

SAT. STAR, 16 JANUARY 1993

SLOW AHEAD: *Power will change hands by increments, leaving a baffled, frustrated black majority waiting until beyond 2000*

Four rites of passage

THE liberation process in South Africa will be both phased and diluted. I can count at least three likely rites of passage.

First, by mid-1993, a transitional executive council with sub-councils will be formed. This is where the experiment in formal power-sharing will begin. It's worth a celebration.

Second, by April 1994, there will be one man, one vote elections for a single-chamber constitution-making body/interim parliament to adopt a constitution and administer the country. That will mark the inauguration of a transitional government of national unity to continue the experiment in shared power. It, too, would be worth a celebration.

The third rite of passage will be the adoption of the new constitution, which will provide for shared power in a multiparty executive — with majority rule still beyond black reach.

If President de Klerk has his way, this period of executive power-sharing will last forever. Even if the ANC has its way, power-sharing will last at least until the turn of the century. Only then can there be a fourth and final rite of passage, and by that time liberation will have lost its gloss.

There will have been so many rites that the usual single, cathartic transition will never occur.

What this will do to the black psyche can only be imagined. Apartheid has been such a horrendous experience in black lives that only if it is exorcised in a single, all-encompassing, all-cleansing ritual will the psyche be satisfied. This is what burials are for. To confirm the finality, so that the souls of the living can be at rest. For years, the souls of South Africa's blacks — certainly of the radicals — will not be at rest.

It is necessary, nevertheless, to talk about a "new South Africa", because it gives moral purpose and political and economic direction to negotiations. But in fact the new South Africa has already happened. It is to be found in the now virtually complete dismantling of statutory race barriers, leaving only some conventional apartheid in place. A main rite of passage has taken place without a single ceremony to celebrate it.

The most the ANC can do, therefore, as the process unfolds, will be to fix a moment (or moments) of liberation, and commission Saatchi and Saatchi to stage festivals on each occasion that looks like final fulfilment of the freedom struggle, even if they are not.

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk noted all this in his address to the South Africa Club in London (November 13): "Perhaps the greatest challenge which will confront us in the new South Africa will be the degree to which a new government of national unity will be able to manage the enormous expectations of the newly enfranchised voters," he said. "The problem is that sufficient wealth for this purpose does not yet exist, and the gratification of some demands will have to be deferred until economic growth has generated the necessary wealth."

Well, he would say this, wouldn't he, but then ANC president Nelson Mandela said the same thing even more bluntly. When a questioner asked him at a meeting in Vryburg (December 12) when redistribution of wealth would begin, he replied: "After liberation, when we have gained political power, you are still going to continue to live in poverty — without houses, without medical facilities, without adequate education ... because we must (first) properly organise the grassroots to ensure that you have good jobs, de-

cent houses, good education."

Mandela was telling blacks to scale down their expectations.

What both leaders understand is that they can accomplish the immense task of post-apartheid construction only if working together.

This is where the lines cross: where rivalry merges into partnership, creating internal dissent in the ANC and NP, yet offering South Africa salvation. Consider, for example, one man, one vote elections. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer suggests that the role of elections should be reversed — instead of determining which policy should prevail, the elections should confirm agreements already reached.

This may sound bizarre, but the whole South African compromise will be bizarre. Elections, says Schlemmer, must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. "I don't believe we should risk an election," he says, "unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election. And pacting should take place right down to local level."

How will the ANC handle the fundamental contradiction of being both champion of the black cause and partner of the present Government? Given that the two sides now swim or sink together, there can be little doubt that the partnership will grow, but this will place unbearable strains on ANC unity.

One day the organisation will have to choose between breaking away from the coalition (for that is what shared power will be) or accepting, first, that the new state cannot function without the goodwill and co-operation of the white civil service, security establishment and captains of commerce and industry and, second, that the litmus test foreign governments and investors will apply to whether South Africa is stable will be the degree to which whites and blacks are seen to be working together.

Joe Slovo spelt this out in his seminal article in the African Com-

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IFP, ANC, to set date for peace summit

IDO LEKOTA

INKATHA Freedom Party and African National Congress negotiators have undertaken to set a date for a Mandela-Buthlezi peace summit within a month.

Urging supporters to desist from violence, top officials of both groups noted in a joint statement after four hours of talks in Durban that the meeting could take place even if preparatory talks had not clinched agreement on all points.

Yesterday top-level IFP-ANC delegations met for a third round of preparatory talks to pave the way for the summit.

