexander told a Johannesburg

■ Diplomatic corps confirms that Govt-ANC want joint rule: Press conference.

"This deal was reported for six days before they (Government and ANC) started responding to its negative publicity and perceptions.

"Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Fanus Schoeman confirmed the power-sharing deal on Friday and again yesterday. Mr (Mohammed) Valli Moosa of the ANC added on Saturday that the deal included agreement on a two-thirds majority vote at a constitution-making body."

He said the presidents of the NP and

ANC contradicted their colleagues when they denied the deal.

"The ANC national executive committee accepted the (Joe) Slovo power-sharing proposals and their negotiators were, therefore, fully mandated to bind the ANC on the matter.

"The National Party caucus already decided to accept power-sharing and their negotiators, too, were fully mandated to bind the regime on the matter.

"They furthermore leaked the deal to test the responses of their opponents and the diplomatic corps."



6 000 die in Huambo

Sowetan 16/2/93

■ MPLA gains ground in city:

LUANDA — The Angolan government said yesterday it had regained ground from Unita rebels in the decisive battle for Huambo.

Diplomats said the government's position was precarious and they believed the rebels still controlled large parts of the city. Fighting was raging around the governor's palace and army installations, the government said.

More than 6 000 civilians were killed in the five weeks of combat and those who remained were short of food and water, it said. Angolan military sources said both sides had sent reinforcements to the central highland city, which has been pounded to rubble in many parts. - Sapa-Reuter

focus on PAC

PROMOTION of entrepreneurship among black people in this country should not be confined to industry and commerce, but should be extended to the agricultural sector as well, argues the Pan Africanist Congress.

In its newly released land and agricultural policy document, the organisation identifies six categories of African rural communities who would not only require access to the land but need support systems to break into the mainstream of the agricultural sector.

There are about 3 million African rural households which comprise these categories.

Land would have to be made available to about 500 000 households which do not have any access to it.

About 60 percent of the 3 million African households in rural South Africa produce agricultural products below subsistence level, while another 10 percent, considered to have an "active interest" in farming, produce at subsistence level.

An estimated 1,2 million heads of families working on the white commercial farms, some of who already work smaller portions of land belonging to the white farmers, would be allocated that land under a PAC government.

There is also about 13 percent of the black rural households who produce above subsistence level and earn some living out of agriculture and they would need additional land.

Lastly, there are the agrarian entrepreneurs who would need support programmes more than anything else.

"There is a false notion propagated by the settler-colonial system, which holds that Africans are incapable of successful agricultural production and cannot be trusted to maintain present output levels," contends the PAC.

The organisation notes the complexity of an agrarian reform programme. Hence, there would have to be careful categorisation of beneficiaries of the entire venture.

For instance, distinctions between peasant producers and urban workers have to be cautiously handled. This issue is surrounded by controversy as some urban workers still head families in the rural areas.

Though in principle the PAC does not believe in compensating white farmers whose land would be expropriated, some form of compensation would be paid for what had been taken away.

However, compensation would be limited to physical structures such as dams, fences and trees planted, not on the land itself.

"There is absolutely no question of 'buying' colonially occupied land from the the settlers, even under the type of 'willing buyer willing seller' system which has been attempted in Zimbabwe," the document argues.

The PAC policy document on agriculture and land ownership says the law should be weighted in favour of black farmers who have been neglected by past governments

Mzimkulu Malunga reports:



PAC president Clarence Makwetu ... his organisation wants to promote entrepreneurship in the agricultural sector.

Out of the 101 million hectares of arable land in South Africa, over 80 million are controlled by white farmers. Land in the homelands is only 15 million hectares.

Farms controlled by individual farmers con-



*Sowetan
16/2/93
Sowetan*

There is a false notion propagated by the settler-colonial system, which holds that Africans are incapable of successful agricultural production and cannot be trusted to maintain present output levels

stitute 83,75 percent of the entire farmland and the average size of the landholdings is 1 276 hectares.

State controlled agricultural land accounts for only about 0,23 percent with the average size of a state farm estimated to be 5 511 hectares.

A typical white farm is worth about R400 000 and generates close to R150 000 a year employing just under 20 workers.

Currently there are about 65 170 land holders, only 3 574 being black. Over 1,3 million workers are employed in the agricultural sector. About 80 percent of them are black.

The PAC also proposes the establishment of independent producer co-operatives. "Bureaucratic control is anathema to effective agricultural production."

Taxation on new agricultural holdings will occur once they have reached a profit-generating capacity. Investment growth on large-scale farms would also be taxed.

Farm workers' rights will have to be protected through legislation and farmers who violate the laws would face severe punishment, including repossession of the land leased to them.

The State would have to provide social infrastructure at distances closer to the farms.

Land is not only an economic issue in this country, but a highly emotional and political one as well, and it remains to be seen how this complicated scenario is addressed.

NELSON Mandela has been issuing urgent appeals for the US and other donors to help his ANC prepare for elections. "We are dealing with a party (the NP) which is highly organised and experienced," he pleaded during his recent visit here for President Bill Clinton's inauguration. "Unless the ANC is resourced fully, we may not be able to realise the expectations of the public and the world."

Mandela appears acutely aware of the growing body of research indicating that, under present circumstances, voter turnout among the newly enfranchised will be disappointingly low. Craig Charney, an American sociologist at Wits who has been running focus groups for the Matla Trust, told the Carnegie Endowment last month that a figure under 45% was not inconceivable.

For most South Africans, Charney explained, voting was not only a new and confusing concept, but a terrifying one. He quoted an interviewee in the Free State who said bluntly: "I would be afraid to vote — I am afraid to die."

Fear of violence and intimidation was only part of the problem. There was "widespread cynicism" about the likely fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots. Many, though black themselves, doubted the capacity of black government generally, citing the homeland experience and the record of regimes in the rest of the continent. A Lebowa woman told the researcher: "Once there is a black government, the war will start."

It is easy to see why this is bad news for the ANC. Its electoral margins are far more dependent on those voters most likely to be no-shows than are the tallies of its competitors. Low participation could easily deny it an outright majority. And while fear may be a strong disincentive to voting, it can also be a powerful incentive for it. Those who fear the ANC may be more motivated to vote than those who claim allegiance to it.

The foregone conclusion factor should not be overlooked, especially in a climate where, as Charney put it, "the costs (of voting) seem high, the benefits uncertain". It could well prove the ANC has been too success-

Voter education must remain aloof from party politics

B/DAM 16/2/93
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SIMON BARBER in Washington

ful in portraying itself as the inevitable new government (or dominant faction therein), thus unwittingly mobilising the minority opposed to this outcome while reducing the feeling on the part of its own sympathisers that their votes matter.

The correlation between turnout and outcome renders somewhat problematic the matter of outside assistance for voter education like that being provided by America's National Democratic Institute (NDI), an entity chartered and partially funded by the US government. Most such initiatives are nominally non-partisan, yet inasmuch as they succeed they may help to determine a particular result.

So are they desirable? On balance, yes. One has to be in favour of the largest possible turnout, whatever its implications in terms of winners and losers. The stronger the vote, the more difficult it will be for losers to sustain a case that they were robbed. And if there is one thing above all that should flow from SA's first non-racial election, it is stability.

It is in this light that the role of the NDI and similar foreign helpers should be judged: are they contributing to an outcome that all parties and factions will accept and that will in and of itself strengthen the credibility of the new constitutional order? At this stage it is not clear that the NDI passes the test.

Officially, the institute is above the fray. In fact, virtually all the groups it is working with in SA are



□ MBULU

aligned with what senior associate Patricia Keefer referred to last week as "the movement".

Since 1988 it has been taking ANC officials to observe elections in Africa, eastern Europe and elsewhere. Its principal partner in SA is the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies, with whom it is running Project Vote. Participants at recent project workshops, the latest in Cape Town last weekend, have been a who's who

of the politically correct. They include the SA Council of Churches, the Institute for Contextual Theology, Cosatu, the SA National Civics Organisation and the SACP.

By itself, this is neither surprising nor very disturbing. The real difficulty lies in the voter education "kit" the NDI has prepared with a \$1m grant from the US Agency for International Development, and which is to be targeted at the smaller cities and rural areas where the ANC is particularly anxious about a low turnout.

More than 6 000 kits have been readied for distribution in a wide variety of languages. They are intended to help movement-selected "trainers" teach their countrymen how, and why, to vote. Included in each are dummy ballots, a cardboard ballot box and voting booth posters, a manual and a motivational videotape. The design reflects "the results of 14 focus groups conducted in out-of-the-way communities" by Fred Hartwig of the American polling firm Peter Hart Research Associates last September.

In most respects, Hartwig's diagnosis echoes that of Charney, and is hard to fault (if only because his data do not pretend to be scientific). What can be quarrelled with is prescription, a piece of extraordinary cynicism which the NDI is following to the letter. In essence, voters are to be tricked into casting ballots, with the help of popular personalities like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, comedi-

an Joe Mfolo and singer Letta Mbulu, who have been identified as persuasive spokesmen.

Having assembled his focus groups (with an offer of R50 to each volunteer and a similar inducement for recruiters), Hartwig sought to establish what black South Africans most wanted out of a new government. In order of frequency, the responses were better schools, more and better jobs, better housing and peace.

Normally, the promise of such things is why people vote for particular parties. But at Hartwig's suggestion, the NDI is using the promise as the reason for voting, period.

Each Project Vote package comes with newspaper-like flyers to be distributed in target areas. In addition to outlining the basic mechanics of voting, the flyers contain the following message, which trainers and spokesmen are to reinforce at all times: "By voting, you can make sure that your children get a better education... You can also make sure you get better housing, jobs, water, electricity and sanitation... All it takes for all this to come about is enough votes."

Some may regard this as a not-so-subliminal advertisement for the ANC. It's an arguable point and, in any event, is not why these materials are dangerous. The real peril lies in the deception they are perpetrating. The mere fact of voting and elections will not in itself cause any of the promised miracles to occur.

Material conditions may improve in the long run, but that's about the best that can be said. To gull people into thinking otherwise is ultimately to risk discrediting the whole democratic process, deepening the scepticism that already exists, and smoothing the way for the lurking autocrats.

If the NDI wants to promote democracy, its energies would be better spent educating people about what democracy really means, about rights, responsibilities and the rule of law, about accountability and the proper relationship between citizen, parties and state — not disseminating profoundly anti-democratic lies. Maximising turnout is a laudable goal, but not at the price of there being only one election. Heavy voting may help a democracy succeed, but is not a sufficient condition.

PAC objects to Num poll plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday objected to the National Union of Mineworkers' (Num) decision to put forward candidates on an ANC ticket in the coming elections.

NUM president Mr James Motlatsi said on Monday the union's central committee had decided at the weekend to support a Reconstruction Accord between its

parent body, Cosatu, and the ANC.

The PAC's secretary for labour, Mr Lesaoana Makhanda, said the decision was "unwise and divisive".

He said to propose support for a sectarian position was "insensitive and undemocratic", and a violation of members' rights of freedom of association.

The United Independent

Trade Unions ad hoc committee of South Africa (UTUACOSA) yesterday also condemned the Num election plan as "undemocratic".

UTUACOSA chairman Mr Man- yoro Gumede said Num's deci- sion was "very undemocratic and very biased as Num has a mixed membership as regards the po- litical affiliation of individual Num members". — Sapa

Talks on track FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday the proposed multi-party planning conference to prepare the way for full-blown negotiations could still take place before the end of the month.

Despite the outcry from parties across the spectrum about an apparent agreement between the ANC and the government on the need for power-sharing by a government of national unity, it is understood that February 25-26 has already been pencilled as the date for the conference.

However, much will depend on the outcome of the crunch three-day meeting between Inkatha and the government which begins late today at an undisclosed venue in northern KwaZulu.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that it would take the combined might of uMkhonto weSizwe and the SA Defence

Force to force any ANC/government brokered "deal" on the people of the region.

But government negotiators are insisting that while they are prepared to allay the misguided concerns that members of the smaller parties might have, they are not prepared to countenance another year of "stop-start-stop-start" negotiations.

In a signal of things to come, it is understood that the government yesterday warned Bophuthatswana — another homeland government which has been making "go it alone" noises — that it would come under increasing pressure to rejoin South Africa.

Sources said yesterday that both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei would come under increasing pressure to come back into the fold or face a financial squeeze from Pretoria.

Mr De Klerk and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said in a joint statement after a meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday that the two del-

egations had agreed to appoint a joint committee to continue their discussions "with a view to examining various aspects of their bilateral relations and the general constitutional situation".

The two sides agreed on the need for the resumption of multi-party talks as soon as possible.

This theme was echoed after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday between the government's chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and a Democratic Party delegation.

Co-ordinator of the DP's negotiation team Mr Ken Andrew said after the meeting the resumption of multi-party negotiations was "a matter of great importance and urgency".

In a note of caution he added: "While considerable progress has been made, we are concerned about the number of issues still to be resolved before a multi-party planning conference can be held."

Mandela to take a rest

Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela has been ordered by his doctors to take "a complete rest" after the 74-year-old ANC leader's punishing schedule in recent weeks began to take its toll.

The ANC announced last night that Mr Mandela had consequently cancelled all future engagements until further notice.

Mr Mandela will be resting at home but his condition is not expected to have a major impact on the progress of negotiations.

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus told the Cape Times last night that Mr Mandela's enforced lay-off was not expected to last more than "a few days".

11A

this mess and we must

Star 17/2/93

Fears for transition schedule

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

(11A)

The Government and the ANC are battling to sell their five-year power-sharing deal to constituents and allies, raising fears that the timetable for transition is slipping.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) decided yesterday to refer the deal to its grassroots structures for a mandate, a move that will certainly introduce delay.

The next target date is a multiparty planning conference on Thursday and Friday next week to arrange

the resumption of Codesa-style formal multiparty negotiations.

President de Klerk said yesterday a conference before the end of February was still attainable but was beginning to look unlikely.

Yesterday the ANC's negotiation team explained the deal to its NEC amid signs of a revolt from some regions.

NEC member Chris Hani said the proposals from the negotiators were so important that they had to be taken down to the grassroots for a mandate.

He said a multiparty planning conference before the

end of February now looked unlikely.

The NEC meeting continues today.

The Government also faces a major hurdle in explaining the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

After a meeting yesterday between a Democratic Party delegation under party leader Dr Zach de Beer and a National Party delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, DP national chairman Ken Andrew expressed doubts the negotiations schedule could be maintained.

Star 17/12/93
(11A)

Union's poll pledge to ANC under fire

By Montshiwa Moroke

The National Union of Mineworkers' decision to put candidates on an ANC ticket in the next election was a violation of workers' rights of free association, the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday.

PAC labour secretary Lesaoana Makhanda was referring to an NUM central committee decision at the weekend to support a "reconstruction accord" between its parent body, Cosatu, and the ANC.

Speaking at a news conference, he said the PAC was extremely disturbed by the decision and called the move "unwise and divisive".

The NUM membership and other labour organisations comprised various political tendencies, including PAC, Azapo and Inkatha. To propose support for a sectarian position was insensi-

tive and undemocratic, especially coming from an organisation which purported to be championing the rights of all its varied members.

"The main task of worker organisations such as NUM, Cosatu and Nactu is to deal with shop-floor issues, worker welfare and their well-being.

"The NUM action is a very serious violation of the workers' rights of free association, a principle for which we fought for so long when the unions in this country were not recognised," Makhanda said.

He said the decision was unfortunate and underlined the urgency of reconvening the Patriotic United Front, which was best suited for guaranteeing that everyone reached a genuine democratic dispensation that would be truly representative of all strata of a dispossessed society, including labour.

National unity govt is the only practical way to

Star 17/2/93

A GREAT deal of semantic confusion has blown up over the agreement reached between Government and ANC negotiating teams last week.

The trouble is that "power sharing" is an explosive phrase which means different things to different players in this delicate game. So is the concept of a "deal", with its connotations of some kind of sinister backroom transaction.

Add to that journalism's tendency to oversimplify and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's tendency to over-dramatise, and you have the ingredients for the sort of confusion that can derail a negotiation process.

The facts are as follows:

There is no agreement by the NP and the ANC to share power for five years.

What there is, is an agreement, still to be ratified, that the NP and the ANC favour a "government of national unity" consisting of all parties that win more than 5 or 10 percent of the vote in South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election. Which is a very different thing.

The idea is that this all-party government of national unity should run the country for a five-year transition period before there is normal majority rule.

Fact number two is that this is not an agreement binding on anyone else. Indeed at this stage it is no more than a proposal by the two negotiating teams to their own leaders — President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his national executive committee. They have still to debate it, maybe modify it, and then ratify it.

Even then it will not be binding on anyone else. It will simply be an agreement between these two political organisations that overcomes their previous differences, and which they will try to persuade others to accept at the multiparty conference which the Government is trying to set up for next month. It will be equally open to other parties to bring different proposals to that conference.

Since it was the differences between the NP and the ANC that caused Codesa 2 to break down



Allister Sparks

last May, one would have thought everyone would have applauded the fact that they have now overcome them. Everyone still interested in a settlement, that is.

But the real point is that the proposal is eminently sensible and fair to everyone. It is a proposal for everyone with a meaningful constituency to share in the government of national unity for five years to ease the transition, allay (mostly white) fears of sudden change and hopefully build a sense of national unity in this tragically divided land before taking the final step to full, normal democracy.

The idea is that each party's representation in the government of national unity should be proportionate to the number of votes it receives in the election. The majority party will have the most

Cabinet members and will name a president who will operate with limited powers. Other parties will be represented according to their strength. All will have a say in Cabinet decisions.

It can become a power-sharing deal between the NP and the ANC only if every other party fails to get at least 5 or 10 percent of the total vote — the actual cut-off minimum having been left open for later decision.

There is no logical reason for Chief Buthelezi's outrage. If his party can make the cut of 5 or 10 percent of the total vote in the election, he will be part of the government of national unity. If it can't, he will not deserve to be.

The one group whose protests are more logical in a political sense are the PAC and other radicals. They are trying to portray themselves as the revolutionary purists who reject compromise. Their political future depends on being able to capitalise on disillusionment in the black community, on the inevitable crisis of expectations that will follow a settlement and the inability of any post-

apartheid government to deliver instant prosperity to the underclass.

Their strategy is to portray the negotiators as sellouts and betrayers of the liberation struggle. That is going to be the political battlefield of the future, and the lines are being drawn now.

The NP faces a similar challenge from its hardliners, who accuse it of betraying its commitment to Afrikaner survival. Generations of Afrikaners have been brought up to believe that majority rule would be tantamount to national suicide. Now majority rule is in prospect.

This is what makes the phrase "power sharing" so loaded. For President de Klerk it has been the vindicating cover for his actions. He has been telling his people he will not accept majority rule but only a system of "power sharing", or permanent coalition rule, in which they and other minorities will continue to have control over their own destinies.

For Nelson Mandela the phrase means the opposite — that he has abandoned the quest for majority

go

rule, the leitmotif of the black liberation struggle, and settled for something less in which the white minority will be able to block real change and preserve the inequalities of apartheid.

Now we have the compromise of a government of national unity for five years. Whether that amounts to power sharing or not has less to do with the literal meaning of the words than with the political connotation they have been given on both sides. Hence the flurry of denials and counter-denials, with the NP claiming the ANC has accepted power sharing and the ANC vehemently denying this.

Call it what you like, the plan itself is clear enough — a temporary arrangement that seeks to save honour for both. It also happens to be the only practical way forward. The only alternative is to return to an endless struggle to inherit the ruins of a destroyed land.

Only those with agendas too narrow to see the national interest — the sectarian, the paranoid, the opportunistic and the revolutionary junkies — can possibly want that. □

Trip to Europe cancelled

Exhausted

Star 17/2/93

Mandela

(11A)

told to rest

By Helen Grange

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is suffering from exhaustion and has cancelled a three-nation European tour scheduled to start on Sunday.

The 74-year-old leader was to have visited England, Scotland and Portugal.

And crucial talks between himself and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi aimed at ending political violence may have to be postponed, the ANC said last night.

Mandela had been advised by doctors to take a "complete rest", according to an ANC statement.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus could not say anything further about his condition, except to say Mandela was "tired".

Niehaus said Mandela was

suffering from exhaustion after a "tough schedule" and was resting at home.

The critical meeting with Buthelezi was provisionally scheduled for early next month.

Government sources fear that if Mandela's condition persists, he may be unable to attend the hoped-for multi-party talks tentatively scheduled for mid-March.

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night he hoped Mandela would recuperate in time.

The ANC leader's indisposition would not, however, have any effect on current bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government, as he was not present at these in any case, both Government and ANC spokesmen said last night.

Mandela's meeting with Buthelezi was still on the cards, although it could suf-

fer a postponement, Niehaus said.

IFP spokesman Walter Felgate said Mandela's condition would obviously now determine the date for the meeting — to be decided by the respective parties' delegates at their preliminary meeting early next month.

Mandela will definitely be unable to attend various functions organised by the ANC PWV region this weekend as part of its build-up to elections.

Former Rivonia treason trial accused and ANC national executive member Andrew Mlangeni said last night that Mandela was "certainly not sick".

"He attended the ANC NEC meeting with us. He looked healthy," Mlangeni said.

Some NEC members also denied Mandela was sick, saying that he had attended an NEC meeting as recently as yesterday.

ANC concerned over secret defence budget

BIPM
17/2/93 BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday reacted with "deep concern" to the announcement in Parliament that the SADF had a R4,38bn budget for its secret Special Defence Account during the past financial year.

In a statement it said: "Such expenditure on covert projects by a discredited defence force, which even the State President had to acknowledge harbours in its ranks senior officers and whole units that were undermining — and are probably still trying to undermine — SA's transition to democracy, is a very serious matter."

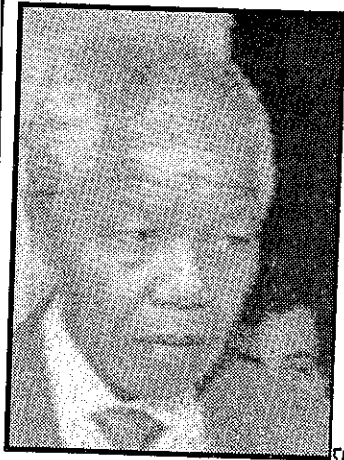
The massive expenditure on covert projects, taken with recent revelations that despite repeated promises, Battalions 31 and 32 had not yet been disbanded, cast doubt on the good faith and sincerity with which the NP government was negotiating, the ANC said.

Defence Minister Gene Louw could not be reached for comment.

The ANC complained that of the R4,38bn, more than two-thirds had already been spent. It said government's sincerity would be judged by its preparedness to agree to the full investigation of all armed formations in SA by the Goldstone commission.

It also had to order the immediate cancellation of all covert operations, and the ANC warned that it would scrutinise the forthcoming Budget to see whether this was taking place.

Sapa reports that the CP yesterday called on government to stop relieving its financial plight by rationalising the SADF. CP defence spokesman Willie Snyman said further cutbacks and retrenchments meant the SADF would not be able to maintain its state of preparedness.



Mr Nelson Mandela

Mandela exhausted: foreign tour off

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela is exhausted and has cancelled a three-nation European tour that was to start on Sunday.

The 74-year-old ANC leader was to have visited England, Scotland and Portugal.

And crucial talks between himself and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi aimed at ending political violence may have to be postponed, the ANC said.

Mr Mandela had been advised by doctors to take a "complete rest", said an ANC statement last night.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus could not say anything further about his condition, except that Mr Mandela was "tired".

He said Mr Mandela was exhausted after a "tough schedule" and was resting at home.

The crucial meeting with Chief Buthelezi was provisionally scheduled for early next month.

Talks go on

Government sources fear that if Mr Mandela's condition persists, he may be unable to attend the hoped-for multiparty talks tentatively scheduled for mid-March.

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night he hoped Mr Mandela would recover in time for the talks.

The ANC leader's condition will not, however, affect bilateral talks between the ANC and the government, as he is not part of the ANC delegation.

Mr Mandela's meeting with Chief Buthelezi was still on the cards, although it might be postponed, Mr Niehaus said.

IFP spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said Mr Mandela's condition would obviously now determine the date for the meeting, which is to be decided by the respective parties' delegates at a preliminary meeting early next month.

Mr Mandela will definitely be unable to attend various functions organised by the ANC PWV region this weekend as part of its build-up to elections for an interim government.

Former Rivonia treason trialist and ANC national executive member Mr Andrew Mlangeni said last night that Mr Mandela was "certainly not sick".

"He attended the ANC NEC meeting with us. He looked healthy. He would have informed us if he was sick," said Mr Mlangeni.

Some NEC members also denied Mr Mandela was sick, saying he had attended an NEC meeting yesterday.

During an African tour in 1990, Mr Mandela contracted pneumonia. Although his hectic schedule was temporarily disrupted, he continued with his itinerary within days.

NEWS Bhambayi squatters in bloody battle ● ANC division deepens over powersharing

10 die in faction fight

Sowetan 17/2/93
Sowetan Correspondent and Lulama Luti

■ Six men held and police confiscate arms from a shack:

TEN people were shot dead and some hacked after two factions clashed at the Bhambayi squatter settlement at Inanda near Durban on Monday morning.

This increased to 32 the number of people killed in the region since last Friday.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said six people were arrested yesterday and that police had confis-

cated arms. He said the fighting was not politically motivated.

Witnesses said fighting broke out after both factions disagreed on which sangoma to support.

Some said it was because of a power struggle between old and new residents.

Naidoo said members of the Internal Stability Unit responded to a call and found nine bodies on the scene.

Mkhuzeni Madiba (21), and a man

known only as Mzobe (40) were among the dead.

Names of other men were withheld as their next of kin had not yet been informed.

A shack was pointed to the police and an assortment of weapons confiscated.

Police were investigating the possibility that the weapons seized during the arrest of the six might have been used in the attack, said Naidoo.

Dissent in ANC ranks

Sowetan 17/2/93
■ NEC meets amid accusation of powersharing:

THE African National Congress began its three-day national executive committee meeting yesterday amid deepening division in its ranks over purported power-sharing deals with the Government.

Mr Carl Niehaus meanwhile reiterated that the organisation had not made any deals with the National Party.



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POSTS WHICH ARE

ANC's foreign service revamp plan

A democratic South Africa needs a fundamentally restructured Department of Foreign Affairs, according to an ANC discussion document. ESTHER WAUGH reports.

FIFTEEN senior ANC diplomats have drawn up proposals for the restructuring of South Africa's foreign service.

Their proposals, the fruit of a training course in senior diplomacy in France, Belgium and Britain in June last year, are still to be adopted as official ANC policy.

Their document, in the possession of The Star, says no unconstitutional and unilateral changes should be made to the foreign affairs service.

Instead, it proposes a multi-party parliamentary committee to oversee the restructuring process.

The ANC's head of administration in its international relations department, Yusuf Saloojee, said it was important to begin the process of giving a new perspective to South Africa's foreign relations.

"Our future relations with the international community will have to be based on economic and trade considerations rather than ideological considerations.

"We will have to pay particular attention to South-South cooperation and North-South relations as the basis of a future foreign policy," he said.

Saloojee said the ANC was

dismayed that the Government was unilaterally expanding its network of representation "even in places where we may not need to be".

Representation abroad would have to be determined within the context of budgetary constraints, he said.

The discussion document says a new Department of Foreign Affairs should be efficient and effective while its employees should be "competent and non-partisan".

The issue of political appointees should be carefully considered in terms of explicit guidelines.

These guidelines should include a code of conduct, disciplinary measures for violations and the establishment of a commission to ensure adherence to the code.

On affirmative action, the document said: "To redress historical and all other imbalances which prevent parts of the population from entering the Foreign Service, a future democratic government should be committed to a deliberate, calculated and conscious programme for the upliftment of these sectors.

"This will be required both during the transition period and beyond."

The recruitment, selection and promotion of new department members should be based on merit, fairness and representativeness, says the document.

Active recruitment should take place in sectors of society that had previously been excluded. □

Mandela at NEC meeting

CF 1812493 (1A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela attended an important ANC National Executive Committee meeting yesterday despite an announcement he was suffering from exhaustion and had called off a three-nation European tour.

However, ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki

will stand in for Mr Mandela to address a business banquet in Johannesburg tomorrow.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said Mr Mandela would keep only the most vital appointments in the next few days.

He said no negotiations would be postponed during Mr Mandela's enforced rest, and added that the rest would last for "a few days rather than weeks".

"Doctors are treating him very conservatively because of his tough schedule over the past few weeks. He is not lying in bed but rather taking things easy," Mr Niehaus said.

● Mr Mandela was to receive the freedom of 10 British cities and boroughs at a ceremony in Glasgow next week. All the honours were made during his imprisonment.

UK dignitaries for ANC conference

CT 18/2/93

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — Labour's shadow foreign secretary, Dr Jack Cunningham, is among 36 veteran British anti-apartheid campaigners flying to Johannesburg to attend the ANC's international solidarity conference this weekend.

Included among the delegates are fellow Labour MPs Mr Robert Hughes and Mr Bernie Grant, Anti-Apartheid

Movement secretary, Mr Mike Terry, top local unionists and Mr Malcolm Harper of the United Nations Association.

South African Ambassador to London Mr Kent Durr held a meeting at the House of Commons with Dr Cunningham and Mr Grant yesterday.

Dr Cunningham will also be representing the party of European socialists.

HA

Mandela to attend Jo'burg banquet

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela was not sick — but merely suffering from fatigue — and would still attend the banquet for businessmen organised by the ANC's PWV region, regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Addressing a media conference in Johannesburg, Sexwale said Mandela — whom doctors had advised to cancel his three-nation European tour — was "as healthy as he could be for a man of his age", and had attended the first two days of the ANC's three-day national executive committee meeting which began on Tuesday.

Sexwale said Mandela would still attend the ANC PWV region's banquet for businessmen at the Johannesburg City Hall tomorrow evening.

He said Mandela, who was scheduled to be a guest of the PWV region for three days and address several meetings, would no longer address a rally in Mohlakeng near Randfontein at the weekend. The region had decided to "scale down" the ANC leader's programme to afford him an opportunity to rest.

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said organised rallies and meetings would go ahead without the 74-year-old Mandela.

In lieu of Mandela, South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani would address the Mohlakeng rally and ANC foreign affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki would address a breakfast meeting at the Carlton Hotel at the weekend.

Sexwale said tomorrow night's banquet could not be cancelled because more than 50 seats had already been sold at the price of R450 each.

ANC has plans to buy Capital Radio

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The ANC has confirmed it is considering buying the ailing Durban-based Capital Radio station.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday negotiations were still at a preliminary stage and he could not say if an offer had been made to buy Capital.

Mr Niehaus said the interest in Capital was not from the ANC alone, but from a broad spectrum of organisations.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed yesterday the ANC had expressed an interest in buying the station, but said he had advised against it. The station is owned by the Transkei.

200 114

CT 18/493

ANC to quiz members on deal

STAR 18/2/93.

Political Staff

11A

The ANC yesterday officially decided to consult its grassroots structures on a controversial power-sharing deal with the Government after strong criticism from hardliners in its own ranks, sources confirmed.

The decision was taken by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) on the second day of a three-day meeting in Soweto yesterday.

Sources said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance met last night to discuss a draft

statement on the NEC's decision to consult the organisation's members.

The Star was told that the NEC had also decided to call a conference of reconstruction and strategy to inform its members of developments in constitutional negotiations.

This means that the multiparty planning conference aimed at resuming negotiations could be delayed.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus refused to be drawn on the issue, saying the NEC was expected to announce decisions taken at the meeting at a news conference today.

Reports that Government and ANC negotiators had

clinched a deal to share power for five years after the first democratic elections have triggered fiery opposition from lesser political parties and from within their own ranks.

The ANC's Natal Midlands region has led the internal revolt, which is believed to have been backed by the western Cape region.

Meanwhile, the Government and the ANC will have another two-day bilateral meeting, starting on Monday, in a last-ditch effort to secure a multiparty preparatory conference before the end of the month, reports Sapa.

Much also depends on the

progress being made at a three-day bosberaad between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which began in northern Natal yesterday.

"I can't say anything at this stage except that the meeting discussed very serious issues," KwaZulu Health Minister and IFP central committee member Dr Ben Ngubane told Sapa by telephone from the Richards Bay hotel where the talks are being held.

He confirmed the two delegations were to share a late night dinner and would resume their talks this morning.

**ANC defends
its members**

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Two hundred ANC members threatened with deportation by the Zambian authorities were all in Zambia for legitimate reasons, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Niehaus was reacting to a statement by Zambian Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba that ANC members who had refused to apply for refugee status would be repatriated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Niehaus said some of the organisation's members were involved in wrapping up the affairs of the ANC's Lusaka office, others were working on ANC projects still under way in Zambia, several were awaiting full indemnity papers from SA and the remainder were awaiting the outcome of legal charges brought against them by the Zambian authorities.

Zimba said he was not impressed by the reasons given for the ANC members declining to register as refugees and returning to SA, Sapa reports.

"Some of these guys have been involved in criminal activities. Why should the Zambian government give them a high profile and latitude when some of them are involved in filthy activities," he is reported as having told Radio Zambia this week.

Niehaus said the number of ANC members in Zambia amounted to around 200 and not the 700 claimed in some reports.

Thursday February 18 1993 SO

NEWS State path

Mandela to address *Sowetan* businessmen

18/2/93
■ Leader told to take rest:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

(11A)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will address a R500-a-head fund-raising dinner at the Johannesburg City Hall tomorrow, a spokesman for the organisation has confirmed.

On Tuesday, Mandela was advised by his doctors to take a "complete rest" after suffering from exhaustion.

ANC chairman in the PWV region Mr Tokyo Sexwale said Mandela would address businessmen on the role of business during transition.

Tired Mandela keeps vital appointments

BILLY PADDOCK (11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela attended the organisation's important NEC meeting yesterday, despite an announcement that he was suffering from exhaustion and had called off a three-nation European tour.

However, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki will stand in for him to address a businessmen's banquet in Johannesburg tomorrow.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the 74-year-old leader would keep only the most vital appointments in the next few days following doctor's orders to rest "to ensure he does not become exhausted". Ronnie Mamoepa added that Mandela's arrangements would not be cancelled as other ANC officials would fill in for him.

Niehaus said no negotiations would be postponed or cancelled as a result of the doctor's orders, and that Mandela would rest for only "a few days rather than weeks. Doctors are treating him very conservatively because of his tough schedule over the past few weeks. He is not lying in bed but rather taking things easy."

The ANC's latest report on Mandela's condition brought relief to political leaders who initially believed his condition could delay negotiations. *BPM 18/2/93.*

A senior member of government's constitutional team said he was very "heartened" by the latest news as earlier reports seemed gloomy and had raised concerns about the progress of political talks.

Speculation was that he would not be able to attend the first multiparty negotiations should these get off the ground by March and that the vital summit between him and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expected in mid-March, might have to be postponed.

Power-sharing is 'the way to go'

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with **Tim Modise**

Sowetan 18/2/93
By Isaac Moledi

THE proposed power-sharing between the Government and the African National Congress was received with mixed feelings by callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Some of the callers said there was nothing wrong with the agreements reached between the Government and the ANC as these, they believed, would enhance the negotiations process.

Hope of Johannesburg said power-sharing was a good concept as long as it was not entrenched in the new constitution.

"We still feel that the South African regime is illegitimate but I think there is something wrong with any person who thinks we are in a democracy

"We can't sacrifice revolution for the sake of appeasing whites," he said.

Abbey of Hillbrow said it was very interesting that even within the ANC there were people who were dissatisfied about power-sharing.

He said the ANC had made too many compromises.

"Azapo and the PAC stood with the ANC when their leaders were in prison.

Why should they go it alone now?" Abbey asked.

Themba of Maritzburg blamed the Press for "exposing" the proposal.

they could be discussed by their members.

"The Government and the ANC have the

right to agree on whatever issues they were discussing as long as this were going to bring peace," he said.

"The government of national unity is necessary as long as the minority's aspirations are met. I see nothing wrong with the agreements reached between the ANC and the Government. We won't be held to ransom by parties who don't want to participate."

Mzi, White City, Soweto

"We have so many parties at the moment. Some of the leaders who

lead these parties do not understand the way forward."

Jabulani, Zola, Soweto

"Why didn't those people who are not satisfied with the talks between the Government and the ANC come forward and contribute, instead of criticising?"

Nomathemba, Tladi, Soweto

"PAC members were comrades in arms before. Now that they are against reality we feel they are going too far."

Peter, Meadowlands, Soweto

NEWS State pathologist testifies that death was consistent with multiple injuries

Mandela to address businessmen

18/2/93
■ Leader told to take rest:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will address a R500-a-head fund-raising dinner at the Johannesburg City Hall tomorrow, a spokesman for the organisation has confirmed.

On Tuesday, Mandela was advised by his doctors to take a "complete rest" after suffering from exhaustion.

ANC chairman in the PWV region Mr Tokyo Sexwale said Mandela would address businessmen on the role of business during transition.

11A

Drowning ruled out in Maphumulo inquest

By Mzimasi Ngudle

■ Probably strangled before being thrown into pool:

A STATE pathologist yesterday said it was unlikely that Mr Bethuel Maphumulo had died as a result of drowning as alleged by the police.

Testifying during an inquest into Maphumulo's death in the Johannesburg Regional Court, Dr Michelle Foster said his death was consistent with multiple injuries.

The doctor said after examining the body she had concluded Maphumulo had died as a result of multiple injuries.

Foster catalogued numerous abra-

sions and injuries, including eight broken ribs and neck marks, on Maphumulo's body. She said these were "probably caused by manual strangulation".

She said fractures on his neck and haemorrhages on his skin appeared to have been caused by "extensive, substantial force".

Earlier, police Captain Henry Beukes said he was attacked by Maphumulo at the poolside after he escaped during interrogation at the Protea police station

on December 13 1990.

Beukes said injuries in Maphumulo's body could have been caused by the "uneven paving" on which they struggled before they both fell into the swimming pool.

Maphumulo died on December 13 1990 after handing himself over to the police who were investigating a charge of robbery. Maphumulo handed himself over to the police on December 11.

Police said he escaped and threw himself into a swimming pool.



Crucial multiparty planning conference 'in jeopardy'

BIODAY 18/2/93



BILLY PADDOCK

THERE were strong concerns within government and the ANC yesterday that the crucial multiparty planning conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, would not go ahead.

The major stumbling block is the preliminary agreement between government and the ANC that a transitional government of national unity will run the country for four to five years after elections.

The ANC's national executive committee discussed the agreement yesterday but did not make a decision despite reports it had decided to refer the matter to grassroots level because of Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala's objections.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he was not aware of any decision.

Meanwhile, government negotiators sat down yesterday for a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha, which has stated it was not prepared to accept the agreement.

In an interview with the Financial Mail this week, President F W de Klerk said

broad consensus on the concept of a government of national unity was not restricted to government and the ANC.

"It is not just a product of bilaterals but has achieved broad consensus," De Klerk said, adding that this was to facilitate reconciliation and stability. He said the principles outlined in the referendum were all still firmly in place.

This will be the first time Inkatha and government have sat down in bilateral talks to discuss substantive constitutional matters since Inkatha withdrew from all talks in September because of the record of understanding between the ANC and government.

The meeting is expected to be tough, with Inkatha demanding a full disclosure of the bilateral talks government had with the ANC, the extent of the agreement and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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focus on unusual MP

LUWELLYN Landers walks with a limp. On June 12 1985 Landers and his wife Sylvia went out for an intimate dinner to celebrate her birthday.

The couple returned home at about 10pm that evening and went to bed in the normal way, like normal people do.

Except that Landers was not a normal person in the normal sense of the word, nor did he live in a normal society.

On the contrary.

Landers was known, at the time and in apartheid parlance, as a coloured person and served as a coloured Member of Parliament in South Africa's tri-cameral legislature.

This Parliament specifically excluded indigenous Africans from it and therefore, in the eyes of millions of people in South Africa, Landers was an enemy of the people.

And on the night of June 12 1985 the people, or somebody on behalf of the people, threw two handgrenades through the bedroom window of Landers' simple Mitchell's Plain home on Cape Town's Cape Flats.

What followed was a burst of cordite, bone marrow and blood ... and that is why Landers walks with a limp today.

Landers said at the time the incident served to prove that working from within the system to change it was better than from outside.

"Those responsible for the attack have admitted they are losing the fight and we are winning," he had said.

The publicity spokeswoman for the United Democratic Front, Zo Kota, said at the time that the incident "arose directly out of the fundamental discontent that the new constitution is generating".

"Things are going to get worse unless the apartheid system is dismantled," Kota said.

Things did get worse. Within days of the attack on Landers (one of two on "coloured" MPs on the same night) the South African Defence Force launched a cross border raid on an ANC base in Botswana in what was seen to be in retaliation for the attack on the legislators.

Within two months a state of emergency was declared in 36 magisterial districts of South Africa and less than a year after that a national state of emergency was declared.

But all of that is another story that will get told again and again.

Apartheid legislation is being undone now and those attacks on so-called coloured MPs have stopped.

But what is remarkable in this new zeitgeist era is that as a new dawn is being hailed in South Africa, fact has become more bizarre than fiction.

Members of the ANC and even of the Inkatha Freedom Party are sitting in Parliament.

Similarly bizarre and more than just a touch

Luwellyn Landers served as an MP in South Africa's tricameral legislature during the days of apartheid. He had to pay a high price. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** writes about the new role this remarkable man plays in SA politics.



Luwellyn Landers ... bombed in his home.

ironic: within months Landers and his colleagues in the once discredited Labour Party will go on the campaign trail to canvass support for the ANC in South Africa's first non-racial elections.

While the LP and ANC are not in a formal election pact (yet), there is an alliance between them which Landers is "absolutely in favour of".

The objective of this alliance, Landers says, "is to see to it that the regime is crushed in the election, or to ensure that their support is kept to a minimum".

"I believe in retribution. But (in this case) it must be the retribution of the ballot. It's the best form of retribution," Landers says.

The new alliances taking shape in Parliament are dismissed as positioning but Landers does not feel that the LP is resorting to expediency.

The leader of the LP, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, always points out that nowhere in



the world "has liberation ever come from the oppressor".

Landers feels that after he has helped the LP to win votes for the ANC and he is "required to step back from politics — so be it".

