

Insight/The great divide 2



LAND PRESSURE: The major parties have conflicting ideas about how land reform should be implemented.

Nats want market driven reform

THE National Party believes that there should be market-driven land reform and does not support large-scale expropriation, ceilings on land ownership, or active State intervention in the land market.

The Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Johan Scheepers, said the NP recognised the need to deal with extensive landlessness and land hunger and its approach was based on the creation of new settlement opportunities through a market driven land reform process, accompanied by appropriate support measures to the landless.

"The creation of new settlement opportunities will have to consider the magnitude of existing land needs in our rural and urban areas, the ability of the economy to accommodate sup-

port measures, the rights of existing land owners and the potential contribution of support measures to growth and development."

According to Dr Scheepers, significant progress has been made in the broadening of access to land in the urban areas in terms of the 1992 White Paper on Land Reform and the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991.

The NP's programmes and measures are designed to promote access to land accompanied by marketing and financial assistance, training, research

and other appropriate technical support measures.

The NP supports a protection of private property ownership entrenched in a Bill of Human Rights. In a market-driven land reform process, ownership will be determined by a willing seller/willing buyer market.

"Every person should have the right, individually, or together with others, to be, or become, the owner of private property, or to obtain a real right to it.

"Expropriation of property, or other rights, should only be possible in terms of legislation,

in the public interest and subject to the payment of market related compensation. Expropriated parties should have full redress in a court of law."

The NP accepted that the majority of black people did not have the financial ability to enter the land market and that market forces alone were not sufficient to obviate historic backlogs and the effects of past policy directions.

Its contribution to ensuring that black people are therefore not prejudiced in acquiring land, would be investigating the possibility of lowering transaction costs for new owners.

"Significant amounts of internal and external development aid are available to organisations which can be directed to the creation of new ownership opportunities."

The upgrading of traditional communal systems of land tenure is also envisaged by the NP.



01-04-92

A resource that can't be owned, says the PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress believes that land as a national resource cannot be owned; that ownership of the land will "revert to the people" and its acquisition and distribution will be carried out in accordance with the law.

Director of the PAC's Department of Land and Environmental Affairs, Dr Peter Mayende, said the imbalance in allocating resources can only be addressed through a process, led by the State working in close contact with the people, of redistributing resources to the dispossessed and discriminated.

"The PAC holds the view that land as a national resource cannot be owned as such but people utilising the land, as individual farmers or industrialists, will be given access to land under a universally applicable leasehold system. Ownership of the land will revert to the people and its acquisition and distribution will be carried out in accordance with the law."

Dr Mayende said whites occupied and had access to a disproportionate amount of land.

"It is completely unacceptable that 62 000 white farmers control 71% of the agricultural land — ie 86 million hectares — while the Bantustans, where the majority of our people make out a meagre living, account for only 15 million hectares."

Dr Mayende said the PAC had targeted a substantial amount of land controlled by white farmers for redistribution, and the first step in this direction would be the expropriation of white-controlled land.

"This will be the first and major source of land for redistribution. Secondly, there exists some land, maybe 20% or so, which is available for habitation, agricultural production and other forms of economic enterprise, which is presently under-utilised.

"There also exists some State



land which is lying idle. Additionally, there is land taken from the people through forced removals. This land will be returned to these people under terms which will ensure equitable redistribution among them."

The PAC believes that the priority group for those who will benefit from redistribution of land will be the landless, poor, underprivileged and subsistence producers.

A PAC government will provide land to these people by allocating them parts of the expropriated holdings and other available land under a leasehold system.

"The beneficiaries will thus be transformed into surplus-producing smallholders. Land will also be made available to others falling outside this group, but they will be given consideration after the situation of the priority group has been solved.

"The beneficiaries will be expected, once they have consolidated their position and their productive activities have stabilised, to pay tax and maintain their leases, as well as maintain acceptable standards of productivity."

With regard to residential property, the PAC holds the view that this should be limited to one structure per family or individual.

Properties such as housing will be sold to those deemed capable of purchasing such property.

ANC supports the right to own property

THE right to own property would definitely be included in the constitution, according to Mr Derek Hanekom, head of the African National Congress's agricultural desk, Department of Economic Planning.

Land which the ANC has targeted for redistribution includes State-owned land, land which is held for purely speculative reasons, land which is unused or underutilised, land which belongs to absentee landlords, land which has been degraded environmentally and land which is hopelessly indebted.

"Our policy document does not refer to white-owned farms per se, as land targeted for redistribution. But it is clear that land is going to be required by the State for redistribution and would have to include white-owned land.

"In fact we are talking mainly about agricultural land. We are talking about unoccupied farms rather than sites. Our policy document does not mention wildlife resorts or game reserves, but does mention unoccupied sites," Mr Hanekom said.

The ANC believes that the state has a responsibility for redistribution and in certain instances will acquire land for redistribution, especially in the case of the urban homeless.

The ANC believes that legislation and fiscal measures, eg. a land tax, could help the process of redistribution.

In its definition of land owners, the ANC differs between those who may have a historical claim to the land and those who purchased land.

The ANC believes that those who have legitimate claims to land, based on set criteria,



should not have to repurchase their land.

Those people who are awarded a claim through a Land Commissions Court, would have to be given back their land.

The ANC believes that legislation and fiscal measures, eg. a land tax, could help the process of redistribution.

Where that land is owned by a person with a valid claim of ownership, the Land Claims Court will deal with two separate claims.

The ANC also believes that the biggest source of land for redistribution could be that land belonging to farmers who are unable to pay their debts.

On the question of compensation, the ANC believes that the terms under which the person obtained the land would have to be the primary consideration.

"In many instances white farmers bought their land from the State at very low prices. For them to be compensated at present market value, would not be best."

Mr Hanekom said the ANC was quite clear that commercial, agricultural land would be obtained, but that people would not be forced off their land.



No automatic expropriation

INKATHA Freedom Party executive member Inkosi Simon Gumede said the IFP supports redistribution.

However, the IFP would never merely expropriate by decree; it did not support an ownership limit, and believed that any land redistribution should be carried out by states within its envisaged federation and not by the central state.

Mr Gumede said the IFP believes that land should be economically productive and would therefore take a very close look at under-utilised land owned by absentee landlords.

He said in instances where state-owned land is to be redistributed, wide negotiations with both the intended beneficiaries and those who might be excluded from the benefits would have to take place.

"The key areas to ensure greater black ownership are land for housing and agriculture."

The IFP's approach includes direct intervention with interested parties to make land available to those who need it. This would include formalising informal settlements, identifying and making available under-utilised urban and rural land, and establishing various housing and farming packages to maximise land availability within the end-user's affordability.

On the question of land ownership in dispute, he said the IFP saw merits in the establishment of a Land Commission.