The IFP team was led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's by assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Reconstruction

Both parties expressed a sense of urgency yesterday, apparently making progress towards a summit date.

Subcommittees were to deal with creating a climate for free political activity; strengthening National Peace Accord structures; ending militarisation of politics; and addressing reconstruction in violence-torn areas.

A last round of preparatory talks, at which a date and agenda for the summit would be set, would be held on February 11. However, the date and agenda would have to be approved by both parties' leaders.

With five-day talks between the Government and ANC scheduled to start on Wednesday, an upbeat ANC briefing yesterday said a "tremendous amount of progress has been made in bilateral talks".

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second and third lines of fortifications for minority interests — a senate and a federal system — capable of paralysing the multiparty executive, the executive will be stillborn. The senate and the federal system will have to mesh in with the multiparty executive, or none of the trinity will work.

The ANC is prepared to experiment with a power-sharing executive only for five or 10 years. Hence the name "sunset" clause. In the circumstances, whites have looked beyond the deadline, and come up with the senate and federalism for longer-term protection.

But it will not work. To add to shared executive power, a fully fledged federal structure, plus a House of regions, would create an impossibly complicated structure, studded with self-destruct buttons.

A power-sharing Cabinet is not a sophisticated idea — it is pretty crude, in fact. But no better idea has been offered so far. If the minds in a shared executive are convergent — if only because everyone has peered into the same abyss — it could work.

NO MATTER which way one looks at the new South Africa, it will need a strong centre, and only a power-sharing Cabinet can provide that centre, which must be made to hold at all costs. Federalism and a senate representing regions cannot be allowed to paralyse it.

The country will need strong central government to deal not only with foreign affairs, defence, immigration and the other familiar central government portfolios, but also with political violence, crime, economic recovery, maladministration, corruption, etc. A Cabinet based on shared power, but commanding only residual powers left over from the provinces, would be little more than a Tower of Babel.

CP and DP condemn Broederbond over 'survival move'

By Arthur Kemp

BOTH the Conservative and Democratic Parties yesterday condemned the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) for attempting to preserve its power in the future South Africa, with the CP calling for the body to be disbanded.

Yesterday it was disclosed that the AB was busy drawing up plans not only to survive in a future South Africa, but also to extend its influence even further.

According to a secret AB document leaked to several newspapers, the AB was at present busy with a survey of its 20 074 members to take a final decision on its future.

The document also said that the organisation was going to maintain its veil of secrecy, and although it was considering admitting Coloured males "who share the same language and heritage", the body would definitely still remain closed to women.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, said it was "depressing to learn that the AB is pressing ahead as a racist, ethnically exclusive and secret organisation".

"All over the world civilised people are moving

away from these archaic values and practices and one really had begun to hope that they would wither away among our people also," Dr De Beer said.

The New South Africa surely implies an open society in which we trust one another and tell the truth. To go on into the future knowing that important figures in our political life have a hidden agenda dictated to them by a sinister, secret cabal, is going to be very difficult," he said.

"One can only hope that there will be many

Afrikaner leaders whose love for freedom and democracy will transcend their loyalty to this narrowly based secret society."

Dr Lem Theron, national secretary of the Conservative Party, said the CP "rejects the Broederbond's current aims and goals and believes it should be disbanded."

"The fact that the word 'White' is to be removed from the constitution is evidence indeed of how the organisation's original aims and goals have been deflected, and this removal is an affront to the

memory of those who started the organisation," he said.

"The AB is in its present form nothing more than a structure to maintain the power and privilege of a small elite. Its raison d'être is to serve only its members and to increase the process of integration and the destruction of Western culture in South Africa," Dr Theron said.

"Members today are a power-addicted elite whose only aim is to salvage something for themselves out of the mess which they and their government created."

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ANC is concerned at Broeder 'manipulation'

THE African National Congress said yesterday it was deeply concerned about the new revelations concerning the "continuing manipulative role" that the Afrikaner Broederbond was playing.

"Despite the pious assurances last year by the chairman of the Broederbond, Prof J P de Lange, that the organisation is considering lifting the veil

of secrecy over its activities, membership of the Broederbond continued to be confidential, and the selection process leading to membership secret," an ANC spokesman said.

"All the old racist and sexist selection criteria remain in place: In typical double speak the word "White" is removed from the constitution, while the selection requirement for membership remains unchanged. The membership of the organisation will thus continue to be exclusively Afrikaner, White and male."

The ANC said secret Broederbond documents published in the Press recently indicate that the Broederbond intends to manipulate the political situation in South Africa in order to secure special, disproportionate and undue influence for Afrikaners in a newly negotiated dispensation.