He has served his purpose...

Landers has also played a prominent role in reminding the ruling National Party of its past during the past two years while apartheid legislation was being abolished.

While he was criticised — and attacked — it was his vote, too, in the chambers of Parliament that helped abolish apartheid legislation.

Watching Landers in Parliamentary debate is an awesome experience.

Last year during the debate on amendments to the Internal Security Act, Landers showed how committed the NP was to rehabilitating its image as being fundamentally racist and their disrespect for human rights and values.

Landers rose slowly in Parliament's old House of Assembly where for more than 40 years white legislators had passed laws which pilloried and persecuted indigenous Africans and everybody who stood with them in South Africa and (slowly) read out the names of people who had died in detention over the apartheid years.

But before he started his litany, Landers asked that the House stand and pay its respects to those who had slipped on bars of soap, fell from chains, committed suicide...

Everybody stood, except for the Minister of Justice and his colleagues in the NP.

"I could do it because I placed myself in the shoes of the victim," Landers says.

One cannot help but wonder whether the attackers on that cold winter night of June 12 1985 can put themselves into the shoes of their victim.

The LP and people who participated in the tricameral mutation of democracy can be criticised for many things.

And today, in search of a normal society for their children, normal South Africans are doing many abnormal, even strange things sometimes.

If the ANC can be allowed to have white members in Parliament, surely a man like Landers, who has had the worst of both worlds, can have a brief say and place in history and time.

Peace talks
deadline
for Unita
extended

ARC 18/2/93

LUANDA. — The United States, Portugal and Russia have given Unita rebel leaders until tomorrow to name a date for peace talks with the Angolan government — extending an original deadline by two days.

The three countries trying to end Angola's renewed civil war did not say what they would do if Unita failed to respond.

But diplomats in Luanda said they might allow the MPLA government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to receive foreign military help against the rebels. The United States was one of Unita's backers in the war that began in 1975.

The three countries said unwillingness by Unita to set a new date for peace talks with the government was unsatisfactory and urged the movement to name a time by tomorrow — they originally gave it until last night to set a date.

Senior Unita officials on Tuesday told the UN special representative in Angola, Ms Margaret Anstee, that they needed three more days to consider the matter, but the observer countries said this was a disappointing answer.

The 1991 peace accords stipulated that neither the government nor Unita could receive outside military aid.

But the three countries, together with the United Nations, are losing patience with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who has resumed civil war with unprecedented intensity.

Ten of the 70 Unita deputies elected in last September's general election defied Dr Savimbi and took their seats in parliament yesterday in a sign of a growing split in Angola's embattled rebel movement. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN halts all aid to Bosnians

NEW YORK. — All relief supplies to Bosnia-Herzegovina have been halted by the head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Ms Sadako Ogata took the decision yesterday in an attempt to overcome Muslim and especially Serb intransigence.

The move surprised the Security Council, which demanded that all warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina allow supplies to be distributed immediately, particularly to hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Eastern Bosnia.

In a statement read at a formal meeting, the council also alluded to a protest from the Bosnian government to stop aid to Sarajevo until Eastern Bosnia had received supplies.

Britain's ambassador, Sir David Hannay, said: "I think Ms Ogata brought into very sharp focus an absolutely appalling situation in which people have been playing political games with humanitarian relief — and that is really quite intolerable, whoever does it."

"The council has made that quite clear and has now strong-

ly backed the need for all parties now to give her the guarantees she needs."

Some security council members appeared taken by surprise and angry, even though the stage was set on Friday when the Muslim-led government of Bosnia refused to allow UN convoys into Sarajevo because Serbs were preventing convoys trying to get through to remote villages.

Russian UN ambassador Mr Yuli Vorontsov said he was taken aback by the UN decision.

"We shall look into this matter thoroughly. That was a rather unexpected move. Maybe we will be able to correct it a bit.

"My personal opinion is that we shouldn't stop abruptly. We should be more insistent and we should pull all necessary convoys through."

Mr Peter Kessler, Ms Ogata's spokesman in Bosnia, said UNHCR had also shelled a pact with Serb fighters to start running convoys into central Bosnia from Serb-held territory in the north unaffected by the fighting. — Sapa-Reuter.

UK Labour man on his way

LONDON. — British shadow foreign secretary Dr Jack Cunningham will attend the ANC's international solidarity conference in Johannesburg this weekend.

He will represent the Labour Party and the Party of European Socialists.

"I feel sure the deliberations

of the conference will help to direct our efforts to ensure the full participation of the UK government in assisting the transition to democracy and prosperity in the new South Africa," said Dr Cunningham.

He said he would be extending especially warm greetings to Mr Nelson Mandela.

Tiny Rowland joins backers of newspaper venture

ANC STARTS OWN DAILY

SI Times 21/1/93

By CHARLENE SMITH

Gallant Martin meets his match



THE ANC is to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines by June with massive support from local and overseas businessmen.

One of the top backers of the scheme is multi-millionaire Tiny Rowland, a close friend of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo and former head of Lonrho, which owns the Observer newspaper in London.

A 15-member Nigerian delegation headed by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian stock exchange, newspaper owner and head of several companies, arrives in Johannesburg tomorrow night to discuss final details of the proposed weekly news magazine.

ANC sources say the newspaper was at first envisaged as a weekly publication but, on advice from international backers, will be a daily paper.

A spokesman for Observer editor Donald Trelford confirmed that he had had lunch recently with "ANC people interested in a newspaper project", but he referred all further inquiries to Lonrho.

A number of top South African companies have been approached to invest in the business. This week the insurance giant Sanlam confirmed it was considering a proposal to

Met filly set to take US by storm

By DAVID MOLLETT

EMPRESS CLUB — heroine of yesterday's R750 000 J&B Met at Kenilworth — is set to join the export drain to America within a few months.

"I hope we'll overcome the quarantine difficulties and that she'll be able to fly the flag for South Africa over there," said ecstatic owner Laurie Jaffee.

The Argentinian-bred filly has now won 14 of her 16 starts and earned more than R2,8-million.

Bookies had long faces after the race. The favourite's

several companies, arrives in Johannesburg tomorrow night to discuss final details of the proposed weekly news magazine.

ANC sources say the newspaper was at first envisaged as a weekly publication but, on advice from international backers, will be a daily paper.

A spokesman for Observer editor Donald Trelford confirmed that he had had lunch recently with "ANC people interested in a newspaper project", but he referred all further inquiries to Lonrho.

A number of top South African companies have been approached to invest in the business. This week the insurance giant Sanlam confirmed it was considering a proposal to invest in the project.

The venture has also been assured of financial and training assistance from some foreign governments, including Sweden.

The ANC and its trade-union ally Cosatu have been planning the launch for more than two years, but they still refuse to comment publicly.

Commercial

The ANC drive to get its own publications comes after a failed attempt by the organisation to purchase the Sowetan newspaper.

It is unhappy at what it regards as the over-concentration of ownership of the press in South Africa. It has said that an ANC government would introduce legislation to bring about the unbundling of ownership of the press.

While the ANC is sinking considerable capital of its own into the project — an estimated R20-million — it is planning the publications as commercial ventures.

In addition to a daily newspaper and a weekly news magazine, it is planning an up-market women's magazine targeted at the black market and another magazine directed at the coloured community.

The ANC has begun accelerating the launch date of its publications, in particular the newspaper, with an eye to the elections which are expected to take place early next year.

The project is being headed by ANC director of information Pallo Jordan and Cosatu media expert Moletsi Mbeki.

The two travelled to London with Mr Dali Tambo, son of the ANC chairman, a fortnight ago, when they met Mr Rowland and a number of other businessmen, including Liberty Life chairman Donald Gordon.

Liberty Life denies that it is investing in the project. But Sanlam spokesman Andre

Bl
bo

TO-BE

through the function, called across the table her to the theatre. The next day, he Johannesburg. months later, Chantal, who telephoned regularly, agreed to hotel in Johannesburg. hotel reception desk they had left for and the meeting ended.

might they had been did not see each until two years ago, in moved from Jo- to Somerset West.

Cattle

their staff would be it. Up to 50 000 people out of work from

Coetzee said his company had been approached to "help with financing a newspaper as an investment proposition, but a final decision has not yet been taken".

Chief Abiola attended last week's SA Development Co-ordination Conference in Zimbabwe. He is almost wholly funding the news magazine, which will have an all-Africa focus.

The management board of the publications will include top ANC and Cosatu leaders, and also representatives of international backers, which are believed to include Lonrho, Time-Warner, US News and World Report, and SA companies.

An undertaking by Mr Rowland in London 10 days ago to support the project has ensured that publication dates can be brought forward.

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'Morality does matter — even in politics'

SOUTH 30/11-3/2/93.

AT THE beginning of a new year people ask about one's wishes, hopes and fears for the coming season. If you're lucky, they ask about your dreams. I'm inclined to be lucky. But I'll stay with my wishes only this time. Dreams have to be told at some length, and hopes and fears I have too many, really, for this short space.

In fact, I'll stay with one wish only. I wish for far greater honesty, far greater integrity, that is, of political leaders in our midst: far greater than I see. It is something that matters to me, and that should matter to all of us as "the people".

Morality — not moralism, mind you — always matters. Indeed, even in politics. After all, it is only on a basis of integrity (or, at least, real measures of it) that we can hope for peace in the country, or an approximation of peace such as will make it possible for us to work meaningfully on real justice for the place.

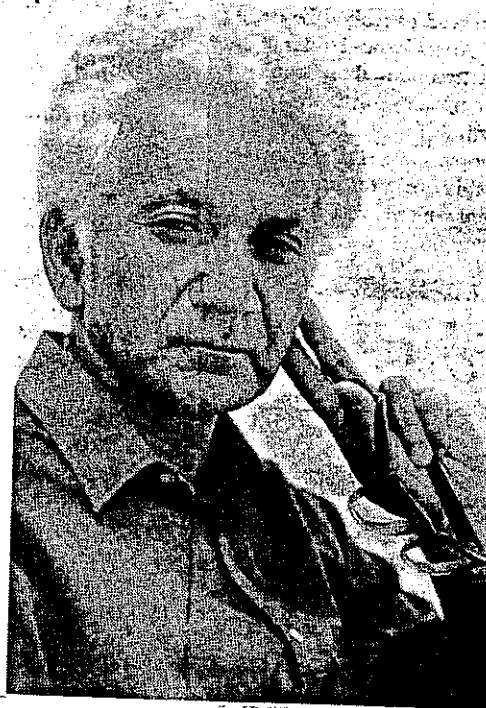
You see, I am speaking of the distrust that is growing by the day between and among all the people, or — if it must — all the peoples of the country. And, for the moment, above all, I am speaking of this growing distrust between and among "ourselves". The depth of the thing, an almost limitlessness already, has just been confirmed again by Mrs Winnie Mandela, in her bitter critique of the ANC leadership.

Says Mrs Mandela: "My criticism is directed against political elitism, and I see elitism here in its classical definition (as) 'a recourse to, or advocacy of, leadership or dominance by a select group'.

Then she says, "The lifestyle of the individuals constituting such a group is in itself irrelevant. It becomes relevant only when they take their newfound membership of the material elite to the negotiating table, and project it as the mandate of the impoverished people they claim to represent".

Whether or not this is the "classical" definition of political elitism, I wouldn't know. (It sounds awfully text-bookish to me.)

And, of course, there can be no such thing as a lifestyle which is irrelevant "in itself", yet suddenly becomes relevant in the political process. Mrs Mandela's statement, as quoted above, may be construed a contradiction in terms. The rhetoric works, maybe. The logic doesn't.



SPEAKING OUT

**Professor Adam Small
Head of the Social Work
Department,
University of the Western
Cape**

Yet somehow Mrs Mandela opens to view a sickness in the leadership. She may not exactly be the one to do it, but — anyway — there it is, for all of us to see. An ugly thing. It looks bad. It may well stink. And it is a matter of hypocrisy, of course, to the extent that we (still) incline to socialistic talk.

The question, or questions, to be asked must be straight. How is it possible for persons who have put themselves up, or whom we (surely for good reasons at some stage) have put up as leaders of "the people", to live

'Mrs Mandela opens to view a sickness in the leadership. She may not exactly be the one to do it, but — anyway — there it is, for all of us to see. An ugly thing. It looks bad. It may well stink.'

11A

like fat cats, now, after the most fanciful manners and mannerisms of — shall we say the word — capitalism. I say most fanciful; perhaps I mean most dubious; perhaps — straightforwardly — quite debauched.

There is no room, here, to elaborate things. But, in grassroots terms, I am speaking simply of "leaders of the people" in Mrs Mandela's sense of this new "material elite". (Of course, it is not so new, really; and if I may repeat, perhaps Mrs Mandela's not the one to bring us the news.)

Anyway, I am speaking of "leaders of the people" who have started to love only big Mercedeses, posh BMWs, fancy Lancias (is there such a car? I have but heard the name); "leaders of the people" who no longer care to live among, or at least around the near corner from "the people", but in luxuriously shady, previously all-white suburbia which are now "open" by the grace of God, or rather, Mr de Klerk; "leaders of the people" who apparently cannot imagine anything other than that, when travelling on their missions of liberation on our behalf, they need to do so in the best cushioned comfort, super first class, and above five-star; "leaders of the people" living it up, wining and dining, and more, far from "the madding crowd".... and so on ...

And we, "the people", what shall we do about this? Something has to be done. Something will be done, says Mrs Mandela.

Something, also, has to be said, thoughtfully and meaningfully. Something truly moral.

Top SAP man **EXCLUSIVE** owns secret gun company

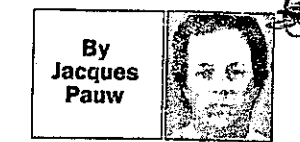
STAR 29/1/93

The top policeman investigating illegal arms in South Africa owns a secret company which sells weapons and ammunition locally and overseas.

The Star can today reveal that Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene de Kock, former commander of the SAP's notorious Vlakplaas unit and a man implicated in the assassination of various anti-apartheid activists, has been running the operation from a small holding outside Pretoria. It has been going on for two years.

It is illegal for any policeman to run private business without the permission of the Commissioner of Police. As far as The Star could establish, De Kock has no such permission.

A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria said the SAP was unable to com-



ment immediately on The Star's revelations, but would issue a statement today.

Last week The Star exposed De Kock as the leader of a secret, well-trained and well-armed private army consisting of security force members.

It is called the "Badger Unit", and its membership includes former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) members, Military Intelligence operatives and security policemen. Badger claims to be a "self-defence unit".

This week, The Star discovered that De Kock, who turns 44 today, is the sole director of Honeybadger Arms and Ammunitions, a close

corporation formed in January 1991. In papers lodged with the Registrar of Companies, De Kock says Honeybadger deals in firearms and ammunition.

On business cards carried by agents, Honeybadger says it deals in "all arms, local and international".

The Star has been told by sources close to De Kock that Honeybadger funds are used to sponsor, among other things, the activities of the Badger Unit. The unit and Honeybadger share the same emblem.

Some of Badger's members also act as agents for Honeybadger. One of them is CCB operative Ferdi Barnard, who is known to be very close to De Kock.

The Star is aware of at least three weapons com-

● To Page 3

Top policeman owns secret gun company

STAR 29/1/93

● From Page 1

panies approached by De Kock, who offered to market their military equipment internationally.

In the second half of last year De Kock and Barnard approached Barlows subsidiary eutech and offered to market weapons in an eastern European country. Reutech markets hi-tech military equipment worldwide.

A Reutech spokesman confirmed yesterday that marketing director Vernon Davis had been visited by De Kock and Barnard. He said they claimed they had contacts in Africa and the east European country through which they could sell military equipment.

The spokesman declined to mention the name of the European country or the equipment they had offered to sell.

He said that after listening to Barnard and De Kock, Reutech went to the "authorities" and inquired about selling arms in the eastern European country. Reutech was told not to proceed with any further negotiations. It did not have any further dealings with De Kock and Barnard.

Honeybadger is run from a Waterkloof agricultural smallholding outside Pretoria, although the company is registered in Steenbras Avenue, Sinoville, Pretoria. The Badger Unit is said to use the smallholding as a meeting place.

The Star is aware of various international business trips undertaken by De Kock over the past two years. He travels under the name of "De Wet" and has a false passport issued in the same name.

The Star was told that on a business trip to London in

October 1991 he had inquired about resettlement in the UK and opened a bank account.

De Kock, who became commander of the counter-insurgency force at Vlakplaas in 1983, has the nickname "Brille" (spectacles) and "Prime Evil" in security force circles.

After the Vlakplaas unit was exposed in 1989 as a covert "hit squad", it was transformed from a counter-insurgency to an investigations unit for the Crime Intelligence Service.

It has been reported that to officers at Vlakplaas, among them De Kock, were going to be axed next month as part of Pretoria's ongoing purge of the security forces.

De Kock has allegedly been axed for "not being in tune with recent reforms in the SAP". He has told his closest confidants that he has reached the end of the road in the SAP and is contemplating moving to the UK.

The Star is in possession of 12 names of members of the Badger Unit, but understands the unit has at least 17 members. At least seven of them were until recently employed by the Directorate of Cover Collection, the secret unit at the centre of President de Klerk's purge of the security forces.

Members, beside De Kock and Barnard, include former CCB regional manager Stas Burger; former CCB co-ordinator Chappie Maree; former Military Intelligence operative Leon Flores, Anton Nieuwoud, Geoff Price and Eugene Rile; and several former Vlakplaas policemen still in the force.

The Star was told that Burger has access to arms caches which include AK-47 rifles, explosives and limpet mines.

Hani stokes red hot fervour

CP Press 28/12/93
SACP secretary-general Chris Hani usually appreciates enthusiasm for his speeches.

But he obviously got his audience too steamed up for his own comfort at the University of Fort Hare this week. (U) (S)

Excited by the toyi-toyi which bade farewell to Hani as he left the campus, a student apparently fired two shots into the night sky - sending everyone scurrying for cover.

Suspecting an attempt on his life, Hani took no chances as he dashed off campus, quickly changing cars as he made a dramatic getaway.

A SACP statement later this week confirmed the incident, saying: "Someone in a moment of excitement . . . fired shots into the air."

The organisation said the incident was not an attempt on Hani's life.

■ Reports by CP Reporters

...The matter was adjourned to Monday.

CIPRESS
28/21 93 (11A)

We can stop Apla - PAC

THE PAC is ready to announce the immediate suspension of the armed struggle when it meets with senior government officials in Gaborone, Botswana, tomorrow.

This is on condition that the Pretoria delegation agrees to the PAC's proposal on the mutual cessation of hostilities.

This was announced by PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke on the eve of their departure for the Botswana capital.

Agreement on this issue would clear the way for the PAC to take part in the multiparty planning conference which takes place at

the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on Friday.

The armed struggle and violence will top the agenda of the one-day meeting which will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe.

Seroke said there was a likelihood of reaching agreement with the government on crucial issues, though the composition of the Pretoria delegation did not inspire too much confidence.

"We expect serious verbal combat with the government's delegation. Their delegation is made up of well known hardliners like Kriel

(Minister of Law and Order), Coetsee (Minister of Defence and Justice), members of NIS (National Intelligence Service) and army and police generals."

Seroke maintains that once agreement is reached on the cessation of hostilities, Apla, which takes its orders from the PAC leadership, would be told to stop any military activities. "They would abide by what we tell them."

Other issues that will be discussed are preparatory talks for full-blown multiparty negotiations; foreign involvement in the negotiations and a new negotiating forum.

Stop backing Unita, ANC tells govt

Press 28/12/93

THE ANC is to hold a series of lunchtime placard demonstrations calling on the government to recognise the results of last year's Angolan elections "and to stop supporting Unita".

"The focus will be on the SADF because of its continuing support for Unita," the ANC said yesterday. (U) (S)

The Department of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly denied claims that SA is involved in the renewed civil war in Angola.

The Bophuthatswana government will also face protests, the ANC said.



The myths of revolution still poison our minds ^(11A)

S/Times 28/2/93.

THE ANC, surveying a shattered country, is trying to unhook itself from the albatross of sanctions, and is pleading with its destructive overseas allies to turn their attention to the needs of reconstruction. From the higher echelons of the trade-union movement, too, comes the message: it's time to rebuild.

Unhappily, it's not that easy. When Nelson Mandela tells his followers to throw their weapons into the sea, nothing happens. "Ungovernability" has become a way of life; the methods of violent revolution, of "armed struggle", are embedded in our culture, and in the hearts of people. The AK-47 and the necklace have become the everyday working tools of barbarians and street thugs.

It's not just a matter of calling off sanctions or going round the world with a begging bowl.

That the nation is deprived is no longer in question. We murder each other at 10 times the rate of the violence-prone Americans whom so many of our people affect to despise; louts command the streets at night, and striplings rape women old enough to be their grandmothers. Theatres are dying for want of customers, and the parks are dangerous wildernesses.

At another level, corruption has seeped so deeply into the national soul that Cabinet Ministers see nothing much wrong with taking from the taxpayer exorbitant recompense for living in their own houses, while millions of their people huddle in shacks and some live in holes in the ground.

All this was not only foreseeable; it was foreseen. Most early opponents of apartheid warned that a system based on race prejudice must end in moral collapse. On that point there was wide agreement.

Fewer, however, agreed on another point, equally valid: that revolutions consume their children, that violent transitions breed more violence and that it is the work of generations to rebuild a shattered economy. When the "armed struggle" was launched on the specious pretext that no other route of resistance remained open, liberals

warned that revolutionary strategy would exact a terrible price.

And so it has turned out.

Not that the "armed struggle" turned out to be much of a show: a few bombs, spells of terror — mostly in the townships — random necklacing, occasional assassinations. Umkhonto we Sizwe, whatever its merits may have been, was hardly Ho Chi Minh's army; it remained always a ragtag, undisciplined mob that swam among the people not as mere fish but as piranhas. Where Mao's revolutionaries observed elaborate respect for the people, MK's cadres preferred to force detergent down the throats of aged shoppers.

Militarily, MK was a laugh.

What did bring down apartheid was, as liberals had always predicted, the demographic and economic forces which apartheid was intended to contain. The first great breakthrough, the emergence of an independent labour movement, was the consequence not of armed struggle and sanctions but simply of economic growth and the transfer of industrial skills to black people.

BLACK workers liberated themselves simply by organising themselves. Black migrants destroyed the pass laws by the simple act of coming to town. Job reservation collapsed because workers and employers colluded to evade the law. Black tenants destroyed the Group Areas Act by renting homes.

Throughout this process, the ANC and the National Party fed off each other, always making matters worse than they needed to be: apartheid evoked rebellion, rebellion evoked banning, banning evoked armed struggle, armed struggle evoked total strategy, total strategy evoked sanctions, and sanctions evoked secrecy and corruption.

Alan Paton rejected sanctions on the ground that he could not starve peasants for the sake of liberation; Helen Suzman rejected sanctions because she was not prepared to lay the country to waste in order to free it, as an American officer once burnt down a Vietnamese village in order to "save" it. The

ANC, however, had no doubt: the end justified any means.

We have been very lucky to escape the full consequences of revolutionary strategy. We were rescued from the wasteland by the stroke of fortune that removed President Botha from office; as Van Zyl Slabbert has remarked, that man would have gone to the bitter end with a smile on his lips. President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela turned us away from that dreadful fate when they both abandoned militaristic strategies for the old liberal prescription of negotiation and compromise.

NOW we must rebuild. It will not be easy. The minds of the young have been poisoned. On all sides dissent is treated as treason, and it is no accident that Moses Mayekiso and his merry men are warning — in blatantly racist terms — that they will not permit "white" political parties to campaign in the ungoverned townships.

The task that awaits the first ANC government is enormous, but physical reconstruction will be the easiest part of it. More difficult will be to purge the minds of a generation of South Africans of their obsession with the mythology of violence. To do that the ANC leadership will have to confess that the whole sick mythology of redemptive violence, whether it is called "armed struggle" or "people's revolution", is the great lie of our time.

Of course the Nationalists should confess the wickedness of apartheid, but it hardly matters if they don't — they are the detritus of our history. Our future depends, however, on the willingness of the ANC to make a similar confession of its own destructive strategies, of its own wickedness in resorting to violence, and sanctions, and the immoral doctrine that the end justifies the means.

So far, all I hear is that most pitiful of all self-justifications: it's not our fault; *they* made us do it. That, too, is a moral lacuna.

KEN OWEN

Let's all cross the real Rubicon

SOUTH 27/2 - 3/3/93

NOW is the time to push hard for democratic and non-racial elections. This is an urgent mission for all peace-loving South Africans and not only politicians. A government democratically elected by all is the only hope for peace and stability. Now is the time for our people to take their destiny in their own hands and to refuse to be dictated to by those politicians who want to hold the country to ransom because of their petty and narrow political agendas.

The optimism that momentous changes are going to take place in 1993 is not misplaced. We all share this optimism. But experience has taught us that optimism turned into euphoria is not just unwise but reckless.

The ANC has declared 1993 the year of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly. This is a bold declaration and a sign of confidence about the future, but it is also a declaration of the impatience of our people and movement over the delay in resolving the political conflict speedily.

An agreement on a date for elections for a constitution-making body will reinforce this spirit of optimism and lower the levels of violence and tension in the country. Further delay will definitely lead to a social explosion that will reduce all other uprisings to nothing. This is not a threat. It is an appreciation of the stark reality that faces every right-thinking South African. In the interest of all the peoples of this country, all political leaders are being called upon by history to realise that now is the time to cross the real Rubicon.

A fundamental mistake that South Africans have committed is to give to politicians and political organisations the responsibility of determining the future of this country. Politicians alone do not have the capacity to bring solutions to all the social ills of our land. In fact, left on their own they will make, and are already making, a mess of things.

It is therefore incumbent on all responsible leaders across the social spectrum to grab political leaders by the scruffs of their necks and to drag them screaming into a speedy and peaceful resolution of our country's conflict. The power of non-governmental organs of civil society must be deployed properly and be felt by our people. It is the creative combination of political and civil society initiatives that will deliver genuine and lasting peace and democracy.



**SPEAKING
OUT**

Tony Yengeni
Regional Secretary of the
ANC

We in the ANC feel the pressure of delaying the negotiation process more than any other political grouping because our constituency is large, angry, and impatient. Our people, especially in the African and coloured townships and squatter areas, are demanding, and rightly so, relief from the poverty, squalor and violence they have been subjected to for so long. What else must happen that has not happened before we can have real progress, peace and prosperity in South Africa?

We are impatient about the delay in the negotiation process also because we are confident that we will win the next election with a convincing majority. This humble confidence is not misplaced. In fact the majority of independent opinion polls support this view. This does not give anyone within our ranks the right to neglect the mammoth task of building

our election machinery and preparing our people for a democratic election.

This is even more relevant for the ANC in the Western Cape because the NP propaganda machinery has created the perception that the coloured community will vote NP. This false perception is meant to confuse and demoralise our activists and supporters and get them to give up the coloured community vote. We do not discriminate between votes. As far as we are concerned, all votes are equal. Whether they are from the white, coloured or African community they are of equal value and we want them all.

Another angle of this propaganda is the old racist notion of divide and rule. The coloured community is pitted against the African people on the basis of the lie that the "African majority" are going to dominate the other minorities through an ANC government. This cheap strategy of exacerbating the fears of minorities and putting them in opposition to the "African majority" is extremely dangerous and short-sighted.

In order to achieve the noble goal of a united and prosperous South Africa, we will desperately need harmony and unity between all peoples of this country. Most South Africans can and must become part of the democratic majority.

Over and above the involvement of both political and civil society organisations in finding solutions to our problems is the urgent need for a deeper involvement of the international community to persuade all leaders of the need for a more speedy movement to a non-racial democracy.

We take this stand because this country belongs to all of us, black and white, and all its people have to determine its destiny. No one else is going to do it for us. Others can only help us.

The best way of ensuring progress is to hold democratic elections soon so that democratically elected leaders from all parties can draft a new constitution to legitimise the transitional process. For the first time in our history, the people would have decided who would represent them in parliament.

Non-racial and democratic elections will not solve all our problems. However, they are an important step towards addressing our political and socio-economic problems. Yet the decision to have elections by a certain date is not about to fall from the skies, it has to be fought for by every South African.

Apla chief to meet ministers

S/Times 28/2/73. (11A) 8/2/73

MINISTER of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer will meet Apla chief commander Sabelo Victor Phama tomorrow.

Mr Phama, who is also PAC secretary for defence, will travel from his exile headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam with two of his aides as part of the PAC/government bilateral talks in Gaborone under the chairmanship of a Botswana government minister.

The names of Mr Phama's aides have not been disclosed.

Tomorrow's bilateral talks were initiated by the South African government, but the venue and chairman were dictated by PAC/Apla.

This is because many of PAC's Apla comrades are still persona non grata in South Africa as PAC/Apla members have refused to apply for indemnity and could, therefore, engage the government in talks only outside South Africa.

It was learnt yesterday that PAC secretary-general Bennie Alexander will not be part of PAC negotiation team.

The team will comprise secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim; secretary for legal and constitutional affairs, Willie Sereti; secretary for politi-

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

cal affairs, Jaki Seroke; secretary for publicity and information, Barney Desai; and secretary for local government and civics, Molefi Litheko, a Free State attorney based in Botshabelo.

The government called off talks with the PAC in December after Apla forces struck in King William's Town and Queenstown. Five whites were killed in the King William's Town golf party massacre. Scores were injured in the two attacks.

Mr Phama has admitted Apla forces were involved in the King William's Town massacre.

ANC welcomes debate

SOUTH 27/2-3/3/93

By Quentin Wilson

11A

THE ANC this week set out to assure its members they were free to speak out, and clarified the role of its intelligence officials.

It was reacting to an article in SOUTH last week, reporting on a letter by a senior ANC activist to the organisation's leadership.

The letter criticised the questioning of an ANC member by the organisation's intelligence officers, who wanted to know about an informal discussion among coloured ANC activists.

The discussion concerned the organisation's weakness in the coloured community, and whether a separate organisation for coloureds should be set up to attract votes to an ANC-led fold.

Although debate on these issues is raging among activists, no one has been prepared to come out publicly in favour of a particular position.

Mr Lerumo Kalako, ANC vice president in the region, said the questioning incident was blown out of proportion. A response to the letter had been formulated reiterating "the ANC's commitment to open and robust debate within its ranks".

Said Kalako: "Of the two security members who supposedly questioned the activist, one was a friend who in fact had been recruited by him during underground days.

"We have met with all parties concerned and have cleared up any misunderstanding that existed.

"The truth is, the visit was in the security member's personal capacity, as a friend with a differing view and certainly not as an intelligence or security agent."

According to Kalako, all agree the visit was intended as an informal

follow-up to the debate around the ANC's "coloured question", and not as a disciplinary procedure.

"When I heard the view that a separate coloured organisation be set up, I thought it something the ANC should consider in preparing for an election.

"During this new election phase we have to carefully consider each possible approach to take. A wider range of options at our disposal will ultimately help us choose the correct path," Kalako said.

Kalako and Mr Ebrahim Rasool, ANC treasurer, agree that if the visit had been intelligence work, it would have been a major problem.

"It is certainly not part of our intelligence work to monitor the debates held by our members.

"When we were banned it was different. Intelligence work was geared to root out agent provocateurs in our ranks paid by the state to destabilise our operations.

"But now, the climate has changed and we certainly don't have anything to

hide from anybody," Kalako said.

Rasool stressed that the work of ANC intelligence now is to investigate the causes of violence and to marshal forms of mass action to ensure discipline.

Yes we agree, no we don't

South 27/2-3/3/93

SCIA 11A

IN A WEEK of fancy footwork, both ANC and NP negotiators have been trying to market their provisional package agreement on South Africa's transition.

With compromises being made on both sides, each party has done its damndest to convince its followers that major gains were made on their behalf.

The upshot has been a general fuzziness around the package, leaving the public to unravel the meaning of the conflicting rhetoric.

Soon after last week's bi-lateral meeting, Mr Fanus Schoeman, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, proclaimed that the ANC had agreed to a five-year government of national unity.

The ANC soon debunked this. The organisation maintained that five years was the maximum period agreed to and the precise time-frame was still to be worked out.

The ANC is holding on to its option of shorter interim rule.

But the most puzzling part of the package so far is the confusion around power sharing.

Does the provisional agreement point to a government based on majority rule, or does it prescribe power sharing between all parties who fare reasonably well in elections?

The provisional agreement between the ANC and the NP on the transition to democracy has everyone guessing about what was agreed. **Quentin Wilson** reports on the debate so far:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela came out strongly on this point last Saturday.

He "categorically" denied the ANC had agreed to power sharing for five years. What it had accepted was an interim government of national unity — and this was "not power sharing".

The government, which has clammed up about the package's details after the furore caused by Schoeman's slip, insists it is a power sharing arrangement.

SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin agrees with the NP.

"There has been a degree of footwork from our side as well in how we've been selling the provisional agreement, especially to our constituency.

"But in the end, it is important that we are honest with our rank and file.

"Yes, there are positive aspects. We have succeeded in forcing the NP away from their former positions of permanent power-sharing,

a rotating presidency and minority veto rights — but there are elements of power sharing," he said.

According to Cronin, this is the "danger" in the provisional agreement that has to be kept in mind.

Although details still have to be thrashed out, it seems that if the ANC wins the majority of votes, there will still be a cabinet comprising other parties as well.

"If we are to be honest, we have not got what we wanted. Even if the ANC gets 96 percent of the vote in the election — there will still be power sharing.

"The security forces are still controlled by white men and the realities around ownership of the economy are clearly not in our favour," Cronin added.

According to the provisional agreement, the process towards a national political settlement could be as follows:

- A planning conference will be held on March 5 and 6 to restart and streamline Codesa. All parties across the political spectrum have

been invited.

- Codesa meets to prepare the route for elections. A transitional executive council (TEC) is set up, comprising all parties, to govern key aspects of the country that relate to the run-up to the election.

Although the powers granted to this TEC are yet to be closely defined, it could oversee state-controlled media; security forces and election procedures.

The tri-cameral parliament would continue to function up to the election, dealing with matters outside the TEC's ambit.

- An election is held across the country either late this year or early 1994. All South Africans over the age of 18, in the bantustans as well, will participate.

- The parties will be represented in proportion to the number of votes they win. Those elected will have two tasks. The first is to rule the country (the interim government of national unity). The second is to draft a new constitution.

- The constitution to be used by this interim government is still to be decided. The NP wants a transitional constitution drawn up specifically while the ANC wants a Transition to Democracy Act to be passed by the tri-cameral parliament.

This Act would dissolve the old

parliament and allow the interim government to rule by decree.

- A new constitution is negotiated within a time span still to be negotiated. Methods of resolving deadlock are still to be decided.

- The interim government will have an executive or cabinet. All parties who secure more than a certain percentage of the vote will be represented in the cabinet proportion to their vote count.

The percentage is still to be worked out.

The ANC wants a ceiling of five percent of the vote, while the NP wants a 10 percent cut-off point.

- The majority party will choose the president.

It is still to be hammered out whether that person can choose who he/she wants in the cabinet from the pool of parties.

- After a constitution is drawn up, which could take nine months to three years depending on the various positions of the parties, the interim government carries on ruling.

- This will be the government of national unity. It will phase in the new constitution during its tenure.

- After a term of up to five years, another election is held. The government elected then will rule on the basis of the new constitution.

focus on Sobukwe

Savetan 26/2/93

11A

HOW DOES THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS of Azania differ from the African National Congress and who, really, are the Africanists?

It will be 16 years tomorrow since the death of the founder-president of the PAC, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, and indeed, as many of his followers — and detractors — remember in their own different ways, questions are still being asked of the PAC and the thinking behind it.

In January 1959 Sobukwe answered some burning questions in a newspaper interview reproduced in a PAC book, *Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe*.

This is an excerpt:

Question: Who are the Africanists?

Sobukwe: A simple answer would be that they are the members of the Africanist movement.

But if one wishes to go deeper into the question, one would say they are those Africans who believe that African nationalism is the only liberatory outlook that can bind together the African masses by providing them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe and thus mould them into a militant disciplined fighting force.

Q: How long has your movement been in existence?

Sobukwe: The germ of the movement was there before the advent of the Europeans.

When Moshoeshoe brought together the scattered remnants of various African tribes and moulded them into a patriotic Sotho tribe, he was engaged in nation-building.

Similarly, Shaka's wars whereby he sought to establish a single authority in place of many tribal authorities of Natal, were, we say, steps in the direction of nation-building.

In the Cape the House of Gcaleka was recognised as paramount authority. There is no doubt that the pressure of social and economic conditions would in time have given rise to the union of these territories.

As a political organisation, however, we trace our origin to 1912 — the year the African National Congress was born — with 1944 the year our movement was given that purposiveness which helps to give clear direction and power to a mass struggle.

Q: What are your differences with the ANC?

Sobukwe: First of all we differ radically in our conception of the struggle. We firmly hold that we are oppressed as a subject nation — the African nation. To us, therefore, the struggle is a national struggle. We are, according to them, oppressed as workers, both white and black.

But it is significant that they make no attempt whatsoever to organise white workers. Their white allies are all of them bourgeois!

Secondly, we differ in our attitude to "co-operation" with other national groups. Perhaps it might be better to say we differ in our under-

There is a basic difference between the PAC and the ANC in their view of the liberation struggle as well as in their attitudes to 'co-operation with other national groups'. **Themba Molefe** recalls Robert Sobukwe's explanations:



Robert Sobukwe ... "African nationalism is the only liberatory outlook".

standing of the term "co-operation".

There can be no co-operation between oppressor and oppressed, dominating and dominated. That is collaboration not co-operation. And we cannot collaborate with our oppression!

The ANC leadership, on the other hand, would seem to regard collaboration and co-operation as synonymous. They seem to believe that all that is required for people to be "equal" is that they should declare they are equals, and lo! the trick is done.

At the present moment the ANC leadership regards anybody who is against the racist government (for whatever reasons) as allies.

This latter attitude is the result of a mentality that continues to speak of South Africa as though it were an island, completely cut off from the continent and therefore able to fashion its own policies and programmes, unrelated to and unaffected by those of the other African states.

We, however, stand for the complete overthrow of white domination...

Q: What is your answer to the accusation that you are anti-white?

Sobukwe: ...From past history, not only of this country, we know that a group in a privileged position never voluntarily relinquished that position...

Q: But are you anti-white or not?

Sobukwe: What is meant by anti-whiteism? Is it not an emotional term without precise signification? Let me put it this way: In every struggle, whether national or class, the masses do not fight an abstraction. They do not hate oppression or capitalism. They concretise these and hate the oppressor, be he the Governor-General or colonial power, landlord or the factory owner, or in South Africa, the white man.

But they hate these groups because they associate them with oppression. Remove the association and you remove the hatred. In South Africa, then, once white domination has been overthrown and the white man is no longer "white boss" but is an individual member of the society, there will be no reason to hate him and he will not be hated even by the masses.

We are not anti-white therefore. We do not hate the European because he is white. We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it.

Q: Do you regard all whites as oppressors?

Sobukwe: We regard them all as shareholders in the South Africa Oppressors Company (Pty) Ltd. There are whites, of course, who are intellectually converted to our cause, but because of their position materially, they cannot fully identify themselves with the struggle of African people. They want safeguards and checkpoints all along the way, with the result that the struggle of the people is blunted, stultified and crushed.

Q: Do you include white leftists in your indictment?

Sobukwe: There are none. And there has never been any in South Africa — white or black. All we have are quacks. In fact, like Christianity, communism has been extremely unfortunate in its choice of representatives.

FM 26/2/93

When Mandela goes 11A

Could anyone else bind the majority to a settlement?



In 1947, a professor of history at the University of the Witwatersrand, Arthur Keppel-Jones, wrote a prophetic book called *When Smuts Goes*. With uncanny accuracy, Keppel-Jones's predictions included

the election to power of a hardline racist Afrikaner party; the declaration of a republic; and the isolation of SA from the world community. Though this was greeted with disbelief at the time, much of it came to pass.

The choice of title was significant. Field Marshal Jan Smuts had bestrode SA politics for half a century; it was impossible even for his enemies to imagine him not being around. He represented stability, continuity, vision.

There is something of this in the political image of ANC president Nelson Mandela, with his experience as the world's most famous political prisoner and the resultant status of saint and martyr. Everyone assumes that when a new democratic government takes office, Mandela will be at its head; State President F W de Klerk has said he would be prepared to serve under him.

The assumption may be reasonable, but it should not be automatic. There have been intimations of mortality. Mandela (74) has been told by his doctors to rest; he is apparently suffering from exhaustion. Since his release from prison in 1990, he has been in hospital for minor surgery. He sets himself a punishing schedule.

None of this constitutes evidence that Mandela will not be in politics for years to come; that he will not be another Adenauer, Reagan or Churchill. But we have been reminded that, in the nature of things, the country cannot take his health for granted.

It is an irony of our politics that the man once dreaded by the National Party government is now the one whose influence it is most anxious to preserve. A senior Nat source has revealed to the *FM* that government is "extremely concerned about Mandela's health."

One of the Nat nightmares is that Man-

delo will depart from politics before a government of national unity or a new constitution is in place. The Nat analysis is that the ANC would then split almost immediately and the resultant confusion would be fatal for negotiations on the transition to democracy.

Alternatively, the ANC would remain in one piece, but with Mandela replaced by a hardliner who might revert to mass action aimed at the seizure of power — with the same destructive effect on negotiations.

This is why government wants the progress towards interim rule and a new constitution to take place as fast as possible. It believes — probably rightly — that Mandela is the main force which keeps the ANC together and moving forward. Without him, the many internal stresses over strategy and policy would burst into the open, with incalculable effects. The economy, in particular, could not afford the delays which would inevitably result.

There is also doubt that any other ANC leader would have the stature and personality to deliver the majority constituency, when the time comes to agree on — and abide by — a new constitution.

And when the ANC is the dominant party in a new government, it will be required to make unpopular decisions as a result of hard economic and social realities. Government spending will have to be kept under

control and there will have to be a crackdown on violence. It is not yet clear whether Mandela will have the appetite and the will to make such decisions — but it is equally clear that anyone else would run a much greater risk of losing electoral support to the radical Left.