16/1/11

SACP, ANC men deny robberies

1/04/93 CATTEN

SOUTH African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani and African National Congress PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale yesterday denied involvement in robberies, including bank robberies.

They were reacting to a statement by Solomon Mnqanqeni, who is claimed by the police to be a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) implicating Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale in two robberies.

Mr Mnqanqeni's statement was read out in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday and accepted as admissible in his trial for armed robbery and murder.

The ANC was also named as being a recipient of loot.

Mr Mnqanqeni was among the 16 prisoners who escaped from custody at Diepkloof Prison in Soweto on Friday evening after his court appearance and is still at large.

Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale told a Johannesburg news conference they had not been involved in robberies.

Mr Hani said the claims were part of a disinformation campaign to weaken the ANC's position in the forthcoming election, and that a similar campaign preceded Namibia's independence.

The two men said Mr Mnqanqeni was unknown to them, and they could neither confirm nor deny his ANC membership without further investigation.

Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale said they had not been questioned by police in connection with the robberies.

The SACP said in a statement: "These are obviously very serious claims, yet the SAP investigators never visited, phoned or in any way questioned either Chris Hani or Tokyo Sexwale regarding this matter."

Mr Sexwale described the allegations as "the most terrible fabrication we have ever come across".

SACP executive member Jeremy Cronin questioned the circumstances of Mr Mnqanqeni's statement and his escape so soon after it had been read out. — Sapa.

THE DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1993

Insight/The great divide 1

What kind of property can be redistributed, and how will it be done?

Laying claim to the land

To millions of South Africans the end of apartheid will only be signalled by the giving back of land which was wrested from them under that race system. They will also be wanting access to land previously denied them because they could not afford it. To others, such a redistribution would be tantamount to a declaration of war. Whatever the feelings on the issue, it remains one of the most crucial items on the negotiations table. Political Reporter **VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU** continues The Daily News focus on land redistribution.

A NEW black government is going to take your house and your land away from you. A new govern-

ment will make true the Freedom Charter sentiment: housing security and comfort for all.

If scare stories and promises like these of the new South Africa are to be believed, it is apparent there is no clear picture of how the controversial issue of land is to be addressed.

For millions of South Africans, compensation for their suffering under apartheid means no less than the return of land which was appropriated to realise Hendrik Verwoerd's apartheid dream.

Many whites would agree — the redistribution of land would be a fair pay-off to close the chapter on the years of apartheid.

How will this redistribution take place? Will it usher in a socialist-leaning land reform programme? Will the Joneses lose their property? Will they be compensated?

These questions were put to the major political players by Barometer on Negotiations, an

influential journal aimed at providing decision-makers with an outline of the negotiation scene in South Africa.

Editor Hanneke du Preez said it was clear from an informal survey conducted by the journal among its readers that to the majority of people, the redistribution of land was regarded as probably the most important issue, ranking higher than any other negotiation topic.

"If those who administer the redistribution do not do so in continued and close consultation with the people, it could turn out to be yet another stumbling block to peace," Dr du Preez said.

With the exception of the right-wing, political parties all agree that there needs to be some process whereby the land can be used to eradicate the imbalance between white and black ownership of property.

Where they differ is in defining what kind of land can be redistributed and how this redistribution will take place.



LAND HUNGER: One of the crucial issues to be addressed at the negotiating table.

South Africa needs to know parties' stand on federalism

Daily news 01-04-93

Mdlalose strikes back

FRANK MDLALOSE, the national chairman, Inkatha Freedom Party, replies to a recent article by Professor Etienne Mureinik, professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, in which he criticised the constitution of KwaZulu/Natal.

THE DAILY NEWS of Thursday, March 25, 1993, carries what purports to be an analysis of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1, 1992.

We deeply regret to note that once again the debate on the constitution does not focus on its real characteristics but relies on misrepresentation and tendentious denigration aimed at building a case.

There is a difference between debate on the fundamental issues of our land and the expeditious use of propagandistic simplification to serve purposes arising out of the present political contingency.

A new stage of negotiations has begun, and the IFP has clearly stated that the issue of federalism must be resolved before fully-fledged negotiations may continue. This is the core issue of our constitutional debate.

In this context we demanded that democratic ground-up democracy building processes such as the adoption of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal be acknowledged and registered within the process of negotiations at central level, and that our state constitution be tested through a popular referendum.

Therefore, it does not surprise us, even if it deeply saddens us, that we are faced again with a renewed campaign of distorting simplifications and inaccuracies about the constitution.

In fact, Professor Mureinik paraphrases a few sections from the constitution, distorting their

meaning and deliberately concealing those other related provisions which are destructive of his case.

The professor refers to the United States but he fails to note that in that country there are state militias which amount to over 40% of the US armed forces and that the position of the federal armed forces in the member states is regulated by the institutional praxis of that country with modalities similar to those provided for in the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

The professor also fails to acknowledge that a federation relies on a system of split sovereignty and that in the United States, for instance, each state has its own judiciary which is the final arbiter of its laws, including the state constitution.

Contrary to what is stated by the professor, our state constitution would not prevent the federal system from applying and judging the validity of its laws, and mechanisms will need to be provided in the federal constitution of South Africa to co-ordinate judicial activities at state and federal levels.

The point needs to be made that a comprehensive assessment of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal in the absence of a federal constitution for South Africa opens up to the possibility of unjustified distortions and sweeping statements on the nature of our state constitution.

In fact, the constitution of a federal republic of South Africa is essential and complementary to the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal, which is part of a mosaic yet to be completed.

Some of the provisions of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal which Professor Mureinik criticises are related not to the distribution of powers between the federal and the state level but rather to the mechanisms aimed at ensuring that this distribution is read over a period of time.

In other words they are



FRANK MDLALOSE: replying to "misrepresentation and tendentious denigration".

checks and balances which will need to be read in conjunction with the corresponding checks and balances to be written in the federal constitution.

But even in the absence of the federal constitution it is clear from the powers of the central federal legislature listed in Article 67 of the constitution that all talk of "separate statehood" is ridiculous.

The constitution provides for vast federal powers, which some say exceed those provided for in the United States constitution.

Within the framework of monetary, credit and banking provisions established by the

federal government our state will assist our banking industry so as to encourage the establishment of new businesses in our region and to promote business development for existing businesses.

All modern constitutions contain a set of provisions which are related to the cornerstones of the economic system and are usually referred to as the "economic constitution".

The constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal makes clear choices in this sense, protecting private enterprise, free market economy and promoting privatisation and limiting the direct involvement of government in ec-

onomic operations.

This economic constitution is accompanied by the commitment of the State to help the least advantaged, promote equal access to opportunities and assist the victims of apartheid, thereby establishing a social, not a socialist, state on the model of the European constitutions adopted after World War 2.