"As in the past, when the Broederbond played a major role in determining the National Party's racist policies, absolute secrecy and confidentiality remain a priority. Significantly not only mem-

bership remains secret, but so do discussions, memoranda and documents."

"Very serious questions arise about the commitment of such an organisation and its members to the most basic of democratic principals. The Broederbond's aim is clearly to secure for Afrikaners — to which they have appointed themselves as guardians without any semblance of democracy — and especially for themselves, disproportionate influence and privilege regardless of the democratic will of the people of South Africa."

The ANC says, State President De Klerk and most members of his Cabinet are members of the Broederbond. "Where are the real decisions about negotiating strategies being made? President De Klerk and the government negotiators will have to provide clear and unambiguous answers. Transparency and trust are crucial for speedy and successful negotiations, and confidence in the whole process".

Agreement near on Buthelezi-Mandela summit date

DURBAN. — A meeting between the presidents of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has almost been finalised with a summit date expected to be announced next month, the organisations said in Durban yesterday.

This emerged after the third round of talks between a joint ANC-IFP committee established last month to pave the way for a presidential summit.

According to a joint statement read by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose after yesterday's meeting, the committee had not completed its work but had made progress and would probably announce the date for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit at their next meeting in February.

"At the next meeting (on February 11) we undertake to make firm recommendations to our principals about their summit meeting," said Dr Mdlalose.

He explained ANC-IFP sub-committees working towards clearing obstacles to a summit had not completed their work yesterday and needed time to do so.

They would urgently try to finalise outstanding issues by the February meeting.

These sub-committees have been dealing with: creating a climate for free political activity; strengthening the structures of the Peace Accord; ending the militarisation of politics; and, reconstruction.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting told Sapa there was general opti-

mism and almost certainty that a summit would take place soon, despite some differences and hitches.

This mood was relayed by Dr Mdlalose who, in the committee's joint statement, said: "It was not the view of this committee that there had to be complete agreement on all points before the two presidents could meet".

Earlier yesterday a threatened hitch to a Mandela-Buthelezi summit was smoothed over by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma who, in response to a call by two Natal ANC regions for the suspension of talks with the IFP, said: "We are going ahead (with preparations for the summit)".

His statement followed a call by the ANC's Mid-

lands and Northern Natal regions for a halt to all bilateral talks with Inkatha until the political climate was right.

Spokesmen from the regions this week alleged ongoing Inkatha violence and said the IFP's scuttling of peace efforts in Natal did not complement a presidential summit now.

"The climate is not right. We are committed in principle to a summit although Inkatha has to adhere to conditions for this," said Northern Natal ANC administrator Bongani Msoni.

Mr Zuma, earlier said the ANC's National Executive Committee had taken a decision to lay the foundations for a summit with Mr Buthelezi and this decision still held.

Meanwhile, after yesterday's meeting, both the ANC and IFP delegations renewed an appeal to their supporters not to resort to violence to resolve problems.

In this regard, they warmly welcomed positive developments towards peace in the Umbumbulu and Port Shepstone regions on Natal's South Coast. Levels of conflict there have been drastically reduced following peace agreements between the ANC and IFP.

The organisations called on all other warring communities in Natal, particularly Brunville in the Midlands and Empangeni in the north, to "follow these excellent examples". — Sapa.

IFP, govt talks to focus on conference

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is to meet the government in bilateral talks focusing on a multi-party planning conference on Monday, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose confirmed in Durban yesterday.

Dr Mdlalose said he would lead an IFP delegation in the first round of full-blown bilateral discussions with the government since talks broke down last year when the IFP objected to the terms of the Record of Understanding signed by the

African National Congress and the government.

Since then the channel set up between the two organisations had led to Monday's meeting, he added.

Dr Mdlalose said the talks on Monday and Tuesday would focus on a multi-party planning conference as agreed to during discussions between the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), of which the IFP is part, and the government.

Constitutional Devel-

opment Minister Roelf Meyer would lead the government delegation, added Dr Mdlalose.

He said next week's meeting would also touch on other issues, including violence.

The IFP chairman was speaking to reporters at a Durban hotel where he led a delegation in talks with the African National Congress aimed at facilitating a presidential summit between the two political organisations. — Sapa.

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Dutch to teach ANC members diplomacy

AMSTERDAM. — The Dutch Government said yesterday it had invited 24 African National Congress members to The Netherlands to be schooled in the art of diplomacy ahead of majority rule in South Africa.