Like Smuts in his time, Mandela is one of the few South Africans — one of the few

Africans, for that matter — whose name is truly world-famous. Though some of the magic that trailed him after his release has faded, he still has the aura of a statesman. Like Smuts, he will always be welcome in

foreign capitals; through his personal gifts he is capable of making his country more prominent than its economy or geographic position would seem to warrant.

Historians may well see other parallels between Smuts and Mandela. Smuts went beyond the status of politician to that of symbol; when he departed, there was a sense of shocked emotional loss among his supporters. He was old and venerable and did not brook opposi-

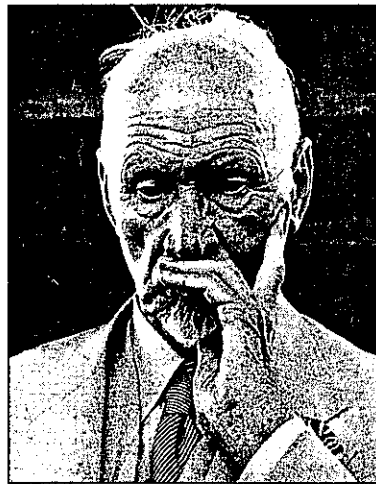
tion. Though his opponents might have hated him, they were forced to concede respect. He gave the impression of being in politics for something higher than personal ambition. He was devoted to reconciliation between former enemies as an end in itself.

Of course, there are also important differences: Smuts, more than any other modern statesman apart from Churchill, was tried in the practice of authority and rule; Mandela spent three decades in prison and has never been tested in an office of State. But Smuts was never more than a sectional leader, whereas Mandela could become the first national leader in the country's history.

We do not yet know whether Mandela is capable of being as ruthless as Smuts was. When the time comes it will be a quality at least as important as magnanimity. Meanwhile, we must assume that his survival in politics represents our best hope.

If Mandela were to go before an election for a government of national unity, who would succeed him as ANC leader? Official spokesmen like Carl Niehaus refuse to discuss the issue of a successor to Mandela. Niehaus says it would be unfair to expect members of the National Executive Committee to speculate — and none will.

The constitution of the ANC states: "In the absence of the President-General or the Deputy President, the Secretary-General shall assume the functions of the President." The deputy president, Walter Sisulu, is in relatively good health, but is nearly 80. He might be expected to take the job in an



SMUTS



MANDELA

* continue

acting capacity until someone else is elected by a National Conference of the ANC.

Leadership talent at the top of the ANC is pretty thin — and anyone with aspirations to the top job has to be careful not to appear too keen.

Despite this, three names crop up repeatedly when a successor to Mandela is discussed: Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani. Outsiders mentioned are Jacob Zuma, a homely politician in the Louis Botha mould, and Pallo Jordan.

Ramaphosa (40) was elected by ANC members to the powerful secretary-general position. An experienced negotiator from his days with the National Union of Mineworkers, he is regarded as tough and pragmatic. Mining bosses might not have felt affection for him, but they respected his integrity and found that he honoured agreements. If a new ANC leader had to be elected tomorrow, Ramaphosa would be the clear favourite for the job.

Ramaphosa is well placed and in touch. He has a constituency, based in Cosatu and the mining unions as well as in the SACP — the communists were important in supporting his candidacy for the secretary-general's job at the last national conference (in Durban in July 1991). He also has a formal education (law degree) and has been at the centre of constitutional negotiations with government.

Thabo Mbeki (51) is renowned as a charmer of sceptical businessmen and suspicious Afrikaners. He has a remarkable capacity to explain the contradictions in ANC policy in a way which leaves his audience beaming and reassured. He was the ANC's heir-apparent until the 1990 unbannings and the infusion of the local UDF component. For many of the exile years he was in effect Oliver Tambo's right-hand man. As head of the international affairs department, Mbeki works on a somewhat different level to Ramaphosa in the ANC. Some have said he lacks the common touch; this may, however, be largely the view of his detractors.

Both Mbeki and Ramaphosa would probably be able to weld together contending factions — and offer a safe pair of hands.

Chris Hani (51) actually gave up a top job in the ANC in order to lead the SA Communist Party. He is the source of many white nightmares, partly because of his socialist rhetoric and partly because of his militant



HANI



MBEKI

past as a key Umkhonto we Sizwe leader.

National Party strategists tip Hani to succeed Mandela, because they believe he is the only black politician, apart from Mandela, who exercises a truly national appeal. This perception is backed up by the fact that Hani topped the ANC National Conference elections to the NEC (but only just ahead of Mbeki). Hani is also renowned for his effectiveness on the soap-box all over the country.

Yet, paradoxically, the Nats are "not too worried about Hani," according to one top source. They feel he is an opportunist rather than an ideologue, which would make it possible to work with him. Consistent with this analysis is the fact that Hani, unlike some of his outraged communist colleagues, has publicly lent support to the idea of a government of national

unity. However, Hani might not be available to lead the ANC, as he apparently sees his main mission in leading the SACP as the standard-bearer of the poor.

Despite the undoubted tensions in the ANC, there may be no viable alternative, especially with an election looming — even if Mandela goes soon. Even the SACP claims that it will remain a "loyal and disciplined" part of the ANC alliance, at least until after the first election and the establishment of a democratic government — after which it dreams of

hiving off to prosecute the "second stage" (socialism) of its programme.

If Mandela were to retire after being installed as head of a government of national unity, the succession picture might look rather different. The ANC leader would then also be the national leader — and the ANC would probably be locked into the new system.

An expert on the ANC, Tom Lodge of Wits University, suggests that, for all his "courage, competence and negotiating skills," Ramaphosa would not be a natural State President; nor, one might add, would Hani. The obvious choice would then be Mbeki.

It could be said that Hani might have the greatest chance of taking over the ANC before the election — but the slimmest chance of becoming head of State in succession to Mandela.

There is another nightmarish alternative when Mandela goes — that Winnie Mandela, estranged from her husband and appealing against a conviction for murder, will be able to gather a groundswell of emotional support in the ANC if she is the only Mandela left in politics. This would be the Evita Peron option: unlikely, perhaps, but not to be dismissed.

The question of succession to Mandela could have a vital practical impact. As things stand at present, it appears that the composition of a government of national unity will not be written into any transitional agreement. This means that, after an election, the appointment of non-ANC members to the

transitional government will be at the pleasure of the ANC leader. In short, it looks as if there will be a gentleman's agreement that De Klerk and some of his senior colleagues can expect to serve in an ANC-dominated government.

What happens if the leading gentleman who made the agreement is no longer around to honour it? Will his successor feel bound to do so, particularly if he can claim, after an election, that "the people" want a purely ANC government?

No doubt the Nats have considered such questions — but it is not clear whether the Nats also realise that constitutions should not be built on personalities. When it comes to transitional arrangements and new constitutions, we need to demand a firmer foundation than a gentleman's agreement. ■



RAMAPHOSA



ZUMA



MANDELA

ANC accused of 'Stalinism'

11A
NT 25/11/93

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Disturbing allegations of harassment, assault and death at the hands of the ANC were exposed here yesterday in the Sunday Times, which asked: "Is the ANC terrorising its members as it approaches power?"

In a stinging report on the ANC, the influential newspaper accused the organisation of employing "Stalinist tactics" to maintain its support base — in the face of growing criticism over a political deal with the National Party.

"Once harassed and tortured by apartheid's thuggish security forces, ordinary South Africans are now being policed by a new group of bully-boys, the 'black Boers' of the ANC," the report said.

A detailed investigation by the Sunday Times found "a large number" of cases where death threats had been used by ANC comrades. In many townships, the report said, people were at the mercy of comrades if they did not want to join the organisation or follow orders.

One mother had been forced to flee her home after being assaulted for refusing to join, and an-

Battle for votes begins

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PWV region of the ANC said yesterday it would go all-out to persuade people to vote for it in the coming elections.

Addressing a news conference here, secretary-general Mr Paul Mashatile said his organisation would embark on a three-phase campaign aimed at wooing the estimated five million voters in the region.

The programme, to begin today, was

adopted at the weekend at a general council meeting.

The first phase will focus on consolidating ANC structures and rebuilding street and block committees.

In the second phase, beginning in mid-March, a recruitment drive and campaign to "intensify voter education" will be launched.

The third phase, scheduled for the end of May, will be characterised by house meetings, public debates and visits to voters by the organisation's leaders.

other squatter explained how she had been ordered to destroy her small garden because it was too attractive and would give the wrong impression to a visiting dignitary.

She had eventually left the area but was still afraid "they will come back".

Many victims had been unwilling to talk about their experiences for fear of retribution, even to a British newspaper, their Johannesburg correspondent said.

Those who spoke had told similar stories: A priest who had refused to hand out ANC pamphlets in church lived in fear of his life. An ex-ANC official who wanted to leave the organisation to preach had been threatened with death.

The half-page report acknowledged that though the ANC was not alone in using intimidation, it was a government-in-waiting and "its callous treatment of its supporters is regarded by many as a frightening portent of things to come".

A factory worker interviewed said he knew of ANC "hit squads" acting on orders from ANC headquarters.

Questioned by the Sunday Times about the alleged intimidation, an ANC official blamed undisciplined members or thugs using the name of the ANC.

As election day neared, many people feared the ANC would increase its pressure on ordinary members, the report said.

Silk sheets, quick fixes and the power of the people

SI Times 24/1/93.

11A

WINNIE MANDELA, now stripped of all office in the ANC, accuses the organisation's leaders of being out of touch with the poor people and in the pockets of the National Party

A CONCERTED attempt has been made by some members of the media, and by some members of the ANC national executive, to trivialise or sidestep the criticisms levelled by me at the organisation during the

backfire massively on the country as a whole. The disillusionment that will follow when the masses awakened to the fact that they have not been included in the new freedom and in the new wealth enjoyed by their leaders will have worse im-

ment committee of the recommend to the m Dr Bacher will the volved in the game." gauge the views of pec cricket. But it is impor tremendous benefi experimental season "It has been very m with maximum impac tional cricket to South launch the return of it said it had been impor the fixtures were flav

Teams knocked out of the the national side. of the competition held under the supervision of the competition auditors, Messrs The results of the draw for the above TO WIN COMPETITION 1820 FOUNDATION - DRIVE

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Colin Bryden

Brains trust to ex

Cricket

THU, Northern Transvaal and could form a form Western Province have re- sorted to rugby's time-hon- andem with Wahi Bar loose forward combna and Gary Teichman. by appealing to the aspira-



Mandela visits a shack settlement. The masses, she says, are being sacrificed by elitist leaders

STAR 24/2/93. (11F)

ANC begins grassroots test for deal

STAR 24/2/93.

THE past two weeks have been overshadowed by a debate on whether a deal has been struck between the ANC and the Government on a government elected after the first all-in general elections.

Both have vigorously denied an agreement, but said greater convergence has emerged between the two main negotiating partners on the transition period.

The Government and ANC are discussing a preliminary agreement on an interim government of national unity (GNU) to govern from the first election until the adoption of a new constitution.

However, a final decision on a GNU will be taken only at the new multiparty negotiating forum.

But, political observers say, the acid test for the preliminary agreement will be the ability of the National Party and the ANC to win their members' support for the proposed package.

The ANC has begun the process of informing its members of the agreement, which initially evoked strong opposition from the Natal Midlands region and lesser grumblings from senior ANC officials.

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) last week endorsed a new package for the transition committing the organisation to a comprehensive programme of reconstruction running parallel to the transition process.

One of the crucial tasks facing the ANC is dispelling any hint of a "sell-out" deal having been struck with the Government involving permanent power-sharing undermining full majority rule.

The ANC, in a newsletter, clearly informs its members that it has rejected the Government's proposal for power-sharing for a fixed or permanent period.



Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH reports on an African National Congress document drawn up to explain to its rank-and-file members the thinking behind its proposed new package for the transition to democracy.

It insists that a GNU "must not stand in contradiction to the principle of majority rule".

According to the ANC, the Government's power-sharing proposals will give minority parties a veto over the party that gets the majority of votes in the first democratic general elections.

The ANC says its proposal for a GNU "does not seek to share power but to harness it for the purpose of rebuilding and reconstructing our society".

Its scenario proposes that the composition of the GNU reflects "voter preferences and nothing else".

The ANC points out several mechanisms in the package it will present at the negotiating forum which precludes any entrenchment of veto powers for minority parties in the new government.

Both the GNU — which will rule from the first election until the completion of the constitution — and the government of national unity and reconstruction — which rules from the completion of the constitution until the second elections — should have a single president

elected by the constituent assembly.

Each party will be represented in the Cabinet in proportion to the number of seats it has won in the constituent assembly.

The president should have executive powers but, on certain specified issues, decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority in the Cabinet.

The ANC has rejected proposals for a rotating president, Cabinet decisions being taken by consensus and entrenched power-sharing.

On the controversial issue of regional government, the NEC said decisions about the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be taken by the constituent assembly.

Should a multiparty negotiating forum appoint a "commission of regions", its main task would be to determine regions for the elections, but its recommendations would be made to the constituent assembly.

The ANC said its transition package was an attempt to develop national unity and prevent a counter-revolution against democracy. □

ANC scenario for transition to democracy

Negotiation Planning Conference
attended by all parties to plan resumption of CODESA



Transitional Executive Council (TEC)
Main task is to ensure levelling of political playing field and free and fair elections

Independent Elections Commission
to organise and supervise elections

Independent Media Commission
to ensure neutrality of state controlled media

Elections

Constituent Assembly Composition
1/2 (half) from national lists
1/2 (half) from regional lists

- * Decisions by 2/3 majority
- * Drafts and adopts new constitution
- * the CA has full authority to draft constitution, including Bill of Rights and decide powers/functions/boundaries of regions

Interim Government of National Unity

- Composition**
- * President elected by a simple majority of CA
 - * Parties with more than 5% of seats in CA represented proportionally in cabinet
 - * In general, executive authority is exercised by the President
 - * For specified matters, President requires approval of at least 2/3 of cabinet

Adoption of New Constitution

CA continues as PARLIAMENT

Interim government continues as Government of National Unity & Reconstruction

- * it phases in new constitution
- * prioritises a programme of reconstruction and transformation of state institutions

Elections

- to be held not later than five years after first election for the Constituent Assembly.
At this point Government of National Unity is replaced by majority government in terms of the new constitution

her first public appearance since being sidelined by the ANC, Winnie Mandela delivered a controversial speech at the funeral of ANC stalwart Helen Joseph. This is the full text of her speech.

COMRADES, friends and other distinguished guests.

A lot has already been said about the woman lying there. Although the entire nation has obviously lost one of the most brilliant daughters of this country, my family has lost a friend, a comrade, a mother and a shoulder to cry on.

I will not delve too much into the past achievements and sacrifices of Helen Joseph nor will I give a blow-by-blow account of the persecution perpetrated upon her by the Pretoria regime for decades. Nor will I be able to relate to you all the special moments we shared with Ma-Helen, the wise words of advice and her unwavering loyalty and comradeship through the darkest hours in our lives.

I will not talk much about those things because I know very well that Helen Joseph would never have wanted a situation where her life (or even her death) was spoken of with the focus placed on her as an individual. In any case, even those who loved her and wished she was eternal have to accept, even with a sour taste in the mouth, that her time to go had come.

To say otherwise would be to fail to appreciate that God had graced Helen with the gift of a long life, a life longer than most of us gathered here will be able to reach. What must not be for-

The speech that caused all the trouble

gotten is that the earthly gods of the National Party took it upon themselves to make that long life one full of pain, full of anguish, full of solitude and misery.

Helen would have preferred that her life and death be viewed in a context of furthering the cause for which she lived. Many people here would be forgiven these days if they had forgotten what the original cause for which Helen and other heroes of our struggle lived, and for which many died. But surely even a fool may suspect correctly that these sacrifices were not paid in order to reach some so-called power-sharing arrangement between the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors.

Joseph Mdluli, Steven Biko, Neil Aggett, Solomon Mahlangu, David Webster, Matthew Goniwe and countless others did not pay the supreme price in order that our freedom be allowed to disappear into the sunset of political oblivion. They died instead in order to usher in a new dawn of real freedom, justice and a lasting peace for our people. That was the cause for which Helen Joseph was prepared to sacrifice her entire adult life. At the rate at which things are going it is very doubtful whether Helen Joseph would have ever seen the realisation of a genuine democracy even if she had lived to be a 100 years old. Yet she must have died in the full knowledge that the people of South Africa need nothing less than that.

In this context death may have favoured Helen by sparing her from the looming disaster in this country which will result from the distortion of a noble goal in favour of a shortcut route to parliament by a handful of individuals.

I wish to invite all of you to view the life of Helen Joseph as a book from which we must all learn and maybe avert the disaster I have referred to.

To me her life represents a book with many chapters and containing a number of important lessons for all. It is a book on courage, on commitment, on perseverance, on determination. It is a book on sacrifice, a book on non-racialism, on women in politics - a book of freedom, real freedom. A book on leadership.

I will deal with only a few areas in which the book that Helen's life was should be placed in our mental libraries.

On non-racialism: Helen practised and not merely preached non-racialism. She defied all the stereotypes which were painted by some black political chauvinists, of people of other races who identified themselves with the struggle to liberate primarily the African masses from the bondage of apartheid. She was never pretentious. She was fully aware that, in a narrow sense, she came from the privileged group in South Africa but she did not allow this fact to intimidate others or to intimidate her and make her apologetic to her fellow comrades if she felt things



HEYDAY... Winnie Mandela addresses a militant meeting in Alexandra township some years ago.

were not being done correctly. Indeed, it was only at face value that anyone could say Helen was a member of a privileged group - since the racist government had chosen to privilege her with bannings, house arrests and other forms of mental torture.

Although, on the positive side, Helen's active political career saw the adoption of the Freedom Charter - that beacon of non-racialism - she also saw the breakaway by the PAC, citing one reason as the role of so-called white-liberals in "diluting" our struggle. Those were the days when the term "liberal" could only be associated with a white person. Those who had mixed with Helen Joseph must have

known that she was no liberal - whichever interpretation is given to that term. She was a true democrat, a revolutionary and a true fighter to whom race meant nothing more than an arbitrary criterion which was irrelevant in the evaluation and treatment of human beings.

There are times in the bitter life of a black person in this country when it is convenient and seems justifiable to lump every white person as the enemy and every black person, as an enemy of apartheid. For this to be so, you would have to convince me that Helen Joseph was my enemy and Gatsha Buthelezi is my friend! This is obviously ridiculous.

But none of us would have obtained these insights were it not for the shining examples of people like Helen, of which there are few.

I have also said that her life was a book on women in politics: Her leadership role in Fedsaw speaks for itself. Her long involvement with the male-dominated and mostly sexist ANC of the 50s made her an expert on the pitfalls awaiting any courageous woman activist or leader.

Although one cannot forget the serious attempts made to try and address this question during the sterling presidency of comrade Oliver Tambo, real progress has been very slow. Helen often warned me that it was always fine for women to overly concern themselves with women's rights and pigeon-hole themselves in specialist wings of the movement; but as soon as one ventured on to the main stage of political mobilisation, armed struggle, campaigns for sanctions - which were perceived as male domains - you would be dealt with in a most frustrating manner. Helen was not saying all this to discourage anyone from contributing towards freedom - as she chose. Rather, she was encouraging it, but her warnings, based on experience, always proved to be right.

The best advice she ever gave me on this question was that it always takes other women to undermine the women's rights lobby within our organisations. She said, just as the continued op-

pression of blacks could not have succeeded without the co-operation of some black people, the successful discouragement of women's leadership in mainstream politics could not be achieved by sexists without the co-operation of some destructive women. These words were prophetic.

In fact, when I remember all of her advice I nowadays wonder whether it is still advisable for us to maintain such a thing as the ANC Women's League, whether this does not play into the hands of the sexists? Within our organisations why should we not say that women must participate in our movement on the same footing as everybody and prove their own capabilities in the terrain of struggle? Why should we continue to accept a situation where, in every branch, the cream of women's leadership must be channelled into the league thereby denying them a chance of playing any meaningful role in the main activities and policy-formulation of the movement.

It is befitting that these questions be posed in the memory of Helen Joseph, a person who never saw herself as a woman activist but as a fighter just like anyone else, a woman who paid a price that a few of us, men and women, would have been able to endure.

Finally we should take lessons from Helen's example of leadership: She was the kind of person who could lead from the front, from within the flock and even

from behind. She was always against the notion that suffering at the hands of the enemy automatically qualified a person to be a leader. A leader is a person who has leadership qualities. These qualities unfortunately have nothing to do with how many times you were detained, how many decades you spent in prison, or how many years in exile.

Leadership should never be used as a wristwatch for long service. This is not to deny the role of experience and wisdom in leadership, but merely to state that neither wisdom nor experience is simply measured by the passage of time. In fact some people's wisdom dwindles as time passes, we will learn.

Helen was always a leader whether or not she held any formal positions. She was a leader even without opening her mouth. Her own life spoke volumes. In a struggle for liberation we need such leadership. A leadership which has the interest of our people at heart, not merely the satisfaction through the shortest possible route of the individual ambitions of a few men and women. If this is done, history will judge very harshly those who betray the oppressed masses in this country.

These are only some of the lessons that I think we may learn from the life of Ma-Helen. We may ignore all these things at our own peril or we may debate these questions openly and critically in which case we would be paying a fitting tribute to our mother and comrade.

Lala Kahle Qhawekazi ...
Amandla!

Hani shots because of high spirits

Sowetan 26/2/93

Varsity staff confirm view of the SACP:

SHOTS fired at Fort Hare University during a visit by Mr Chris Hani were an expression of excitement among students and not an attempt on the life of the South African Communist Party general secretary.

This was said yesterday by SACP deputy general secretary Mr Charles Nqakula, who added that "someone, in a moment of excitement among the students on campus, fired shots into the air".

University staff said the shot had apparently been fired into the air. —Sapa.



News in brief

Crawford returns

AMERICAN singer Randy Crawford is due in South Africa for a two-week tour at the end of March with concerts in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Cape Town.

Crawford was in South Africa in May last year to promote her album *Through The Eyes Of Love*. During her last visit Crawford (40) said she was surprised at the friendliness of the people she met after reading about so much violence in the country.

New regulations

IN an effort to save R10 million needed for ambulances in rural areas, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) intends using ambulances only for the emergency transport and treatment of patients.

Acting MEC for health services Dr Willie Hoods said in Pretoria yesterday that in future those needing ambulances for less serious cases would have to use expensive private ambulance services. From April 1 the TPA would not pay the costs of transport by private contractor but independent

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companies would be investigated if they charged too much.

Residence opens

GROOTE Schuur, the official residence of South African heads of state and prime ministers since 1910, will be opened to the public for the first time on March 13. *Sowetan 26/2/93*

This has been organised to raise funds for the Victoria and Red Cross Hospitals in Cape Town as well as the Eben Donges and Frere hospitals. It is hoped to increase the awareness of the need for community involvement in primary health care.

PAC talks on hold

THE talks between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress, scheduled for Namibia on Monday morning, have been cancelled "for technical reasons", the Ministry of Law and Order said last night. *Sowetan*

Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed that the Government and the PAC were seeking an alternative venue and stressed that they were still committed to meeting each other.

26/2/93

NEWS Election move

No black vote for whites

■ Cast says no against votes for NP, DP:

Sowetan 26/2/93
THE Civics Association of Southern Transvaal this week vowed to try to persuade blacks not to attend election campaign meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday the association would also make certain "pseudo organisations" outside liberation movements did not get black votes. He did not name the organisations. He said the civics had noted that while the NP pretended to be in favour of the elections, their involvement in activities that undermined democratic elections was questionable.

He accused the NP of importing nationals from the Far East and of recruiting members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (Renamo) and providing them with South African identity documents to swell its votes. Mofokeng said campaigns by the NP and DP were intended to confuse the people and the civics would never allow that. He said Cast called on "our people" to resist any meeting called by the NP and DP and to intensify campaigns to force these parties to speed up the election process. — *Sapa*.

Azapo no to planning talks

■ Organisation objects to undemocratic structuring:

THE Azanian People's Organisation will not take part in next week's multiparty planning conference for a resumption of constitutional talks.

Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Mr Nkosi Molala, told a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday that his organisation objected to the fact that the planning conference was "structured undemocratically".

This followed an earlier statement by the organisation in Johannesburg that Azapo was "keeping its options open".

Molala said even if the Pan Africanist Congress — a former partner in the Patriotic Front — decided to join the conference after its talks with the Government in Namibia next Monday, Azapo would still refuse to participate.

Azapo would only talk to the Government if there was neutral mediation and the venue was in neutral territory.

Azapo also believed that the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was crucial to any meaningful negotiations on South Africa's future.

Molala said Azapo would make an effort to reconvene the PF before it

would consider entering into negotiations, and would try to mobilise all those forces which remained outside the negotiation process.

A planning conference for multiparty talks could only be fruitful if it was "bipolar" — with forces which had been bolstering apartheid on one side and "resistance forces" on the other.

"Our greatest concern at this time is that the African National Congress seems to have been won over to the side of the regime," said Molala.

Speaking after a meeting between the two organisations in Johannesburg yesterday morning, Azapo spokesman Mr Mbulelo Rakwena said his delegation had been briefed by the ANC on that organisation's bilateral talks with the Government.

Details of the long-awaited multiparty talks planning conference, due to start next Friday, had also been discussed.

Both organisations had recognised the need for consultation, although "at the moment we can't say where this will lead", said Rakwena. — *Sapa*.



Top jazz saxophonist Mike Makhalemele performs at the Club Spenzino in Embalenhle, Secunda, tonight, tomorrow and on Sunday. His repertoire is expected to include tracks from his evergreen albums.

Vaal businessman shot dead

By Isaac Moledi

A VAAL Triangle businessman was shot dead by two gunmen who entered his Sebokeng home and opened fire with an AK-47 assault rifle and a 9mm pistol on Tuesday night.

■ Gunmen mow down Sebokeng butchery owner:

Mr Thomas "Zwaks" Mkhasibe (29) of 11329 in Zone 7 was shot six times at about 8.25pm. He owned a butchery in the township.

His mother, Mrs Gladys Mkhasibe, said her son was with his friend

"Witties" (his real name could not be established) when the two men arrived.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said the police were investigating and no one had as yet been arrested. Thomas will be buried Saturday.

PAC remembers Robert Sobukwe

Sowetan 26/2/93

11A

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ **POSITIVE ACTION** Commemora-

tion rallies to be held at major centres:

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS marks the 16th anniversary of the death of its founder-president Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe this week-end.

Activities co-ordinated by its women, student and youth wings throughout this week would culminate in rallies at major centres at the weekend.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will address a rally at the Diepkloof Hall, Soweto, on Sunday at 1pm.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, will speak at Sobukwe's birthplace in Braamf

Reinet in the Cape on Sunday.

Sobukwe founded the PAC in 1959 after disagreeing with the African National Congress, of which he was a long-serving member.

On March 21 1960, with his organisation barely 11 months old, Sobukwe led the PAC's "positive action campaign against the pass laws". In Sharpeville, 69 people were mowed down by police outside the local police station.

On April 4 1960 Sobukwe and 23 other PAC leaders were arrested and charged but all refused to plead. Sobukwe was sentenced to three

years' jail.

At the end of that month the PAC and ANC were banned.

Other services to be addressed by senior PAC leaders around the country are at (speakers in brackets):

Zwelitsha Community Hall, Border region, Friday. (Mr Maxwell Nemaqizweqani, national organiser); KaMbezi, Nelspruit, tomorrow (Mr Jaki Sereke, provincial affairs secretary); Boikago High School, Evaton, tomorrow (Mark Shirens, transport secretary); Etwatwa High, Benoni, tomorrow (Mr Lesaoana Makhele, labour secretary); and Sasburg Hall, Pretoria, tomorrow (Mr Mogohe Mochiele, labour secretary).

See also page 12.

LONDON — British Gas and ICI, Britain's largest manufacturer and chemical company, announced yesterday a total of 12 000 job cuts.

The news came as 628 officers serving in Bosnia and Northern Ireland received their pink slips, part of the British army's efforts to trim its post-Cold War force by 40 000 soldiers.

Imperial Chemicals Industries (ICI) said it would slash 9 000 of its 114 500 jobs worldwide. Half the cuts would be made in the UK.

ICI also announced its plans to turn its Zeneca bioscience division into a separately listed company on the stock exchange in June. It will ask shareholders for £1.3bn in a rights issue to fund the split, the biggest shake-up in ICI's 67-year history.

ICI said it swung to a pretax loss of £384m in 1992 from an £843m profit in 1991 because of a £949m exceptional charge for the Zeneca split and other restructuring moves.

"The results reflect the very difficult trading

Two UK firms to cut 12 000 jobs

BIDAY 26/2/93.

conditions we encountered throughout 1992," said ICI chairman Sir Denys Henderson.

"While signs of recovery from recession are patchy, lower interest rates, a more competitive pound, low UK inflation, some indications of US markets picking up, plus the major restructuring efforts we have put in place over the past three years should ensure a better year ahead for both companies," Henderson said.

Shareholders will get one new Zeneca share for each ICI share and a total dividend for the year of 55p, the same as 1991.

ICI's total group sales slipped from £12.5bn in 1991 to £12.06bn in 1992.

At British Gas, CE Cedric Brown announced 3 000 jobs would be eliminated this year, in addition to 1 200 losses at the company's cor-

porate headquarters announced last month.

British Gas said net profit fell 41% in 1992, because of warm weather and increased competition, to £681m. Profits were well below market forecasts of £871m to £950m.

The difference was caused by a £320m exceptional charge, including £125m to refocus its UK gas business, a £125m environmental provision and a previously announced £70m for restructuring its London headquarters.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports that, on a positive note, ICI said its cancer drug Zoladex, heart drug Zestril and anaesthetic Diprivan — the newer drugs that will form the core of the Zeneca business — showed good 1992 growth and further significant gains were expected this year. — Sapa-AP.

Division in Azapo over conference participation

CONFUSION over the details of bilateral talks and fears of being isolated and sidelined are leading to divisions within Azapo over its participation in next week's planning conference.

The intellectual left-wing organisation has consistently rejected participation in the negotiation process, labelling others as sell-outs and insisting on complete takeover of power by the masses.

However, yesterday senior negotiations liaison commission member Mbulelo Rakwena said Azapo's participation in next week's conference to resuscitate multiparty talks hung in the balance.

The opposing factions in the organisation are pushing its central committee to make a firm decision this week and Rakwena said it would make an announcement next week.

He was addressing a media briefing after meeting senior ANC negotiators who brought Azapo up to date on bilateral discussions.

Rakwena said it was "not a question of reservations (about partici-

26/2/93. (11A)
BILLY PADDOCK

pating), but a question of being filled in about what is happening," he said. "We are leaving our options open."

He said now that the organisation had been fully briefed by its erstwhile patriotic front partners it would have to rethink its strategy.

However, shortly after this briefing Azapo's Transvaal vice-president Nkosi Molala stated categorically that his organisation would not take part in the planning conference.

He said Azapo's objection was that the planning conference was structured undemocratically and lacked transparency. Should the PAC decide to join the planning conference after its talks with government on Monday, Azapo would still refuse to participate, he added.

When asked about the contradictory positions, Rakwena said he had communicated with Molala's "people" in Pretoria before the briefing there to appraise them of the outcome of the meeting with the ANC. He could not explain the opposing

positions and reiterated that armed with a better knowledge Azapo would confer with its structures before making a decision on next week's conference.

Azapo and the ANC had set up a channel of communication to discuss the issues further.

Meanwhile, the ANC is trying to set up a meeting next week with the PAC.

□ Sapa reports that Monday's government-PAC meeting, which was to have taken place in Windhoek, is to be held at another venue. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said there were technical reasons for the change.

Sources have suggested Gaborone as a possible alternative.

Namibian Foreign Minister Theobald Gurirab said yesterday his government was not prepared to host the proposed meeting at this stage. He said had the Namibian government received the request earlier, it would have advised the parties to postpone the meeting because of the number of state visits in progress in Namibia.

CONTRIBUTION BY THE INDUSTRY, SUCH AS THE AIRLINES, IS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP THESE SERVICES WHICH ARE NOT AIRPORTS AND SERVICES. — Sapa

Mayekiso backs threat to white parties

510 AM 26/2/93
SA National Civics' Association (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso yesterday backed the organisation's stand against white political parties electioneering in the townships.

And the ANC, while not condemning the Sanco (Southern Transvaal) threat to prevent NP, DP and CP activities in the townships, said free political activity should be allowed everywhere in SA.

Sanco general secretary Dan Mofokeng said on Wednesday Sanco would not allow white parties to hold meetings in black areas and discredit members of liberation movements.

Mayekiso said although the national body had not yet taken an official position on the decision, he personally supported it. White parties canvassed in the townships because they had money. "They (the NP) should not use taxpayers' money to woo voters. We have seen it hap-

pening overseas." (11A)
He added: "But that does not mean we won't allow parties to compete in our areas."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC believed there should be free political activity throughout the country, including the TBVC states.

DP leader Zach de Beer said his party would not be intimidated.

Pointing out that Mofokeng's only objection seemed to be that the DP sought to discredit members of the liberation movements and thereby confuse their followers, he said: "The essence of democratic politics is that one does criticise political opponents and put one's policies to persuade them to change their positions. Mofokeng is not willing to allow us the freedom to practise politics in the normal way."

Sapa reports government spokesman Dave Steward said free and fair elections were impossible unless all parties were allowed to campaign freely among all communities.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said his party saw itself as an open — not a solely white — party. "It is the democratic right of all South Africans to express themselves politically. The Sanco statement is based on racism which belongs to the past."

In Durban, Inkatha said: "Political activism and mobilisation cannot be held to ransom by a few militant and undemocratic thugs who take it on themselves to decide who 'the people' should support. The intimidatory nature of Mr Mofokeng's statement cannot go unchallenged as it is this attitude which has led to violence and the establishment of no-go areas in our townships."

● Comment: Page 14

Will Winnie nurse frail Nelson back to health?

By JACQUIE GOLDING

W/Mail 26/2-4/3/93 (1/4) (PB)

THE president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, is seriously ill and is considering a reconciliation with his estranged wife, Winnie Mandela, according to reports this week in the London *Sunday Times*.

Rumours about Nelson Mandela's flagging health reached fever-pitch this week and, on Wednesday, he was forced to contact a Johannesburg newspaper to confirm he was alive.

Winnie Mandela, said the *Times* report, "wanted to move back in with the ANC leader to carry out a 'wife's duties' of nursing him back to health".

According to the report, 74-year-old Mandela fell seriously ill at his Houghton home, in northern Johannesburg, on Monday. He was coughing, complaining of chest pains and needed oxygen to help him breathe.

Mandela was admitted to the exclusive Park Lane Clinic for treatment, and ANC officials claimed he was suffering from exhaustion.

However, the *Times* said senior ANC officials had been privately informed that Mandela has pneumonia. Mandela's doctors are waiting for the results of his tests to determine if there are any further complications.

"It was this frailty that some friends believe is leading him seriously to consider Winnie's offer to get back together," said the *Times*.

While some friends considered the reunion of Mandela and his wife "a distinct possibility", others said it was a prospect "too ghastly to contemplate".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said "anything based on hearsay or rumour is not appropriate" and that part of Mandela's life is "private and should be respected".

Mandela was unavailable for comment, as he has been instructed by his doctors to rest for two weeks.

Public relations officer for Winnie Mandela, Honore de Sumo, said he was "unaware of any developments between the couple. I do not take an interest in Mrs Mandela's personal life".

NEGOTIATIONS

Scenarios differ as democracy's dawn beckons

THOSE taking part in next week's multiparty planning conference appear to have contradictory aims. This may signal hitches to come in the negotiations process, writes Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

STAR 27/2/93

ON FRIDAY the country will formally emerge from an eight-month hiatus in multiparty constitutional negotiations with the first step to reconstituting the negotiations forum.

That the two-day multiparty planning conference is the first move away from apartheid to a democratic government is the main point of agreement between the IFP, the ANC and the Government.

But they differ widely on the aim of the planning conference — convened on the IFP's insistence as a condition for re-entering negotiations after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government in September.

His party wants the conference to determine the form of state and the negotiations process. The IFP also wants to review all Codesa agreements — none of which was ratified at Codesa 2.

The ANC and the Government, on the other hand, see the event as assessing the current political situation and discussing logistics for the reconvening of a negotiating forum.

The differences over the direction of the long-awaited conference are attributable largely to different transition scenarios. The IFP says it is confident that the planning conference will decide on a federal state. Thereafter technocrats draft the constitution, a referendum is held to test its support after its adoption by the negotiating forum, and then general elections are held to find a new government. The party sees the transition as a continuous process to majority rule in September next year.

But the Government and the ANC want the planning conference to discuss resumption of Codesa, which would appoint a multiparty transitional executive authority. This would have the task of levelling the political playing field in the run-up to elections for an interim government of national unity. The Government and the ANC envisage these elections taking place at the end of the year or early next year.



NELSON MANDELA



F W DE KLERK



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

According to their scenarios the interim government would act as a constitution-making body. Another round of elections would be held for a majority government.

Although the Government and the ANC have agreed on a broad framework for the transition, fundamental differences still exist on regional government and power-sharing.

However, these differences are not necessarily obstacles in the negotiations process or merely issues of procedure. While negotiators concede that tough negotiations lie ahead, they stress that convergence can be found on the differences.

Focus on APLA

Star 27/2/93.

Eastern Cape attacks top Gaborone agenda

THE Pan Africanist Congress's armed struggle and the attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) on whites in the eastern Cape last year will be the main items on the agenda when the PAC and the Government meet in Gaborone, Botswana on Monday, both parties have confirmed.

The meeting, which comes after three months of "cold war" between the PAC and the Government following APLA's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown in December, will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe.

The last high-level public meeting between Pretoria and the Africanist organisation, also held in Botswana and chaired by Chiepe, took place at the end of November.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who led the Government delegation, later told journalists the PAC undertook at that meeting to suspend its armed struggle after the decision had been ratified by its annual congress in April.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, who was part of the PAC delegation, dismissed Botha's claim as a misunderstanding of his organisation's position that the issue would be discussed at congress.

Generals

Monday's meeting differs from any others held so far between the Government and the PAC because, for the first time, it will bring the APLA leadership and South African Police and SA Defence Force generals face to face.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who will lead the Government delegation, has made it clear that his delegation has no mandate to discuss constitutional matters. Instead, it will want to focus on the PAC's armed struggle and security matters, especially APLA.

The PAC delegation is

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Reporter

ready for the Government's arguments, and is understood to have prepared a position document which it will make available to Kriel's delegation.

PAC sources said the organisation would again say it was prepared to enter into "a mutual cessation of hostilities", and would even have its guerillas placed under joint multiparty control in the form of the transitional executive council.

However, the sources said, the PAC would not unilaterally suspend its armed struggle or even disband APLA.

Negotiations

Although PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander will lead the political arm of his organisation to the talks, the military wing will send its own delegation from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which will be led by PAC defence secretary and APLA commander Sabelo Phama.

The Government angrily suspended talks with the PAC after attacks on whites in the eastern Cape in December, demanding that the PAC leadership condemn APLA's attacks and distance itself from the guerilla army.

However, Alexander went on television and said APLA was "operationally independent from the PAC", adding that "the hullabaloo was because five whites had died" during the attacks.

The PAC is committed to returning to negotiations, and sources this week said the organisation would attend next week's multiparty negotiations planning conference at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park even if the Government insisted it should not do so.

Here the organisation will have the support of its rival the ANC, which would like both the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation to be involved in negotiations.

An ANC source told Saturday Star yesterday that his organisation had made it clear to the Government that it wanted the PAC to attend the planning conference and the multiparty negotiations conference proper once negotiations were on track again.

terror

Nelson 'won't go back to Winnie'

CT 27/2/93 (118)

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is not considering a reconciliation with his estranged wife Winnie, nor is he seriously ill as a British newspaper has reported, lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob said yesterday.

Mr Mandela was last week ordered to rest by his doctors, and the ANC said he was suffering from exhaustion. But rumours about his flagging health reached fever pitch this week and, on Wednesday, he was forced to contact a Johannesburg newspaper to confirm he was alive.

The London Sunday Times said senior ANC officials had been informed that Mr Mandela had pneumonia and doctors were waiting for results of tests to see if there were further complications. "It was this frailty that some friends believe is leading him to seriously consider Winnie's offer to get back together", to nurse him back to health, the paper said.

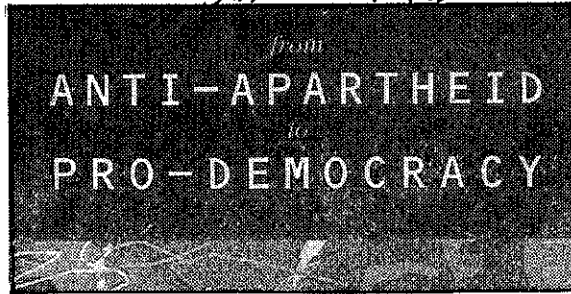
Mr Ayob, Mr Mandela's attorney, said in a statement the ANC president was in good health. Mr Mandela had told Mr Ayob he did "not require any attention" from Winnie, said the statement. — Sapa

AM&C to handle

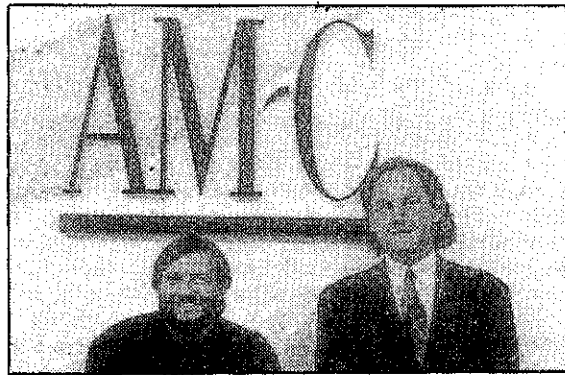
MANDY JEAN WOODS

Star 27/2/93.

11A



NEW LOGO: Unveiled at the ANC's International Solidarity conference last week.



HANDLING FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN: AM&C's Louis Gavin and Julian Ovsiowitz.

SANDTON-BASED agency AM&C has been appointed by the ANC to handle its current fund-raising campaign and it hopes to be involved in handling the ANC's campaign in forthcoming elections.