The advantage of a federal system is that if in other states other political parties manage to overcome the IFP opposition and succeed in pursuing the route of centralised socialist economies based on government parastatal and redistribution of property and wealth, they can do so.

But this is not the route that KwaZulu/Natal has chosen for itself and for its future generations. Should this change, the constitution can be amended.

The Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu has exercised its undoubtedly democratic right to adopt a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal. The distribution of power between the federal authorities and the State is clearly indicated. The powers of the centre are listed. This is the only document thus far which deals with the issue.

All other proposals would postpone the matter to a future date. The public of South Africa needs to know what the actual vision of the various parties is on the issue of state/regional powers.

The real issue is the distribution of powers between the central government and the states. The IFP stands firm in its commitment to federalism and warns against those who are in the business of selling regionalism under a federal label.

We hope The Daily News will be able to promote a serious and analytical debate on the great issues of federalism and on the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal which would be better analysed chapter by chapter rather than by means of sweeping statements and political slogans.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Sealed off

OTHER than going into Transkei and taking out Azanian Peoples Liberation Army nests (which we favour), the government's decision to seal off Transkei is the next best thing.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's military ruler, has adopted a most belligerent attitude.

Accused by a Goldstone Commission committee of allowing APLA to use Transkei as a base for attacks on White targets in South Africa, he blandly denies the charge.

Given the chance by the commission to dispute the allegations against his government, he tells the commission it can "go jump in the lake".

And instead of trying to square matters with Pretoria, he claims that State President De Klerk personally gave orders to "wipe out" APLA personnel in Transkei.

One might have thought that General Holomisa would first of all have kicked APLA members out of his territory (or politely encouraged them to leave).

Secondly, he would have produced evidence to back his claim that there were no APLA bases in Transkei, or that the territory is being used as an APLA springboard or to train its members.

The best way to do this would have been to present evidence to the commission.

But no, General Holomisa is a law unto himself and simply slangs the commission and the South African Government.

Perhaps he believes that by being aggressive he can ride out the storm.

He is wrong.

The South African Government has had a gutsful of independent states gobbling up billions of rands of South African taxpayers' money, misusing funds and telling Pretoria where to get off.

Sure, the Nationalists were responsible for the creation of the homelands and the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

But the government is in a process of major reform and reincorporation of the homelands and independent states is now the most likely scenario, the government and ANC talking of regions but differing on the nature and powers of central and regional governments. At this point, terrorism against Whites is counter-productive.

At this point, confrontation by General Holomisa serves no purpose.

In fact, General Holomisa does both Transkei and its people a great disservice by cocking a snook at Pretoria.

Furthermore, confrontation weakens his position. It creates a situation in which, if the government is forced to act against him — and sealing the border is obviously a first step — he will not survive.

Although traffic between South Africa and Transkei was unhindered yesterday, we could have a repeat of the clampdown on Lesotho in 1986 when South Africa blocked the inflow of supplies through security checks on vehicles at the border.

The blockade was imposed after repeated accusations by the government that Lesotho was allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for attacks in South Africa.

Sixteen days later, Chief Leabua Jonathan's government was overthrown by Major-General Justin Lekhanye.

Although the government denies that this is its game plan with Transkei, the scenario is too similar for General Holomisa's comfort.

The ANC, which also uses Transkei for training cadres of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is patently not pleased with this turn of events.

It says "control measures on the border are going to cause great inconvenience and hardship to many innocent people."

Mr De Klerk is to meet General Holomisa today at the Transkei Government's request.

He should read General Holomisa the Riot Act, and if the Transkei ruler gives him any more trouble, he should tighten the border controls and take even more drastic action to put an end to Transkei's intransigence.

BUSINESS Day 1 APRIL 1993

Size of govt impedes growth hopes — BoE

CAPE TOWN — The vision for economic growth outlined in Finance Minister Derek Keys's economic model would never be realised unless the size of government was substantially reduced, Board of Executors (BoE) senior portfolio manager Rob Lee warns in the latest Investment Outlook.

Disappointingly, the Budget failed conspicuously to make progress in this regard.

The substantial 12,5% increase in government spending budgeted indicated that the brave utterances by President F W de Klerk and Keys about downsizing government were so much hot air. As a consequence the individual taxpayer had to bear a higher direct and indirect tax burden in a situation of lower wage and salary increases, "punishingly high" real interest rates and continued retrenchments.

"The net result is that consumer spending is bound to fall substantially in real terms again this year," Lee said. He believed the Budget would depress economic growth further.

Hopes of an investment and export-led boom in SA were pie in the sky unless politicians facilitated its implementation.

Preconditions for realising these hopes were: a sustained international economic upturn; a reasonable degree of political stability and certainty; a reduction in violence; the consistent pursuit of stable, predictable and sensible economic policies; a

LINDA ENSOR

considerable cut in the relative size of the public sector and a more realistic and competitive exchange rate.

The exchange rate should be lowered "by eliminating exchange control and reducing the level of protection and subsidies and not by depreciating the currency through excess money creation".

Lee believed the underlying trend in inflation was still downward. Inflation was expected to fall to about 8,5% in March, jumping thereafter to between 10,5% and 11,5% before returning to single digits.

He was optimistic that the 1994 inflation rate would average less than 10% on account of the weak domestic economy, low international inflation, the fall in money supply growth and a strengthening of reserves which would stabilise the rand.

A further cut in Bank Rate could be expected in the second half of the year as long as pressures on the capital account eased after the installation of a transitional government.

Regarding international economies, Lee believed a sustained recovery was unlikely. The recovery in the US economy and signs of a UK revival were being counterbalanced by continued weakness in Japan and collapsing production in France, Germany and the Netherlands.

WEEKEND ARGUS 01-04-93

Black exam fees cut

De Beer cancels NECC meeting after reduction for matrics

JOHN VILJOEN
Education Reporter

MATRIC exam fees, the cause of countrywide protest action by black pupils, have been cut by a third.

Education and Training minister Mr Sam de Beer has announced that black matrics will pay R48 instead of R72. Those who have already paid will be refunded the difference.

Mr De Beer gave no reason for the decision and in a statement last night merely said that the government had authorised the reduction.

He cancelled a meeting with the National Education Co-ordination Committee (NECC) on the fees issue due for today because the matter had "been dealt with".

By May 7, registration forms for candidates for this year's matric exams plus the R48 fee would have to be submitted to the principals of secondary schools or heads of exam centres, he said.

Various organisations had made a number of "highly disturbing statements" in recent weeks, threatening disruptions if the fees were not abolished.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Pan African Students Organisation (Paso), the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) and the Southern Transvaal region of the NECC had threatened to disrupt schooling in other departments in a bid to force the government to make changes in education.