"In anticipation of the formation of a majority government in South Africa, the Netherlands is supporting the training of future South African Embassy personnel from ANC ranks," the Foreign Ministry said.

ANC staff drawn from overseas offices will attend the 10-week training course at the Clingendael Institute for International Affairs. — Sapa-Reuter.

Taxes must be increased – FW

THE State President's two-fisted blow – higher taxes and confirmation of no further salary improvements for public servants – has been met with a chorus of indignation from opposition spokesmen and public-service representatives.

De Klerk yesterday told a meeting of public servants' organisations and teachers' bodies that tax increases were inevitable to prevent the country from sliding into insolvency.

Although De Klerk did not specify which taxes

would be increased, personal income tax as well as VAT would be affected, according to an informed source who attended the meeting.

However, De Klerk gave the assurance that the tax status of pension gratuities would not be changed in the coming Budget – thus cushioning the effect of higher taxes on public servants who have taken early retirement.

"We will, unfortunately, not be able to avoid a tax increase in one form or another. In taking this decision, the Govern-

**ROBERT BRAND
and DEREK RODNEY**

ment will naturally take into account the fact that the economy still finds itself in a recession. Efforts will also be made to ensure that the growth sectors of the economy are affected as little as possible.

"The approach, therefore, will be calculated and objective, but the ultimate result is inevitable and the taxpayers will, unfortunately, have to contribute more to the Treasury," De Klerk

said.

Painting a bleak picture of the economy, he said the country would become insolvent unless State expenditure were further curbed and additional revenues secured. Inflation had dropped in the past three months – one of the few positive signs in the economy.

"Greater fiscal discipline is necessary – and also your and my additional taxes are necessary – to further anchor that which we have achieved."

De Klerk said the net

decrease in State expenditure by personnel reduction and other means had not been "anywhere near enough" to relieve the necessity of fiscal discipline.

The Government therefore could not afford to spend more money than already earmarked to improve public servants' salaries. A 5 percent increase had been promised to them last year, and the Government would stick to this promise even though this offer would have been lower if the Gov-

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Taxes

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ernment had to formulate it now.

With the economy in a recession, public servants should be glad to have jobs at all, he added.

Reacting to the speech, Democratic Party spokesman Douglas Gibson said he was amazed at De Klerk's announcement.

"What does he mean? Is VAT to be increased? If so, at the very least VAT on basic foodstuffs

should be abolished.

"If the president is referring to income tax, he must be told that South African taxpayers are now among the highest-taxed people in the world."

Conservative Party finance spokesman Cas Uys said higher taxes would lead to higher inflation, and the public would have to foot the bill for the Government's inability to apply fiscal discipline.

"Three years ago (former Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis said taxes would be reduced, and now the opposite happens," Uys said.

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LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER:
Elections must be the result
of settlements, not a way of
imposing them.



JOE SLOVO: The ANC is not
dealing with a defeated
enemy, hence the suggested
"sunset clause".

WHEN colonial Africa became independent, there was always a simple rite of passage. The foreign power's flag would be run down and the new, liberation flag run up. It will not be like this in South Africa. There will be no single, triumphal ceremony at which power will be transferred, while trumpets sound and cymbals clash. **STANLEY UYS** outlines a likely scenario.

munist: "The ANC is not dealing with a defeated enemy; an early revolutionary seizure of power is not realistic; the capacity of the white civil service, army and police to destabilise a newly born democracy is enormous; and a 'sunset' clause should be inserted in the new constitution to provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years..."

The essence of this document has been approved by both the ANC's working committee and its national executive committee (after a heated debate), so the ANC can be said to have made its choice: it stands or falls now by white-black collaboration.

However, can the ANC carry its constituency with it? With some luck, yes, at least until the elections are held, because the prospect of power is a powerful centripetal force in liberation politics.

But then things will start to fall apart.

The dissenters are already there — it is just that they have not yet been mobilised: exiles who have returned without a welcome or a job; Umkhonto cadres who have turned rogue; self-defence units that have become a law unto themselves; civics with their own agendas; a nucleus of rebels, under the Haniis, Winnies, Gwalas, Mokabas, and others, who are biding their time; and, on

the periphery, sundry PAC, Apla, Azapo members and others.

The dissenters will claim to represent "the masses" who have been betrayed by an elite. The only way in which the ANC can really meet the challenge then is if, speedily, jobs are created and houses built — even before the ANC gets its hands on real power. Therefore, this will be the Government's immediate responsibility.