AM&C MD Julian Ovsiowitz said the agency's first work for the organisation was displayed last weekend at the International Solidarity Conference, where the campaign slogan, *From Anti-Apartheid to Pro-Democracy*, was unveiled to some 600 delegates.

Judging from the initial output, the ANC will rely heavily on the magnetism of president Nelson Mandela to attract voters ... his face is used prominently on all the posters and brochures.

The agency, which Ovsiowitz wryly points out, started up the year the ANC was unbanned, has annualised billings of R20 million and a reputation for the sharper side of creativity and innovative promotions. It has a staff complement of 27. Creative director is Louis Gavin.

"We were approached

by the ANC about a month ago to handle this business, and frankly, we were delighted about it. There was no pitching involved," he says.

While Ovsiowitz would not disclose the actual cost of the fund-raising drive, the ANC is on record as saying it estimates the cost of fighting the elections as R130 million.

According to the fund-raising brochure created by AM&C, "the ANC will need to establish a working electoral infrastructure throughout the

country. It will also have to carry out a programme of voter-education for all South Africans, the majority of whom are rural and largely illiterate.

"Much of this burden will fall solely on the ANC since the Government does not have the credibility to do it, nor is it in its interest. Considerable resources will be needed to counter the propaganda efforts of the Government which currently controls the national electronic media and which has

free and unlimited access to public and State facilities. We cannot overstress the need to level the playing field.

"Unless the ANC acquires the resources necessary to fund an election campaign of this magnitude, it will not be able to compete on an equal basis."

The ANC is also appealing for material resources in addition to the R130 million needed. A brochure notes that 108 IBM-compatible computers will be needed, 94 fax machines, 52 cars, 86 trucks, 25 000 audio-cassettes, 3 000 video cassettes, 400 000 colour posters, 700 000 T-shirts, 14 button-making machines plus raw materials, 7 000 printed banners, 70 public address systems, 70 televisions and 70 video machines.

Ovsiowitz says the brochures and posters for the fund-raising campaign will be distributed worldwide.

"Obviously, the success of the fund-raising campaign will determine the extent of the ANC's election campaign," he notes.

Ovsiowitz said he found it exciting to be at the cutting edge of the formation of a new South Africa. "It is a great challenge. This will probably be the most socially responsible campaign yet done in South Africa."

ANC campaign

IN 1983 at Eshwera, the Labour Party of South Africa (LPSA) rejected the tri-cameral constitution for the following reasons:

- the majority of South Africans were excluded;
- it did not meet the LP's constitutional objectives — that is a non-racial, democratic South Africa, with universal adult suffrage.
- It was based on and entrenched racism.

The LP nonetheless decided to participate in the tri-cameral parliament as a means towards the fulfilment of the party's social, economic and constitutional goals.

The correctness of this strategy of participation will only be truly judged by history.

However, one of the sad consequences was the estrangement that developed between the Labour Party and other liberation forces in the eighties.

A mistake that the party has to admit to was allowing a great number of conservative "coloured" nationalists to enter parliament on the LP ticket. Fortunately these people are no longer in the party, having found a comfortable home with their oppressors in the National Party.

It is to the credit of the LP that it remained steadfast to the principles of non-racialism and democracy throughout the dark and turbulent years of the PW Botha era.

Our participation enabled us to address the short-term bread and butter needs of our constituents, albeit with the limited resources. We were committed to the socio-economic upliftment of a community dispossessed and disregarded through the National Party's apartheid policies.

Year after year we "overspent" our education budget as we regarded the situation as one of under-allocation rather than overspending.

One of the tools at our disposal was our constitutional veto. We were able to force the Nats to an election in 1989 when PW Botha refused to repeal the Group Areas Act. It is this very constitutional veto that spurred De Klerk to take

CROSS TALK

Democratic SOUTH 27/2 - 3/3/93. victory is major task

Peter Hendrickse, spokesperson for the Labour Party, joins the debate about the tri-cameral parliament, arguing that the time has come for "democratic forces" to work together:



over the House of Representatives "by hook or by crook".

The NP will not tolerate any opposition to their plans. When the LP was not prepared to go along willy-nilly with them, they decided that the party must be destroyed. While Solidarity co-operated with the Nats, they were tolerated as the majority party in the House of Delegates — until they blocked the Further Indemnity Bill last year in the October session of parliament.

The NP remains a party dedicated to the primary promotion and protection of white interests and will do anything that it perceives to further that interest, including the recruitment of people they have spent their lives oppressing. De Klerk till today has not admitted that apartheid is evil and immoral, hence his refusal to apologise for it to the people of South Africa.

As far as the Nats are concerned the only reason they cannot proceed with apartheid is because it is prac-



tically unenforceable.

With the commencement of Codesa and lately the bi-laterals, parliament has become more and more side-lined. It is there now solely to rubber-stamp agreements that will be reached at Codesa.

The parliament in the democratic South Africa must be bi-cameral with representatives elected to the assembly on a national list system



LABOUR LAMBASTED: From puppets to comrades?

and regional representatives elected to a second chamber. This new parliament, unlike the present one, will not be sovereign but will be subject to a justiciable and enforceable Bill of Rights and a sovereign constitution.

During the transition the elected constituent assembly will have to act as interim legislature. The proposed government of national unity makes imminent sense if one is to decrease the pool of possible reactionaries to the new constitution. As unhappy as it may make one, it is realistic to allow the NP a continuing role in government in order to bring their remaining supporters on board.

Those who criticise the ANC for this position are being unrealistic. The democratic forces are not capable of overthrowing the govern-

ment through violence. At the same time the government is incapable of effectively governing the country. If this situation is allowed to continue indefinitely the country will be further ruined and the people we serve will continue to suffer.

The challenge that faces us is to ensure that the democratic forces achieve an overwhelming victory at the polls. Despite differences of strategy in the past, it is now incumbent on all of us who are serious about the future of this wonderful country of ours to work together. The greatest tragedy would be to allow the Nats to win the next election because we were unable or unwilling to work together.

The LP remains ready, willing and able to ensure that this victory of the democratic forces is achieved.

Russia and SA turning backs on past dogmas

HIS assessment of developments in South Africa:

"This is a crucial period in our history, a transition from a totalitarian, racist minority regime to a democratic dispensation."

"The changes were possible because of strong pressure by internal democratic forces coupled with international pressure, including sanctions. The balance of forces in the country determines that the only solution is a political settlement through negotiation. On that basis compromises are to be found, and a basis laid, for the future political, social and economic structures."

"A major factor that triggered the process of transition was the blockade by the existing political system of the development of the productive forces. This political system has to be removed and substituted by new political structures that would bring full political rights to all and through that open up the development of the productive forces."

"Also, certain leaders of the ruling party came to understand that there was no way forward by protecting the existing system."

ON President F W de Klerk:

"He is an outstanding leader. His name will go down in history as that of a big reformer."

"He is one of the few within the NP who understood in due time the necessity of reform and the eventual elimination of apartheid."

"His major credits are the legalisation of the black opposition, the removal of apartheid laws and the signing of the Record of Understanding with the ANC in 1992."

"The balance of forces indicates that the moment of the unbannings in 1990, the ANC and Government, despite their confrontations, occupy the centrist position in the political spectrum."

"The Record of Understanding was a major breakthrough. It got the leadership of the ANC and the President's team together to create a bloc powerful enough not only to chart a programme for the transition but also to create a mechanism that would provide for the implementation of that programme with due interest to all major political parties."

"This will form the real basis for a stable non-violent evolution to democracy."

THE relationship between the ANC and Government:

"They need a mutual understanding of their past and they need trust. The trust is being formed but needs to be developed."

"Each one of these two parties must build up their policies in the interest of the country and not for party political interests."

Russian diplomat Alexei Makarov has been directly involved with South African politics for the last 23 years. Two years ago, as head of the South African desk at the Foreign Ministry, he was posted to Pretoria as head of the Soviet Union's interest office. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH spoke to him on the eve of his return to Moscow.

THE National Party:

"It is undergoing a very difficult process of changing into a truly democratic party."

"One of the difficult tasks that faces the party is to transform itself from an ethnic, mostly Afrikaner party, to a truly national one. It has the capacity under the present leadership to achieve this but it will not happen overnight. Its task is complicated because most political and governmental structures have been discredited."

ON the ANC:

"It has proved to be a consistent democratic organisation."

"According to all indications, it will most probably become the leading party after the general elections. The leadership has acquired experience (since the unbanning of the organisation) and displays flexibility and the ability of change."

"Sometimes because of the speed of developments, the leadership experiences very strong pressure from the grassroots which is not quick enough to adapt to and understand the changes. A lot will depend on the ability of the leadership to educate the masses to support the national executive committee's programme."

"The ANC has its own internal contradictions and problems. The contradiction is determined by the fact that after bringing the masses to the polls, the ANC would have almost accomplished its historical mission as a liberation movement: the struggle for human rights for black people."

"I think it will be difficult for the ANC to continue as a liberation movement after that. It will gradually have to transform itself into a political party or even several parties attending to the interests of specific social groups."

ROLE of the SACP:

"There is a big difference between the SACP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or other ruling communist parties elsewhere."

"The SACP was set up as a comintern party in 1921 to lead the white working class to the world socialist revolution, but when it opened its doors to black people it transformed its ideals and the priority of its tasks."

"From the 1940s the SACP became one of the major parties in this country to steadily struggle for human rights for black people. The primary task of the communists became the struggle for human rights for all."

FUTURE of the SACP:

"That depends on its constituency and its programme. The Communist Party has a right to exist in a democratic country."

INKATHA Freedom Party:

"It is an important regional force which cannot be disregarded. It is very important that the major players find common interests with the IFP and find a way of stopping the confrontation between the IFP and the ANC ..."

THE country's future:

"I am positive about the future of the transition to democracy. I am definite that in the long term South Africa will find a solution to the political crisis."

"In the short term, it will be difficult and sometimes traumatic because the problems created by apartheid are enormous ..."

"There should be a national vision. The lack of such a vision is one of the biggest problems. South Africa is one country but it is still not one nation."

RUSSIAN-South African relations:

"Years of isolation and of living in closed totalitarian societies and political systems have led to a distorted perception of each other."

"Now that the barriers have been removed there is a strong willingness, at least on the part of Russia, to reject all dogmas of the past."

"But to reject everything that was bad in our past, is to throw away the baby with the bath water ... the past will always influence our present-day life, and our future. This attitude, I think, is harmful and dangerous to relations between the two countries."

"It is necessary now to realistically analyse our past relations and to pragmatically find out what was positive and what was negative." □

STAN 26/2/93

Namibia out as Govt-PAC talks venue

STAR 26/2/93

~~20~~ ~~11A~~ (11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Namibian government has turned down the Pan Africanist Congress's request to have its meeting with the Government held in Windhoek on Monday, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti confirmed yesterday.

The meeting, initially scheduled to take place in the Namibian capital under the chairmanship of either President Sam Nujoma or his Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, would now take place in another neighbouring African state, Seriti said.

Details will be made available today.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Permanent Secretary Andreas Guibeb was yesterday quoted as saying his government had first heard of the meeting when it received a letter from the PAC on Wednesday.

"It comes at very short notice," Guibeb said. The Star has learnt that the Namibian Foreign Minister's office phoned PAC headquarters in Johannesburg late yesterday afternoon

to talk to PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

In their letter to Seriti, the Namibians said they would be tied up with visits from heads of state next week and could not host the South Africans as well.

Seriti dismissed criticism that the PAC had not informed the Namibian government in time about Monday's meeting. He said the agreement about the venue was reached with Pretoria on Tuesday, and he had informed the Namibians as soon as he could.

He said the PAC had "five or six" possible countries where the meeting could take place, but did not know which one would be acceptable to the Government.

Seriti was last night working furiously to get another neighbouring country to host the talks, and was confident the meeting would still go ahead on Monday.

The talks, the first to be attended by SAP and SADF generals and the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, come three months since the Government and the PAC met in Gaborone, Botswana.

The delegations will be led by Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Azapo skips ^{STAR} planning 26/2/93. conference

Political Reporter (11A)

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will not take part in next week's multiparty planning conference despite the ANC's attempt to lure it into negotiations, the organisation said yesterday.

Speaking after meeting the ANC in Johannesburg, Azapo Transvaal vice-president Nkosi Molala said in Pretoria that the planning conference was structured undemocratically.

At their meeting yesterday, the ANC — which had invited Azapo to the talks — briefed the Black Consciousness organisation on its bilateral discussions with the Government and on the March 5-6 planning conference.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae later told The Star his organisation's delegation had emphasised the need for the formation of a new patriotic front of forces which had fought against apartheid.

Mokae said Azapo wanted communication channels between his organisation and the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress to remain open. He said Azapo would "send feelers" to the PAC soon.

Molala said that even if the PAC attended the planning conference next week, Azapo would still refuse to take part.

Meanwhile, the PAC this week cancelled its meeting with the ANC.

The meeting, also at the invitation of the ANC, is now scheduled to take place next week.

POWER SHARING

Restive ranks

There seemed to be growing opposition in ANC ranks to any form of power-sharing agreement with government — but it has been pre-empted by the leadership's official endorsement last Thursday of "an interim government of national unity" for up to five years.

The announcement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa came after a three-day meeting of the national executive committee (NEC) in Soweto, which was characterised by "vigorous" debate. Evidently, the organisation's hardline Natal Midlands chief Harry Gwala, until then the most vociferous opponent, acquiesced in this "sunset clause" arrangement, first advocated by SACP chairman Joe Slovo. Among those who had opposed Slovo's idea was ANC information chief and Marxist intellectual Pallo Jordan. But consensus was achieved — at least in the NEC.

A concession to the Gwala faction is thought to be Ramaphosa's emphasis that majority rule must not be diluted or sacrificed and that the President elected by a constituent assembly would not be ham-

strung by minority parties in the coalition. All this, however, remained to be sorted out between government and the ANC in their meetings this week.

Until last week's meeting of the ANC executive committee, Gwala was calling for a consultative conference to review the negotiations and power sharing in particular. His call was quickly taken up by the ANC's Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT) faction that publishes *Congress Militant*.

The group, which is relatively small and has been at loggerheads with the ANC in the past, had resolved to: "Reject the agreement reached with the NP on power sharing; reconfirm the policies adopted at the July 1991 ANC conference and May 1992 policy conference for majority rule; (insist on) an elected constituent assembly with sovereign powers to write a new constitution and for the government to be formed by the party that wins the majority in the elections."

MWT spokesman Wiseman Hamilton says the issue is not dead despite the NEC announcement. He claims there are "rumblings of discontent" in the ANC Youth League, the western Cape and Border regions and "some unhappiness" in the ANC's PWV region. According to Hamilton there is, moreover, "strong speculation" in the western Cape about reviving the old Coloured People's Congress, which was part of the ANC alliance in the Fifties.

The MWT would, however, be unhappy with such a development even if it were linked to the ANC, which the MWT will support in the elections. Hamilton insists there is "a great deal of actual and potential support" for a conference of review.

The MWT differs from the SACP in having always been anti-Stalinist; it regarded the old Soviet Union as a "deformed workers' state" rather than a socialist one. And it opposes Slovo's sunset clause.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says there will not be another conference on the matter. "There was agreement on the NEC decision and once decisions are taken, all ANC members are bound by them." ■

NP can't 'embrace non-racialism now

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

THE Western Cape was a unique region in South Africa in that almost all political parties believed they had a majority support there, Dr Allan Boesak said last night.

Boesak, who is chairman of the ANC in the region, was Tim Modise's studio guest during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback.

NP Lambasted

A fiery Boesak lambasted the National Party, saying it had turned around and embraced non-racialism after practising racism over the years.

He said the NP did not know anything about non-racialism.

"Oh! no thank you very much. Our people are too dignified to want anything to do with them.

"We do not want to be called coloureds and we do not want to be treated as a separate group with a special provision in the constitution (as proposed by the NP)," he said.

Meetings disrupted

Responding to questions about recent disruptions of DP meetings in the Western Cape, Boesak said his organisation did not condone such actions.

"However, in our South African situation it's quite natural that when organisations that have not been there (in townships) come to our areas, there would be a lot of tension.

"And a little heckling has to be allowed."

Boesak said.

"Are the civics representing the interests of the ANC only? One is very concerned about the conduct of ANC (supporters) against members of the PAC and Azapo."

Abbey, Hillbrow

"The ANC at the moment tends to leave a lot of people in a quandary when it speaks about power-sharing."

Ricky, Benoni

Sowetan 26/2/93.
"Why is it that all development projects by the ANC in the Western Cape are carried out only in the black townships and not in the Cape Flats when our (coloured) people are also unemployed?"

Anonymous, Cape Town

"You seem to be pushing hard for a political solution in this country. What are you doing about the (black) education crisis which deepens yearly?"

Mzi, Parktown

ANC begins grassroots test for deal

STAR 24/2/93.

(11A)

THE past two weeks have been overshadowed by a debate on whether a deal has been struck between the ANC and the Government on a government elected after the first all-in general elections. Both have vigorously denied an agreement, but said greater convergence has emerged between the two main negotiating partners on the transition period.

The Government and ANC are discussing a preliminary agreement on an interim government of national unity (GNU) to govern from the first election until the adoption of a new constitution.

However, a final decision on a GNU will be taken only at the new multiparty negotiating forum.

But, political observers say, the acid test for the preliminary agreement will be the ability of the National Party and the ANC to win their members' support for the proposed package.

The ANC has begun the process of informing its members of the agreement, which initially evoked strong opposition from the Natal Midlands region and lesser grumblings from senior ANC officials.

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) last week endorsed a new package for the transition committing the organisation to a comprehensive programme of reconstruction running parallel to the transition process.

One of the crucial tasks facing the ANC is dispelling any hint of a "sell-out" deal having been struck with the Government involving permanent power-sharing undermining full majority rule.

The ANC, in a newsletter, clearly informs its members that it has rejected the Government's proposal for power-sharing for a fixed or permanent period.



Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH reports on an African National Congress document drawn up to explain to its rank-and-file members the thinking behind its proposed new package for the transition to democracy.

It insists that a GNU "must not stand in contradiction to the principle of majority rule".

According to the ANC, the Government's power-sharing proposals will give minority parties a veto over the party that gets the majority of votes in the first democratic general elections.

The ANC says its proposal for a GNU "does not seek to share power but to harness it for the purpose of rebuilding and reconstructing our society".

Its scenario proposes that the composition of the GNU reflects "voter preferences and nothing else".

The ANC points out several mechanisms in the package it will present at the negotiating forum which precludes any entrenchment of veto powers for minority parties in the new government.

Both the GNU — which will rule from the first election until the completion of the constitution — and the government of national unity and reconstruction — which rules from the completion of the constitution until the second elections — should have a single president

elected by the constituent assembly.

Each party will be represented in the Cabinet in proportion to the number of seats it has won in the constituent assembly.

The president should have executive powers but, on certain specified issues, decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority in the Cabinet.

The ANC has rejected proposals for a rotating president, Cabinet decisions being taken by consensus and entrenched power-sharing.

On the controversial issue of regional government, the NEC said decisions about the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be taken by the constituent assembly.

Should a multiparty negotiating forum appoint a "commission of regions", its main task would be to determine regions for the elections, but its recommendations would be made to the constituent assembly.

The ANC said its transition package was an attempt to develop national unity and prevent a counter-revolution against democracy. □

ANC scenario for transition to democracy

Negotiation Planning Conference
-attended by all parties to plan resumption of CODESA-



Transitional Executive Council (TEC)
Main task is to ensure levelling of political playing field and free and fair elections

Independent Elections Commission
to organise and supervise elections

Independent Media Commission
to ensure neutrality of state controlled media

Elections

Constituent Assembly Composition
1/2 (half) from national lists
1/2 (half) from regional lists

- * Decisions by 2/3 majority
- * Drafts and adopts new constitution
- * the CA has full authority to draft constitution, including Bill of Rights and decide powers/functions/boundaries of regions

Interim Government of National Unity

Composition

- * President elected by a simple majority of CA
- * Parties with more than 5% of seats in CA represented proportionally in cabinet
- * In general, executive authority is exercised by the President
- * For specified matters, President requires approval of at least 2/3 of cabinet

Adoption of New Constitution



CA continues as **PARLIAMENT**

Interim government continues as **Government of National Unity & Reconstruction**

- * it phases in new constitution
- * prioritises a programme of reconstruction and transformation of state institutions

Elections

- to be held not later than five years after first election for the Constituent Assembly.
At this point Government of National Unity is replaced by majority government in terms of the new constitution

Govt, PAC to meet in Star Namibia

24/2/93.
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Despite its public position that it will not talk to the Pan Africanist Congress after Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on whites in the eastern Cape last year, the Government will hold a meeting with the PAC in Namibia next week, The Star has learnt.

The meeting, confirmed by Government and PAC sources, will be attended by senior SADF personnel and members of Apla's high command in addition to the two sides' political leaders.

It is scheduled to be chaired by Namibian President Sam Nujoma or one of his Ministers.

Sources close to the Government and the PAC said the meeting, which had been requested by the Government, would most likely take place early next week — but definitely before the March 5-6 multi-party negotiations planning conference.

Although a number of issues will be discussed, Apla and the PAC's armed struggle will top the agenda.

The delegations, a source said, would be led by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

The two parties last met in Gaborone, Botswana, in November.

Crucial planning indaba on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The multiparty planning conference scheduled for next week to resume constitutional negotiations is on track — despite the “limited progress” made at the two-day Government-ANC bilateral meeting which ended near Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: “I see no obstacles. What needs to be settled are the details. We are well positioned to make substantial progress at our next meeting.”

And Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delpport said: “There are no obstacles that I know of.”

Government and ANC negotiators are scheduled to meet again next week before the planning conference.

Ramaphosa said after the meeting, held at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, that only “limited progress” was made because of insufficient time to conclude the work.

Some of the issues “left hanging” were the appointment of a new SABC board and the controversial issue of regional government.

Ramaphosa said the full bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC next week would discuss legislation on the powers of the transitional executive council, and he hoped it would be passed during this parliamentary session.

Delpport said it was agreed yesterday that the print media would be allowed to attend all procedures of the planning meeting.

● The KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party said last night they would send separate delegations to next week's scheduled multiparty planning conference, despite ANC opposition — clouding prospects for a possible resumption of a Codesa-type forum.

Govt, ANC fail to agree on transition

(11A) CT 24/2/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — After a two-day secret meeting the ANC and government still disagree on the interpretation of their preliminary agreement for a government of national unity ruling for five years.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting yesterday that the government had sought clarification on the ANC's national executive committee resolution on a government of national unity.

"We clarified our position. They did not accept it directly," he said, adding that another bilateral meeting was set for next Wednesday.

Mr Ramaphosa said only limited progress was made at the meeting because of time pressure.

He said the big breakthrough at the past two bilateral meetings was that clarity had been reached on the role

and powers of the transitional executive council (TEC) and its sub-councils.

Legislation to establish the TEC was likely to be passed during this session of parliament, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said sub-committees would meet next week to finalise reports to be tabled next Wednesday.

He said there was agreement on a new independent SABC board and this issue would also be finalised next Wednesday, but he declined to elaborate, citing an agreement not to release details yet.

● Azapo yesterday confirmed it will meet the ANC in Johannesburg on Thursday to discuss a resumption of multi-party negotiations, reports said.

● The ANC Youth League yesterday gave its qualified support to the transition package adopted by the ANC's NEC. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Blacks' interests 'can't be compromised'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

WHILE the Azanian Peoples Organisation subscribed to the need for a broadly-based Patriotic Front, it was not prepared to compromise black people's interests.

This was said by Mr Nkosi Molala, Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Molala said his organisation believed it would in the black people's interests if liberation movements could form a single delegation that would confront the Government.

"We've always said we are not opposed to talking. However, we have always been uncomfortable with the invitees (to the talks).

"We've always put forward that we are prepared to take part in talks that

would involve liberation movements on the one table and the Government and its puppets on the other," he said.

Referring to tomorrow's meeting with the African National Congress, Molala expressed optimism about the discussions but would not be drawn into speculation.

"I cannot pre-empt tomorrow's discussions but I'm convinced the talks would revolve around the forthcoming bi-lateral discussions," he said.

Most callers threw their weight behind all proposed meetings between the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo.

They callers also suggested that all organisations of the op-

pressed should be included in all discussions.

Sowetan 24/2/93 (11A)

"The meeting (between Azapo and the ANC) is a great idea. I support the move. You see, many countries in this continent would like to see political organisations in South Africa forming a strong force against apartheid."

Ricky, Munsieville

"I think it's important for all the parties to come together and

negotiate the future of this country."

Morgan,
Kroonstad

"I hope at the end of the day, there would emerge (after the meeting) a single liberation party that would contest the elections in unison."

Mark, Pretoria

"I wish there could be a solution that could arise out of these meetings."

Peter,
Pretoria

ANC meets Azapo on negotiations

■ Bid to get Patriotic Front partners to multiparty preparatory conference:

Sowetan
24/2/93 (11A)

THE Azanian People's Organisation confirmed yesterday it would meet the African National Congress in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss a resumption of multiparty negotiations.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu announced on Monday that his organisation would meet its former Patriotic Front partners, Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress, to persuade them to join a multiparty preparatory conference.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Dr Gomolemo

Mokae, said yesterday the organisation's liaison committee would meet the ANC negotiating team to address the question of negotiations.

He said the liaison committee would also consult with other black political organisations.

Azapo, which has always rejected negotiations with the Government, will hold a Press conference in Pretoria tomorrow to present its position on the forthcoming negotiations.

Meanwhile, Transkei's delegation to the meeting of the Patriotic Front will hold a report-

back meeting on the progress of negotiations in Umtata next Tuesday. Senior ANC negotiator and SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo will also address the meeting at the University of Transkei, the homeland's Military Council said yesterday.

An invitation to attend has been extended to a wide range of organisations in Transkei, including interest groups, professional bodies, political organisations, regional and tribal authorities.

— Sapa.

ANC Govt talks fail to bear fruit

Sowetan 24/2/93

■ **The two sides are to meet again next week:**

THE two-day meeting between the Government and the African National Congress, which ended yesterday, did not achieve much progress, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

"We did not make as much progress as we had anticipated," Ramaphosa told reporters outside the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where a multi-party forum to plan the next stage of democracy talks is to be held on Friday and Saturday next week.

Ramaphosa said the nine joint sub-committees the two sides set up last December at the first of their latest series of bilateral talks, had not had enough time to complete their work.

The two sides will meet again next week, ahead of the preparatory conference.

One of the main outstanding issues seemed to be the exact nature of what the Government calls power-sharing.

The ANC's policy-making national executive committee last week endorsed the principle of an interim government of national unity after the non-racial elections scheduled for next April at the latest.

Ramaphosa last week said the coalition government should operate on the basis of proportional representation and would be led by the head of the largest party.

Chief Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said on TV on Monday that the Government was still looking at the option of a rotating chairmanship of the Cabinet.

He said the power-sharing arrangement should last for the standard five year parliamentary term, even if a new non-racial constitution was ready after two years.

He said the ANC seemed to have accepted this proposal. - Sapa-AFP.

Ngema and
his magic - at 4am

Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe, Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tiesong and Sy Makaringe. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

ANC meets Azapo on negotiations

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Blacks' interests 'can't be compromised'

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pressed should be included in all discussions.

Sowetan 24/2/93 (11A)
"The meeting (between Azapo and the ANC) is a great idea. I support the move. You see, many countries in this continent would like to see political organisations in South Africa forming a strong force against apartheid."

Ricky, Munsieville

"I think it's important for all the parties to come together and

negotiate the future of this country."

Morgan,
Kroonstad

"I hope at the end of the day, there would emerge (after the meeting) a single liberation party that would contest the elections in unison."

Mark, Pretoria

"I wish there could be a solution that could arise out of these meetings."

Peter,
Pretoria

next *Talkback* topic

THE South African Police seem intent on fixing their image, especially in the black community. A special guest in the *Sowetan*-Radio Metro Talkback Show studio between 7pm and 8pm tonight is the SAP's first black senior officer, General Simon Mogabole Tsoka, who will speak about efforts to improve the police's image in the black community.

Tel: (011) 714-8063

The ANC knows something the hardliners have yet to learn, writes Hugh Robertson

Elections won by hard cash

STAR 25/2/93.

114

THE ANC'S appeal to Americans this week for financial help in fighting the coming free elections in South Africa revealed a grasp of realpolitik which has yet to percolate down to Winnie Mandela and other hardliners, including the Pan-Africanist Congress and, for that matter, the AWB.

The fact of the matter, which is dawning with growing urgency on all other parties, is that fighting elections is an expensive business, and that no matter what enthusiasm there might be for a particular cause, elections in large measure are won or lost in general proportion to the funds available for fighting them.

It was not for nothing that the most ruthless electioneers in the country, the National Party, last year agreed to scrap the ban they had imposed on political parties receiving funds from abroad. With their newly won respectability they are reportedly ahead of the

pack in garnering support in the US, as they probably are in South Africa itself.

Mrs Mandela and her followers might sound formidable on a rhetorical level and their potential for winning popular support might seem immense, given the virtual certainty that even a host of angels could not meet all the expectations of South Africa's dispossessed in the near future and that the likelihood of mass disillusionment is strong.

But translating all this into an election victory with nothing more than rhetoric and resentment is another matter. All of which raises the possibility that the hardliners are contemplating methods other than an election to acquire power. Mrs Mandela's fiery speeches and writings are not clear on this point. If this is the case, they have missed the other tacit admission in the ANC's appeal for American money. It is that the era when radical

mass movements could rely on foreign funding are over, and that to secure assistance from abroad — whether it is money to fight an election, or money with which to fulfill extravagant promises to the masses — the right sort of political credentials are necessary.

Contact with all manner of groups in the US interested in the outcome of elections in South Africa, and the wellbeing of the country after that, persuades one that Mrs Mandela and other hardliners do not have such credentials, and that even if by some process they were to come to power they could not raise what is indispensable to meeting the expectations of the masses — foreign funds and investment.

Perhaps there is a notion that the US and South Africa's other trading partners would accept the advent of an undemocratic government in South Africa as a fait accompli and somehow work along with it. But that is a miscon-

ception born of Cold War thinking. The days when the US and the West expediently played footsie with African potentates are over — Mobutu Sese Seko, Jonas Savimbi and, increasingly, even the seemingly immortal Hastings Banda are among the many who could enlighten naive South Africans on that score.

Mrs Mandela ought to know better than most how vulnerable the export-led South African economy is to foreign pressure. The ANC's own campaign of sanctions and embargoes is testimony to that. And the radicals have yet to publicly address the anomaly of purporting to have the interests of the masses at heart, while altogether lacking the credentials to attract the necessary foreign assistance and investment to do anything for them.

It is this anomaly which many Americans believe brings into perspective the role of the radicals in South Africa. They are

seen to snipe from the sidelines, and circle like vultures in the hope of finding a meal in the fallure of those negotiating change.

But they have none of what it takes to do the job themselves and so many thoughtful Americans are convinced the only thing which radicals like Mrs Mandela and the PAC could be sure of if they were ever to come to power — democratically or otherwise — would be the inevitability of their own failure and eventual demise.

No doubt there are many South Africans who view with some unease the prospect of a deal between the ANC and the NP.

Americans interested in the country have their misgivings too, and the quote du jour here is an observation by the DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer — widely reported in the US — that given the options available, South Africa would probably be better off with both the ANC and NP ruling together than with either one of them rul-

ing alone.

For those whose heads are still buried in the sands of the Cold War, whose belief in the revolutionary axioms of the Stalinist era appears unmoved by the progress of history, it is time to face the fact that, to do anything for the masses in South Africa, the country's leaders must first win the confidence of those in the US and elsewhere who have the means to help — not just to win elections, but to fulfil the promises of a better future.

For the rest of South Africa there is some comfort in the fact that if the political fortunes of the parties in South Africa depend in large measure on their standing in the eyes of the American public, and if the success of any future government depends crucially on the ability of that government to win the confidence of the public in free democracies, the eventual fate of the radicals is sealed. □

Civics. don't
let Nats. DP
hold meetings

5707 25/2/93
Civic organisations in the southern Transvaal have called on their supporters not to allow meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party in black communities. (1/1)

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference yesterday, South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) southern Transvaal general-secretary Dan Mofokeng said this action did not mean the civics were opposed to freedom of assembly and association.

A DP spokesman said he found the call regrettable, since it was not in the spirit of democracy, which he presumed Sanco was committed to.

An NP spokesman said the call was contrary to the notion of free and fair elections. — Staff Reporter.

Apla terror attacks on talks agenda

STAR 257493
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Terror attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between SA Government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

The Government is anxious to include the PAC in the multi-party talks process, which is now gaining momentum.

Much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

The talks in the Namibian capital will focus purely on the continuance of the PAC's armed struggle and what a Government statement described as Apla's terror campaign.

The Government team will be led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and will include the Deputy Ministers of Justice and of Constitutional Development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, as well as senior officials from various Government departments.

Govt, PAC to meet in Windhoek

CT 25/2/93
11A

THE government and the PAC are to meet in Windhoek next week for the first time since the Apla attack on a King William's Town golf club in November.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said in a statement yesterday that he would lead a delegation to meet representatives of the PAC and its armed wing Apla for discussions on "the organisation's armed struggle and its terror campaign".

The PAC confirmed that the meeting would take place.

Government sources were at pains to emphasise that the meeting did not amount to a resumption of negotiations — which it had broken off after the golf club attack.

Mr Kriel said: "It must be emphasised that the planned talks . . . in no way contradict earlier statements that the government will not negotiate

ANC meeting with the PAC fails to take place

JOHANNESBURG. — The scheduled meeting between the PAC and the ANC did not take place yesterday.

PAC political affairs secretary, Mr Jackie Seroke said the meeting had been "improperly" arranged and had been re-diarised for next week.

The ANC is expected to meet Azapo leaders today to discuss a resumption of multiparty talks and other issues. — Sapa

with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made.

"The planned talks will concentrate on PAC/Apla terrorism."

Deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte, Deputy Constitutional and Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and other officials are to accompany Mr Kriel.

NEWS Prelude to multiparty planning ● No deal to

SA's security chiefs to meet Apla in Namibia

Sowetan 25/2/93
■ High-powered delegations from PAC and Government:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

A MEETING between the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) high command and South Africa's security chiefs will be held in Windhoek, Namibia, next Monday.

Apla, together with the South African Defence Force and police representatives, will be part of the high-powered delegations of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government respectively.

The one-day meeting comes before a multiparty planning conference to be held in Johannesburg next Friday.

Apla chief commander and PAC secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama, and Apla political commissar Mr Romero Daniels, will lead their delegation from Tanzania, it was confirmed yesterday. PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will lead the organisation's negotiating team. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the Government delegation would be led by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel. The Government's team would comprise Kriel, Minister of Jus-

tice and of Defence Kobie Coetsee, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman, and constitutional adviser Mr SS van der Merwe. The PAC delegation will include foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke, legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti and national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani. Last night Kriel said that the talks would "concentrate on the issue of the PAC and Apla's armed struggle and terrorism".

~~84A~~ ~~254~~ ~~11A~~



focus on Sobukwe

MANGALISO ROBERT SOBUKWE WOULD be just over 10 months away from his 70th birthday today. And on Saturday February 27 it will be 16 years since he died after reporting to the security branch of a South African police station on Jimmy Kruger's orders — in pain after being discharged prematurely from a hospital in Cape Town.

"It was painful. There was never an end to it. Only his death brought us an end," his widow Mrs Zodwa Veronica Sobukwe said at the time.

Born on December 5 1924 in Graaff Reinet, in the Eastern Cape, Sobukwe's last traumatic days are documented in an old book simply entitled *Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe*, written by the late John Nyati Pokela, erstwhile chairman of the PAC while it was in exile.

But a section of a chapter entitled *The last days of a sick man* calls for a closer look.

Notable activists seen as a thorn in the side of the South African white political order never lived long. Even after epoch-making February 2 1990 they are becoming obscure, rather obsolete.

The list grows longer: Stanza Bopape disappeared without trace in 1988. Jeff Masemola was killed when a heavy duty truck hit his Volkswagen Beetle in 1990. The case is yet unsolved, although the truck and driver were found on the scene by the authorities. No one has been held responsible for the death in detention of Steve Biko in 1977 in spite of evidence pointing to who did it.

There is the Mathew Goniwe puzzle as well... Jimmy Kruger is dead. Biko's death left him cold.

So is John Vorster, then Prime Minister and HF Verwoerd's successor.

However, the chapter on Sobukwe's dying days states: "It is not known what went wrong with Sobukwe's health in 1977.

"Zephania Mothopeng — Sobukwe's successor as PAC president, who also died of an unspecified illness in 1990 — serving a 30-year prison term in 1977, alleged that Sobukwe told him he had been poisoned while on Robben Island.

"However, Jimmy Kruger, then Minister of Justice, said Sobukwe had cancer.

"Anyway, in July 1977 Sobukwe began to cough badly. Advised by friends in Kimberley (where he was restricted after his release), Sobukwe applied to Kruger for permission to receive specialised treatment in Johannesburg. He refused."

What follows is part of a first-hand account in the book by former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist Benjamin Pogrund in 1977.

"When I heard that Sobukwe had been refused permission to leave Kimberley for Johannesburg, I became concerned."

A real force to be reckoned with, Robert Sobukwe had to be eliminated and the Government pulled every trick in the book to ensure that he got his way. **Themba**

Molefe tells the story:

Sowetan 25/2/93.



Veronica Sobukwe ... there was never an end to the suffering — only death brought relief.

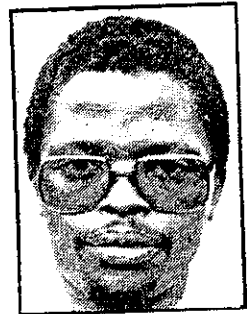
He had known Sobukwe for a long time and they were friends.

"I phoned Mr Kruger at his office. It took several days to get hold of Mr Kruger. When I finally reached him he was helpful. Within an hour he phoned back to say Mr Sobukwe could come to Johannesburg, but not that weekend; it was too soon. It would have to be the week after.

"Arrangements made, the situation changed. First, there was a stipulation conveyed to Mr Sobukwe some days later that the specialist examine him in my house. I went back to Mr Kruger, explaining that the doctor needed special equipment for the treatment...

"At that stage I felt too intimidated... This may sound too ridiculous. But it was the atmosphere in which I was operating:

"I was begging for favours, always aware that



anywhere in the apparatus of power with which I was dealing someone could peremptorily say no.

"Even my request for Sobukwe to fly to Kimberley at 3.30pm on the Sunday instead of on the early flight was turned down — and it was done abrasively, with a curt warning that if I didn't like it, he would have to take an early Saturday flight.

"So, poor Sobukwe, tired and ill, had to be up early on the Sunday for the 9.30am plane."

So goes Pogrund's account.

"X-rays were not available for the examination. We had not been able to obtain any from Kimberley. The specialist's diagnosis at that stage, based on the limited tools available to him, was Mr Sobukwe was suffering from a weakening of the heart muscles caused by a bacterial infection.

"Alarmed but not desperate, I sent the report to Mr Kruger. About three weeks later, however, X-rays taken in Kimberley reached Johannesburg. The physician who had seen Mr Sobukwe diagnosed cancer."

This was publicly disclosed by Kruger who told a protesting Pogrund not to approach him directly again.

Sobukwe was thereafter admitted to the famous Groote Schuur Hospital amid security police intrusion.

Pogrund says: "When he arrived in Cape Town he had to report to the security police. On his discharge from hospital he had to return to Kimberley on the first available train.

"He had to report on his departure to the police in Cape Town, and his arrival to the police in Kimberley. (In practice, this could be done on the phone)."

Said Mrs Sobukwe at the time: "He could hardly walk because of his backache. Friends took us from the airport. He struggled to move slowly to the charge office to report that he was around.

Sobukwe, as commentators said subsequently, was persecuted and tortured until his death. Biko was murdered at 31 years of age. Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 27 years.

Where would the black people's struggle for democracy be were Sobukwe and Biko alive together with Mandela today?

THEO RAWANA

THE southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) vowed yesterday to prevent electioneering by white political parties in the townships.

General secretary Dan Mofokeng told a Johannesburg news conference township residents were not going to allow NP, DP and CP meetings to take place.

"The people will use every tactic ... to prevent political activity by the parties. They are not going to allow those parties to come to the townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation." *B10AW 25/293*

Mofokeng also warned employers they would have to agree to allow workers to stay away from work on "mock election"

White parties told to stay out of townships

days. These would educate people about elections and accustom conservative employers to workers being absent on election days. If employers opposed such activities, "the people will decide what to do with them", he said. *(11A)*

The employers would not suffer any financial losses because they would be notified beforehand. *(11A)*

DP spokesman Peter Soal said from Cape Town Sanco wanted to decide whose views should be promoted in the townships. "That's not democracy. We will go to the townships and continue to promote our policies of democracy and nonracialism."

Zulu king issue resolved quietly

BIDM 25/2/93

113

BILLY PADDOCK

THE thorny problem of Inkatha/KwaZulu's insistence on the Zulu monarch's presence at the planning conference and future negotiations is to be resolved quietly by sleight of hand.

The conference is being convened to be as inclusive as possible and invitations are on the basis of "come along and bring a partner". Each Codesa participant is entitled to invite one other party to attend and it is likely that the CP, the Afrikaner Volksunie, the PAC and Azapo will also be there.

It is understood that the major reason Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants a KwaZulu delegation at the conference is to ensure that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is represented.

The ANC's proposal, as mooted and provisionally accepted at Codesa before it folded, is that traditional leaders be represented at the talks at

a provincial level with the Natal delegation being led by the king.

However, Inkatha argues that as a constitutional monarch, he is a special case. Even though he would not personally attend or get involved in negotiations, it is understood that his representatives will form part of the KwaZulu government delegation.

The PAC looks set to join the talks after a meeting with government in Namibia next week under the chairmanship of President Sam Nujoma.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos yesterday insisted that a KwaZulu government delegation would be attending the conference despite government and the ANC agreeing that "it was not feasible for self-governing administrations to be represented".

"We will just have to see what kind of veto power the ANC has on this

one," she said referring to the organisation's opposition.

An informed source close to the negotiations said yesterday the KwaZulu delegation would probably just arrive at the meeting and no parties were likely to object strongly.

Government meets Inkatha tomorrow and it is understood that constitutional matters, specifically the sensitive issue of regionalism and federalism, will top the agenda.