"This is probably the worst form of extortion and intimidation. It is understandable that the government will not be intimidated and cannot accede to these demands," said Mr De Beer.

"It is clear that there are people who are willing to sacrifice the education of children for political purposes.

Mr De Beer said he was willing to discuss education issues with all parties concerned and his door remained open.

UCT ceremony may be picketed

Education Reporter

A SPECIAL graduation ceremony tomorrow to mark the University of Cape Town's 75th anniversary may be marked by protests from students and workers.

UCT's Student Representative Council yesterday also slammed the administration's "reactive approach" to planning and called for the anniversary to mark a radical change.

During the ceremony UCT will confer honorary doctorates on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, the ANC's Mr Meshack Radebe and National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall for their contribution to the quest for peace.

Vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders is expected to spell out his vision of the university's future.

The South African Students Congress (Sasco) said yesterday its members would picket the graduation ceremony.

ARGUS

01-04-93



Compiled and edited by Jonathan Hobday

the rage in some suburbs to get the domestics on the NP or DP side for the coming elections.

They drink the tea and eat the biscuits, says the ANC, but they don't tell the madams the truth about who they will support.

Drinkies on the DP

OVERHEARD at a Democratic Party cocktail do for young professionals in Durban's Ridge Road: "Darling, the drinkiepoohs are on the lawn and the snackiepoohs are in the dining room."

If the mature, intellectual chit-chat on offer was not enough to get you racing to fill out one of those white membership forms, maybe the calibre of the tuxedo-clad bartenders would have. As Umbilo MP Carole Charlewood pointed out: "It's not every day you have two profs and a gynae serving the drinkiepoohs, doll."

Shock tactics

MORE about the ANC. They are very serious about a comprehensive electrification programme for the townships. This could translate as: "One person, one volt."

In conclusion ...

TALKING of talking, does Dr Buthelezi deserve a place in the *Guinness Book of Records* for his

marathon address to the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly?

Perhaps. The book doesn't seem to have direct comparisons, but it does say the longest recorded after-dinner speeches both lasted 46 hours 10 minutes and were given by Charles Garavan and Shaymus Kennedy in separate locations at University College, Dublin, from December 5 to 7, 1990.

Dr Buthelezi, on the other hand, took 2½ weeks to complete his 427-page policy address. When he finished on Tuesday he was given a standing ovation, which is not surprising.

Top of the pops

IT should surprise nobody that Nelson Mandela is the most admired South African. Respondents to a question put by Integrated Marketing Research, the results of which were published in Black Market Report, put the ANC leader way ahead of the field.

Other prominent people who won some votes included Benny Alexander (PAC), President De Klerk, Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC) and Chris Hani (SACP).

The same publication reminded us that in a similar survey conducted in 1987 when Mr Mandela was still in jail, Bishop Tutu was top of the pops. Mr Mandela was second on that list, which amazingly listed P W Botha prominently.

What about Dr Buthelezi? Well, he has slipped from fifth place on the 1987 list to among the "also rans" in the latest survey, where he rubs shoulders with the likes of Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Jay Naidoo and former soccer star Jomo Sono.

The intervening years have not been kind to Mr Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, either. She has slipped from sixth spot in 1987 to relative obscurity with only a single mention this year. Ag, shame!

Scrap import charges or face retaliation, says White House

US trade threat to SA

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South Africa was named as one of 44 countries with trade barriers against the United States in a report released by the Clinton administration's chief spokesman on trade, Mr Micky Kantor.

Yesterday's report cites South African import tariffs on a wide range of "protected"

goods, ranging from agricultural produce to machinery, as unfair trade barriers.

"We believe the markets of our trading partners should be comparably open to those of the US," Mr Kantor said in a statement.

The report — the first in a process that could lead to retaliation — named Japan as the biggest offender, followed by the 12 countries of the Euro-

pean Community.

The Clinton administration is tackling the issue of free trade aggressively and with threats of retaliation against countries that persist with policies seen as being unfair or discriminatory.

The policy is in striking contrast to the more relaxed view of world trade taken by the Bush and Reagan administrations.

Already the US has given no-

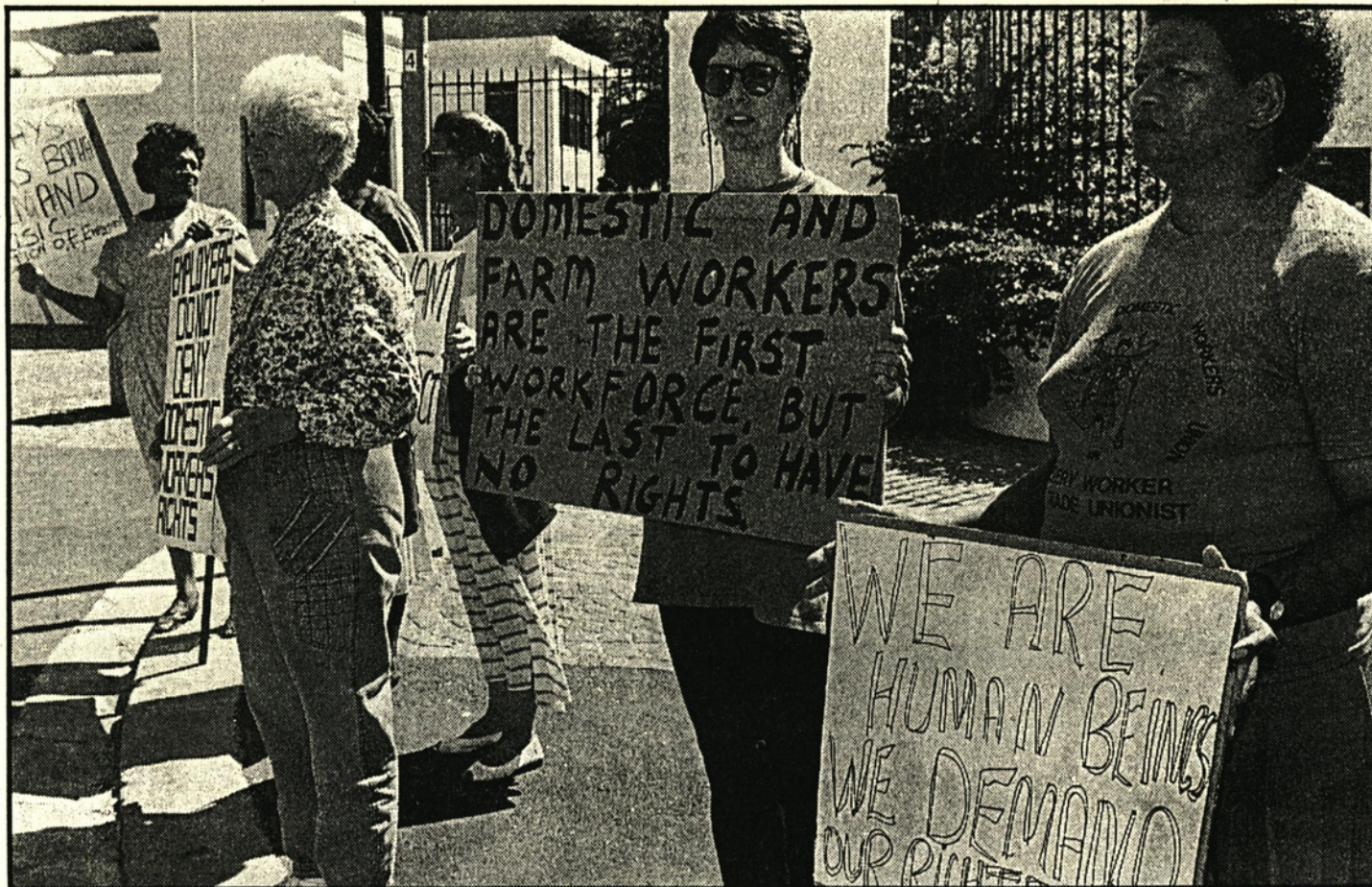
tice to the EC that it intends to impose sanctions against European imports in response to an EC policy restricting tendering for electronic contracts in the EC to companies wholly owned by EC members.