The crux of the dispute between the ANC leadership and the dissenters will be power-sharing.

Already, the Government has made major concessions: it has dismantled apartheid, surrendered white supremacy and changed the balance of forces between whites and blacks forever. The ANC has made matching concessions by abandoning the armed struggle and crossing the Rubicon of shared power.

Now there will have to be more give and take: the Government on federalism and the ANC on the time limit for shared power.

Federalism's principles are impeccable. In 1992 there were 17 formal federal systems in the world, 40 percent of the world's population lived within federal polities and a further 33 percent lived in polities that utilise federal arrangements in some way.

Inevitably, federalism in one form or another will be introduced in the new South Africa. The question is whether the federalists will overplay their hand. If they confine federal powers to socio-cultural interests, well and good, but if they insist on political-economic powers that override the central government's powers — which surely must be the locus of real power — the country will find itself without an organic centre, and if the centre does not hold (as Yeats reminds us), things fall apart.

Either all sides must place their trust in the power-sharing Cabinet, and make sure it works, or they might as well not start it in the first place. If whites plan to erect

New body to administer Soweto

LOUISE MARSLAND
Local Government Reporter

AN HISTORIC decision-making forum for Greater Soweto could be in place within a month following a broad agreement in Johannesburg yesterday between members of the Soweto Ad Hoc Crisis Committee on

steps to resolve the current financial and services crisis in the bankrupt township.

An end to the rent and services boycott in Soweto is in sight after the sacking of the Soweto and Diepmeadow councillors this week by Transvaal Administrator Danje Hough for maladministration and the failure to collect municipal service charges.

Hough removed the last stumbling block to the involvement of the Johannesburg and Roodepoort city councils in providing services to Greater Soweto.

Skills

Yesterday the TPA, Johannesburg and Roodepoort councils, Soweto Civic Association, Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council (CWRSC) and the Dobsonville Town Council met to hammer out the agreement which will result in the establishment of a Greater Soweto Forum to advise newly appointed Soweto and Diepmeadow administrator Zakkie Lombard; and the provision of services and administrative skills by Johannesburg in Soweto and Diepmeadow and by Roodepoort in Dobsonville.

The crisis committee

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Soweto

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yesterday reached agreement on the broad structure of the new interim administration for Greater Soweto.

A meeting has, however, been called for Monday to try to finalise agreement on outstanding important financial issues of the tariff structure for payment of services, the TPA's financial involvement, and how the R700 million Soweto and Diepmeadow debt should be dealt with.

The proposed package to resolve the crisis is an immediate, short-term and temporary "pre-interim" arrangement and should in no way be regarded as any form of interim government, the chamber stresses.

The Greater Soweto Forum will be politically responsible for determining policy and preparing the budgets for Greater Soweto. It will initially comprise the members of the Soweto Ad Hoc Crisis Committee, but membership could be broadened.

It will operate by consensus and where matters cannot be resolved, a dispute resolution committee will be called in.

Johannesburg will act as an agent for the CWRSC and will be paid to provide services and upgrade infrastructure in the townships.

To get the payment of services tariffs up to an acceptable level, the civics have proposed a flat rate of R55 a month, with gradual increases after services have been seen to improve.

Broederbond prepares for new SA

THE Broederbond is alive and well — a little confused perhaps, but bigger than ever and hard at work figuring how best to perpetuate its grip on this country.

That was the picture that emerged yesterday in the newspaper Vrye Weekblad after veteran Broederbond watcher Hennie Serfontein burst in on a secret meeting of the brotherhood at a remote northern Transvaal farm.

Ballot

Serfontein also disclosed details of documents circulating among the 20 074 members of the secret society, intended to help Broeders plot a course better suited to the circumstances of a new South Africa.

The meeting Serfontein gatecrashed a week ago was at Willie Pruis's farm Gegund near Zebediela. It was to have been addressed by President FW de Klerk, Serfontein said.

The Broederbond had virtually doubled in size since 1982, he added.

Its executive commit-

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tee had sent members questionnaires on the organisation's future — a referendum on which way the Bond should go.

The secret ballot was expected to be completed by the end of next month.

The questionnaire indicated that the organisation was primarily concerned with how to change its profile, and operating procedures to maintain its influence.

A council memorandum warned that the Afrikaner in future would "not hold so many leading positions" and that it would be necessary to exercise influence to further the interests of the Afrikaner at community level.

Contingency plans were needed.

At present, membership is restricted to Afrikaans-speaking Protestant white males of 21 or older. Membership of coloured Afrikaans-speakers could be countenanced in future.