Inkatha's central committee meets on Sunday to give its negotiators a mandate for the planning conference.

It is understood that a government negotiator will also attend Inkatha's central committee meeting to give input on bilateral negotiations with the ANC.

Vos said the planning conference would have to be extended as Inkatha insisted it could not complete its work in just two days.

● Comment: Page 6

Inkatha to raise poll funds issue

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA would urge a multiparty negotiating forum to address the funding of political parties' election campaigns, Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said yesterday. *BOM*

Vos said because democratic elections were tilted in favour of those who had money, the ANC had a better chance of winning than other parties.

"You could be a Hitler and win elections if you have money ... and you could be a Mother Theresa and lose if you do not have money," she said.

Vos said Inkatha — unlike the ANC which received funds from overseas — could not afford services of experts to help it in the elections. Contributions to Inkatha's coffers came from local supporters, she said. *25/2/93*

Inkatha would raise the issue of funding at the multiparty negotiating forum, which would be convened next month.

ANC election commission member Popo Molefe said the ANC had not as yet received money for its election campaign, which was why it was going all out to mobilise resources locally and internationally.

EC anti-apartheid movements this week said they had agreed to raise funds for the ANC.

Inkatha, said Molefe, had — over the years — received millions from government in the form of grants to the KwaZulu government.

He hoped, however, it was not using the funding of election campaigns to "frustrate" the transition process.

Govt and PAC to meet in Namibia

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT and the PAC will meet in Namibia on Monday to discuss, among other things, the PAC's continued armed struggle and the organisation's position on the planned multiparty negotiating forum.

The meeting will be the first between the two parties since government suspended talks with the PAC in the wake of killings of whites in the eastern Cape by the PAC's armed wing Apla. (11/1)

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the meeting, which was at government's request, would be attended by senior SADF and Apla officers. His organisation's delegation would be led by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Seroke said it was unlikely his organisation could be persuaded — either by government or the ANC — to attend a multiparty forum's planning conference scheduled for March 5. This was because of its experience at Codesa. He said the PAC walked out of Codesa's planning conference because other parties were bent on ramming their proposals down its throat.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town

that government's decision to reopen discussions with the PAC was unexpected.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said yesterday: "It must be emphasised the planned talks with the PAC/Apla in no way contradict earlier statements that government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made."

The discussions would take place in the same policy context as those held earlier by government and the ANC before the suspension of its armed struggle.

The government delegation will be led by Kriel and attended also by Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman. B/DM 25/2/93

□ A meeting between the ANC and the PAC — at the request of the ANC, said Seroke — which was to have been held in Johannesburg yesterday, fell through because, the PAC said, it had been given insufficient time to prepare for it.

POLITICS

R1-m 'wasted' on Neethling's two libel cases

Political Staff

THE taxpayer has paid at least R688 319 — and possibly more than R1 million — in legal fees to former police forensic expert Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling to sue two publications which accused him of involvement in dirty tricks.

ANC Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling slated the expenditure as an abuse of public funds, describing it as another case of state corruption.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said in parliament that the State had paid R688 319,91 up to February 18 for General Neethling's civil defamation action against the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad — which he lost.

Mr Kriel was replying to questions from Mr Dalling, who said the answers did not disclose all facts.

He said that by last March the State had paid R461 633,46 in costs and a further R120 000 as surety for counter-claims.

Since then the State had paid a further R688 319,91 in costs — "more than R1 million by the taxpayer. To favour one general in this way is to take the NP gravy train to the verge of the ridiculous".

SACP backs ANC bid for power

Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party central committee has pledged its full support for the ANC's bid for a major victory in elections for a constituent assembly.

The decision was taken after the committee gave its general support for the "transition package" adopted by the ANC's national executive.

The SACP also resolved not to contest the elections on its own, but under the ANC banner, and to ensure the ANC's election platform was guided by a commitment to a thorough reconstruction of state structures, the economy and society.

Rent, service arrears total R1,9-bn

Political Correspondent

RENT and service charge arrears in townships totalled more than R1,9-billion by the end of last year.

Replying to a question by Mr Joseph Chiole (CP Pretoria West), Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Ter-

us Delport said Transvaal townships accounted for the bulk — more than R1,6-billion.

Cape townships owed R166,7-million, those in the Free State R128,8-million and Natal R10,7-million.

Of the total, local authorities — all in the Transvaal — owed Eskom R643,2-million.

Anti-smoking Bill to be tabled soon

AN anti-smoking Bill, to be tabled as soon as possible, will include a ban on the sale of tobacco products to people under 16, says Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter.

Replying to a question from Mrs Carole Charlewood (DP Umbilo) she said the measure was on the legislative agenda

for this session of parliament.

The Bill would control the use, sale and advertising of tobacco products and give the minister power to regulate the health warning on tobacco products and to prescribe the claims which could not be made in advertisements, Dr Venter said. — Sapa.

Hanging not 'selective'

THE Minister of Law and Order would not ask the State President for death sentences to be carried out on people convicted of killing policemen.

Replying to a question from Mr Douglas Gibson (DP Yeville), Mr Hernus Kriel said that the death penalty should

not be imposed on a particular category of killers.

He also referred to the speech made by President De Klerk at the opening of parliament, in which he said the wave of murders made it difficult for the government to continue the moratorium on hangings. — Sapa.

Absent soldiers to be prosecuted

PEOPLE who had ignored call-up for January's national service intake would be prosecuted, said Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw.

In an oral reply to a question by Mr Rob Haswell (Ind Maritzburg North), he said prosecu-

tions were suspended until last year's amendments to the Defence Act were implemented.

These gave potential objectors wider scope for refusal.

New call-ups had been issued once the 1992 Amendments had been instituted. — Sapa.

ANC explains stand to Cape

Political Staff

THE ANC today begins the task of explaining its constitutional package in the Western Cape, a region which opposed power-sharing at a meeting of the movement's national executive committee last week.

Secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will talk about lat-

est developments in bilateral talks with the government at a public meeting at UWC at 4 pm.

And, at 5.30 pm, he will brief branch executive members behind closed doors.

● ANC and government negotiators meet again on Tuesday and Wednesday.

and acknowledged by Natal/KwaZulu peace workers.

If and when the meeting takes place — mid-March is a possible date — it will simply be the cherry on the cake. And if the meeting takes place but fails to produce all the results expected — some fear a severe case of unrealistic expectations being dashed — it will still have been worthwhile.

There's some validity in the perception that Inkatha strategists want the meeting because it would enhance their leader's image as a national player beyond KwaNatal. By the same token, ANC hardliners — particularly the ANC Natal Midlands Region, led by Harry Gwala, and northern Natal's Aaron Ndlovu, who are in the frontline of the violence — wanted it quashed for precisely that reason.

Ironically, this maverick stance probably ensured the success of the summit preparations, which were led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose. The ANC Natal group warned that an unsuccessful meeting would be more damaging than no meeting at all. It would, they stressed, first raise then dash the hopes of those in the firing line who wanted peace.

Moderates, particularly within the ANC, couldn't risk the harm to their credibility that would be inflicted by failure — hence the establishment last year of a high-level steering committee and agenda subcommittee to pave the way for a leaders' conference. The ANC's Sydney Mufamadi, who sits on the National Peace Committee, says the negotiators thrashed out a four-point agenda for the summit:

- Freedom of political activity;
- The demilitarisation of politics — sensitive issues such as the roles of Umkhonto we Sizwe and KwaZulu Police will be dealt with under this heading;
- Implementation and problems with peace accords, including the bilateral agreement reached on January 29 between the IFP and ANC, the National Peace Accord and the Umfolozi Accord; and
- Co-operation on socio-economic reconstruction between the IFP and ANC.

Mufamadi stresses that the subcommittee's objective is to ensure that agreement is attained on these issues before the leaders meet, so that their summit is a certain success. The fact that a March date has been mooted suggests that agreement is close, despite the aggravation of issues such as arms smuggling.

The effects of these preparatory bilateral talks have permeated beyond the negotiating table. Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman M C Pretorius says the effect is being felt through the entire peace process. "The hard work which has gone into the bilateral meeting will in itself strengthen the Peace Accord. It has laid a good foundation for better understanding, which could lead to a freer environment that will foster freedom of political association in Natal."

Pretorius adds that the preparatory meet-

ings are having a significant influence on the soul-searching process now under way within the regional peace committee. Workshops are being held to define why conflict has continued in spite of the signing of the Peace Accord, and how to make the regional and local peace committees more effective. Says Pretorius: "The foundation for that was laid when the IFP and ANC top leadership decided they would have bilateral talks about, among other things, the Peace Accord. The subsequent co-operation from them was then evident in the workshop." ■

MANDELA/BUTHELEZI SUMMIT

Fm 26/2/93
The peace spin-off

Even if the elusive meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not take place, the preparatory political fencing has not been wasted. On the contrary, results of behind-the-scenes negotiations are already being felt

Finding common ground

FM 26/2/93

 IIA ~~IB~~


Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will lead government's delegation into next week's planning conference aimed at getting multiparty talks back on track

FM: What are the major differences between government, the ANC and IFP and how are you resolving them?

Meyer: Power sharing and regionalism. We wanted long-term participation of more than one party in the executive structure. The ANC wanted to prevent the entrenchment of this arrangement. There is movement towards acceptance of a relatively longer period of transitional government based on participation by all relevant parties who receive a certain percentage of votes.

In our view this will allow for the phasing in of the new dispensation and joint government for five years. Details of how the Executive will function still have to be worked out.

On regionalism we wanted the duties, functions, powers and boundaries of regions determined before the transitional phase. The ANC wanted these issues left to the elected constitution-making body (CMB). We are trying to bridge the two views by considering the possibility of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate and hear evidence on all aspects of regionalism. We've discussed this with the ANC and the IFP and significant progress has been made. **A recent ANC statement gave the impression that government had agreed to let the constitution-making body deal with details of regionalism. Is that not correct?**

The statement didn't reflect the complete picture. The proposed commission would bridge our differences. It would recommend regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the CMB, which would have the final say. We believe the various parties should structure their submissions to the commission so that they are mutually compatible, thereby ensuring recommendations to the CMB that will at least have the support of the major parties.

The ANC published detailed proposals for power sharing last week. Are they in line with what you have been negotiating?

They raised some new ideas and other aspects are not quite clear. We will seek clarity in talks this week. It is important to achieve absolute clarity on the composition and functions of the executive. For instance, the powers of the President and his relationship with the leaders of the other parties represented in the executive. Those leaders will obviously have to have positions other-

wise the whole idea of a government of national unity will be meaningless. Our discussions so far indicate that we can come to terms on these issues. Finding common ground on the principle of power sharing was a major achievement. I'm sure we can agree on the detail, though I don't think we will resolve the issue this week.

Was the IFP satisfied after your talks last week that you don't have a secret deal with the ANC?

They've said so openly, it was not a point of dispute.

What are the major points of difference between the IFP's views and those of government and the ANC?

I would say the IFP is more concerned about regionalism than power sharing. In fact the IFP's constitutional plan for Kwa-Zulu/Natal doesn't provide for power sharing, just straight majority rule. The concept is probably not that important to the IFP though I'm sure they would want to be part of a government of national unity. The focus of our talks was on regionalism, how it could be implemented and included in the final constitution.

This is also an issue of major concern to government. The set of constitutional principles to be agreed on by the multiparty forum will include a principle on regionalism, which will refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. In other words it won't simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard it is taken further than what we've been discussing up to now.

What is the purpose of the multiparty planning conference and do you expect it to be a difficult session?

Firstly, to assess progress of the negotiation process and secondly to plan for the resumption of the multiparty forum. I don't think we will clear up all outstanding points before the conference, but we have made progress on the major issues. It depends on what people expect from the conference. Government views it as a session to prepare for the resumption of multiparty talks and not the forum for negotiating constitutional matters.

In spite of the success of talks over the past two weeks government's proposed timetable remains tight. Can it be achieved?

We're working flat out and I think we are on track. I see no reason why the multiparty forum won't get off the ground by the end of March, which would mean getting on with issues like the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), constitutional principles, contents of the transitional constitution and the charter of fundamental rights.

All this must be discussed and agreed on by the end of May and that's a tight schedule. We've proposed that we first agree on a TEC so that it can get on with its work. We

can't afford to fall behind. I've no doubt that political progress through negotiations will help reduce political violence and improve the economy. Delays increase the chance of further mass action and instability.

The ANC has called for elections as soon as possible. If agreement is reached by the end of May can elections be held this year?

I doubt it. There is considerable preparatory work to be done. We haven't even touched the issue of the reincorporation of the TBVC states, which will take some time. Preparations for the election itself are complicated. We have to establish an independent Electoral Commission which we can only do once multiparty talks resume. From a practical point of view I don't see how it will be possible to have an election sooner than a year from the resumption of multiparty talks. This doesn't mean I won't work full out to have earlier elections if possible, but in reality I don't think it will happen.

Public posturing by various political leaders indicates considerable distrust and bitterness towards opponents. What is the relationship between government and ANC negotiators in particular?

I think the level of distrust is decreasing, but one can't expect negotiations to override all differences. After all, we have two roles. On the one hand we are negotiating partners with a common responsibility — together with other parties — to make progress and define the rules of the game. On the other hand, we will be fierce opponents in an election held in terms of those rules.

The conflict will exist until an election. How we manage the situation is important. We must guard against making it impossible to work together in a government of national unity after an election. Some form of understanding will have to be worked out for the election campaign.

Does government regard any issue as non-negotiable?

I prefer not to talk about non-negotiables or bottom lines. My approach is to aim for the maximum instead of defending the minimum. But issues important to us are the constitutional principles I spelled out in parliament last month (*Current Affairs*, February 5). They are all positive and achievable and in line with the NP's constitutional guidelines accepted in 1991.

What are the consequences of agreement not being reached between the main parties in the next few months?

If there's no progress government will go back to the drawing board and look at alternatives. President De Klerk indicated this in November. Whatever steps are taken will have to ensure the greatest possible degree of legitimacy and be in line with democratic principles. But we are working on the assumption that we will make progress, not that an alternative will be necessary.

(11A) 23/11/73.
ANC: 'No compensation'

JOHANNESBURG. — Victims of ANC detention camps will receive no compensation, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said yesterday.

Referring to Mr Bob Douglas's inquiry into atrocities at these camps, Mr Mokaba said the advocate was "simply daydreaming and hallucinating" when suggesting that apartheid agents be compensated for the dirty work they had conducted against the liberation movement.

"They got caught and received their punishment . . . How on earth can any straight-thinking person suggest that the victims must compensate their aggressors?", he said.

Mr Mokaba acknowledged that some people had been detained by mistake, but said they had been released as soon as the error had been realised.

The report, authorised by the International Freedom Foundation, was released early this month. — Sapa

Political tolerance worn thin — study

STAR 23/1/93

(11A)

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LEVELS of political intolerance among opinion leaders are "disturbingly high", a new study of attitudes among South Africa's national elite has found.

The researchers warn that this factor, plus continued political violence, could retard South Africa's transition process and jeopardise election plans.

In a report released today, they recommend a concerted effort by all political groupings and the State to launch programmes to reduce political intolerance.

The study, based on attitude surveys among opinion leaders across a wide spectrum, was conducted by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch under political science department head Professor Hennie Kotze.

Rightwingers

The highest intolerance level was 73,9 percent — among supporters of right-wing parties.

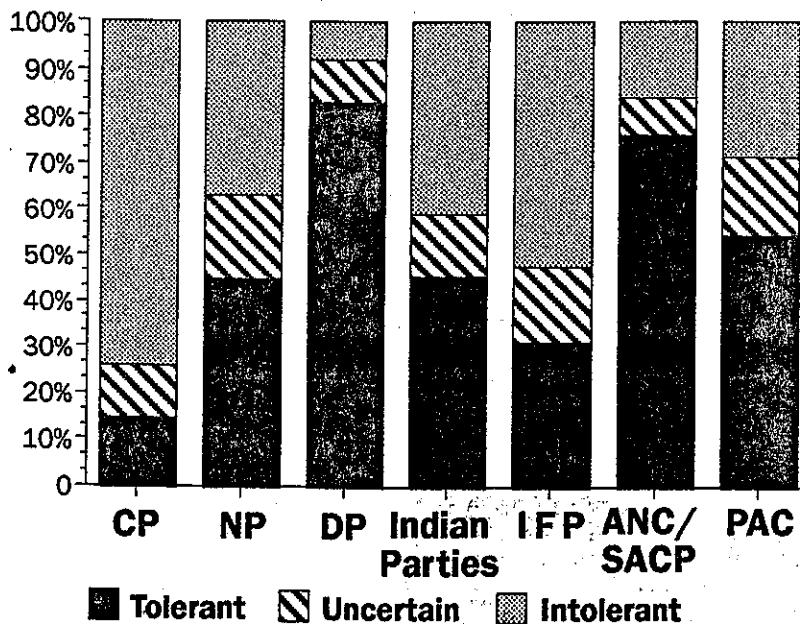
Almost 48 percent of rightwingers fell into the category of "extremely intolerant".

Inkatha Freedom Party respondents also showed a high level of intolerance (52,1 percent), followed by supporters of the Indian parties (40,9 percent), the National Party (37,2 percent), the PAC (28,5 percent) and the ANC-SACP alliance (15,7 percent).

The most tolerant grouping was the Democratic Party, with an in-

A HIGH-LEVEL political research project has disclosed some disturbing trends in the attitudes of the people who ought to be leading us out of the doldrums. But the Stellenbosch University researchers also found optimistic signs of possible early progress in South Africa's peace process, writes FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

Tolerance index by political party support



tolerance level of just 8,1 percent.

Military leaders were found to be politically the most intolerant (67,5 percent), followed by farmers (52,9 percent), labour (40,9 percent), churches (33,3 percent) and bureaucracy (31,3 percent).

However, in a survey to test support for political parties among opinion leaders, those in the military sector showed the strongest support for the NP (93 percent), followed by agriculture (76 percent) and parastatal institutions (68 percent).

No less than 68 percent of respondents preferred a federal system of government as a first constitutional choice, with a "unitary" state as second choice.

Only 4 percent preferred "partition" and 2 percent wanted white domination.

More than 75 percent of ANC-SACP supporters among respondents and 49 percent of PAC supporters favoured a unitary model, while 96 percent of IFP supporters joined the majority of NP, DP and Indian party supporters in preferring federalism.

Apart from Conservative Party supporters, respondents had no problems in accepting liberal constitutional devices such as a bill of rights, judicial review, regular elections, a guaranteed multiparty system and proportional representation.

While 57,5 percent of ANC-SACP supporters backed a mixed economy, PAC respondents favoured State control.

With the exception of right-wing supporters, affirmative action in the civil service was supported.

The researchers con-

cluded that if violence continued at its present level, the transition process — and with it any planned election late in 1993 or early 1994 — would face tremendous pressure.

Only when the National Peace Accord had a real effect would the violence decline and the trust needed for binding agreements have a chance to grow.

"A concerted effort to get programmes started to reduce intolerance should be made by all political groupings as well as the State," said Kotze.

Compromises

Progress in the transition process would depend on the emergence of strong leaders with the ability to impose unpleasant compromises.

It was unlikely that an elite settlement coupled with pact-forming would be arranged in a "democratic or mass-media fishbowl".

A factor that could become a driving force in the transition process was the realisation that the Government (the NP and supporters of the "core State") was not strong enough to provide the necessary economic growth and strong government.

At the same time the ANC-SACP alliance and PAC were not strong enough to enforce a "people's democracy".

The immediate policy priorities of any government — transitional or permanent — would be political stability and economic reconstruction.

The end result might be a limited democracy.

Secret cabal intent on taking power

11A
AR 22/2/93

IN this exclusive article, WINNIE MANDELA, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela, hits out at a secret cabal within the ANC intent on taking over power by infiltrating key committees within the organisation.

THERE is no doubt in my mind that we must negotiate our way into a new non-racial, non-sexist democracy. But, at the same time, there is also no doubt in my mind that we will only have that democracy if it works in the interests of the vast majority of the people of this country. If that new democracy protects the white privileges accumulated over the last 300 years, then it is no democracy.

When the ANC was banned in 1960 we lost its democratic tradition. Separated from the people, the ANC in exile was established as a small committee. When it grew into a large bureaucracy, with embassies throughout the world, control was centred in a small executive of 35. Cut off from its constituency, it could not develop a democratic tradition.

In South Africa, the UDF, hampered by emergency and security legislation, was unable to develop a democratic tradition. In that situation the tendency for small groups to make decisions on behalf of the people became wide-scale, and all regions suffered.

Now that we are moving towards a non-racial, non-sexist democracy, we have to eliminate elitist dictatorships which seek to pursue their personal ambitions and power for the sake of power — they are not pursuing an ideological agenda. They want to infiltrate their own people into key positions on ANC negotiating teams, and then to use those positions to speed the ANC through the negotiations process in order to ensure their hold on a future government, regardless of the consequence of that government for the people.

This is my concern.

The intention of the secret cabal is explicit in the two cabal documents of 1990 and 1992.

The 1990 document was expressed by Aubrey Mokoena, who sent copies to leading comrades. The 1992 document, leaked to the Press, is a sort of progress report on the 1990 document, the veracity of which, to the best of my knowledge, was not challenged.

The ANC's recent power-sharing document, with "Strategic Perspective", reflects the culmination of the cabal's goal. The authorship of the "Strategic Perspective" document is attributed by *Uwe Weckhler* to (M...

From this it becomes clear that the cabal intend to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses, and negotiate a settlement which serves the ends of the cabal, not the people.

The cabal also fears Cosatu and its influence on the masses. Document 2 states that Cosatu's "participation in Codesa, as well as the anticipated insistence on the establishment of the correct mechanisms, coupled with their ability to mobilise the masses, can decisively influence the process we seek to control".

Document 1 states: "Through our efforts we have been successful in creating a shadow negotiations teams team ... at least four of our leaders are certain to be included in the negotiation team."

The first document, written within months of Mandela's release, is already intent on dethroning him. It questions his leadership: "... nobody can confidently proclaim that he is a natural leader with a large constituency among the youth ... the euphoria generated by his release quickly wore off. After his first message the youth grew tired of listening to old rhetoric."

Document 2: "... his continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations with the regime lessen his usefulness. His popularity has waned considerably and we should expect Winnie's capers to seriously harm him. Already there is the rumoured split in the marriage which, once it becomes public knowledge, will further tarnish his image."

Both documents point to (Cyril) Ramaphosa as his successor.

Document 1, referring to Ramaphosa: "This man shows a great deal of promise and should continually be nurtured."

Document 2: "Our vision to develop an alternative leader to Mandela has already paid handsome dividends ... Within the movement we must continue to strengthen the position of Comrade CR, but take care not to publicly harm Mandela's position. We should work inside, and eventually it will appear natural for CR to take his position."

At the time of the above two documents Mandela had not yet outgrown his usefulness.

Document 1: "It is extremely gratifying Nelson Mandela is accepted as leader of both the ANC and the people of SA. Our evaluation thus proved right."

The evaluation at the time was

NEWS Winnie's ANC 'cabal' claims are rejected

ANC denies allegation of plot against Mandela

Sowetan 22/2/93

11A

Winnie's claims

Cabal intends to oust
Mandela and keep De
Klerk in power:

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to Mr Nelson Mandela's leadership.

It dismissed news reports of a plot apparently hatched by alleged rival leaders from within the organisation to oust him as president.

Reacting to yesterday's news reports of the plot, which quoted the ANC leader's estranged wife, Winnie, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "There is no truth in the rumours and we reject them. We restate the fact that (Mr Nelson) Mandela is confirmed as the leader of the ANC with full support of its leadership and members."

Niehaus said the ANC did not intend to formally react to the news reports, which said a cabal from within the ANC was intent on de-throning Mandela. The ANC had already dealt with the rumours in the past, he added.

The news reports quoted Mrs Mandela as saying the cabal aimed at:

- Removing Mandela as president and replacing him with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa;
- Infiltrating the ANC's negotiation team in order to realise its aims at the negotiation table;
- Consolidating their position at regional levels;
- Allowing President FW de Klerk certain victories in the international arena; and
- If necessary, keeping the National Party in power even after the ANC won an election. - Sapa.

TOBIAS PETER LANGA KLAASTE WAS WHAT MY father called himself. I have called my eight-year-old son Langa Peter Tobias Klaaste.

The shift in the positioning of the names is important, politically and historically.

My father came from the old conservative school that believed passionately in what was then called, with admiration, "Western Civilisation" and its virtues. Another man who had a surname of similar Eurocentric origin to ours was the journalist, educationist, politician and writer Sol Plaatje, who incidentally hailed from the same parts as my dad — the Kimberley-Mafikeng area.

Sol Plaatje, being a journalist, was obviously more enterprising than my father. He not only thought Western Civilisation was the main thing for liberation, he travelled to London and translated some of Shakespeare's plays into his language, Tswana.

He was a founder-member of the ANC.

My fathers' peers were called 'oorlamse' blacks — 'oorlams' being an Afrikaans term which said they distinguished themselves from the "red blanket" traditional folk who had not

When Klaaste was 'oorlams'



**Aggrey
Klaaste's**

**On the
LINE**

gone to school. While these missionary-schooled, sophisticated "tea drinkers", as they were also called, considered themselves a cut above the ordinary peasant folk, they were perfectly civil, courteous and friendly with the lower classes; treated them with the utmost respect.

My generation became more cynical of most things Western. Admitted I grew up in places like

Sophiatown where America was the apogee of fashionable things. JF Kennedy's *Camelot* and all that jazz made us believe to be an American was to be the very height of everything hip.

Things have changed. That is why my son's first name is Langa and not Peter or Tobias. My son's image is confidently, comfortably African.

In the days of Black Consciousness (BC) you were black before you were anything. Many folk got rid of what used to be called Christian names. Almost everybody started using their vernacular names to establish their new political identity. While I was captured by the new spirit — the BC generation to which my elder sons Nthato and Moeketsi belong — I did not consider it that important to change for instance my obviously unacceptable surname Klaaste. My sons Nthato and Moeketsi incidentally have no other names — Christian or otherwise. 22/2/93

They would, incidentally, wish us to revert to my ancient surname, something like Mtirara.

Things have gone full circle. While my youngest

son is proudly called Langa he has white friends and has shocked me by getting into intimate talks with pretty white little girls in the city.

It was unheard of my in my day for black males (of all size and ages) to speak to white females. Just speak to them. My boy Langa has an easy acceptance of his Africanness, so that even the Christian names Peter and Tobias he bears do not faze him. In fact I suspect, young as Langa is, he is more conscious, more confident of his being black than I ever was.

In fact, my father and I probably had a Langa and his peers are black, beautiful and easily, elegantly comfortable about their blackness.

Not my elder sons. They also go to white or mixed schools but they are still angrily black, and have a rather big race chip on their shoulders. They are struggling to get their identity in place, into being equal to their white friends.

How many times do they have to re-assure themselves that black is as good as white!

11A

ANC is 'not selling out'

Sowetan 22/2/93
■ Hani quashes rumours:

By Mzimasi Ngudle

11A

SOUTH African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani yesterday quashed rumours of a split within the African National Congress and denied the organisation was selling out.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters at a "Peace, Freedom and Democracy" rally at Mohlakeng Stadium, Randfontein, Hani dismissed Press reports that there was a plot to oust ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Hani said the ANC had not made any power-sharing agreement with the Government and that reports of "selling out" were "irresponsible and mischievous".

He said the ANC would dictate terms on any interim arrangement with the Government, quoting Zimbabwe and Namibia as examples where "people won battles on the table".

Referring to the five-year power-sharing agreement alleged to have been clinched with the Government, Hani said experiences of Zimbabwe and Namibia showed that "negotiations were only a moment in the whole terrain of struggle".

ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada lashed out at the media, accusing it of telling lies and being "the enemy of the people".

Chairman of the ANC PWV region Mr Tokyo Sexwale told the meeting that the first democratic elections would not be "just ordinary elections but a crucial moment in the revolutionary struggle".

ANC denies conspiracy to oust Mandela

114
M.G. 20/2/93

Political Staff

THE African National Congress has reaffirmed its commitment to Mr Nelson Mandela and has rejected reports of an internal plot to oust him as president.

The ANC leader's estranged wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, said in an exclusive article that there was a secret cabal within the ANC's core leadership which was intent on taking over power by infiltrating key committees within the organisation.

Mrs Mandela quoted from two documents written in 1990 and 1992 which, she said, attacked Mr Mandela's leadership.

She said the cabal intended to:

- Remove Mandela as ANC president and replace him with Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.
- Infiltrate the ANC's negotiations team in order to realise its aims at the negotiations table.
- Consolidate their position at regional level.
- Allow President De Klerk certain victories in the international arena.
- If necessary, keep the National Party in power even after the ANC wins an election.

Sapa reports that ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said there was no truth in the "rumours".

- Mrs Mandela's article.

DP slams the ANC

■ DP holds meet- ing in Soweto:

DEMOCRATIC Party members in Soweto had joined the party because they feared the "power-hunger" of the ANC, DP city councillor Mr Jack Bloom told an election education meeting in Soweto at the weekend.

Soweto
24/2/93



Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda and African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo share a lighter moment during the ANC's international solidarity conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg yesterday. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Vision for the future

Sowetan 22/2/93

Join the swing to Bell's - your No.1 choice

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN to push for South Africa's first non-racial elections got under way yesterday.

Particulars of the campaign are contained in a declaration issued at the end of a three-day international solidarity conference hosted by the African National Congress at Nasrec in Johannesburg.

From apartheid to peace, democracy and development was the theme of the conference attended by 650 delegates from across the world.

The conference also pledged material and financial help to the ANC's election campaign. It declared to launch a world-wide campaign to help stop violence in South Africa.

Speed up campaign

The declaration said international pressure, including sanctions, should be maintained to speed up agreement on the transitional process and it endorsed the ANC national executive committee resolution on sanctions.

This was that sanctions be lifted only after an agreed date for elections and the passing of the Transition to Democracy Act had been secured.

The declaration reads: "The conference agreed that major priority must be to mobilise the international community to ensure that the electoral process is genuinely free

and fair...

"In order to overcome apartheid's massive destruction and deprivation, the conference addressed the need to prepare for a major programme of restructuring, reconstruction and development to achieve the vision of a new South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

"All participants pledged to work together through new forms of solidarity to make this a reality. The ending of economic sanctions will also provide an opportunity for the international community to promote genuine economic development."

The conference also adopted a programme of action with the priority being "maximising international pressure on the Pretoria regime so that agreement can be reached speedily on the establishment of the transitional executive council and the date and procedures for the holding of elections for the constituent assembly."

The conference ended on a high note with former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda calling for support for the ANC's election campaign.

"All organisations, including the Government, should support the ANC's peace efforts," said Kaunda.

He also commended Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and Mr John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, for their "outstanding peace effort".

The conference backed the ANC's national executive committee resolution on Angola and pledged to initiate a drive to highlight the war in that country and support efforts to stop it.

● See also pages 2 and 6.

focus on sanctions

Sowetan 22/2/93

SANCTIONS may be a thing of the past once a date for elections is agreed upon and duly legislated, says the African National Congress.

This is one of several far-reaching resolutions the ANC's national executive committee made public at the organisation's three-day international solidarity conference which ended on a high note in Johannesburg yesterday.

The conference, a culmination of a flurry of high profile decision-taking by the ANC over the past week, saw the organisation entrench itself as perhaps the leading contender for political power — a government in waiting, so to speak.

The conference was the first of its kind in the country, a diplomatic coup for the ANC because it brought under one roof its political and financial backers from across the globe — and right under the nose of the Government.

The ANC is indeed in a different mode: to garner local and international support and promote itself as the country's first nonracial elections become a reality.

For instance, the ANC's decision on sanctions is significant if seen against the background of its series of bilateral talks with the Government.

Usher in the transition

This suggests that the present parliamentary session could culminate in a series of laws to usher in the transition, since the ANC's resolution says its condition for calling off sanctions is based on reaching agreement on elections, a transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission and the introduction of a Transition to Democracy Act.

In fact, the international community was afforded an insight into the ANC's political, economic and social strategy.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for international affairs, drew applause from South African big business on Friday night when he said the problem of sanctions would be resolved this year.

The ANC is more conciliatory and less confrontational, Mbeki's speech suggested.

National unity

He said the National Party had to be included in a government of national unity once a final constitution was agreed on.

It was likely that structures needed to implement a transition to democracy could be in place by April this year, said Mbeki, hinting that multiparty negotiations had to be inclusive to be seen to work.

However, the international conference got down to serious business, with different proposals — on education, human rights health, invest-

The ANC proposes — once an election date is set — to lobby for the removal of sanctions. And this snag will be resolved this year, according to the ANC's Thabo Mbeki. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** reports:



Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda with chairman of the African National Congress Mr Oliver Tambo at the organisation's conference at the weekend.

ments, land, media, women and children — being adopted.

● In its revised draft Bill of Rights the ANC proposed a tribunal to administer the restoration of land to people dispossessed by forced removals.

"Legislation shall provide for the establishment of a tribunal for land claims which shall have the power to adjudicate upon land claims made on legal or equitable grounds," the draft Bill says.

“Structures needed to implement a transition to democracy could be in place by April this year”

unity of
eration movements.

DP slams the ANC

■ DP holds meet- ing in Soweto:

DEMOCRATIC Party members in Soweto had joined the party because they feared the "power-hunger" of the ANC, DP city councillor Mr Jack Bloom told an election education meeting in Soweto at the weekend.

Soweto
24/2/93

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ANC to meet PAC, *Sowetan* Azapo

■ **Revival of Patri-
otic Front may
be discussed:**

22/2/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress has approached the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress for bilateral discussions on the country's political developments.

A meeting between Azapo's liaison committee and the ANC's negotiations team has been rescheduled for Thursday after it was postponed on Saturday.

A meeting with the PAC will take place on Wednesday, ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday.

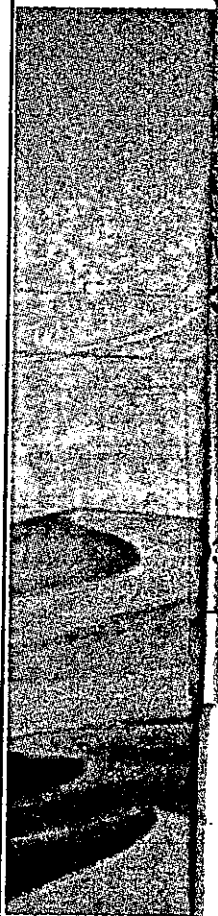
Both Azapo and the PAC have confirmed the meetings.

No specific agenda has been set but it is believed the relaunching of the Patriotic Front would be considered.

This is so because at least the ANC and PAC are bound by an Organisation of African Unity resolution which requires them to form a united front against the Government.

Attempts to get a commitment in this regard from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela floundered in September at a meeting called by Zimbabwean President Mr Robert Mugabe.

As chairman of the Frontline States, Mugabe is charged with implementing the OAU's resolution on the unity of South African liberation movements.



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NEWS FW gives two coloureds, Indian top jobs ● Patriotic Front may be revived

New faces in Cabinet reshuffle

Sowetan 22/2/93

IN A major reshuffle, President FW de Klerk has appointed two coloured MPs, an Indian and an as yet unknown appointee from the private sector to full Cabinet posts.

De Klerk said at the weekend that Mr Jac Rabie, presently chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, is to become Minister for Population Development and Mr Abe Williams will join the Cabinet as Minister of Sport.

ANC decries 'empty gesture of reconciliation':

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, formerly Director-General of the House of Delegates Administration, will become Minister of Tourism. The appointments will all be effective from April 1.

Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry General Magnus Malan announced at the start of the Parliamentary session that he intended to retire.

Three other Ministers - Mr Gene

Louw (Defence), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs) and Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs) - have also indicated their wish to retire.

Dr Org Marais, Minister of Administration and Tourism, has indicated his willingness to vacate his post in support of the process of reform.

The Defence portfolio is to be added to that of Justice of Mr Kobie Coetsee. a

Reacting yesterday to the reshuffle, the African National Congress said "the bringing in of discredited and discarded tricameral figures to the National Party Cabinet is, on the eve of the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, an empty gesture to reconciliation".

The ANC said reconciliation meant all the people of South Africa electing a government of their choice, drawn from all the people of the country. — Sapa.



of a split within the African National Congress and denied the organisation was selling out.

...A ... WILL PROVIDE FOR THEM AT THIS TIME

Conditions set on sanctions

ANC plans campaign for an early poll

B/DAM 22/2/93

(11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, in co-operation with international anti-apartheid movements, is to launch a worldwide campaign to press all parties in SA to agree to the earliest possible election date.

Major obstacles to an early poll are seen as continuing violence and differences over the reincorporation of the Kwazulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

The lifting of sanctions has been linked to the outstanding issues still to be resolved in negotiations.

Yesterday's 500-strong international audience at the ANC's solidarity conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg, accepted the declaration to launch the campaign.

The campaign is aimed at three major areas: speeding up the transition phase; assisting in getting all parties to work more actively to resolve the violence; and starting the process of reconstruction as soon as possible.

Senior ANC representatives at the conference said lifting sanctions, apart from those involving oil and arms, would take months rather than weeks because it hinged on a multiparty agreement on the transition period.

A multiparty planning conference had been scheduled for March 5 where the parties would attempt to finalise the agenda and set the ground rules for the new multiparty negotiating forum.

By March 5, the ANC and Inkatha executives were also scheduled to finalise a date for a summit meeting between them to find ways of reducing conflict between their supporters and establishing free poli-

tical activity in areas under their control.

The international campaign would also target homelands, especially those with overseas offices — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

It was pointed out that before sanctions could be lifted, there would have to be an interim constitution, a transitional executive, independent electoral and media commissions and a date for the first non-racial elections.

However, before elections could take place, violence had to be reduced drastically and the political playing fields levelled — key points for the campaign.

ANC officials said most sanctions had already been dropped unofficially, but some major investors were still waiting for the organisation's go-ahead.

Effectively, only oil sanctions and a full arms embargo were in force. They would be lifted only after a democratic government was in place.

A critical and as yet unresolved area in negotiations was the reincorporation of the homelands. Government and the ANC would meet today and tomorrow in an attempt to thrash out an agreement on the matter.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are the most vociferous opponents of reincorporation and KwaZulu wants to attach preconditions relating to federalism before it relinquishes self-governing status. Transkei and Venda have already indicated their

□ To Page 2

ANC B/DAM 22/2/93

(11A)

□ From Page 1

commitment to reincorporation.

Free political activity in the three objecting homelands is still largely curtailed with Bophuthatswana and Ciskei outlawing it and KwaZulu threatening violence against the ANC should the organisation plan any public events in its territory.

The campaign will stress that the national peace accord and its structures are sufficient to ensure that violence is reduced and that free political activity can take place. This is contingent on all signatories to the accord adhering strictly to it.

The campaign will target parties breaching the accord and the solidarity movements and anti-apartheid groups will press their governments to influence parties in SA.

The third major area the campaign will target is reconstruction. This will be aimed

especially at Natal communities where the violence has left thousands destitute.

The campaign hopes to raise funds to rebuild communities and regain housing developments in violence-hit areas.

The conference accepted the ANC NEC's recommendation that the multiparty transitional executive council structures would be the appropriate governmental institutions for entering into official agreements.

The resolution also called on the international and domestic investor community to seek active ways of involving those people who were "marginalised by apartheid" in investment projects they embarked upon.

The ANC said it reaffirmed its commitment to address poverty, unemployment, racial inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income and the social imbalances created by apartheid.

PAC 'unlikely' to be at talks

Political Staff

IT was unlikely the PAC would attend the multi-party planning conference on March 4 and 5, PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jackie Serote said yesterday.

He said while it was important for the PAC to attend the conference it was not possible, until talks had been held with the government on security issues.

● The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday vowed not to participate in a power-sharing government

Meaning of unity govt on agenda

STAR 23/2/93.
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The final countdown to the resumption of multiparty negotiations began yesterday with another round of talks between the Government and the ANC.

Government and ANC negotiators continue their meeting today to discuss differences in interpretation of their tentative agreement to a five-year government of national unity (GNU).

Preparations for the multiparty planning conference — postponed to allow the Inkatha Freedom Party to consult its central committee — are also on the agenda.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the proposal for a GNU last week but, in doing so, placed interpretations on it which the Government wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected

the Government's characterisation of the transition package as a "power-sharing" arrangement and said the will of the majority party would not be frustrated in the GNU.

The NEC agreed that all parties winning more than 5 percent support in elections would be represented in the Cabinet.

But it added that the president of the GNU would effectively decide who should represent the minority parties.

Government sources said yesterday that the Government rejected this position, and that the leaders of minority parties should be represented in the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday met the National Party's constitutional affairs study group to answer tough questions about the preliminary agreement with the ANC.



Traditional leaders

sought as negotiators

Political Reporter

The ANC and its Codesa allies yesterday decided to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multiparty negotiations and next week's negotiations planning conference.

The decision, taken at a meeting at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, could pave the way for the inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in negotiations — a demand KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party have made repeatedly.

The meeting, attended by the ANC's "patriotic front" allies within Codesa, said the participation of traditional leaders in negotiations should be "in accord with their unifying role".

The organisations said the delegation of traditional leaders would have to be composed "by the traditional leaders themselves, and this should not be on a party-political basis".

Asked whether the agreement meant that King Goodwill could now attend multiparty talks, ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma did not want to commit himself either way.

Winnie's claims 'are not unfounded'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Lulama Luti



with Tim Modise

A SECRET cabal within the ANC, soccer, lawlessness in township schools and closure of gambling dens were some of the issues raised during last night's *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Mr Raymond Skosana of Johannesburg told host Tim Modise he was adamant that the allegations made at the weekend by Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, were not unfounded.

"I don't think the media is stupid in running the allegations - for the second time. If the allegations are true, then I'm afraid the ANC will suffer the same fate as Orlando Pirates in 1984 (when Jomo Sono left Pirates to form his own team).

Professor Dread of Craighall Park said Mrs Mandela was being used as a tool by people bent on dividing and sowing confusion within the ANC.

Kelello of Kagiso said it was about time black parents restored discipline in their children and stopped blaming the Government.

"Respect and discipline has to be restored. We are sick and tired of people who have been using our children for their own selfish gain. Without discipline, there won't be order."