The US sanctions threat has led to a flurry of visits to Washington by EC officials and has caused concern in Japan, where the economy is in recession.

About 68 percent of all Japanese income from exports is derived from the sales in the US, or goods manufactured by Japanese-owned companies in the US.

"This report will help achieve the administration's overall trade policy objective, which is to expand trade through measures to open markets, backed by vigorous enforcement of US laws," Mr Kantor said.

WEEKEND
ARGUS
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LABOUR PROTEST: Members of the SA Domestic Workers Union demonstrate outside parliament to demand that five labour laws — the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, the Wage Act, the Labour Relations Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act — be extended to domestic workers.

Cosatu anger as farm labour law ruling is delayed

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter and Sapa

TENSION over extending the contentious labour law to the country's 1,2 million farm-workers was heightened when the Cabinet failed to make a decision on when to apply the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to agriculture.

Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels was obliged to present the Cabinet with a progress report on the labour legislation at its weekly meeting yesterday, even though interested

parties had not reached consensus.

There were indications last week that the Cabinet would make a decision at the meeting on the content of the Act as well as how and when it would be applied.

But in a statement yesterday Mr Wessels said no decision was taken by the Cabinet on extending labour legislation to agriculture.

"The extension of the legislation to agriculture will receive the Cabinet's special attention

next week," Mr Wessels said.

Cosatu was expecting the government to honour an agreement made with the federation to extend the law to farmworkers by April 1.

The federation is to contact Mr Wessels immediately for an "explanation" as to why a decision was not made yesterday.

"The fact that the Cabinet did not regard this as of sufficient urgency to make a decision is disturbing," Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman

said.

"We understood that April 1 was the deadline."

Last-minute talks between the powerful farmers' union, the SA Agricultural Union, and Cosatu to reach consensus on the issue and settle long-standing differences last week ended in "irreversible" deadlock.

● Cosatu is expecting the Labour Relations Act and the Wage Act to be extended to agriculture by the end of the parliamentary session.

THE ARGUS 01-04-93

Forum not a closed shop, says the ANC

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

IT was a mistake to say the Local Government Negotiating Forum accommodated only the African National Congress and the National Party, ANC local government department head Mr Thozamile Botha said today.

In the past week, there has been criticism that the forum is a closed shop run by the NP and ANC.

At a Chamber of Commerce symposium today, Mr Botha said the forum was set up to provide a platform for bodies not represented at Codesa to contribute to the shaping of their own towns and cities.

The government had wanted the issue of local government decided by Codesa, but when it collapsed interest in the forum was revived because of the crisis at local level.

Mr Botha said the forum was open and there had been a number of applications to join.

He said political parties were in effect represented by councillors from various municipalities.

He said the ANC envisaged provinces and the TBVC states

being run by transitional regional authorities during the pre-election phase.

While regional boundaries could be finalised later, provinces and homelands had existing infrastructures and bureaucracies.

Appointed transitional regional and local authorities would operate during a "messy, undemocratic" phase but would lay the basis for future democratic structures.

Mr Botha said the issue of the future of local and regional government was at the heart of constitutional negotiations.

He said diversity had to be accepted, but was not a license for the fragmentation of the country.

The ANC believed national government should set standards for the whole country, and decide which powers be given to regions.

"I do not accept regions should have powers of veto, but they should be consulted on issues which affect them," he said.

There would be a need in future local government to create local assemblies for ordinary people to debate policies with politicians.

Haswell lauds Harry Gwala

IT would be tragic if the lion of the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala, was never heard in the new Parliament, Mr Rob Haswell (Ind Pietermaritzburg North) said yesterday.

Speaking in the First Reading Budget debate, he said Mr Gwala's contribution deserved to be documented in a biography.

"If Churchill talked the British people through the Second World War,

then history will record that Gwala did likewise for so many communities in the Natal Midlands."

Mr Gwala, 73, on Tuesday announced his intention to retire from 50 years in the struggle.

"Mphethethwa, we

won't let you, we want you for the election. We want the whole country to hear you in full cry.

"We want you to make audiences, as only you can, think seriously and constructively about their plight."

First transition pointers may emerge this week, say Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh

A fresh beginning for talks

"A NEW start, but not on new stuff." This is Cyril Ramaphosa's colloquial characterisation of the resumption of formal negotiations at the World Trade Centre, and it says a great deal about where South Africa stands on its transitional road.

The multiparty talks getting under way today will lack the gravitas of the two Codesas (for one thing, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will not be there), but they represent yet another milestone on the path to the new South Africa.

It is important for South Africans to know what they should and should not expect from the two-day multiparty negotiating forum, so that neither unjustified euphoria nor ill-considered gloom set in at the weekend.

The best way of viewing today's and tomorrow's proceedings is as a fresh start in a three-year-old process. Since South Africa set out on its reform road at the beginning of this decade, the destination — if not the route itself — has been clear. That destination is a non-racial democracy, and in the

final analysis all negotiations have been towards that end.

Three years on, the route is becoming clearer, although much argument and compromise is yet to come. We are at the point when the politicians have to agree on the practical steps to be taken between now and the "new South Africa", and this decisive moment will define which political groups want to stay "in", and which will rule themselves "out". No one expects from this week's meeting that an announcement of the installation of a Transition Executive Council will emerge, or that an election date will be set. But — and this is a crucial but — a scenario for change could emerge, if the gathering is a success. This would be the first indication that the transition is ready to begin in earnest.