"Why are we Africans bent on destroying our schools? Whenever there are problems

(people) just go and break the schools' windows and doors. Why is that?"

Sowetan

23/2/93

Sam, Daveyton

"For the past two weeks we have not been able to watch (continental) soccer matches played by our local teams on TV. It's about time the SABC offered everybody a good deal."

Gugu, Durban

"There seems to be a lot of problems within Orlando Pirates. I find it hard to believe that such a

big and old team as Pirates has a problem in securing sponsorship."

Sinky, Tembisa

"I feel sorry for those people who are going to lose their jobs as a result of the casinos closing down."

Rachel Stevens, Toekomsrus

"I think the Government is being hypocritical. Why do they allow horse racing? Is it because it is supported by the Anglo-Americans of this world?"

Ngo,
Cape Town

focus on Natal

CATHERINE Mshengu is a refugee in her own village, driven from her home in Imbali, Maritzburg, by gun-toting arsonists.

Her house a pile of rubble, her belongings destroyed by fire or looted, she now lives in a church hall with 26 other families — all victims of the violence sweeping South Africa.

"It is Inkatha's fault that I am here. They came to my house, pointed a gun at me and told me to get out," Mshengu said.

At least 7 700 people have been killed in township violence, most of it between supporters of the IFP and the African National Congress, since President FW de Klerk unbanned opposition groups and began dismantling apartheid in 1990.

But Imbali, home to 25 000 people and set amidst rolling green hills outside Pietermaritzburg, capital of Natal, began bleeding years earlier.

Natal is the power-base of Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But many of Imbali's residents say they back the ANC.

Since the beginning of the war for control of Natal's townships in 1987, scores of Imbali residents have been killed and hundreds more have fled.

Empty and firebombed houses bear mute testimony to the internecine war fought with Kalashnikov rifles (AK-47s), handguns, grenades and sometimes spears.

"Over the past six years Imbali has consistently been one of the most violent places in Natal. In many ways this is where the Natal violence started," said John Aitcheson, head of a monitoring group set up by the University of Natal.

Statistics kept by Aitcheson show that from 1980 to 1986 only 16 people were killed in political violence in the area. But in the next three years at least 172 people died.

From 1990 the killings increased, Aitcheson added.

"There virtually hasn't been a month (since 1987) in which people have not been killed," Aitcheson said.

Emily Ntuli, who heads one of the ANC's Imbali branches, said residents were scared to go out at night. Some streets in an Inkatha-dominated Imbali district were no-go areas for ANC backers any time of the day or night.

Pointing to a house set high on a hill, the home of a prominent IFP official, Ntuli said: "They keep on shooting throughout the day. Nobody can go there except if you are Inkatha."

A nearby school was closed a week ago after gunmen began sniping at it, sending children scattering, Ntuli said.

Tension in the town increased after the pro-IFP mayor of Imbali, Mr Phikela Ndlovu, an

The brutal battle for political control of Natal townships by the IFP and the ANC has hardened intolerant attitudes, left thousands dead and made many people refugees in the land of their birth

Soweta 23/2/93



IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Natal ANC leader Harry Gwala

Imbali councillor, Mr Abdul Awetha, and a 16-year-old boy went on trial in Pietermaritzburg's Supreme Court accused of murdering an ANC activist.

Since the trial began on February 3 the Imbali police station has been attacked twice, houses have been sprayed with gunfire and a man shot dead, Ntuli said.

She believed the conflict in Imbali would only end if soldiers were sent to the area. Since the last military unit departed three months ago, things have got steadily worse.

"Hundreds of people have become refugees. They simply ran away and left their houses," she said.

The IFP has accused the ANC of stockpiling arms in preparation for war before and during South Africa's first democratic elections, expected to be held before April next year.

Several members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are under arrest following the seizure of weapons, including rocket-launchers, which they were allegedly attempting to smuggle into Natal from Swaziland.

ANC leaders said they knew nothing about the arms-smuggling operation but militant Natal leader Harry Gwala said members of the organisation were probably smuggling weapons into South Africa to defend themselves in township warfare.

Gwala, a hardline Stalinist who heads the ANC's Natal Midlands region under which Imbali falls, accused the Government of arming the IFP.

He also said that in the run-up to the elections, ending nearly 300 years of white domination in South Africa, there would be "lots of trouble" in Natal. — *Sapa-Reuter*.

Election ~~body~~ body 'by (11/17) end of year'

WILSON ZWANE

SA SHOULD have its first independent election commission by the end of the year to oversee nonracial elections. *8/17/93*

The ANC said yesterday it was confident that government would pass legislation during the current session of Parliament to enable President F W de Klerk to appoint people to an independent electoral commission. *23/2/93*

ANC official Penuel Maduna said the multiparty negotiating forum, to be convened soon, was expected to agree to the establishment of the commission, and would have to agree on new electoral legislation.

Maduna said office-bearers of political parties would not be permitted to serve on the commission.

The commissioners would also be barred from standing as election candidates, he said.

On the independent media commission, Maduna said discussions with all relevant parties were still going on.

This commission, Maduna said, would ensure that the media were not hijacked by any political party.

The nature and composition of the independent media commission would be decided on by the multiparty forum.

But Maduna said the commission would be set up along the same lines as the independent electoral commission.

Govt, ANC meet over conference

BLOOM 23/2/93
11A

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC met in Johannesburg yesterday to begin a two-day meeting to thrash out the finer details of the multiparty planning conference scheduled to take place on Friday next week.

The parties will also discuss constitutional issues, including the reincorporation of the homelands, problems surrounding the implementation of the transitional executive council and the election process.

There is general agreement that the agenda for the planning conference will start with an assessment of the present negotiation situation and the best way to proceed to multiparty constitutional negotiations in a Codesa-like forum.

It has also been agreed that each party will invite one other party to the planning meeting, on the principle of inclusivity, so that all Codesa participants will be invited as well as Azapo, the PAC, CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, AWB and HNP.

Each party will send a three-person delegation and a panel of chairmen will be selected from all parties represented.

A problem still to be resolved is government's proposal that homeland administrations be invited. The ANC is opposed on the grounds that it was agreed only political parties and organisations be invited.

The biggest hurdle appears to be the inclusion of traditional leaders, especially Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, at the planning conference.

Inkatha has insisted the KwaZulu government and the king head up separate delegations. The ANC has rejected this and instead proposed a delegation of traditional leaders be represented at the conference, and the leaders decide on the composition of the delegation.

The ANC has proposed that the conference be open to the media but government has opposed this and the matter is still to be decided.

The major stumbling block in the broader constitutional debate is how to

persuade Bophuthatswana, and to a lesser extent Ciskei, to agree that elections for an interim government be held throughout SA, including the nominally independent homelands.

The broad understanding between government and the ANC is that all citizens, including the homelands, be allowed to vote in the first nonracial elections. The results will indicate whether the majority of the population wants reincorporation.

The proposal is also that the transitional executive council have jurisdiction over the homelands to ensure that free political activity can take place within them.

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope has rejected this and has insisted a referendum on reincorporation be held in the territory only once the final constitution has been decided on.

The ANC and government go into talks with the full backing of their principals on a coalition government of national unity and the prescriptions which would govern an elected constitution making body in deciding the boundaries, duties and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer briefed the NP caucus yesterday on the latest developments in negotiations and received endorsement for the five-year plan. Cabinet accepted the plan last week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its patriotic front partners on the deal and the decisions taken last week by its national executive committee. The ANC's other ally, the SACP, also endorsed the plan, with reservations, at a central committee meeting at the weekend.

The ANC is to meet the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday to encourage them to join the planning conference while government will be meeting Inkatha again later this week to finalise arrangements for next week's conference.

NEWS Five activists die in police shoot-out ● ANC b

ANC cries foul on killings of 'comrades'

Sowetan

23/2/93

■ ANC Northern Natal asks Goldstone Commission to investigate deaths:

THE African National Congress' Northern Natal region has called for an immediate Goldstone inquiry into the deaths of four ANC members whom police said were killed in a shoot-out at KwaSokhulu.

The ANC confirmed the four were armed but said they had not fired at the police.

Those killed on Saturday were Ndwangu Cele, Ziba Ndlela, Bongani Mokoena and Zweli Mnguni. They were aged between 18 and 23.

The SAP denied ANC allegations that policemen opened fire on "comrades" waiting at a bottle store to escort protesters home from a march against alleged

biased policing in the KwaMbonambi area.

Instead, the SAP said a patrol came under fire from five men armed with AK-47 rifles. A handgrenade also exploded about 20m from their vehicle.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said policemen opened fire on the suspects who fled into the bushes.

The shoot-out continued and policemen later discovered that four men had been killed.

"Two of the deceased were members of the notorious Msweli gang,

who were sought by the police for the killing of Paul Vercammen," Naidoo said.

ANC leaders in Northern Natal called on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate.

ANC Northern Natal media officer Zipho Mkhize alleged policemen had "opened fire on these comrades for no reason".

"When they tried to escape policemen deployed at the back of the shops shot and killed them." — *Sapa*

PAC and Azapo wooed

Sowetan 23/2/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

(11A)

■ Invitation to return to fold before negotiations:

THE African National Congress is to persuade the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress to join a multiparty preparatory conference ahead of the resumption of negotiations.

This emerged yesterday at an ANC Press conference following a meeting with its Patriotic Front allies.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said the organisation would invite the PAC and Azapo to join the prepara-

tory meeting to be held on March 5 and March 6.

He said the two organisations would be asked to return to the Patriotic Front.

The ANC meets the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday.

General elections

The ANC yesterday briefed its PF allies on the decisions taken by the ANC national executive committee.

A statement said: "The meeting examined the state of the negotiation process, the proposals currently under consideration in bilateral meetings between the ANC and the Government and the forthcoming negotiations planning conference.

"The meeting reaffirmed its commitment to a democratically elected sovereign Constituent Assembly and the need for general elections within the next 12 months."

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West-
parliament all about
when it was
unveiled in
1983? Sheila

Camerer, an NP MP, told us it was a temporary structure which served as "a can-opening exercise" which in due course succeeded to "change people's perceptions about each other's communities and prepared the way for full democracy". Who was she trying to deceive?

Black people know that the tri-cameral parliament was formed to contain their aspirations of freeing themselves from the system of oppression and exploitation. But, contrary to Camerer's absurd claim, the NP is now the chief protagonist of the "demise of the tri-cameral system". Its irrelevance came about as it failed to enjoy popular support and legitimacy from the outset.

Those non-white parties, like the Labour Party, Solidarity Party, etc., who got duped and participated in it, painfully realised the trap they were hooked in when their members were swallowed by the NP.

However, since February 2, 1992, the three-chamber parliament began to play roles and perform functions it never intended, even for the NP, although it still works to the latter's advantage.

At present, this parliament represents a host of parties, including the ANC and IFP which were deliberately left out in the beginning, with the rationale that there existed the homelands where they could merrily exercise their right of self-rule. Fortunately, Azapo and other major parties of the left continued to refuse to grant an undeserved legitimacy to the discredited structure.

Due to the lack of space, we shall only focus on two of these roles/functions.

● Firstly, it serves to protect and cover-up for those who detained, tortured, assassinated and passed laws of oppression and racism. For example, the Indemnity Act passed last year aims to protect apartheid

CROSS TALK

Tri-cameral parliament: an instrument of the NP

SOUTH
2012-24/2/93

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Continuing our political debate series, **SIPHO S. MASEKO**, chairperson of Azapo Western Cape Region, explains why his organisation is not convinced negotiations between the ANC and the NP will lead to a lasting solution:

security thugs responsible for the assassination and disappearance of many anti-apartheid activists.

Their loved ones and comrades will never know where their remains lie. During this current session, parliament is expected to pass a scheme which would allow advance payments of retirement and pension gratuities, estimated at R21 billion, to those who caused misery and poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and stubbornly denied us the right to vote and choose our own representatives.

The proposed charter of the bill of rights is another example of a ploy to protect "property" and "rights" acquired through forced removals, violent land conquest and economic deprivation of the black majority.

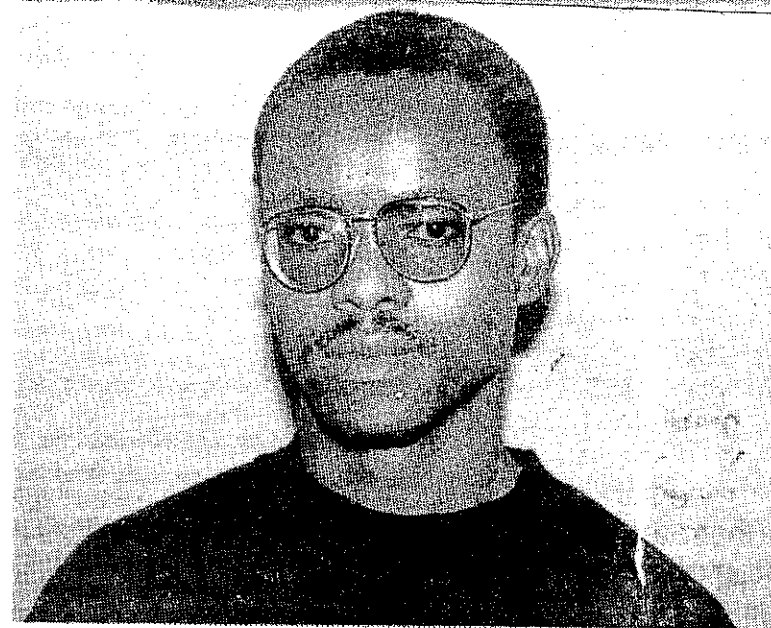
● Another function of the tri-cameral parliament is to strengthen the NP's position at the negotiating table. De Klerk's threat of wanting to call another "whites only" referendum if the NP's basic principles for a new constitution are not accepted is an indication of this. Having won control in all three chambers, it now has even more

power of using this parliament as its instrument.

Thus, it is a pity that Mr Ebrahim Rasool of the ANC's Western Cape Regional Committee, harbours wishful-thinking when "the only remaining task for the bankrupt tri-cameral parliament was to rubber-stamp legislation for a transition to democracy . . . It has, indeed, power to do little more." (South, Jan. 30—Feb 3, 1993). The fact is that all the parliamentary "power" the NP has would be used to wrestle the ANC and other negotiation parties to get far-reaching concessions at the negotiating table.

This is linked to the notion of whether this is really the last white-dominated parliament? It is an open secret De Klerk's regime has no intention of dissolving it. What will happen is that when his so-called "Interim Government of National Unity" is installed, he will invoke the legislation which enables him to appoint unelected individuals to parliament.

With this law he would be able to appoint leaders of certain factions of liberation movements in the cabinet. At that stage, he would also rename



*De Klerk will appoint
some liberation
movement leaders to
the cabinet and
rename parliament as
the "Parliament of
National Unity".
There would not have
been fundamental
change'*

the present parliament — say the "Parliament of National Unity"? So the issue is not what name he would prefer to call the same parliament, but that it would not have been fundamentally changed.

Be that as it may, Azapo is not naive to realise that a settlement is in the offing, probably later this year or sometime next year. However, because De Klerk's regime is untrustworthy, and that stark contradictions continue to riddle South Africa, we are convinced that such a settlement would not be favourable

to the majority in the country.

Only one condition is required to forge this settlement: the suppression and/or ignoring of all legitimate concerns such as free political activity, restraining of apartheid armed forces from killing our people, voicing of grievances in the work places, education, health, etc.

It would be unfortunate if the ANC were seen to be in the co-vanguard of clamping down on such concerns, as it appears bent on reaching a settlement at all costs.

Azapo believes there is an alternative.

● The first is the revival of a genuine patriotic front of liberation forces without delay, because any negotiations that take place without the existence of this front will keep floundering or be weakened.

● Secondly, this front should insist on the establishment of a transitional authority consisting of international representatives to supervise general elections based on one person, one vote, and the restriction of forces of the apartheid regime.

● Thirdly, only an elected constituent assembly should draft a new constitution that would represent all the people of Azania.

Multiparty conference looks set to start on so

Green light from

11A
201A

STAR
19/2/93

By Peter Fabricius
and Jo-Anne Collinge

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's national executive committee last night gave its crucial approval to proposals for a five-year government of national unity.

This promising development, coupled with encouraging signals from the Government-Inkatha Freedom Party bosberaad at Richards Bay, indicates that negotiations are still on track for the multiparty planning conference next Thursday and Friday.

This will in turn arrange the resumption of full-scale Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

But the NEC firmly rejected sharing equal power with the National Party in a government of national unity and made it clear that the views of the majority party would prevail.

After an intense three-day meeting, the NEC last night issued a unanimous resolution which endorsed the essentials of the agreement by Government and ANC negotiators for a government of national unity lasting up to five years.

This included a joint Cabinet — of all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the electoral vote — which would run the country for no longer than five years after elections for a constituent assembly.

In the first phase — before the adoption of a new constitution — the government would be called the interim government of national unity, the NEC said.

In the second phase — after the adoption of a new constitution — it would become known as the government of national unity and reconstruction, which would phase in aspects of the new constitution and embark on a far-reaching programme of reconstruction and affirmative action.

Hamstrung

port — by the president in consultation with the leaders of these parties.

On most issues the president would have the final say. On certain issues not yet agreed to, decisions would require the support of two-thirds of the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement was confusing and that he could not see the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity.

However, after studying the NEC resolution government sources said it formed a good basis for further discussion.

They confirmed that the discussions in Richards Bay with the IFP were going well, and that everything was set for the multiparty planning conference to go ahead next Thursday.

Ramaphosa also said last night that intense efforts would be made to communicate the resolution to all party structures.

Indications are that this will not entail the elaborate process of consulting the grassroots which ANC militants were demanding.

The negotiators seem to have placated suspicious militants by uncompromising rhetoric but also by spelling out in unambiguous terms that the NP will not wield equal power with the ANC in a government of national unity.

Consensus

On another critical issue, the NEC resolution confirmed that the constituent assembly would take all decisions on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government.

A proposed regional commission could only make recommendations to this assembly.

The ANC, however, would be seeking to build a national consensus on regional government.

● SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hanu said at the University of Cape Town yesterday the

chedule

ANC

At a press conference in Soweto last night, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was adamant that the NEC proposal was an outright rejection of the Government's notion of power-sharing.

"Our idea of a government of national unity means majority rule should not be sacrificed in any way. We see the president as being able to take decisions without being hamstrung."

The NEC resolution spells out that the president shall be elected by simple majority of the constituent assembly. Representatives of minority parties in the Cabinet will be appointed — in proportion to their voting sup-

power with the National Party for five years and instead wanted an interim government, led by Nelson Mandela, to be in power for nine months.

He said a constituent assembly should have a nine-month lifespan in which to draw up a new constitution.

"We are saying the government of national unity must go up to the time that the constituent assembly has completed its task. That can't be two, three or five years."

He said the ANC would like the process completed within nine months.

"Then we must have elections. This is the position of the ANC."

THE African National Congress has endorsed the multi-party conference scheduled later this month — despite a groundswell of grassroots resistance to its still-unratified deal with the government.

At a press conference in Soweto yesterday, after the movement's crucial three-day national executive committee meeting, ANC leader Pallo Jordan announced that the NEC had approved the conference, set for February 25, "with a view to the speedy resumption of Codesa".

The *Weekly Mail* understands that there was stiff resistance from some regions, particularly in Natal, to the conference and calls for a national meeting of the ANC to discuss its agreement with the government. Behind the scenes, negotiators were saying that meeting the February 25 and 26 deadline agreed by the ANC and the government would be "a complete miracle".

The ANC negotiators and the government were keenly aware of the signals a failure to meet their deadline would send to the world.

At the press conference, Jordan also said the NEC had affirmed that a government of national unity was "not a deal struck between political parties, but the outcome of the preferences of the South African electorate as expressed in the first democratic elections".

He declared the ANC's commitment to a government composed of all parties elected to a constituent assembly subject to a minimum threshold of five percent.

Last week, ANC negotiators agreed to a five-year "government of national unity" (in effect, a cabinet) consisting of all parties winning more than five or 10 percent of the vote in the country's first non-racial national election. Those in the ANC opposed to the deal interpret this as an effective power-sharing deal for the five years after the drawing up of a new constitution.

In return, the government dropped its insistence that the powers and functions of the regions be decided before a constituent assembly is elected.

It is understood that at the NEC meeting, ANC leaders in favour of the five-year plan pleaded that a government of national unity would encourage investment and stability. They also stressed that, as one ANC "moderate" put it, "there is no possibility of a better arrangement because the government will refuse to compromise further, and Inkatha would dig its heels in even deeper".

But what the negotiators term the "emotional" arguments of their more hard-line comrades struck an answering chord with a large percentage of NEC members, and an even greater proportion of members at the grassroots.

The view put forward by the three ANC Natal regions and the ANC Youth League, and reportedly backed by the elements in the ANC's western Cape, PWV and Border regions, was that a national ANC conference should be called to discuss the agreement.

The ANC has not excluded the possibility that a national conference be called to facilitate consultation on the proposal while the multi-party conference be allowed to go ahead.

Opponents to the plan are not objecting to the idea of a transitional government of national unity, but reject the notion of guaranteeing the government — or any other party — seats in the new cabinet before they have proved what support they have in a national election.

"A transitional government of national unity should be the prerogative of the leader of the majority party, not the result of constitutionalised power-sharing," said one opponent.

From the government side, the moderates appear to have won the day over the hard-liners, at least for now. With Magnus Malan's resignation coming into effect on March 1, and several other cabinet conservatives such as Louis Pienaar and perhaps Adriaan Vlok, likely to follow him, those in favour of playing softball with the ANC seem to be in control.

The anti-deal rhetoric of the ANC hardliners is being echoed, from different perspectives, by two

ANC moderates win the day

W/Mail 19/2-25/2/93

ANC leaders overcame the deep misgivings of the rank-and-file over multi-party talks at the organisation's key executive meeting this week.

By GAVIN EVANS and PAUL STOBER

other parties. Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress have decided what they term the "power-sharing deal", which has been portrayed as a pact to exclude all others from the reins of government.

While the reality might be quite different — it was in fact an unratified proposal, not binding on other parties to negotiations, for those with suffi-

cient electoral support to get cabinet representation for a limited period — it is being used as a powerful mobilising tactic.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the proposed transitional government as a "recipe for disaster", and insisted that the issue of boundaries and the power of regions should be disposed of before a constituent assembly is formed.

"It would be absolutely wrong for the independent states and self-governing territories to buckle under ANC and RSA pressure and agree that the future of the region should be determined by a constituent assembly. That would be putting the cart before the horse."

Buthelezi added that the current violence in the country meant elections could not be democratic. He has also stressed that he is not prepared to join a multi-party forum until the Umkhonto we Sizwe

issue is resolved.

Buthelezi's knee-jerk rejection of the proposals may be tempered by the realisation that the deal presents his best chance yet of getting into a transitional government. Despite opinion polls to the contrary, many observers are convinced the IFP will be able to swing the minimum percentage needed to guarantee a place in the transitional government.

At present, the government and the IFP are engaged in three days of talks which are to end tomorrow. Government and IFP sources are reported to be optimistic that delegates will reach enough agreement for the preparatory conference to go ahead.

Government sources have said all the outstanding issues are not connected with the preparatory conference.

The IFP is said to be holding out until the government gives it assurances about the disbanding of MK, power-sharing and the protection of regional governments.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander also derided the accord. "We wish to inform the regime and the ANC that they are not fooling anybody and we are convinced that the regime and the ANC are going to get married and give birth to a baby named 'neocolonialism'."

Received with these stamps

THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE

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SPECIAL LONDON DRY GIN

The advertisement features a central image of a bottle of Gordon's Special London Dry Gin. The bottle is positioned in front of a backdrop of several national flags, including the Union Jack, the South African flag, and the American flag. The text 'THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE' is prominently displayed at the top in large, bold, white letters. Below the bottle, the brand name 'GORDON'S' is written in a stylized font, followed by 'ESTD 1769' and 'SPECIAL LONDON DRY GIN'. The overall aesthetic is classic and emphasizes the brand's long history and international appeal.

Election body 'by end of year'

WILSON ZWANE

SA SHOULD have its first independent election commission by the end of the year to oversee nonracial elections. *6/10/93*

The ANC said yesterday it was confident that government would pass legislation during the current session of Parliament to enable President F W de Klerk to appoint people to an independent electoral commission. *23/2/93*

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The nature and composition of the independent media commission would be decided on by the multiparty forum.

But Maduna said the commission would be set up along the same lines as the independent electoral commission.

NEWS Five activists die in police shoot-out ● ANC briefs its PF allies

ANC cries foul on killings of 'comrades'

Sowetan

23/2/93

ANC Northern Natal asks Goldstone Commission to investigate deaths:

THE African National Congress' Northern Natal region has called for an immediate Goldstone inquiry into the deaths of four ANC members whom police said were killed in a shoot-out at KwaSokhulu.

The ANC confirmed the four were armed but said they had not fired at the police.

Those killed on Saturday were Ndwangu Cele, Ziba Ndlela, Bongani Mokoena and Zweli Mnguni. They were aged between 18 and 23.

The SAP denied ANC allegations that policemen opened fire on "comrades" waiting at a bottle store to escort protesters home from a march against alleged

biased policing in the KwaMbonambi area.

Instead, the SAP said a patrol came under fire from five men armed with AK-47 rifles. A handgrenade also exploded about 20m from their vehicle.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said policemen opened fire on the suspects who fled into the bushes.

The shoot-out continued and policemen later discovered that four men had been killed.

"Two of the deceased were members of the notorious Msweli gang,

who were sought by the police for the killing of Paul Vercammen," Naidoo said.

ANC leaders in Northern Natal called on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate.

ANC Northern Natal media officer Ziphlo Mkhize alleged policemen had "opened fire on these comrades for no reason".

"When they tried to escape policemen deployed at the back of the shops shot and killed them." — *Sapa*



MK inquest postponed

Warrant to arrest policeman issued:

Sowetan 23/2/93

THE inquest into the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Mr Itumeleng Padi has been postponed to March 5.

Lieutenant Daniel Knoester, who was present when police opened fire at Padi's home, killing him and his girlfriend Nokuzola Ncalo instantly, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

A warrant for his arrest was issued earlier after he had failed to appear in court at a previous hearing.

Knoester said he had opened fire because "it was dark and too dangerous".

Replying to the family's counsel, Mr Gys Rautenbach, Knoester said Padi was holding a hand-grenade. Padi died in May 1991.

PAC and Azapo wooed

Sowetan 23/2/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

(11A)

THE African National Congress is to persuade the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress to join a multiparty preparatory conference ahead of the resumption of negotiations.

This emerged yesterday at an ANC Press conference following a meeting with its Patriotic Front allies.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said the organisation would invite the PAC and Azapo to join the prepara-

Invitation to return to fold before negotiations:

tory meeting to be held on March 5 and March 6.

He said the two organisations would be asked to return to the Patriotic Front.

The ANC meets the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday.

General elections

The ANC yesterday briefed its PF allies on the decisions taken by the ANC national executive committee.

A statement said: "The meeting examined the state of the negotiation process, the proposals currently under consideration in bilateral meetings between the ANC and the Government and the forthcoming negotiations planning conference.

"The meeting reaffirmed its commitment to a democratically elected sovereign Constituent Assembly and the need for general elections within the next 12 months."

Sakkor loses appeal

Taiwanese bagmaker must pay increased compensation to ex-employees:

Sowetan 23/2/93

COMPENSATION of R210 000 should be paid to 282 former employees of a Taiwanese-owned plastic bag manufacturer, based in Pietersburg, the Pretoria Supreme Court has ruled.

The employees were ordered to vacate the property because of a Pietersburg council bylaw which prohibited workers from living at a place of employment. Workers, claiming accommodation at Sakkor's premises was a condition of their employment,

then went on strike and a dispute was declared. In August the Industrial Court ordered the company to pay its former employees R103 832. Sakkor appealed, claiming the amount was too high, and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, on behalf of the former workers, lodged a cross-appeal, claiming the amount was too small. Mr Justice EL Goldstein ordered Sakkor to pay the employees R210 000 compensation and legal costs of about R5 000. — *Sapa*.

Five-party Cabinet will dilute NP's powers

SOUTH AFRICA is likely to be ruled by a five-party coalition Cabinet, with Nelson Mandela as State President, if the plan to have a transitional "government of national unity" goes ahead.

The Cabinet will contain representatives of all parties which get more than a minimum threshold of votes in our first one-person-one-vote election. The number of Ministers each party gets will be in proportion to the number of votes it polls, and the majority party will name the President.

The President will be required to consult all the parties in the coalition before exercising his executive powers, but on some key issues the multiparty Cabinet will be able to take decisions with a two-thirds majority.

Where the threshold is set is obviously crucial to who gets in. The Government initially suggested 15 percent, but later reduced that to 10 percent. The ANC wants it to be 5 percent, and this now seems likely to be accepted.

The difference tells one a lot about the different approaches of the two major players. Calculations based on the latest opinion polls indicate that at either 10 or

15 percent there would probably be only two parties that would qualify for Cabinet membership — the ANC and the National Party.

At 5 percent there would be five — the ANC, NP, PAC, Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in that order.

Given that the ANC is certain to be the strongest party, why should it want a broader-based coalition and the NP a narrower one?

First, because the NP would clearly be stronger in a two-party coalition than a five-party one. The "sunset clause" debate revealed the ANC's awareness that while it may be able to win the election fairly comfortably, it is worried about the control the NP could still exert over the bureaucracy and the security forces. If it were the only other partner in a coalition Cabinet, the NP would be able to use those powers more effectively. A diluted Cabinet would dilute that ability.

Clearly, too, the ANC is sensitive to accusations from Winnie Mandela and other radicals that it is "getting into bed with the Nats". A two-party coalition



Allister Sparks

would seem to give substance to that.

The third and most compelling argument is that the more inclusive the coalition the more authentic the "government of national unity" will be. If the radicals of both Left and Right, the PAC and the CP, can be included, then the chances of destabilising assaults on the transitional regime will be reduced and the prospects of a new democracy emerging increased. It is the power of this argument that I believe will carry the day for the 5 percent.

What, then, is the likely composition of the "government of national unity?"

It depends, of course, on how people vote, and in this country where black people have never voted before and where authoritarian employers and fearsome security laws have caused blacks to be reluctant to reveal their true

political beliefs, opinion polls are notoriously unreliable. Still, they are all we have to go by in the precarious business of political speculation.

Professor Mark Orkin, a polling analyst who works closely with an organisation called Research Surveys Ltd that has done detailed work in this field, has given me a prediction of the election outcome which he calls "an educated current guess allowing for likely differences in voter turnout".

These differences, he explains, are likely to weigh more heavily against blacks than whites, since blacks are unaccustomed to voting, many may fail to turn out, and thousands may never get the ID cards they will need to become voters.

On this basis, using opinion surveys conducted last November, Orkin predicts that the ANC will get 60 percent of the vote in an electorate of about 20 million, the NP 17 percent, the PAC 8, CP 6, IFP 5 and Democratic Party 4.

That, on a proportionate basis, would mean that in a 22-member Cabinet (its present size) the ANC would have 14 Ministers, the NP four, the PAC two, and the CP and

the IFP one each.

The Democratic Party would get none, though it could gain representation in the Constituent Assembly which will draft the new constitution and double as an interim parliament, where the threshold may be set as low as 2.5 percent.

What is striking about Orkin's prediction is the low rating of the IFP. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has gained widespread recognition, here and abroad, with his claims to be "the leader of the Zulu people" who are South Africa's largest black tribe. This has led to him being regarded as a major player on our political stage, on a par with Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

Yet, according to Orkin, the most reliable opinion surveys show Inkatha has only about 25 percent support among the Zulus — significantly less than the ANC — and nothing measurable among other Africans. If that is correct, it means Buthelezi is unlikely to emerge from the election even as a regional leader, so rendering his campaign for regional autonomy of Natal-KwaZulu meaningless.

Projected nationally, Orkin believes, Inkatha is likely to win only about 3 percent of the total African vote, and will have to depend on its support among whites in Natal to make the 5 percent cut for a place in the coalition Cabinet. That, ironically, will put it in direct competition with the NP rather than with the ANC in that province.

This projection throws new light on Buthelezi's opposition to the constitution being drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly and his insistence that it should be negotiated at a national convention of all political parties.

I do not know whether these opinion surveys and Mark Orkin's extrapolations are accurate or not, but of this I am certain — they demonstrate the absolute necessity of having an early election.

We must know who's who, who real and who's a pretender, before we begin the serious business of drafting a new constitution on behalf of "the people".

Then let us accommodate as many as possible in a founding gesture of national reconciliation. □

FIGHTING FANUS'S FIRE

SAFRA was 21/2/93

IT IS 5pm on February 12. Journalists gathered in a small conference room on the 11th floor of the Hendrik Verwoerd building in Cape Town gaze at the man at the head of the table with stunned glee.

He is Fanus Schoeman, the little known Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer's grey shadow, former BMW agent and the president's old snooker mate.

After six weeks of furious denials that any constitutional deal had been hammered out by the government and the ANC, Mr Schoeman blandly announced the deal was done. "The ANC and the government have agreed that a government of national unity will govern the country for five years," he replied to a routine question on constitutional progress.

CRAZY

The assembled journalists started whispering: "Roelf is going to eat him... Gatscha is going to eat...".

Before Mr Schoeman's announcement, negotiators on both sides had bluntly denied rumours of a deal. They feared any reporting of agreement between the ANC and the government would be interpreted by the smaller parties as an attempt by the Big Two to strike a secret deal.

Now Mr Schoeman had confirmed the rumours. "The deal was crazy or in

Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanus Schoeman fuelled a fire last week when he announced it had been agreed with the ANC that a government of national unity would rule South Africa for five years. **EDYTH BULBRING reports (11A)**

after the talks. Mr Ramaphosa did so because he wanted to tell his constituency that he and his team had managed to extract this significant concession from the government.

However, he carefully avoided disclosing the full truth — which was that, in return for the concession, the ANC had accepted there would be a prolonged government of national unity.

At 3.30pm, Mr Meyer's press secretary, Isak Reelief, heard the news. With his boss in another meeting, it fell upon Mr Schoeman to douse the flames. The only liquid available was petrol.

In announcing that the ANC had agreed to a prolonged period of unity government, Mr Schoeman was telling his constituency the government had won a major victory in securing power sharing. His statement fuelled a fire that came close to destroying everything

achieved in the ANC-government talks.

When the news broke, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi thundered that the combined might of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SADF would have to be used to achieve compliance in KwaZulu/Natal.

PACIFY

Negotiators feared from this response that four months of work to get multiparty talks off the ground would be scuppered.

On the other side, the ANC's fiery Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, howled that he had been sold out by the organisation's negotiators, and threatened he would have nothing to do with the deal.

The next couple of days saw President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela performing semantic contortions in an attempt to pacify their constituents, appease the outraged Chief Buthelezi and placate several other nervous political players.



At a Sandton banquet on Saturday night, Mr Mandela "categorically" denied the ANC had agreed to power sharing for five years. What it had accepted was an interim government of national unity — and this was "not power sharing".

In an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost on Sunday night, Mr de Klerk said the interpretation that fixed agreements had been entered into was wrong. "We believe final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference," he added.

This week, the negotiators had to get through three crucial meetings if their deal was to survive and lead to the revival of Codesa. The first was relatively easy.

The Cabinet meeting on Wednesday saw an outraged Natal leader, George Bartlett, expressing huge dissatisfaction at the way he perceived Inkatha was being treated. But the Cabinet en-

dorsed the deal after government negotiators explained that the arrangement with the ANC was simply something the two parties would present to a multiparty conference for consideration.

It was now up to the ANC's national executive committee to give the agreement its support. The NEC gathered on Tuesday to start three days of deliberations in a cramped room at the Ipelegeng community centre in Soweto.

It fell to international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to defuse the anger and explain what had actually been agreed with the government. This he did with consummate skill.

AILING

Just as the government negotiators had to expand on Mr de Klerk's statement, Mr Mbeki had to expand on Mr Mandela's assertion that a government of national unity did not equal power sharing.

Mr Mandela, whose doctor had ordered him to take a rest because he was suffering from exhaustion, presided over the first two days of the meeting. Like an old-style judge, he painstakingly noted down

the contributions of every speaker in long hand.

Over the course of the three days, 63 speakers aired their views, with 55 speaking in favour of the agreement and eight against.

The ailing Mr Gwala, who can no longer eat without assistance, made his objections known, and left early on the second day to lead a march in his home region. It appears that, at this point, he realised the moderates had won the day.

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The third and most difficult meeting was between the government and Inkatha.

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It was up to Mr Meyer to convince Inkatha there was no secret deal.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose appeared satisfied, but Inkatha representatives insisted they had to take the matter back to their principals.

The government and the ANC had hoped to hold a meeting of all parties this week to plan the reconvening of Codesa.

It has now been postponed until after the Inkatha Central Committee meets next Sunday to hear a report-back on the meeting. Negotiators have pencilled in March 5 and 6 as possible dates for the planning conference.

Until then, Chief Buthelezi will occupy centre court.

big trouble. But Mr Schoeman, it transpired, had little alternative.

The fire everyone thought he had ignited had, in fact, been sparked three hours earlier.

At 2pm in a Cape Town hotel, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa announced that the government and his organisation had agreed that a constituent assembly would decide the powers, functions and boundaries of the regions.

This was contrary to an agreement that neither party would disclose details of the discussions

ANC girds for battle to take Western Cape

S/Times [Cape memo] 21/2/93.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

LEADERS of the ANC's Western Cape Region who were up in arms over the National Party's announcement last week of a five-year "power-sharing" deal, have had their fears allayed by the national executive committee's decision to limit joint government to five years.

Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak and secretary Tony Yengeni were at the forefront of the revolt against the initial announcement. They claimed it left the impression that a "deal" had been struck between the NP government and the ANC to rule the country jointly without a cut-off date for "majority rule".

Mr Yengeni said yesterday that he and Dr Boesak, who attended a special NEC meeting this week, would report back to the region and address a public meeting in Cape Town or Mitchells Plain next week.

He said the ANC was faced with the problem of how to secure the majority of votes in the coloured community, which is regarded as crucial for any political party that hopes to rule in the Cape.

Mr Yengeni, 39, who grabbed the headlines for years as Accused No 1 in the "Yengeni Trial" in which he and others appeared on high treason and terrorism charges from September 1987 to November 1990, said the ANC "had a problem" attracting membership in the coloured community.

This was because "a perception" had been created by the NP in the minds of ANC coloured organisers

and activists that they were fighting a losing battle and that most coloured voters in the Cape — and more particularly in the Western Cape — were NP supporters.

This "perception", Mr Yengeni said, had demoralised and discouraged ANC coloured activists and canvassers, as well as potential members.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC's "mission" in the Western Cape was "to attack and break down" the perception that the battle for coloured voters had already been lost by the ANC and won by the Nats.

To destroy this perception the ANC was to build up structures and direct "a complete strategy" at winning over coloured leaders and opinion-makers.

Mr Yengeni confessed that the Nat-created "perception" of overwhelming coloured support was "so big" that it had caused disillusionment among the ANC's coloured supporters.

There was also a perception that the ANC was predominantly black-inclined — yet its top five positions in the Western Cape were held by two coloureds, two Africans and one white.

Also, the popular claim that Africans were in the minority in the Cape might be disproved by a scientific survey, Mr Yengeni said. There were no reliable official statistics

that took into account the influx of Africans to the Cape since the scrapping of the influx laws in 1985.

Mr Yengeni is a member of the South African Communist Party and a former Umkhonto weSizwe commander. He studied political science in Moscow while in exile following the Soweto uprisings in 1976.

He and his wife, Lunka (which means "look out") Elizabeth, spent most of their married life in exile in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Lesotho.

The former MK commander said although his detention without trial and his long treason and terrorism trial had caused a "deep sore in my heart" that would take a long time to go away, he was "not bitter".

"I have mellowed. In any case, in the past we regarded the 'regime' as our enemy and rhetorically we shouted the government down with all the slogans we could string together. Now the government is still our enemy but with the important difference that it is only our 'political' enemy in that we are both locked in an election battle.

"The emotional game of the past is over. We are now playing sophisticated politics and we need all the help we can get.

"Therefore we are going all-out to attract all potential voters. No single voter — of whatever race, creed or sex — is more important than the other.

"We believe we have what it takes to win the forthcoming elections nationwide and in the Western Cape in particular."

ANC divided in fight for the coloured vote

SI Times 2/2/93

By CHIARA CARTER

THE battle for the hearts and minds of the coloured community has brought simmering, deep-seated divisions over ANC strategy in the Western Cape out into the open.

At the heart of the problem is the failure so far of the ANC to win vital coloured support and a realisation that, unless something is done to rectify the problem, the National Party is likely to capture the majority vote in the region in an election.

Over the past few weeks, there have been behind-

the-scenes discussions among coloured ANC activists; some of whom are proposing the formation of a new coloured organisation to mobilise support within the community.

Revival

Strategies that have been discussed informally within some ANC circles include the revival of the Coloured Peoples Congress (CPC) or else "entering and transforming" the Labour

Party, which was previously regarded as a "pariah" because of its involvement in the tricameral system.

So sensitive is the issue that although the matter is being widely discussed in the Western Cape, none of the people involved are willing to go on the record.

The debate comes shortly after the Western Cape ANC managed to persuade its chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, not to resign from the organisation and return to the church.

Dr Boesak is seen as crucial to any attempt by the ANC to win coloured support.

Conservative

Proponents of the CPC idea say such an organisation would provide "a less threatening" political home for coloureds, but would be an alliance partner of the ANC.

"We are dealing with a relatively conservative community which is concerned about African domination under an ANC



ALLAN BOESAK

government," said a Cape Flats activist.

But critics of the idea say moves to revive the CPC are motivated less by political necessity than by "personal grudges and ambition".

The ANC's regional secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said the organisation was "puzzled as to why some of our activists seem to feel this debate should take place through the press and not through the structures to which they have access".

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Fireworks likely in TV debate by political 'foes'

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter



A HEATED debate is on the cards when four political personalities tackle the crucial question of the political future of coloured people during a live TV debate on Agenda next Sunday.

On the panel discussion — to be broadcast on TV 1 from 20h15 to 21h00 on February 28 — will be four controversial figures representing the four main political parties vying for the coloured vote.

They are the former patron of the now-defunct United Democratic Front and chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape, Dr Allan Boesak; the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse — who has been trying for some time to persuade his party to form an alliance with the ANC; Mr Jac Rabie, a high-profile member of the National Party and the man who led the coup that toppled Mr Hendrickse as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

*S/Times
(Cape Metro)* **Questions** 21/2/93

The fourth member on the panel is the former rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, who is a member of the Democratic Party and author of several books, including "The Rise and Decline of Apartheid" which traces the history of political movements among the coloured people from 1880 to 1985.

The studio audience will be allowed to ask questions from the floor and if their response is as enthusiastic as anticipated by the producers of the programme, the debate could be one of the liveliest on TV in recent times because the four hold divergent political views.

To get the four — among whom, politically speaking, there is no love lost — to agree to appear on the same platform in a live broadcast is in itself something of a coup for TV1.

The discussion leader will be well-known Agenda personality Freek Robinson.

LP, IFP discuss govt for W Cape

ST Times [Cape Metro]

21/2/73

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FOUR members of the Labour Party have met an Inkatha Freedom Party official to discuss new thinking that favours having a coloured majority government in the Western Cape.

A "coloured" government would be run by the Labour Party in terms of its commitment to federalism, said Dougie Josephs, leader of the LP group who talked to the IFP.

Although the LP, as a member of the Patriotic Front and a participant in negotiations, supported closer co-operation with the ANC, it had no plans to disband or to form a formal alliance with the ANC and so lose its identity as a separate party, said Mr Josephs.

Mr Josephs is MP for Riversdale and LP trustee.

The others who met Musa Myeni, Transvaal leader of the IFP and a member of its central committee, in Cape Town last week, are Izak Kruger (nominated MP), Jannie Douw (indirectly elected), and Chris Leander, MP for Daljosaphat (Paarl).

Mr Josephs said the talks were at the invitation of the IFP and had taken place with the consent of the LP leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse.

He said the idea of a Western Cape government had sprung mainly from his controversial suggestion — made at the LP's annual congress in December — that the Western Cape, with its predominantly coloured population, should be run by coloured people.

Neither Mr Hendrickse, nor his son, Peter Hendrickse, national public relations officer for the LP, could be reached for comment.

SACP in Sunday Times ^(11A) letter ^(11A) riddle

SITimes 21/2/93
Sunday Times Reporter

THE SA Communist Party has intercepted a private letter from the Sunday Times to its correspondent in Moscow requesting that he research the history of the SACP's relationship with the Soviet Communist Party. It is not known whether the letter was intercepted in South Africa or in Moscow.

An SACP spokesman confirmed this week that the party had a copy of a letter which deputy editor Brian Pottinger faxed to Izvestia correspondent Boris Piliatskin in Moscow in March last year, requesting him to search the newly opened KGB archives for information.

He was also requested to verify reports on links between the Kremlin and possibly still underground members of the SACP in South Africa.

Furious

Material from the archives was later used in a series of articles by Piliatskin in the Sunday Times — including the first full reports of the execution of dissident SA communists by Stalin in the 1930s.

It is not known how the private letter fell into the hands of the SACP.

Piliatskin said this week he is furious.

"The SACP is full of KGB members. They act like the KGB," he said, although insisting that the correspondence could not have been leaked from Moscow.

He did not believe that old guard communists had lifted the letter and fed it to SA communists.

SACP spokesman Essop Pahad yesterday confirmed the party had the letter, but declined to comment.

THE ANGRY OLD MAN

S/imes 2/12/93.

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HE MAKES no bones about it: "I am very angry," says Harry Gwala.

Sitting at a conference table in one corner of his large, meticulously tidy office, the Natal Midlands chairman of the ANC speaks so quietly, calmly, with such economy of passion, that he might be describing someone else.

"Yes, I am angry," he repeats. "Every day I meet people badly wounded. I see acts of cruelty I cannot believe. I have seen bodies burnt into blocks of charcoal. When you see such wounds and misery you become extremely angry. You read about the atrocities of the Nazi camps, but I never thought I would see it in real life."

Not that Mr Gwala could be called squeamish. We speak of Stalin and the Stalinist label often used of him.

"I find people usually resort to labels when they do not know how to counter my arguments. I have been called a Trotskyite, a Maoist and now a Stalinist. I am not a pious man. I am very realistic in my approach."

"There were people in the Soviet Union who deserved to die, but there were also many who should not have died. Just like South Africa. Many people here should not

CARMEL RICKARD talks to Harry Gwala, the ANC Natal Midlands leader who opposes an interim government of national unity

have died. But others deserve to die — people who kill innocents."

Mr Gwala differs strongly from the ANC about the death penalty. His organisation wants to scrap it; he clings to this ultimate weapon.

He also differs with the ANC on two other significant issues: on details of the proposed government of national unity as well as on a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The national executive committee of the ANC this week agreed it would participate in a government of national unity consisting of representatives from parties which poll above a certain percentage of votes.

Gwala calls this a mistake. His Midlands region pushed a scheme to invite parties "which are of a similar mind" to join the ANC in a coalition.

Inviting possibly hostile parties merely

on the basis of support courts disaster if they fundamentally disagree with the ANC policies and approach to government. "There will be problems all the time and no progress."

However, the Gwala line was roundly defeated in the NEC and he concedes defeat — he will back the decision.

Does he feel similarly bound by the organisation's decision to go ahead with a one-on-one Buthelezi-Mandela meeting? He bristles and his voice takes on a new edge. "It is a matter of life and death. I am totally opposed to such a meeting. Nothing will drag me into it."

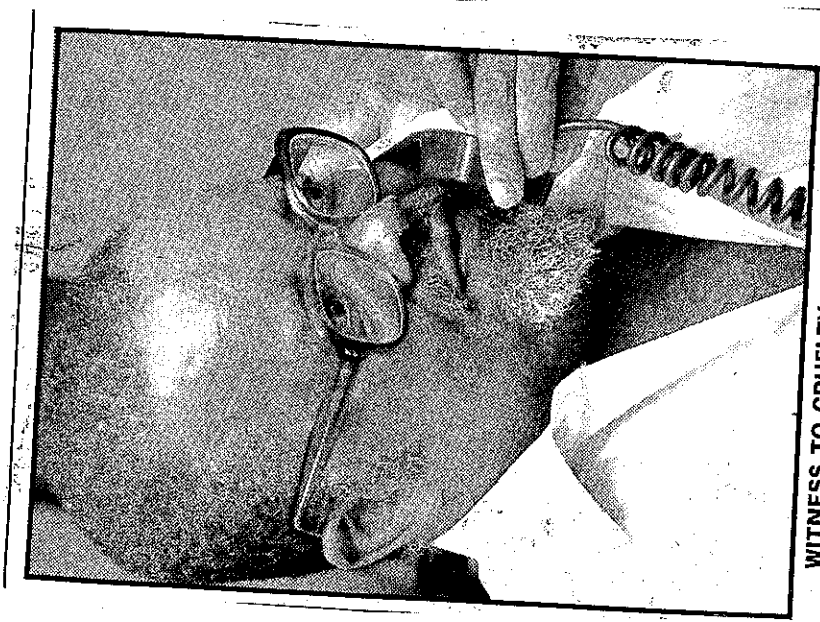
He compares himself to a soldier. "If an order is repugnant to the morals and good order of society, you have a right to refuse to carry it out."

The ANC in northern Natal backs his refusal. So does the Youth League in all three Natal regions, although southern Natal has agreed that preparations for the talks should go ahead.

The biggest challenge facing the region is the "escalating and deliberate violence"; the solution lies in the hands of the national peace committee and a multiparty conference, not a one-on-one meeting. That route has been tried before and it failed.

Mr Gwala, a high school teacher and trade unionist before he was detained, charged, jailed, banned and eventually sentenced to life imprisonment, has captured the ear of the comrades. "We experience the same problems. In our attempts to find a solution we seem to think alike. Like the comrades, I say that while we must encourage peace efforts we must still increase the capacity of the people to defend themselves."

There are qualifications: comrades who attack members of the IFP without provocation "deserve to be expelled from the ANC". No one should attack members of the IFP going peacefully about their business. "There is nothing wrong with being an IFP member. Just because the ANC is the best organisation doesn't mean everyone has to join up."



WITNESS TO CRUELTY ... Harry Gwala

End to trade, investment and financial sanctions in sight

ANC plea for poll funds

STM 22/2/93.
By Helen Grange (11)

The ANC has called on the international community to give it "maximum possible" financial assistance in its campaign during the country's first non-racial elections — and has said all remaining sanctions should be lifted as soon as basic transitional arrangements are entrenched.

At the close of the ANC's solidarity conference in Johannesburg, attended by about 900 anti-apartheid activists from around the world, the conference yesterday pledged that world pressure should be maintained to push for speedy agreement on the transitional process.

The ANC spelt out the conditions it wants fulfilled before sanctions on diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links should be dropped.

The signals are: an announcement on an agreed date for elections, the establishment of a transitional executive council as well as independent electoral and media commissions, and the enactment of a Transition to Democracy Act.

It is expected these goals will be achieved during multiparty talks next month, although an election date may be announced only later.

Disparity

Arms and oil embargoes should, however, remain until a democratic government has been installed, the ANC resolved.

(Sanctions already lifted include people-to-people,



Crazed pitbulls attack family

By Charmeela Bhagwat
Crime Reporter

Two crazed pitbull terriers tore off a seven-year-old boy's left ear and seriously injured his mother in a vicious attack at her place of work in Johannesburg on Saturday morning.

Bronwyn Davidson (26) and her son Kenneth are recovering in the Morningside Clinic in Sandton.

Michelle Davidson (4), who suffered slighter bites in the attack, was due to be discharged today.

Davidson said she was in her wooden hut office at The Metal Shop — a scrap metal dealer in Mansfield, near Eldorado Park — with her three children when the dogs burst in and attacked them.

Speaking to The Star from her hospital bed yesterday, she described how she battled to save her children by passing them through a window to workers outside.

"I was in my office and the door was closed. At about 8.30 am, the two dogs broke into the office and started going for the children," she said.

"I managed to pass my one-year-old baby through the window to a customer standing outside, but had to battle for over 45 minutes to get Kenneth and Michelle out of the window."

She eventually managed to pass Michelle through the window before she was seriously injured, leaving her and Kenneth trapped in the



Courageous . . . Bronwyn Davidson fought two pitbulls to save her children.

through the window as well."

Alone in the hut, the dogs turned on her. From outside, three employees tried to deter the dogs by hitting them through the window with metal poles and hosing them with cold water.

Finally she got close enough to the window for the men to pull her through.

Young Kenneth, the worst injured, also had half his right ear bitten off.

A nurse said it was not clear whether the boy's hearing had been impaired. He could have suffered internal injuries and had started vomiting yesterday. Both his legs were savaged and he would have to have skin grafts.

Davidson will also have to have skin grafts on her legs and hands. One of her ears was also bitten.

She said the dogs were housed in an enclosure at the

...the election date may be announced only later.

Disparity

Arms and oil embargoes should, however, remain until a democratic government has been installed, the ANC resolved.

(Sanctions already lifted include people-to-people, cultural and sports.)

In a draft document outlining a programme of action for the international community during the transition, the organisation called for "maximum possible financial and material resources to enable the ANC to contest the elections".

The greatest obstacle to free and fair elections was the "complete disparity between the resources available to the ANC in comparison with those for the National Party", the document said.

The organisation also wanted an "effective presence" by the international community before and during the elections to monitor and supervise the process. The results should be internationally verified.

To help address violence, international groups were asked to press for a strengthening of the Goldstone Commission's investigative arm and witness protection programme.

ANC deputy secretary of international affairs Aziz Pahad told the delegates the organisation was concerned about the continual contravention of the arms embargo on South Africa and appealed to foreign countries to exercise the embargo.

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STAR 22/2/93.

Struggle on until freedom gained in poll, says PAC

By Stan Hlophe

(11A)

Members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and all other Pan Africanist Congress structures were PAC members, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Speaking at a Soweto rally organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity, a PAC youth wing, he said the PAC would not suspend the armed struggle until freedom was won through the ballot.

The theme of the rally was

the mobilisation and consolidation of the youth against white domination. Alexander urged the approximately 300 youths present to engage in all forms of struggle to destroy neo-colonialism and exploitation.

At the same rally, Pan Africanist Students Organisation president Tsietsi Telite slammed last week's go-slow strike by Soweto pupils as "tantamount to anarchy".

● A Sobukwe Day service will be held at the Diepkloof Hall on Sunday in honour of PAC leader Robert Sobukwe.

ANC backs Mandela, rejects cabal claims

STAR 22/2/93

Staff Reporter (11A)

The ANC yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to Nelson Mandela and rejected reports of an internal plot to oust him as president.

The ANC leader's estranged wife, Winnie, told the Sunday Star in an exclusive article that there was a secret cabal within the ANC's core leadership which was intent on taking over power by infiltrating key committees within the organisation.

Winnie Mandela quotes from two documents written in 1990 and 1992 which, she says, attack Mandela's leadership.

She says the cabal intends to:

- Remove Mandela as ANC president and replace him with

Cyril Ramaphosa.

- Infiltrate the ANC's negotiations team in order to realise its aims at the negotiations table.

- Consolidate its position at regional level.

- To allow President F W de Klerk certain victories in the international arena.

- If necessary, keep the National Party in power even after the ANC wins an election.

Sapa reports that ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was no truth in the "rumours".

"We reject them. We restate our fact that Mandela is confirmed as the leader of the ANC with full support of its leadership and members."

Winnie: (117A)

Plot to oust Nelson

ET 22/2/93
JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's estranged wife Winnie has claimed that an ANC cabal is trying to topple him in favour of secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, 57, in an article she wrote for a Sunday paper, said the group wanted to broker a private power-sharing deal with the government.

She said the leaders wrote in 1990: "To include the masses who are mostly illiterate when it comes to the intricacies of negotiations is a folly."

The allegations were dismissed yesterday by the ANC, which reaffirmed its commitment to Mr Mandela's leadership. — Sapa-Reuter

Keys drops Zimbabwe trade trip

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — South African Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys will not be coming here for trade talks after all because of President Robert Mugabe's continued hard line on sanctions.

Instead he will to meet Zimbabwe's Industry and Commerce Minister Mr Christopher Ushewokunze, in South Africa this week.

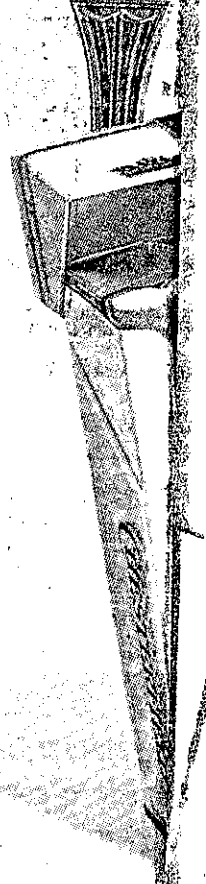
They are to meet in a bid to break the political logjam over updating the 1964 "most favoured nation" trade pact.

Negotiations on the pact have been underway for two years.

● Zim court case verdict may ground rhino war — Page 5

● Zim tourism plan eyes 'big spenders' — Page 5

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Govt, ANC

to discuss power deal

STAR 22/2/93.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Government and ANC negotiators will meet again today to discuss differences in interpretation of their tentative agreement to a five-year government of national unity.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the plan last week but, in doing so, placed interpretations on it which the Government wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected the Government's characterisation of the plan as a "power-sharing" arrangement and said the will of the majority party would not be frustrated in the government of national unity.

The NEC agreed that all parties which won more than 5 per cent support in the elections would be represented in the national unity Cabinet.

But the NEC added that the president of the government of national unity — who would be leader of the majority party — would effectively decide who should represent the minority parties.

Mandela has 'clean bill of health'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela this weekend dispelled rumours he was in bad health, saying his doctors had given him a clean bill of health.

Mr Mandela made a brief appearance on Saturday morning at the "International Solidarity Conference", where more than

500 delegates from anti-apartheid groups from around the world were holding a three-day conference under the auspices of the ANC.

"My doctors have given me a clean bill of health. In order to prepare for the strenuous tasks that lie ahead, I will now begin my two weeks of complete rest,"

he said. "Your love sustained me throughout my prison years. Your concern for my well-being overwhelms me."

His appearance lasted about 15 minutes.

In a later statement, Johannesburg's Park Lane Clinic, to which the ANC leader went for treat-

ment, described his overall physical condition as "excellent" — but said he had been asked to have complete rest for two weeks.

"He was suffering from a respiratory infection requiring antibiotics and physiotherapy. He has responded extremely well to therapy and has been discharged," the clinic said. — Sapa

(11A) 07/22/93

ANC seeks 'earliest' poll

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, in co-operation with the international anti-apartheid movements, is to launch a concerted campaign world-wide to put pressure on all parties in South Africa to remove obstacles speedily for the earliest possible election date.

The lifting of sanctions has been linked to outstanding issues still to be resolved in negotiations.

Yesterday's 500-strong international audience at the ANC's solidarity conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg, accepted the declaration to launch the campaign.

The campaign is aimed at three major areas: Speeding up the transition phase; assisting in getting all parties to work more actively to resolve the violence, and starting the process of reconstruction as soon as possible.

Senior ANC representatives at the conference said the lifting of sanctions, apart from those involving oil and arms, would take months rather than weeks because this hinged on a multi-party

Link to lifting of sanctions

deal being struck on the transition period.

A multi-party planning conference has been scheduled for March 5 where the parties will attempt to finalise the agenda and set the ground rules for the new multi-party negotiating forum.

By March 5, the ANC and Inkatha executives are also scheduled to finalise a date for a summit meeting between them to find ways of reducing politically violent conflict between their supporters and establishing free political activity in areas under their control.

The international campaign will also specifically target homelands, specially those that have overseas of-

fices — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

It was pointed out that before sanctions could be lifted, there would have to be an interim constitution, a transitional executive, independent electoral and media commissions and a date for the first non-racial elections.

However, before elections could take place, violence levels had to be reduced.

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairman, said agreement on the date for an election rather than the election itself could trigger lifting financial sanctions.

"On the announcement of an agreed date for elections and on the establishment of the transitional executive council ... the sanctions affecting the following should be lifted: Diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links."

The arms and oil embargoes should remain in place until a democratic government had been installed.

The campaign will target parties breaching the national peace accord.

It will target reconstruction, specially in Natal.

11A

CT 22/2/93

Battle looms as national executive discusses 'deal' with government

ANC chiefs split on power-sharing

11A ARG 16/2/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

AMID sniping within its own ranks, the national executive of the African National Congress met today to ratify the agreement reached with the government on power-sharing in an interim government of national unity.

Sleeping with enemy for a while no problem — Hani

The Argus Correspondent

LONDON. — A cheerful Mr Chris Hani, general-secretary of the SA Communist Party, told a Press conference here that he had no problems with the term "power sharing".

Mr Hani said yesterday it was a process that would begin to normalise South Africa. But power sharing between the African National Congress and the government would be for a limited period only.

If getting into bed with the government, or rubbing shoulders with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer for a few years, was the quickest way to get rid of the government, the ANC would do so.

But he suggested 15 percent should be the minimum vote required by a political party to secure representation in a power sharing cabinet — not the five to 10 percent proposed by President De Klerk.

Mr Hani and fellow SACP colleague Mr Essop Pahad are in London on their return from a visit to Cuba, where they heard about the "confusion" over the announcement of the ANC-government agreement by Mr Meyer's deputy, Mr Fanus Schoeman.

In their briefing, neither Mr Hani nor Mr Pahad reflected the present anxieties in South Africa about the ANC-government power sharing pact, although Mr Hani said that personally he was "uncomfortable" in dealing with a "corrupt" government.

Echoing recent statements by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Hani said the ANC was not dealing with a defeated or paralysed government and that elements in the civil service and security forces could create problems.

The government and the ANC deny that a firm "deal" has been struck, and have emphasised that such agreements can be reached only at multiparty talks. But elements in the ANC are unhappy with the terms of the agreement.

Bilateral meetings between the government and potential negotiation partners at resumed multiparty talks will continue today.

The Democratic Party is to meet a government delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Later today the Afrikaner Volksunie, which broke away from the Conservative Party, will resume talks with a government delegation led by Mr Meyer.

A sub-committee of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is to meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. The group consists of Inkatha, the CP and the governments of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

This afternoon President De Klerk will meet President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Tomorrow the government and Inkatha will resume their bilateral talks.

In the war of words after last week's meeting between the government and the ANC, the ANC's Natal Midland region has come out in open revolt against the power-sharing agreement.

Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala said: "We will try to persuade the NEC to have a rethink. We want a special consultative conference to review the negotiations strategy. We are setting down the rules of surrender before we meet the enemy."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation believed the reports that the ANC and the government had made a secret deal, and warned that South Africans would not know peace unless all organisations were involved in negotiations.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the power-sharing agreement was an attempt at a coup d'état to benefit the ANC.

The Western Cape region of the ANC has instructed its delegates to oppose power-sharing at the NEC meeting.

Regional secretary Tony Yengeni said: "We are going to listen to a report-back from our negotiators, see what they bring back and discuss it with delegates before making a final decision."

He said the Western Cape region feared the ANC could be

focus on talks

LAST WEEK'S AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ANC and the Government was merely the convergence by the two parties on the idea of a government of national unity.

Ironically, when Codesa II collapsed last May, it was because no agreement could be reached between these two senior parties at that forum on the very issues which they are now attempting to meet each other on.

After the debilitating effects of violence and economic decline - which both parties have acknowledged was a result of the breakdown in negotiations last year - the objective behind the sought after agreement is ostensibly to steer the country through what is expected will be most treacherous shoals.

Power-sharing

However, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, cautioned at the weekend that the agreement was neither a deal on power-sharing nor one that has any official standing in his organisation and Government.

The perception spawned by Government pronouncements on Friday that there was a deal of sorts was completely and utterly false.

Addressing businessmen on Saturday, Mandela said: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government.

"These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme.

"I furthermore wish to categorically deny the statement made in the Press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing.

National unity

"What the Government has proposed is a form of power-sharing. The African National Congress on the other hand proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly."

This proposal, the ANC leader added, was designed to create national unity and was not a simple power-sharing formula.

"The matter is to be placed before the ANC National Executive Committee for discussion."

The bolts and nuts of the agreement should go before a multi-party forum next month and must be ratified there - presupposing the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee does the same this week.

The salient points of last week's meeting was the convergence between the two and not that there was any kind of a deal that was to be foisted on to other parties, the ANC's Carl Niehaus explained.

After last week's meeting between the ANC and the Government, media reports said a "secret" deal had been struck between the two regarding the governing of the country, a claim rejected by Nelson Mandela. Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien puts the jigsaw puzzle together:

Sowetan 15/2/93

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Nelson Mandela ... denies secret deals with the Government.

The convergence is on the concept that elections should be postponed for any period from a week to a full term (five years) after the constituent assembly has adopted a new constitution.

During this period, it is envisaged that a government of national unity, made up of all parties that received more than between five and 10 percent of the vote in elections to a constituent assembly this year or early next year, will govern the country.

Constituent assembly

It is envisaged that only after this period of national unity, will the country hold its first democratic elections for a new government in South Africa which should, in principle, be led by the majority of South Africans.

Another significant convergence between the two parties was on the representation of regions

in a constituent assembly.

A boundaries commission is to be set up to reach consensus among all parties in South Africa on new regional boundaries and the envisaged powers of these regions, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said last week.

The commission would take such decisions to a constituent assembly which would then take the final decision.

The regions will have a say in a constituent assembly on matters that affect them in particular.

The scenario that has emerged after last week's meeting in Cape Town is that:

- Multi-party negotiations will resume in March.

- A transitional executive council to oversee the run-up to elections to a constituent assembly will be installed by June.

- The election to a constituent assembly, which will also serve as a legislature, will be held no later than April next year.

National unity

- All parties that receive more than five to 10 percent of the vote in the election would be eligible for representation in the assembly.

- There would be no election immediately after a new constitution has been adopted and the assembly and Cabinet would continue to govern in national unity for the envisaged five years and in terms of the new constitution.

However, the ANC's Niehaus cautions: "These agreements signal only a convergence by the ANC and Government on the idea of a government of national unity."

These proposals, he said yesterday, have to go to the ANC's NEC, the Cabinet and other political parties as well. The proposals lean towards agreements that have already been reached at Codesa and makes room for participation by significant parties that have traditionally shunned negotiations. Schoeman also said on Friday: "It is not a package which other parties are expected to accept."

ANC executive to tackle deal on power sharing

BIDAmy 17/2/93

117A

SHOULD ANC Natal midlands region leader Harry Gwala succeed in his attempts to force the organisation to call a consultative conference, the negotiation process would have to be suspended, political observers said yesterday.

However, members of the ANC and SA Communist Party yesterday said they believed the whole matter would be cleared up at the national executive committee meeting this week.

On Monday Gwala was reported to have said he objected to the preliminary agreement between ANC and government negotiators that a transitional government of national unity be in power for five years.

He also indicated that his region was opposed to it and he would be working towards getting the required three of the 14 regions of the organisation to support him in calling for a consultative conference to re-evaluate the ANC's negotiation strategy.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was continuous debate within the organisation on policy issues and that Gwala's objections and commitment to discuss these at the NEC meeting were healthy and democratic.

He said South Africans unfortunately had a tradition that whenever there was a questioning of positions leadership was taking, people jumped to the conclusion that a revolt or a split was in the offing.

"This is not so. The debate should not be construed as serious tensions leading to a deadlock or a breakdown," he said.

SACP central committee member Essop Pahad said the ANC's negotia-

BILLY PADDOCK

tions strategy had been approved at two conferences and the strategic perspectives document had been approved by the NEC late last year.

Gwala was an NEC member and the strategic perspectives document had given the negotiators a mandate to move in the direction they had taken.

He said the NEC would decide whether this mandate had been overstepped and what course should be followed. He was confident it would be resolved amicably.

The NEC started a three-day meeting yesterday to discuss the latest developments in negotiations and decide whether to accept the preliminary agreement.

Some ANC regions, particularly the Natal Midlands region headed by Gwala, have indicated they are opposed to any power sharing deal with government.

The proposed meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is also expected to be discussed. ANC leaders in Natal are apparently opposed to the two holding a summit.

Meanwhile, the Western Cape Region of the PAC, taking advantage of reports that Gwala was in opposition to the ANC negotiators, said in a statement that it "applauds the opposition to the power sharing deal contemplated by the ANC negotiating team and the regime". Regional chairman Theo Mabusela said the PAC supported the ANC Natal Midlands region's stance.

ANC Midlands plans to do away with kwaZulu

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE African National Congress Natal Midlands region has announced plans to launch a mass action campaign to press for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland and the implementation of transitional government structures in the province.

ANC Midlands deputy-chairman Blade Nzimande said the region believed that the formation of transitional structures at national level would not automatically filter through to the ground, "where it matters most". Natal was becoming "a base for reactionary forces" and a "strong federal bloc", he said.

Nzimande said this had to be countered through mass action or else the ANC would be "weak and forced to submit to everything in negotiations".

ANC regional executive committee member Mpume Sikhosana said the region would also campaign for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland. All kwaZulu-controlled departments, including the police force, health and education, should fall under the South African government. These would come under multiparty control in the run-up to elections, Sikhosana said.

The ANC was already having success on this front, he added. In the face of immense pressure last year, kwaZulu-controlled schools in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, had been transferred to the Department of Education and Training.

The ANC was also putting pressure on local councils under kwaZulu government control. "For example, we are pushing for Wembezi to fall under the

Estcourt town council."

Nzimande commented that Codesa agreements did not clearly state that the "self-governing states" would be dissolved before an election — and mass action was therefore needed to ensure that it happened.

The dissolution of the homeland would also break Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "leverage" over King Goodwill Zwelithini, and with it the Inkatha president's claim to be the custodian of Zulu culture.

"We believe very strongly that the king is being held hostage by the kwaZulu government. If the homeland goes, the king will be free to act above party political interests, to attend both Inkatha and ANC rallies."

The ANC's southern Natal branch has not signalled its intention to join the mass action campaign, but is formulating an election strategy aimed at weakening Inkatha. Regional secretary Sibusiso Ndebele said the movement would present itself as the champion of the Zulu cause, and Inkatha as playing the contrary role.

The region has declared 1993 "the year of King Dinizulu", and plans a cultural festival to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the king's death.

The emphasis on Dinizulu is significant — and a subtle attempt to discredit Buthelezi. Some historians claim that Dinizulu was defeated by the British at the Battle of kwaCeza in 1888 after Buthelezi's grandfather, Chief Mnyama, deserted the king and sided with his enemy. Dinizulu was made honorary president of the ANC shortly after its launch.

Wlman 19/2-25/2/93

Confusion mars deal with ANC

SOUTH AFRICA'S negotiating process is taking on the semblance of a wandering civil war as political leaders once again exchange threats, insults, and accusations in what have almost become traditional rites of passage marking any hint of progress.

The latest hostilities came in response to reports of the outcome of last week's negotiations between the ANC and the government, at which agreement was apparently reached on some form of power-sharing.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha said at the weekend that if there had been any such deal, the country had better prepare for real war. Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, said the deal was not for power-sharing, but for a sharing of power and anyone suggesting the contrary was engaged in "mischievous" rumour-mongering. The government in turn suggested the contrary and declared that if the ANC said anything different, the deal was off.

At the centre of the controversy was a statement by the deputy minister of constitutional development, Fanus Schoeman, on Friday that the government and the ANC had agreed to five years of power-sharing by means of a "government of national unity" after a final con-

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

11A

stitutional settlement had been reached.

Mr Mandela, however, insisted that no such deal had been reached, that the ANC had proposed an "interim government of national unity" which, he insisted, "is not power-sharing". On Sunday, Mr Schoeman reiterated that "a government of national unity is power-sharing" and said that if the ANC persisted in its denials, "we are back to square one".

Sources say the ANC, which faces opposition in its own ranks to entrenched power-sharing with the

white minority until the end of the century, is anxious to present the five years of unity government as a voluntary initiative. The government wants the phase constitutionally entrenched.

Members of the ANC negotiating team are believed to have offered a compromise by which they would give written undertakings to President F. W. de Klerk's National Party that they would form a multi-party coalition government after elections.

The Guardian has learned that other significant advances include an agreement in principle that there should be a mechanism to break deadlocks in the constituent assembly on the adoption of a final constitution. There are differences as to the period in which the mechanism — probably a referendum — would be invoked, however, the government wanting a period of about three years, the ANC nine months.

(Le Monde, page 20)

Cautious route to accord in SA

Guardian W in W/ment 19/2-25/2/93
JOHANNESBURG — Having learnt from previous setbacks, Minister for Constitutional Reform Roelf Meyer, who leads the government's negotiating team, and ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, are proceeding cautiously. A final accord that would allow the multiparty negotiations suspended in May 1992 to be resumed has not yet been reached.

The agreement will have to be endorsed by the South African cabinet and the ANC leadership. Nevertheless progress has been made. "There are still wide differences on some issues," said Fanie Schoeman, deputy minister for constitutional affairs and a member of the government negotiating team, "but our positions have moved closer together." Progress has been made possible largely as a result of concessions by the government which is now convinced that the country needs early political stability if a disaster is to be averted and economic activity resuscitated.

Addressing parliament on February 1, Roelf Meyer proposed that a multiparty conference draft a provisional constitution before the end of May 1993. The constitution would then be ratified by the present parliament. Elections would be organised in March or April 1994 with a view to forming a provisional government which would be able to amend the fundamental law but only within the limits of the principles embodied in the provisional constitution. What this meant in short was that the government was looking for safeguards against any changes a new majority might want to introduce.

The agreement reached on February 12 ultimately falls somewhat short of such expectations. Anxious not to have its hands tied by principles laid down independently of any majority issuing from an election, the ANC has always insisted that the new constitution should be worked out by an elected constituent assembly. The elections would take place as soon as possible, in all probability in the first quarter of 1994. However, this constitution is to be ratified only by a qualified majority which has still to be determined. This difficulty was responsible for the talks breaking down in May 1992.

Pending the drafting of the new constitution, the country would be run by a government of national union consisting of the parties willing to take part in the process. Only parties which have obtained 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the vote would be eligible.

Schoeman claimed that the ANC had agreed to a transitional government of at least five years. Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC nego-

tiating team, took a more cautious attitude and spoke of a nine-month guarantee with the future constituent assembly given the possibility of lengthening the transitional government's life. The official ANC statement spoke of a "limited duration after the adoption of a new constitution". These semantic variations have in fact more to do with tactical considerations than with real differences of opinion. The principle of power-sharing was accepted by the ANC some months ago, but it has still to get it accepted at the organisation's grassroots. Much the same sort of problem is

The ANC has, however, succeeded in having the matter referred to the constituent assembly. This will be the most prickly issue in next week's bilateral talks between the government and Inkatha.

Predictably, the recent discovery of an illegal arms trade in which several ANC activists are involved has also come in for extensive coverage, but contrary to many predictions, the incident failed to wreck the talks.

The two sides would in fact appear to have agreed that given the complexity of the situation in Natal Province where ANC followers are clashing with members of Inkatha, other incidents of this sort are likely to take place. An ANC arms cache has, for example, been discovered near Durban, while military materiel, this time transported by the ANC's adversary, Inkatha, was seized at the South Africa/Mozambique border. Neither of the two incidents, though very similar to the previous one, has been unduly exploited.

By Georges Marion

THE African National Congress has quietly launched worldwide operations to raise at least \$100-million for its campaign in South Africa's coming multiracial election.

Officials of the organisation said a network of fund-raising groups was in place in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Australia.

Their targets include sympathetic governments, political parties, trade union movements and church organisations besides people in streets of cities around the globe.

Their plea for support is being planned on two levels:

● Recognising that few governments are likely to pay anything towards the electoral expenses of a political party engaged in campaign-

ANC on election trail for R100m

ing, the ANC intends pressing for contributions to a voter education fund which, in theory, would benefit the country's blacks. The reasoning is that South Africa's disenfranchised majority needs to be properly briefed, or taught, about the intricacies of democratic politics from which it has been barred for so long.

● On the non-governmental plane, however, the ANC seems convinced that it can count on the backing of a variety of groups and movements for its own particular policies and programmes because of the leadership role it has been playing over the years in the liberation struggle. The inten-

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(11A)
The African National
Congress is globetrotting —
to raise R100-million for its
election campaign, reports

ARTHUR GAVSHON

tion is that potential supporters would be made aware of the exact way in which their contributions would be used.

Despite the constraints imposed by the worldwide recession there is little doubt that the ANC can rely upon considerable help from the United States, European Community, Com-

monwealth countries and from Japan and other leading trading nations.

In most of these lands activist groups have been supporting the struggle against apartheid for many years with money, gifts and political rallies. US state and civic authorities have banned investments in South Africa and business with South African firms.

Most of the 12 European Community member-countries have been doing the same although, as apartheid structures have come down, their boycotts have been easing. The ANC has been the main beneficiary of material help with its pres-

ident, Nelson Mandela, acclaimed almost universally as the symbol of black resistance.

Underlining the esteem in which Mandela is held, the freedom of 10 British cities has been conferred upon the ANC leader. He was to have received the awards at a ceremony in Glasgow on Monday, but the occasion has been postponed because, on medical advice, he has had to call off his planned visit to Europe next week.

The aim of fund-raisers in Britain is to collect at least \$1,5-million for the ANC. In the US and Japan, more is expected. Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Malaysia and the Caribbean states are expected to be the main Commonwealth contributors.

It's back to his roots for leader of 1960 march on police station

Dompoas demo hero returns

Star 20/1/93.

(114)

PHILLIP Kgosana, a Pan Africanist Congress activist famous for leading the historic anti-pass law march from Langa to Cape Town in March 1960, slipped quietly into Cape Town this week.

Kgosana left South Africa 33 years ago with the roar of a crowd of 40 000 still ringing in his ears, just months after he had captivated the country when, as a young radical leader, he led the historic march.

This week he returned to what must have felt like a deafening silence. The 21-year-old shorts-clad Kgosana had become an international household name for his leadership of the people's march from Langa to Caledon Square police station in the centre of Cape Town in March 1960, just nine explosive days after the Sharpeville shootings.



PHILLIP Kgosana (above), the former PAC activist who went into exile in 1960 after he had led the historic march on Cape Town shortly after the Sharpeville shooting, slipped quietly into Cape Town this week. JOE LOUW spoke to him on his past and future.

ON THE strength of a promise of an interview with the then Minister of Justice that day, he had used a police loudhailer to tell the crowd to go home peacefully. But when he arrived for the interview, he was arrested — an act described by the parliamentary Opposition of the time as a “grave breach of faith”.

This week, almost 33 years after he fled the country while on trial for incitement, a stouter Kgosana, with a few streaks of grey hair, was no longer spewing “radical subversive rhetoric”.

Today he has been transformed into a contemplative, respectable

Kgosana said he was in South Africa this week by invitation of the PAC African Women Organisation and to help his son register for an LLB degree at the University of Cape Town.

“My son is now registered at the same institution where I studied in 1960,” he said. His daughter is studying for a second psychology degree in the United States.

Like many political exiles, Kgosana is yearning to return to the country. After leaving South Africa, he studied in Ethiopia for nine years and spent seven years under Idi Amin in Uganda, where life was “not funny”.

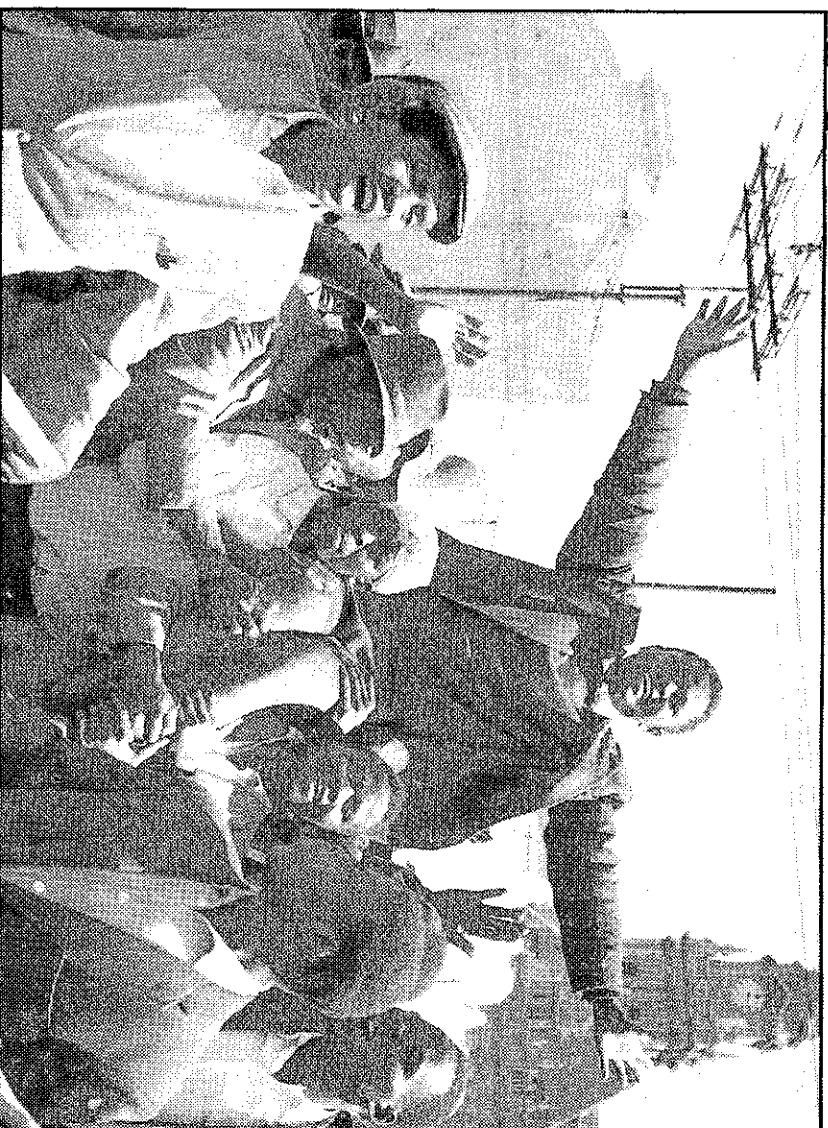
He joined the UN in 1973 and was posted to Sri Lanka. In 1981 he was transferred to Botswana where he is still based. He has been working as a senior administrator for the United Nations Children's Fund since his post-graduate studies at Makerere University. Kgosana has been severely criticised for this, but it does not bother him.

“In fact I never left the struggle,” he said. “I feel that I'm far better equipped for serving the people than I would have been by following the path I was on.”

At present he is not eager to jump on to the bandwagon of present developments in this country. He says he is not quite ready to rejoin his old organisation, the PAC, in its present twists and turns with negotiations.

“I am still studying the situation. Some things are shocking, especially some events in the past 12 months. But I would prefer to reserve my comment.”

“I have learnt to be a good listener, rather than to talk a lot. It's still premature, but give me six months and I'll be in the swing of things.”



YOUNG HERO: A fresh-faced Phillip Kgosana, wearing shorts and blazer, is held aloft by several members of the jubilant crowd he led on the march from Langa 33 years ago.

But he sees himself being actively engaged in South African politics only after his retirement from his UN service in three or four years.

ing of the event that catapulted him to fame more than 30 years ago, Kgosana's recall was very vivid — even to the point of remembering where he stood and who said what on that fateful day which scared the daylight out of the Verwoerd Government.

Unlike the general belief that the march into Cape Town that day was part of the general “anti-pass campaign” at the time, Kgosana says it was actually a spontaneous event which was kindled by brutal SAP action taken by po-

lice in Langa township. He said the march was unwittingly helped by the SABC when it announced on one of its late morning bulletins that “a long column of natives” were marching on the city.

The rest of what followed is now part of South African political history: the next day the first ever state of emergency was declared; 10 days later all political organisations were banned, and on December 24 1960 Kgosana left the country for Dar es Salaam.

ASKED whether he didn't think that by that time things would already be set, leaving no space for “late-comers,” Kgosana replied that he felt sure there would be a place for him. Speak-

Now joint STAR 20/4/93 talks are

set for March

DURBAN — The multiparty planning conference has been postponed until March 5, according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Meyer said in a statement yesterday, after bilateral talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, that this decision had been taken after the IFP had requested time to consult its central committee.