If the two-day meeting achieves this, or something close to it — and achieves it in spite of the ongoing wrangles over armed formations, Transkei, and other issues — there will be cause for quiet celebration among those who long for a peaceful settlement as soon as possible.

Today's gathering differs from the multiparty planning confer-

ence held three weeks ago in that the earlier meeting was convened with the sole purpose of setting a date for the resumption of talks. No substantial issues were therefore discussed, and it could be argued that the meeting will be remembered above all for the arrival on the negotiating stage of groups like the PAC and the Conservative Party.

That planning conference appointed a facilitating committee comprising the leaders of the 26 delegations, now more broadly representative of organised political opinion in South Africa.

Over the last three weeks the facilitating committee agreed on a new structure for the process (but not a new name), and hammered out an agenda for this week's forum. The agenda allows for crucial issues including violence and the status of earlier Codesa agreements to be discussed, and raises hopes for fruitful deliberations — although strong words are likely to be exchanged on, among other things, the federal issue and a date for elections.

From here on in plenary sessions, attended by the leaders of parties, will formally adopt agreements and will meet as pro-

gress is made. This week's forum comprises four delegates and two advisers from each group, and it will be charged with receiving and confirming reports from the negotiating council.

The smaller negotiating council is the forum where the hard negotiations will take place. Beyond that, a planning committee of 10 individuals will "plan and submit recommendations on procedural and substantive issues" to the negotiating council.

So much for the still-labyrinthine structure of the restarted talks. What do the participants expect?

Ramaphosa hopes the meeting will begin to finalise procedural aspects and then start with the real negotiations. The ANC wants the meeting to confirm a clear scenario for the country's political transformation — a scenario which envisages a "pre-Transitional Executive Council" phase, a TEC phase, an Interim Government of National Unity phase, and eventual full democracy.

In broad terms, the Government is in agreement with this, and the most likely source of opposition is the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP envisages the

forum agreeing on constitutional principles, after which experts would draft a new constitution, a referendum would be held, and the first general elections would follow.

Some negotiators say it is possible, albeit unlikely, that some parties might "jump ship" if too much progress is made on the Government/ANC scenario for change — which they oppose. This would herald a decisive moment, at which point the central players would have to choose to move forward without the others, or stall in order to find a further compromise.

The CP's main interest in the current forum is to discuss "MK, Apla and violence in general", which it was not able to do at the earlier planning conference. The Government also wants to place violence high on the agenda, and will probably wish to broaden the terms of the debate.

The ANC, for its part, is likely to argue that a discussion on violence should include the matter of a future defence force, and the equal treatment of all armed formations in the transition's phases.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Ndlovu expects the meet-

ing to address the issue of violence and the form of state of a post-apartheid South Africa. It was an "important preliminary" to discuss violence at the meeting, because: "How can you negotiate while the sword of Damocles is hanging over you?" He was cautiously optimistic about the meeting's prospects, saying success or failure would depend on "the honesty of everybody... the trust and openness among us".

A Government negotiator who asked not to be named stressed that the forum could put negotiations on a firm basis, but that the major challenge was to get the Concerned South Africans grouping and others to accept the transition scenario plotted at Codesa and contained in the agreements.

In summary, it seems clear the forum will not produce ringing declarations of comprehensive agreement. That is not its purpose. If it achieves broad consensus on some key issues — sufficient consensus to justify planning the next plenary session — it will have been a success. And if by Friday night none of the participants has pulled out, that will be a bonus. □

● Anger at 'ridiculous' measures ● FW meets

Holomisa today

Transkei border

chaos

By Helen Grange
and Peter Fabricius

As traffic and tensions built up on Transkei's border after yesterday's South African clamp-down, President de Klerk and Major-General Bantu Holomisa agreed to meet later today in an attempt to defuse the situation.

Tempers flared at border posts today as soldiers and policemen subjected vehicles entering South Africa to strict searches.

And angry Transkeians learnt that, from today, they have to carry their passports or other identification documents.

They had been stopped by a police roadblock on the South African side near Port Edward on the Natal South Coast and were highly incensed by the delay.

At the security checkpoint set up on the Natal side of the Ingwavuma River, Transkeian citizens were asked for identity documents. Many were travelling in taxis.

One passenger asked: "What passport? Are we going overseas or something that you ask for passports? Get away!"

Elnews reports that the Transkei Chamber of Industries (TCI) warned that long delays at border posts because of the security force cordon could damage industry, business and tourism in the region.

"It will have economic repercussions," TCI president Les Holbrook said, adding that, if the operation continued in the long term, it would amount to an economic blockade. The operation was unnecessary.

He expressed concern that companies which supplied

services to Transkei would eventually refuse to enter the homeland.

An unconfirmed report said rocks were placed across main roads, Transkeian citizens were stoning cars and Transkeians talked of fighting back if SA troops crossed the border.

At Kei Cuttings, Transkei motorists were faced with hour-long delays and the queues stretched on both sides of the border. There were angry scenes as buses and taxis ground to a standstill. At Kei Beach border post, queues of vehicles stretched into the horizon on either side in searing heat.

De Klerk and Holomisa are expected to have a heated exchange over the security cordon thrown around Transkei's borders after the Government accused the homeland of providing material support to the Azanian People's Liberation Army for attacks in South Africa.

The allegations were subsequently confirmed in provisional findings of a Goldstone Commission inquiry into Apla's activities.

Holomisa has dismissed the findings and insisted on an inquiry under the jurisdiction of Transkei.

The ANC has expressed concern that the situation is reaching a critical point which required a sober approach from all parties.

A number of motorists expressed fury at the "ridiculous" security clamps while huge tracts of open land between the posts could easily be exploited by weapons smugglers.

One Butterworth man, asked whether he was anxious about Apla, replied: "What can I do if something happens? I'm not frightened of anything. I'm more scared of Johannesburg."

● More reports - Page 11

THE STAR, THURSDAY 01 APRIL 1993

'Fed-up factor' could harm NP in election run-up

White outrage a bigger setback for FW than ANC

PUBLIC perception of Government enrichment, weak financial control and tax waste is developing momentum and fast becoming a powerful factor against President de Klerk and the ruling National Party. Outrage over it may even outweigh white voters' traditional dislike of the African National Congress, writes **ALAN DUNN**, Daily News Political Editor.

WHEN she appears in the dock, Maxine Cainer of Norwood, Johannesburg, will know that she is not alone.

While her refusal to pay tax will probably land her behind bars, her radical stand will doubtless enjoy the support and sympathy of most taxpaying South Africans.