Agreed

He said the African National Congress had also agreed to the postponement.

The conference had initially been planned for February 25 and 26.

In the brief statement, Meyer said progress had been made in the three-day talks with the IFP at Richards Bay, but he did not elaborate. — Sapa.

ANC looking for 70 percent

11A

ARLT 20/2/93

NOU is die tyd. With these words, the ANC is setting out to win seven out of every 10 votes cast in South Africa's first democratic, all-in elections.

Following a meeting this week of the ANC's national executive committee, the instruction from the ANC leaders to all levels is to gear themselves for that election campaign "which we will wage under the slogan Now is the Time — *Ke Nako Sekunjalo* — *Nou is die Tyd*".

"These elections will mark an historic turning point as the culmination of decades of struggle for a democratic franchise."

The ANC has decided to run its election campaign as "the most important mass action" it and other democratic forces "will wage in the course of the coming months". However, by equating an election with mass action, the ANC may well be pegging its support at its present level, and restricted to people who support mass action. The ANC could be alienating undecided voters who want nothing to do with any kind of mass action.

On what comes after the election, the ANC offers a few impor-

■ Multi-party negotiations are due to start again in earnest next month. These should lead to an all-in, democratic election. The African National Congress (ANC) set out its political plan this week for the way ahead, reports **MARTIN CHALLENOR** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

tant pointers. In assessing their programme, it has to be remembered that the ANC and the government negotiators have been closely involved in talks on these very issues in recent months. There is a good chance that the ANC programme is largely a meeting of the two approaches.

However, exact details of the transition from minority rule to democracy will be hammered out only at the multi-party talks starting next month.

In the interests of peace, stability and reconstruction, the ANC said, and to reduce the threat posed by "divisive forces", it declared itself in favour of an interim government of national unity

(IGNU), to take office after the adoption of a new constitution. This constitution would presumably be agreed on at multi-party talks, and would be the first step away from minority rule.

As part of this stage, elections would be held for a constituent assembly to draw up the final constitution.

The IGNU would entail a cabinet whereby the proportion of votes a party got in these elections would be reflected in the number of posts it held in the cabinet. To win a cabinet post, parties would have to secure at least five percent of the votes cast for the constituent assembly.

Political experts have said there are 21 700 000 potential voters, of whom 15 million should actually vote. This means to win a cabinet seat, a party would have to win at least 750 000 votes.

The constituent assembly would be a sovereign constitution-making body, bound only by "agreed general constitutional principles". These, presumably, also would be set at the multi-party talks.

It would be composed of representatives elected on the basis of national and regional lists. It would take decisions by a two-

thirds majority. Issues like the powers and functions of regions also would need an additional two-thirds majority of the regional representatives sitting as a whole.

The ANC wants to "build a national consensus on the question of future regional government" through discussions with other parties and organisations.

All decisions on the powers, functions, boundaries and structure of regional government should be decided by the constituent assembly.

The constituent assembly should complete its work within nine months, the ANC said. The ANC proposed the IGNU then would become a government of national unity and reconstruction (GNUR), and phase in the structures provided for in the final constitution.

The GNUR would "continue in the same form as the IGNU". Its term of office would end with the first election under the final constitution, "which would be held no later than five years after the election of the constituent assembly", said the ANC.

The GNUR "shall be governed by the overriding principle that

minority parties shall not have the powers to paralyse the function of the executive or to block the process of restructuring".

The president would be elected by a simple majority of the constituent assembly. Representatives of minority parties in the cabinet would be appointed by the president in consultation with the leaders of each qualifying party.

The ANC said: "The president shall have the right to insist on an alternative if the person proposed by such leader is, for specified reasons, unacceptable."

The president would have to consult the Cabinet. "In the event of a disagreement the president's decision shall require support from two-thirds of the members of cabinet."

It is this requirement of a two-thirds endorsement that is spurring the ANC to win 70 percent of the votes cast. If the ANC wins about 55 percent of the vote, as some surveys have indicated, it would leave the ANC dependent on the support of probably the National Party to rule, making very real the term "government of national unity".

Victory for ANC, says Tambo

11A APR 20/2/93

ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo predicts certain victory for the ANC in the first democratic all-in elections.

Speaking at the ANC's international solidarity conference at Nasrec, Mr Tambo said: "It is clear the ANC — the national liberation movement of the people of South Africa — would emerge from those elections as the largest political force in the country.

"The ANC therefore represents the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the people."

He appealed to the 400 international delegates for continued

■ Oliver Tambo looks into the murky future and predicts victory for the ANC in South Africa's first national elections although the organisation still needs political and material support from overseas.

political and material support "to enable us to complete the first stage of our historic mission of ensuring that millions of people exercise their democratic right in voting for the government of their choice".

Mr Tambo said the first historic and watershed general elections would be held within the next 12 months, hopefully before the end of the year. These elections would mark the country's break with the past as well as the beginning of the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist society.

Out of the elections would emerge a sovereign constituent assembly which would both draw up a new constitution and act as a transitional government of national unity.

Mr Tambo was joined on the stage by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa, world heavyweight boxing champion Riddick Bowe and chess grandmaster Anatoly Karpov.

ANC warned of W Cape race anger

By Rehana Rossouw

THE ANC could suffer a humiliating election defeat in the Western Cape barring drastic action soon, coloured activists have warned amid growing disillusionment with the organisation's prospects.

Groups of activists are beginning to discuss ways of repairing a rift they say has grown between the ANC's regional leaders and the coloured community.

Some believe the ANC has deliberately alienated coloureds and that its leaders are incompetent and unable to win them back.

Two options have been mooted to repair the rift — that the Coloured People's Congress be revived, and that a "Rainbow Coalition" be launched to get the help of organisations which enjoy support in the coloured community.

The ANC's leaders are unable to rise to the challenge of winning coloured support, activists say, citing a number of reasons.

The ANC did not win mass coloured support when they began building branches after its unbanning in 1990 and large-scale African support saw the marginalisation of coloured members.

While there have been dramatic demographic shifts in the Western Cape, according to recent statistics, there are two million coloured residents in the Western Cape and just over one million Africans.

The ANC is faced with balancing the realities of the Western Cape with its belief in African leadership.

Some coloured activists believe there is a deliberate strategy to exclude them and their community from the ANC's leadership.

They believe this denies the role the community played in resistance to apartheid, especially in the 1980s.

They complain of an emergence of "political careerism" in the ANC — an attempt by cliques to entrench their positions in the ANC in the hope of making it onto the

parliamentary "list" identifying candidates to serve the party in government.

Some coloured delegates left the ANC's regional conference in November last year bitterly disappointed by the character of their newly-elected leadership.

Not only were coloureds under-represented, but people who had been involved in underground ANC work were over-represented as opposed to those who had been part of above-ground activities.

This imbalance, some activists believe, leaves the ANC regional leaders incapable of organising coloureds on a mass scale.

The debate on how the ANC could draw and organise coloureds in the Western Cape is spreading in branches throughout the Peninsula.

At the heart of the debate lies a concern that unless coloureds are drawn into the unfolding political process, they will remain alienated from politics at a time when South Africa builds a new political order.

There are activists who believe that unless the ANC improves its strategy to draw coloureds, the National Party could beat them in the regional election stakes.

The "Rainbow Coalition" solution is that organisations with support in the coloured community enter into an "election pact" with the ANC and encourage its members to vote for the ANC.

The coalition makes space for the re-emergence of the UDF tradition, where alliance partners are used to strengthen the ANC while remaining politically independent.

Earmarked as partners are teacher organisations, trade unions, civic and squatter organisations.

This strategy could lead the ANC to reorganise its structures, procedures and practices in the coloured community.

But the strategy still does not resolve the problem of the political vacuum in the coloured community or a lack of leadership.



BRING BACK THE PAST: A Coloured People's Congress rally on the Grand Parade during its heyday
Pic: Mayibuye Centre

The alternative strategy proposes the relaunch of the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) is regarded as a vehicle to allay coloured people's anxiety about their representation under an ANC govern representing the African majority.

The congress would also organise the coloured community separately from the ANC while remaining an alliance partner of the organisation.

However, its weaknesses are that it does not take into account the weak political tradition in the coloured community, and its lack of sense of nationalism.

Nor does it acknowledge that "marginalised" coloured careerists who have not made it to the present ANC REC would get an opportunity to feather their political nests.

Meanwhile, calls for open debate on the "coloured problem" are mounting.

NO ONE will go on record about criticising the ANC's strategy on the "Coloured Question".

Instead, there is chain of claims and counter-claims about freedom of criticism in the movement.

And either Western Cape politics are ridden with sinister conspiracies, caucusses and cover-ups, or they are beset by petty politicking and hype. Or both.

There is no disputing that a senior coloured activist has sent a weighty letter to the regional and national executives of the organisation, raising allegations about Stalinism and the questioning of a prominent activist by ANC security officers about a coloured 'plot'.

The co-author of the letter is now denying that he wrote it.

And the senior coloured trade unionist — said in the letter to have been questioned — argues he did not view the incident as interrogation or intimidation.

ANC spokesperson Willie Hofmeyer said: "We have spoken to the person concerned and he indicated that he had no complaint and that he regarded the visit as a personal one from a friend."

So either there are people who sincerely believe that ANC intelligence did overstep the bounds — or who are keen to portray things as such.

Whatever the story, the Coloured Question seems set to challenge political minds and power dynamics for some time to come. — Guy Berger, Editor

ANC warned of W Cape race anger

By Rehana Rossouw

(11A)

South 2012 - 24/2/93.
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Whatever the story, the Coloured Question seems set to challenge political minds and power dynamics for some time to come. — Guy Berger, Editor

'Bengal tiger' eyes ANC



South 20/2-24/2/93 (1/1A) (1/1B)
By Quentin Wilson

WITH his political career in tatters, disgraced MP Mr Amichand Rajbansi is signalling to the ANC that he is willing to represent it in parliament.

After a political career filled with controversy, a fraud conviction, parliamentary suspensions and an endless battle for credibility, the "Bengal Tiger" is fighting on.

In 1988 the James Commission, which investigated irregular dealings in the House of Delegates, found Rajbansi to be "arrogant", "unscrupulous", "a ruthless, mean-minded bully" who "should not be employed in any post which calls for integrity".

Somehow, Rajbansi escaped the damning report and taxpayers still forked out thousands of rands for him to remain in office.

But as the death-knell for tricameralism rings, Rajbansi is searching for a life-line — and the ANC, he said, was under consideration.

"I will be making an announcement in June," said Rajbansi. "I will not go on record as saying it will definitely be the ANC, but let's just say it definitely won't be the Nats."

Rajbansi, who regards ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela as "a great statesman", claimed he was in the ANC-fold for a long time, even after they were banned in 1960.

"I did a lot of fieldwork for the ANC in my youth, and I am sure they would not have a problem with my return," Rajbansi said.

But his possible defection is raising a few eyebrows in ANC circles. Anti-apartheid activists have consistently campaigned for election boy-

cotts in his Natal constituency of Chatsworth.

His involvement in the tri-cameral parliament and in the cabinet of former state president, Mr P W Botha, also led to one of his three state-paid houses being bombed by MK cadres in 1985.

But Rajbansi is unfazed.

"The ANC has never treated me badly," he said, "but I exclude the political upstarts who ride like fleas on the back of the ANC as if it were a dog."

Dr Vejay Ramlakan, whose MK unit led the bombing on Rajbansi's house, said the attack was against a "leading exponent of tricameral apartheid".

"I must say his interest in joining the ANC at this late stage in our struggle makes me wonder whether this reflects a genuine change of heart or whether this is yet another example of the notorious Rajbansi brand of political expediency and opportunism," Ramlakan said.

Mr Praveen Gordhan, Natal Indian Congress executive member, said Rajbansi was free to apply for ANC membership but warned the organisation should carefully consider the James Commission findings.

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said after a nervous laugh the organisation "will have to cross that bridge when we come to it".

Niehaus said Rajbansi had not yet made a formal approach. "If he does, we will have to use the same criteria as for any other person wanting to join the organisation.

"We will have to take his past record into account and determine his present commitment to democracy."

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ANC says yes

Now progress hinges on IFP

et 19/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE ANC's national executive committee last night gave the go-ahead to a multi-party interim government of national unity for five years after South Africa's first election.

The decision, reached after initial resistance from the Western Cape and the Natal Midlands regions, is a major boost for negotiations.

This appeared to contradict a statement by SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani, who said in Cape Town yesterday the ANC NEC had decided that a government of national unity should be in power for only nine months to draft a new constitution, and should then be replaced by a democratically elected parliament (see Page 2).

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said it appeared the "negotiations timetable is still on track".

The ANC and government are hopeful that a multi-party planning conference can still be held next Thursday and Friday. Constitutional negotiations could follow next month.

However, progress hinges on the outcome of the three-day meeting that ends in Richard's Bay tonight between the government and Inkatha.

Mr Steward said it was "extremely important that fences with the IFP are mended and that bilateral government/ANC talks should be placed in the correct perspective".

The government regarded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party as "a major player".

The ANC's NEC emerged from three days of debate yesterday by proposing that, in the interests of "reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces", an interim government of national unity be formed after elections.

Once the constitution had been written by an elected body, a government of national unity and reconstruction would continue to rule until the next elections — not longer than five years after the first elections.

The statement issued by the NEC after its meeting said it rejected "the National Party's power-sharing proposal either for a permanent or fixed period".

However, Mr Steward said the differences between the government and ANC amounted to "semantics".



PERIOD DANCERS . . . Sixteen Stellenbosch enthusiasts in 17th century dance delighted guests

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an ANC ticket "if the ANC requested it." According to Niehaus, there will be figures from Cosatu (and the SACP) on an ANC list "and the NUM is part of Cosatu." The ANC's crucial list of candidates (as part of an election to be fought on the basis of

to be highly controversial, if not rejected outright.

Even though Cosatu is a formal part of the ANC alliance, the NUM's overt foray into party politics at this point in the transition may be a little naive, politically, and runs the risk of dividing its membership. That's the view of labour consultant Pat Stone, of Andrew Levy & Associates. Stone points out that the NUM has been very successful recently in recruiting white miners who, though they may appreciate the union's effectiveness in securing better service conditions, are unlikely to share the leadership's political leanings.

Even if a quid pro quo is being sought with the ANC, it is somewhat naive to expect the kind of formal concessions it wants from a future government. Observers point to the fact that three days after Zimbabwe became independent, its new Labour Minister was ordering strikers back to their jobs. And, about the time of the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo was saying he did not see unions becoming "mere transmission belts" of whatever government was in power.

There has been an unresolved debate within the union movement over the question of a social contract, observes Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman. The question seemed to be whether such a contract, or accord, should be struck between labour and business, or between labour and an incoming government. Those opposed to the latter point to the failed social contract under a Labour government in Britain in the Seventies, while to others a claimed success is the example of the accord between Australian unions and their government.

Cosatu sometimes seems torn between the National Economic Forum, in which it participates, and striking a deal with the ANC over union demands and independence in the future. However, the two are not mutually exclusive. It is perfectly appropriate for any union to strike deals with any party it wants to — but this does not remove the need to negotiate some form of economic compromise with business, which is not going to go away, says Friedman.

The issue is in reality not the NUM's demands, which are not out of the ordinary in trade union terms, but rather the propensity to compromise.

This will be tested once again next month when the NUM and the Chamber of Mines begin their annual wage bargaining. The union's programme of action includes a demand that companies planning retrenchments must negotiate a "social plan" with the NUM. This is to cover elements such as: sufficient notice for counselling and planning for the future; worker certification to reflect skill levels before they leave; health screening; recall procedures; minimum severance pay of two weeks for each year of service; and training and job creation programmes.

It will aim to negotiate a "social plan fund" within each company, to which employers will be required to make a monthly



NUM's Motlatsi . . . offering worker MP candidates to ANC

proportional representation) has, understandably, still to be finalised. It is waiting for proposals from the regions. What will be interesting, of course, is just how many unionists will be on the list and, more important, how far up they are placed.

Motlatsi's suggestion came after the NUM's central committee meeting last weekend when, among other things, it was decided to support a "reconstruction accord" between Cosatu and the ANC. Such an accord would include:

- The rights of workers as embodied in the Workers' Charter being protected and guaranteed by an ANC government;
- Consultation with the democratic forces and accountability of leadership to be entrenched in the way the new government operates;
- A programme of action on poverty, job creation, education and training; and
- The accord should be a signed document that binds a future ANC government.

On the basis of such an accord, the NUM decided to give its "fullest support" to the ANC's election campaign.

The union wants to establish an election campaign fund (in conjunction with Cosatu) for a voter education drive among its members and people in rural areas, many of whom are illiterate and ignorant of election procedure. The NUM will also offer its "grass-roots leadership skills" to assist the ANC during the campaign.

It has also decided to ask the ANC to ensure that workers from neighbouring states, who have worked here for more than five years, are entitled to SA citizenship "and are included on the voters roll." This smacks of constituency loading and is bound

LABOUR FM 19/2/93
Uncertain ground (11A) (11B) (11C)

Though the ANC will contest the forthcoming elections strictly under the banner of the ANC, it will probably also be representing the different parts of the alliance — Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, specifically. There is, therefore, "no problem in principle," says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, with the suggestion by National Union of Mineworkers' president James Motlatsi that the union would put forward candidates on

POWER-SHARING

11A 3/2/93 FM 19/2/93.

Depends what you mean

There's no secret deal between government and the ANC — but broad agreement has been reached between negotiators on power sharing in an interim administration.

Details of the proposal have not been finalised, but various options were due to be discussed this week by the Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Government wants the period of joint rule fixed for about five years, while the ANC believes it should not exceed the time it takes for the constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution.

But both sides are flexible. After talks with government last week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the issue of a government of national unity "for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution" had been discussed.

The organisation believes such a government will unite SA, reconcile rival groups and start the process of nation building.

The ANC rejected government's initial call for constitutionally enshrined power sharing based on proportional representation. ANC leader Nelson Mandela told Sir David Frost in a television interview last week that, in his view, the party that won a majority of votes should form the government and invite opposition representation if it felt the need to do so. A coalition should not be mandated in terms of the constitution.

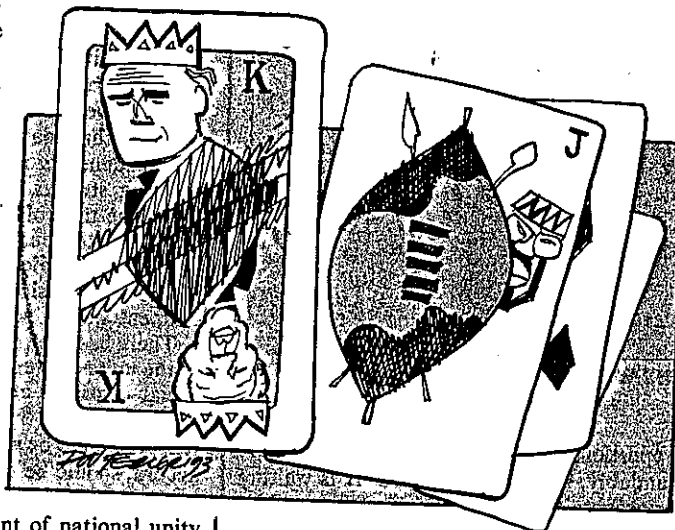
It seems that this view has now been accepted as the basis for a government of national unity — and it indicates a surprising degree of trust between ANC and government negotiators.

Trust appears also to have been carried through to discussions — and some agreements — on steps to "level the playing fields" in a run-up to an election, including the appointment of an independent electoral commission and a media commission.

Details of the appointment, powers and functions of the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-TECs (for law & order, defence, foreign affairs, finance and regional & local government) were also discussed last week. The ANC made certain proposals which government agreed to consider.

The multi-party TEC and sub-councils will play a key role in the pre-election phase.

Though the existing government will continue to exercise full executive authority, the councils will be consulted on all major issues. In effect they will be the first step towards formal power sharing — and co-responsibility.



The ANC proposed at the meeting that Codesa co-chairmen Justices Schabert and Mohammed be asked to initiate the appointment of a panel, which will in turn appoint a new board for the SABC. Government agreed that a "transparent process" was needed to appoint a new board.

Meanwhile, government negotiators were scheduled to meet their counterparts in the Inkatha Freedom Party and Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) this week, in an attempt to convince them that they were not being cut out.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reacted angrily to initial reports of the power sharing agreement, but government negotiators were confident this week that the IFP would be placated when the nature of the agreement with the ANC was fully explained.

Buthelezi's response followed disclosures last week by Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman that agreement had been reached with the ANC on power sharing.

President F W de Klerk and Mandela denied any deal. All that happened was that the two groups of negotiators reached consensus on an agreement both sides could live with.

It still needs to be ratified by their respective leaderships and will then be put forward for further discussion when multi-lateral talks resume. But the significance of the agreement should not be underestimated. It represents major concessions by both sides.

In essence, the ANC has moved much closer to accepting regionalism as a funda-

mental pillar of a new constitution, while government has backed away from insisting that the details of regionalism be finalised before constituent assembly elections.

Ramaphosa says it was agreed at the meeting that the constituent assembly would decide on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The consensus reached last week was due partly to what has been described as a new sense of realism on both sides.

The resumption of Codesa is considered to be the priority and should not be delayed by issues of detail that will probably be debated more fully when all multi-lateral talks get under way.

In an interview with the *FM* this week (see Cover Story), De Klerk said it was "fundamentally important" to hold the multi-party planning conference (scheduled for later this month) so that full-scale negotiations could resume (probably next month). ANC negotiators are equally anxious that the bilateral talks do not become bogged down in arguments over detail.

The infiltration of arms through Swaziland into Natal by alleged ANC members is regarded as a potentially serious obstacle to talks, but government is prepared to give the ANC the benefit of the doubt at this stage and accept assurances that the leadership was unaware of the actions.

Opposition to the agreement was mainly of two kinds: from those, like the IFP's Buthelezi, who fear exclusion during the transition and after it; and from those within the ANC who want the party with majority electoral support to rule alone. Interestingly, the strident opposition of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been dented by support for power-sharing from fellow communist Chris Hani.

De Klerk appears to be confident of his constituency and is apparently once again negotiating from a position of strength; his main task is to persuade Buthelezi that he is not being excluded.

But for Mandela, on the other hand, some hard decisions loom: how much longer can he tolerate open defiance of the official ANC position from regional and junior leaders? If he fails to muzzle or expel them, his own credibility will be affected — and De Klerk's could well be enhanced.

THE MILITARY FM 19/2/93

Another notch

Defence spending, already 38% down in real terms since President F W de Klerk took office, is expected to be slashed even further

NEC outlines its plan

Staff Reporter

A GOVERNMENT of national unity should be in power for nine months to draft a new constitution and should then be replaced by a democratically-elected parliament, the ANC National Executive Committee has decided.

South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hanu said yesterday he was confident the ANC would lead the interim government with Mr Nelson Mandela as president.

He was addressing about 1 000 University of Cape Town students at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress.

CT 19/2/93
The ANC NEC met this week to decide its response to talks between ANC and National Party negotiators. The NP wants a five-year government of national unity.

Mr Hanu said that as head of the interim government, Mr Mandela would decide on cabinet appointments after consulting leaders whose parties got more than 5% of the vote.

Mr Hanu said one of the main struggles facing the ANC as the future government was the need to resist corruption and bureaucratisation. This would be helped by an active and critical mass democratic movement.

Nat power-sharing model rejected

ANC support for five-year coalition govt

THE ANC yesterday announced its acceptance of a coalition government for up to five years after the first nonracial elections, but one in which minority parties would not have veto powers.

Following the three-day national executive committee meeting in Soweto, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the endorsement of the plan for an interim government of national unity was unanimous.

The NEC also endorsed the proposal that a multiparty planning conference be held from February 25.

The ANC rejected government's power-sharing proposal for either a fixed or a permanent period. Government wanted the executive of an interim government to take decisions by consensus and thereby dilute majority rule, he said. "Majority rule must not be diluted or sacrificed in the executive. The president, elected by a simple majority of a constituent assembly, will be able to take decisions and not be hamstrung by minority parties."

He said government and the ANC had an agreement that government's insistence on the power-sharing idea would not be an obstacle to a negotiated settlement. But he indicated that government might raise the proposal at a multiparty forum.

There is still uncertainty whether the plan outlined by the ANC yesterday is the preliminary agreement its negotiators agreed to with government, although the organisation presented it as such.

It said the report from the ANC's negotiators was endorsed and the NEC underscored its rejection of government's

BIDAM 19/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

power-sharing proposal.

The ANC will meet government on Monday to thrash out the finer details of the agreement.

In terms of the plan adopted by the NEC, an interim government of national unity, elected within the next year or so, would govern and negotiate a new constitution. Once the new constitution was adopted, this interim government would become a government of national unity and reconstruction. It would continue to rule for not more than five years from the date of elections for an interim government.

The executive would be made up proportionally of members of all parties with at least 5% of the seats in a constituent assembly. The president would appoint representatives of minority parties to the cabinet.

The president would exercise executive powers after consultation with cabinet but in the case of certain specified powers, to be determined in negotiations, he would have to consult other parties and their leaders. In the event of a disagreement, the president's decision would have to win the support of two-thirds of the cabinet.

The assembly would have to adopt a new constitution within a nine-month period.

The NEC emphasised that the negotiations package would be linked to the restructuring of government, the judiciary and the public service in the transition period. The ANC planned to convene a "major conference" within the next four

To Page 2

ANC BIDAM 19/2/93.

months to design clear policies for reconstructing government.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet members of Conralesa today and later Azapo and the PAC to discuss the full plan and to "ensure that they are represented at the planning conference".

Sapa reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement on constitutional negotiations was "quite confusing. I can't see what is the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that."

Government spokesman Dave Steward said last night that the differences between government and ANC amounted to "se-

mantics", and added: "It looks like the process is still on track."

From Page 1
Yesterday the NEC also condemned the Budget deficit and government's attempts to shift its "incompetence and corruption" to the taxpayers. It recommended that a moratorium be placed on all gratuities except the contractual ones of public servants. Government should establish a fiscal commission to advise on revenue and expenditure; there should be transparent departmental and judicial controls over expenditure including an audit on the 1992/93 Budget; and a planned approach to expenditure and homeland duplication should be adopted to provide an efficient public works programme.

focus on talks

ONE ON ONE invitations should be issued to all the political parties who were initially invited to Codesa to assess the current political situation and plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

These are the first steps towards the resumption of multiparty talks — part of a seven-page agreement between the Government and the ANC which was made in Cape Town last week.

The PAC and Azapo, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party will be given another chance to return to the preparatory meeting which is tentatively scheduled for late next week.

The Afrikaner Volksparty will be the only new party that will be included in the talks.

It has been accepted in principle that the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Rampaphosa, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, Democratic Party leader Mr Zac de Beer, Mr Sam Titus, and Dr Frank Mdlalose, the chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will be on a "chairs panel".

"The main purpose (of the meeting) was considered as being the resuscitation of the management committee for Codesa with a target date scheduled for mid-February and Codesa itself at the end of February or beginning of March," the document says.

The document confirms once and for all that there is consensus between the two that the Constituent Assembly should be a single chambered body elected by proportional representation and "according to a system which will incorporate national as well as regional representation".

A deadlock - breaking mechanism will be agreed on as reported on Tuesday in *Sowetan* if no constitution is adopted after a set period. A tentative time frame is given as nine months.

The first issue to be addressed by the Assembly is regional government and decisions on the issue will require a two-thirds majority (of the Assembly) and two-thirds of the majority of the regional representatives in the Assembly.

A Senate and structure for regional government "will be phased in after the adoption of the (new) constitution.

"The establishment of a government of national unity for a term of office of five years during which the institutions of the constitution, adopted by the Assembly, including a Senate and structures of regional government will be phased in.

"A special role will be given to regional representatives, possibly through the Senates (sic) after the constitution making, for overseeing the implementation of regional government," the document states.

The Government and the ANC have agreed on a blueprint for a democratic South Africa. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien**

presents details of the plan:

Sowetan 19/2/93

The crucial part of the agreement is ambiguous and says: "It was originally envisaged that the constitution-making body would sit, adopt a constitution (during interim government) and once a constitution is adopted another election is proposed.

"To understand the above paragraph one should understand what it implies. Instead of another election, that is, nine months later, there would not be another election, other than what the constitution-making body decided. During that period there would be established a government of national unity," the document says.

The government of national unity will be made up as follows:

- A State President who will appoint a Cabinet;

- The Cabinet will be made up of nominees of political parties whose representation in the Assembly exceeds 15 percent;

- The Cabinet appointments will be in proportion to the representation of such parties in the Assembly;

- A political party entitled to do so may decline to participate in the Cabinet;

- All appointments will be made by the State President in consultation with the leader of the particular political party;

- There will be "appropriate mechanisms" for the allocation of Cabinet portfolios — this, the document says, has not been agreed on yet; and

- Executive power will be exercised by the State President after consultation with the Cabinet, subject to certain specified executive powers, including statutory and prerogative powers which will be exercised by the State President only with the consent of the leaders of the political parties represented in the Cabinet.

The document explains here that a list "will be addressed in future".

The last point is: "The arrangements regarding the government of national unity contained in the transitional council shall remain in effect for five years after the elections of the Assembly, unless the government of national unity decides by full consensus that such period should



Among the principles agreed on a future South Africa are:

- South Africa will be an independent sovereign state in which all will enjoy a common South African citizenship;

- South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;

- The constitution will be the supreme law;

- There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary "with appropriate checks and balances";

- The judiciary will be independent, non-racial and impartial;

- There will be a legal system that guarantees equality before the law;

- The diversity of languages, cultures and religions will be acknowledged;

- There will be representative and accountable government embracing multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, common voters roll and a general proportional representation;

- All will enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly which will be guaranteed in an enforceable and justifiable charter of fundamental rights;

Any envisaged changes to the powers of the regions would need the consent of the regions and a mechanism would be devised, possibly a Senate, elected on a regional basis, through which this could be affected.

The role of the Zulu king remained a problem, but at this stage a way is being sought to address this issue — a likely passage to multiparty talks for the king has been mooted and Contralesa seemed a possibility.

The TBVC states will be administered by the four provinces, while their own administrations would be used to dispense services in their respective areas.

These options are not final and would depend largely on the outcome of the elections as all the people in the TBVC states will participate therein after their South African citizenship has been restored.

'Who's who' to attend ANC indaba

Sowetan 19/2/93

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

(11A)

■ Worldwide representation at ANC conference in Johannesburg:

THE world's "who's who" in politics, sports and religion, communists and Christians alike, will attend the ANC's international solidarity conference in Johannesburg today.

The conference is organised by the ANC's international affairs department and will bring political and financial backers of the organisation together for the first time.

ANC international affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki will chair the meeting, while key ANC executives will lead discussions on various topics.

The ANC's invitation list includes names such as Dr Alejandro and Mrs Bendana of the Sandinista National Liberation Front; Mr Riddick Bowe, world heavyweight boxing champion; Mr Mike Terry, British Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr Bernie Grant, a black British Labour Party MP; and Mr Pedro Julio Machado, central committee member of the Communist Party of Cuba.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to address the conference.

Friday February 19 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS ANC speaks on programme of reconstruction

ANC denies power-sharing deal

Sowetan 19/2/93
By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress yesterday rejected out of hand suggestions that it had struck a power-sharing deal with the National Party.

In a statement issued after a three-day national executive committee meeting in Soweto yesterday, the organisation said it was committed to a government composed of all parties elected to a

Organisation dispels hints of divisions in its ranks:

constituent assembly.

This, it said, was "subject to a minimum threshold of five percent of the seats in that assembly".

The organisation said the three-day plenary session had underscored its rejection of the National Party's proposal of power-sharing.

It dispelled any hint of division fol-

lowing the uproar last week after disclosures of secret deals with the NP.

It also removed fears that a split, probably led by the Natal region, would emerge at the meeting.

Responding to a question at a Press conference, secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said debates on specific issues were cordial.

The ANC endorsed the multiparty negotiations planning conference to be held on February 25, which it said would

speed up the resumption of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

In a resolution on negotiations, the committee committed the ANC to a comprehensive programme of reconstruction and development which would proceed in unison with the transition to democracy.

The meeting also endorsed the ANC's election campaign with the slogan: "Now is the time - Kenako - Sekunjalo".

Cautious route to accord in SA

11A

Guardian W in W/ment 1912-25/2/93

JOHANNESBURG — Having learnt from previous setbacks, Minister for Constitutional Reform Roelf Meyer, who leads the government's negotiating team, and ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, are proceeding cautiously. A final accord that would allow the multiparty negotiations suspended in May 1992 to be resumed has not yet been reached.

The agreement will have to be endorsed by the South African cabinet and the ANC leadership. Nevertheless progress has been made. "There are still wide differences on some issues," said Fanie Schoeman, deputy minister for constitutional affairs and a member of the government negotiating team, "but our positions have moved closer together." Progress has been made possible largely as a result of concessions by the government which is now convinced that the country needs early political stability if a disaster is to be averted and economic activity resuscitated.

Addressing parliament on February 1, Roelf Meyer proposed that a multiparty conference draft a provisional constitution before the end of May 1993. The constitution would then be ratified by the present parliament. Elections would be organised in March or April 1994 with a view to forming a provisional government which would be able to amend the fundamental law but only within the limits of the principles embodied in the provisional constitution. What this meant in short was that the government was looking for safeguards against any changes a new majority might want to introduce.

The agreement reached on February 12 ultimately falls somewhat short of such expectations. Anxious not to have its hands tied by principles laid down independently of any majority issuing from an election, the ANC has always insisted that the new constitution should be worked out by an elected constituent assembly. The elections would take place as soon as possible, in all probability in the first quarter of 1994. However, this constitution is to be ratified only by a qualified majority which has still to be determined. This difficulty was responsible for the talks breaking down in May 1992.

Pending the drafting of the new constitution, the country would be run by a government of national union consisting of the parties willing to take part in the process. Only parties which have obtained 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the vote would be eligible.

Schoeman claimed that the ANC had agreed to a transitional government of at least five years. Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC negotiating team, took a more cautious attitude and spoke of a nine-month guarantee with the future constituent assembly given the possibility of lengthening the transitional government's life. The official ANC statement spoke of a "limited duration after the adoption of a new constitution". These semantic variations have in fact more to do with tactical considerations than with real differences of opinion. The principle of power-sharing was accepted by the ANC some months ago, but it has still to get it accepted at the organisation's grassroots.

Much the same sort of problem is

facing South Africa's ruling National Party. It has to have the agreement reached with the ANC accepted by the other parties and above all by the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosotho Gathsha Buthelezi. While there appears to be no difficulty about executing the decisions concerning the early establishment of a transitional executive council to assist the government until the elections, or setting up independent commissions to oversee the elections and ensure impartial radio and television coverage, the regions pose an altogether different problem. As Inkatha, like the government, favours a federal, even confederal, structure, it wants the tricky questions of defining borders and identifying the areas of authority settled before the elections.

The ANC has, however, succeeded in having the matter referred to the constituent assembly. This will be the most prickly issue in next week's bilateral talks between the government and Inkatha.

Predictably, the recent discovery of an illegal arms trade in which several ANC activists are involved has also come in for extensive coverage, but contrary to many predictions, the incident failed to wreck the talks.

The two sides would in fact appear to have agreed that given the complexity of the situation in Natal Province where ANC followers are clashing with members of Inkatha, other incidents of this sort are likely to take place. An ANC arms cache has, for example, been discovered near Durban, while military materiel, this time transported by the ANC's adversary, Inkatha, was seized at the South Africa/Mozambique border. Neither of the two incidents, though very similar to the previous one, has been unduly exploited.

By Georges Marion

On track for peace!

*Cliff-hanger
as militant
ANC sections
19/2 - 25/2/93.
come close to
sinking talks
... then a deal
is struck*

THE African National Congress yesterday endorsed the multi-party conference — despite a groundswell of grassroots resistance among members.

At a press conference after the movement's crucial three-day national executive committee meeting, ANC leader Pallo Jordan announced approval of the conference, set for February 25.

The plan had met with stiff resistance from some ANC regions, particularly in Natal. Opponents objected to any prior deals with the government which were not tested before the electorate.

Hours before the press conference, worried ANC negotiators were saying privately that meeting the February 25 and 26 deadline agreed by the ANC and the government would be "a miracle".

Yesterday, that miracle happened.



Bowled over

Howzat! ... Meyrick Pringle punches the air in joy after dismissing Ian Bishop during South Africa's dramatic four-run victory over the West Indies at Newlands. The country went mad this week and after several near misses, the home team finally delivered a victory.

The West Indies have to beat Pakistan in Durban on Friday to stay in

the running for a berth in the final of the triangular one-day series next Saturday.

Not all South Africans were supporting the local team. On **PAGE 18**, Ameen Akhalwaya looks at why the Pakistanis have attracted such a strong local following.

And on **PAGE 30**, Jon Swift explains how it is that when Plan A doesn't work ... you try Plan A.

Photo: THE ARGUS

Portrait
of a
writer
who
revels in trouble



BAD BOY Ismail Mahomed hates being called SA's Salman Rushdie. But it's a reputation he does his best to keep up to ... and his new play about sex, murder and religion, is bound to enrage conservatives in the Muslim community **PAGE 32**

Rushdie on the run

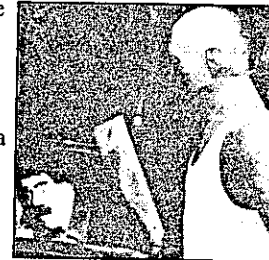
ON his fourth anniversary in hiding, Salman Rushdie thought it was safe to come out. He was wrong ... **PAGE 1, The Guardian Weekly**

Ghouls gallery

DOWN at the police force's own museum, you'll find a ghoulish collection of arsenic, skulls and pangas, and a curiously old-South African perspective on the twin evils of communism and drugs.

It could even make you nostalgic for the good old PW days

PAGE 12



Spaced-out Suttle

GUS SILBER goes into orbit with television's Felicia Mabuza-Suttle and learns about how she turned down the Great American Dream to embark upon a Mission **PAGE 35**

Tell us what you
think of Weekly Mail



Last chance to fill in our survey form and tell us what you love or hate about your paper **PAGE 14**

PAC land plan slammed

W/Mart 19/2 - 25/2/93
THE Pan Africanist Congress' recent proposals on land policy, advocating the wholesale repossession of South Africa's land by its indigenous people with little compensation, have provoked an outraged response from the government.

"The proposed nationalisation and seizure of land owned by white farmers, will be met with opposition from the government and all land owners irrespective of race or colour," said Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers, adding that the proposals "ignore free market principles, which can only result in the destruction of the national economy".

But the Transvaal Rural Action Committee's (Trac) Harold Winkler welcomed the PAC's move. "We are in support of the basic sentiment of the document — the need for land redistribution. Although there may be differences over the exact ways of doing it, we are hoping the document will stimulate debate," he said.

The PAC's document gives little detail on how it proposes to achieve the massive reallocation of land. It does point out that in principle there would be no compensation because "the land was obtained through colo-

Land redistribution of some sort is vital, most agree. But the PAC's new plan for seizing farmland without recompense has angered the government.

By ALEX DODD

onial conquest and therefore its 'ownership' has no legitimacy". No compensation would be paid for the land itself, but on moral grounds the PAC would pay limited compensation for developments on the land.

"There is absolutely no question of 'buying' colonially occupied land from the settlers, even under the type of 'willing buyer — willing seller' system which has been attempted in Zimbabwe," the document reads.

Said Scheepers: "Taking away all the existing farmers would be virtually destroying the food-producing capacity of South Africa."

National Land Committee director Joanne Yawitch said the NLC backed the PAC's view that redistribution was a prerequisite and that the

need for land should be satisfied.

She suggested that private title should not be viewed as the best form of land tenure, as it was by the present government, and that people under communal tenure should not face discrimination.

The PAC insists that land reform cannot succeed through market forces. It rejects the idea that freehold title to land should be protected and that land should be made available only when the current owners are willing to sell. No one would own productive land as private property, although there would be a provision for full ownership of homes — the leases of which would be transferable to descendants, but not saleable on the open market.

Instead it proposes active state intervention, conceding that for a considerable time the state would have to accept that its land reform programme would run at a financial loss.

The prime beneficiaries of the transfer of land should be the current residents of homelands, the PAC says — the entire scheme is predicated on the reintegration of the homelands. Squatters would also benefit.

ANC bid to clip ^(M) Gwala's ^{Wilmant} wings

26/2 - 4/3/93.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA
AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela asked Harry Gwala to resign as chairman of the organisation's Midlands region at the three-day national executive (NEC) committee meeting last week, raising eyebrows in Natal's political circles.

ANC sources said this week Mandela had told Gwala that, in terms of the ANC's constitution, he could not hold the position of chairman of a region because he had been directly elected to the NEC in 1991.

They said an NEC delegation led by deputy president Walter Sisulu had earlier met Gwala, suggesting he step down as regional chairman.

At the NEC meeting, Gwala responded by saying that his regional executive committee wanted him to retain both positions because of the "special circumstances" in the strife-torn province.

But he added that if it came to the push, he would step down from the NEC. Observers said this would have enabled him to continue being the ANC Midlands chief, while continuing to serve on the NEC as an ex-officio member.

The NEC declined to accept Gwala's offer to resign and the matter was postponed for further discussion.

This was the first public attempt by the NEC to clip Gwala's wings. A leading militant, Gwala rejected power-sharing with the government last week and, according to reports, slammed ANC negotiators as "briefcase men" anxious to get into parliament and the cabinet.

ANC Midlands Youth League chairman Stich Ngubane said this week he was surprised Mandela had asked Gwala to step down: "He has held both positions for a long time. Was this really an attempt to follow the constitution, or were there other dynamics?"

University of Natal political scientist Professor Douglas Irvine predicted that if Gwala were forced to resign, it could lead to a split in the ANC in Natal: "In some ways it would ease the path to negotiations, but it would leave intractable problems on the ground. Gwala would carry a significant body of support with him."

He added that, while Gwala had enormous support, some of his critics in the region, who held a "broad national view", were deeply embarrassed by his militant stance.

"In certain quarters there is a lot of criticism, though it's not being voiced publicly."

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