Witness a spray of letters in The Daily News in the past two weeks: Rita Easton saying the Government's "dishonesty and duplicity must never again be allowed to exist".

Said Yvonne of Berea of ministerial perks: "They get enough, far more than they deserve for the lousy job they are doing in managing this country."

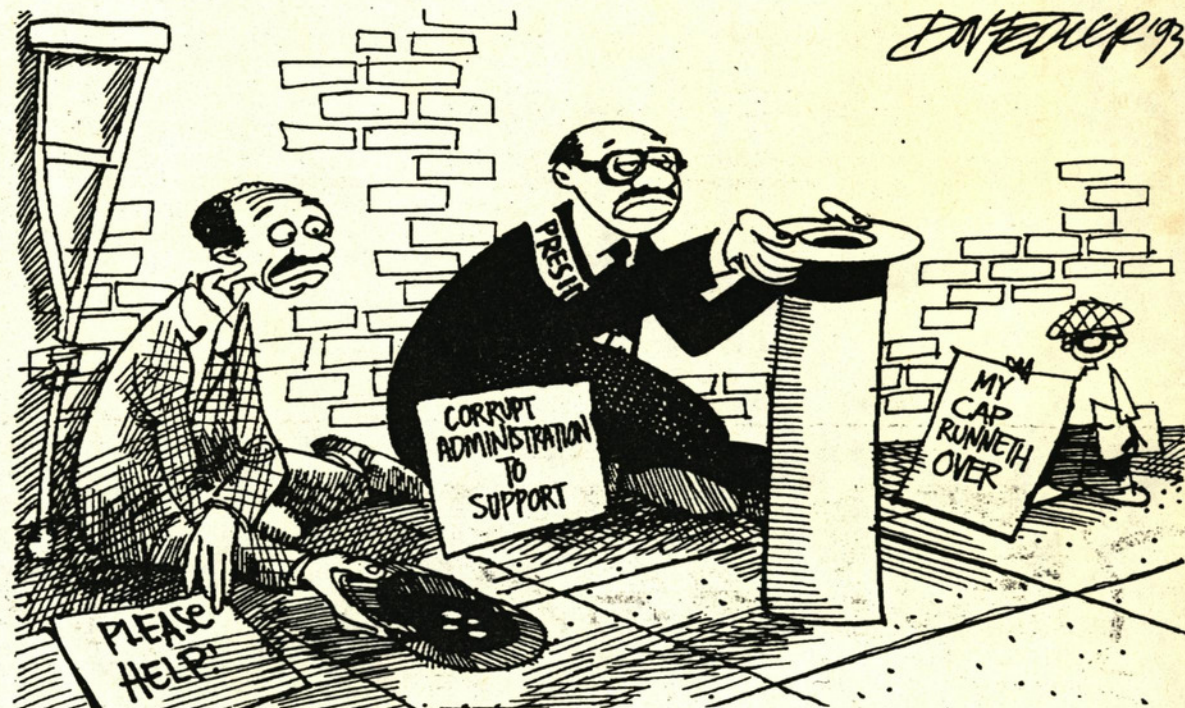
Then there was Bill Reddy of Umhlathuzana, Lolly MacKenzie of Umhlali, K.K.W. Ludwig of New Germany, or Mrs L.J. McCormack of Scottburgh who opined: "We know that we must now suffer for the mismanagement, but why must we reward those who did the mis-managing?"

And Patricia Auchorn, who wrote to the Receiver of Revenue: "If we're honest in paying our dues, then we have every right to expect the government of the day to be likewise."

Not to mention K. Badal who wrote of ministerial housing allowances: "Status must be earned, not by perks and privileges and living in a R750 000 homes, but by service to the mass of the people and by how much one can do for the ordinary folk."

They and numerous others of letter-writing bent have bombarded President de Klerk's Government with allegations galore — mismanagement, misrule, misappropriation, nepotism, patronage, corruption, incompetence, profligacy, excesses, golden handshakes and parachutes ... the charge sheet is lengthy and growing.

Mr de Klerk does not need the



regular, confidential and costly polls taken for the Government on voter sentiments to know that this popular perception is extremely dangerous for the incumbent National Party in an election build-up.

It is aggravating the "fed-up factor" or, as it is known in earthy Loftus Versfeld parlance, the "gatvol factor". It has reached such a pitch that it is not uncommon these days to hear "the ANC can do no worse" from those who have harboured predictable prejudices against the movement.

INDEED, it may even be the embryo of an electoral syndrome which could prove terminally damaging for the NP.

Views like this will be alarming to Mr de Klerk, but they are those of ordinary people who perhaps fancied him at the helm at one stage — the Reddys, MacKenzies, Badals and Ludwigs.

The fact that much of the enrichment, profligacy and governmental ineptness being unearthed was at Mr de Klerk's initiative in a far more open administration than previous regimes has, cruelly, won him only popular disfavour.

Concrete evidence at just how much it is bothering him was to be found in his personal intervention recently to answer a "pigs at the trough" outcry over generous ministerial housing allowances. He held a news conference, using his considerable impact and credibility in a bid to smother the blaze.

He argued publicly that the al-

lowances were not excessive or irregular, risking further contamination amid popular outrage at another in a string of revelations about Government spending. In doing so, Mr de Klerk waged the NP's best electoral card, himself, in a very high-risk strategy.

It was not only Mr de Klerk who spotted a marked intensification in the fed-up factor. The African National Congress saw it too, identifying it as ammunition sufficiently potent for its opening salvo in the electoral campaign.

"You'll be amazed at what can be done with R9 billion of taxpayers' money," a full-page ANC advertisement read in newspapers on March 19. It went on to twist the blade, citing absurdities such as Development Aid's toilets-in-the-veld saga, other gross wastages, and "R8.12 billion in 'covert' operations".

"The time has come to insist on true democracy and an openness about all areas of government, especially fiscal policy," the text went on.

"You have the right to expect your tax contribution to be spent in a manner which will improve the living standards of the millions of deprived people in this country."

"After all, it's your money," it gnawed, inferring that it would do better.

Not only was the ANC poking its finger in a festering NP wound, it was simultaneously presenting itself as a group which would be

more responsible with taxpayers'/voters' money. It was effectively weighing its uncertain economic policies, about which there is serious public discomfort, against the Government's rotten financial record.

The ANC seems thus to be trying to offset lingering doubts about its economic policies with the NP's proven squandary. And it knows the electorate, jaunted by the Government's repeated lack of accountability and discipline, is probably at its most receptive.

It has probably gauged, accurately, that Mrs Cainer will not be judged a criminal by other taxpayers. The movement seems to realise that she could, rather, be hailed as a courageous barnstormer in spite of the judicial outcome.

HER resentment has snapped into rebellion after 29 years of dutiful taxpaying, deciding to choose jail in preference to paying more. If the letters are any weathervane, the national mood is not far behind.

Two Receiver officials who reportedly visited her to dissuade her from confrontation were said to be worried about others following her. "It could prove a threat to the Government," they apparently cajoled.

The taxmen may not have meant it that way, but the De Klerk Government has every reason to fear taxpayers' disgruntlement will escalate into a ground swell and translate into decisive displeasure at the polling booths.

WEEKEND AUGUS 01-04-93

Mandela to meet Major in May

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will meet British Prime Minister John Major for talks on May 5.

Mr Mandela earlier this year postponed a trip to Britain, during which he was scheduled to meet Mr Major, due to illness.

Mr Mandela is also scheduled to address a joint sitting of Britain's parliament, the ANC's department of information and publicity said today.

Mr Mandela leaves South Africa on May 1 and will visit Portugal until May 4 before departing for London.

● Mr Mandela was due to leave for Harare today to attend a meeting of the frontline states. He is expected back in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The meeting of the seven-member frontline group will discuss ways of securing peace in Angola and Mozambique and moves towards democracy in South Africa. — Sapa.

New party aims to remove controls

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — One reason why Zimbabwe is in trouble is that it has been suffering from too much government.

That is the view of the latest opposition party to emerge, the Forum, led by former Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena.

In its manifesto, approved at the weekend launch of the party, the Forum says that at the next general election, which must be held within two years, a vote for it will mean a fundamental shift away from large government and all its controls.

To help bring about open government, the party would dispose of government's interest in the Mass Media Trust through sales to the private sector; ensure the main newspaper group operated without government interference; and allow private concerns to operate radio and television services.

As Chief Justice until 1990, when he retired at the age of 70, Dumbutshena acquired an international reputation for his defence of human rights.

Now, as leader of a political party aiming to overthrow the ruling Zanu (PF) Party, his call is for genuine democracy, respect for human rights and respect for the rule of law.

"For the first time in our young country's history, you, the electorate, face clear alternatives as far as policy is con-

cerned. Thankfully, our fledgling democracy has matured and we are no longer divided along tribal, racial or ethnic lines: the present government is composed of people of all tribes and races, and so is the Forum. What distinguishes us is policy," he says in an introduction to the manifesto.

Zimbabwe, he says, has never been in such trouble as it is now. Thousands of school-leavers have no hope of getting a job. Businesses are going into liquidation. Thousands in employment face retrenchment. The health and education systems are breaking down. So is the moral fibre of the nation. Increasing numbers are guilty of corruption.

But in the midst of despair and decay the elite in government had prospered, said Dumbutshena. They were the ones with vast tracts of land who spent much of their time overseas and who had business empires.

The manifesto lays stress on the need for immediate action on the economy. Public spending must be reduced and there must be genuine dialogue between business and political leaders to turn the economy around quickly.

To encourage investment the Forum would reduce corporate tax to 35 percent, remove limits on dividend remittances, grant a three-year tax holiday to new productive sector companies, dispose of government's equity holdings, abolish taxes on dividends and reduce im-

port duties.

Its taxation system would ensure that everyone, including the President, paid tax if he or she were in the tax-paying bracket.

Other proposals include a land tax on all unused commercial land and the abolition of the use of taxpayers' money to fund political parties.

The manifesto sets out principles to govern a land redistribution policy which would have as an overriding consideration the need to ensure food security and to generate adequate economic activity by linking land distribution not merely to ownership but to agriculture and industry.

It says there must be land redistribution because of past imbalances and injustices and there must be an agreed limit to the amount of land owned by individuals or companies.

On foreign policy it says it would consider

applying to join the South African Customs Union and would maintain embassies only in countries likely to invest in, trade with or send tourists to Zimbabwe.

A Forum government would change the Constitution to return to the system of a non-executive president and a prime minister.

The manifesto says that at present the president can do almost anything he wishes without being held accountable.

"This has led to an authoritarian government which survives upon deception, a climate of fear, control of the media and manipulation of the general population. Parliament has become little more than a joke," says the manifesto.

"The Presidency has been transformed into a virtual monarchy."

The Forum Party intends holding a congress in October.

The struggle continues — for women

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Inside the World Trade Centre, negotiations will be formally resumed today — but outside, the women will be making their own statement.

The ANC Women's League and its allies are planning to protest against the exclusion of women representatives in the negotiations.

The battle for women's representation began in earnest after a meeting of the negotiating council decided two weeks ago to convene a meeting which would include a woman representative from each group.

The majority view was that women should be given full negotiation status since more than half the voters were women. This battle was finally won this week.

However, the ANC Women's League believes it was only through protesting that this right was won, and they believe the protest should continue today to draw attention to the important role of women.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

A dangerous charade

THERE is an element of charade about South Africa's military encirclement of Transkei. The action comes at a time when Transkei's reincorporation is, by common consent, virtually a fait accompli. All that remains to be settled are the practical details of how and when.

But the charade could easily go awry. Tensions are running high. The players seem to have got carried away. There are a lot of men with guns, including members of Apla, whose presence in Transkei precipitated the crisis in the first place.

If the charade becomes a tragedy, Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa will have to accept a major share of responsibility.

His peremptory response to the Goldstone Commission report is dismissive, despite the report's conclusion that his junta turns a blind eye to Apla's use of Transkei as a springboard for attacks on South Africa. Declaring his innocence, he labels the commission a "kangaroo court". An urgent request from Judge Goldstone to Holomisa to present evidence to his commission is contemptuously rejected.

If Holomisa has a strong case, he should submit it to Goldstone before the April 8 deadline. The status of the commission as one appointed by President de Klerk should not worry him: the truth is much more important than a quibble about whether the nominally independent state of Transkei should be giving evidence to a "foreign" commission, especially on the eve of reincorporation.

A shift in that direction will be interpreted by most people — even his constituents — as political wisdom and courage, not evasion or cowardice.

If Holomisa believes that the commission's terms are too narrow, that it should be investigating the alleged role of the De Klerk administration in the November 1990 coup attempt against his government, there is nothing to stop him appointing his own commission before Transkei is re-absorbed into South Africa.

Hani, Sexwale deny they ordered armed robberies X

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The ANC PWV region and the SA Communist Party have backed a call by the Inkatha Freedom Party for the Goldstone Commission to investigate allegations of ANC and SACP involvement in robberies.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and SACP general secretary Chris Hani have denied allegations that they had ordered armed robberies that netted R1 million.

This follows allegations made in a statement to the Rand Supreme Court last week by Solomon Mnqanqeni, on trial for armed robbery and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. He escaped from Diepkloof prison last week.

In a statement, the SACP said yesterday: "These are obviously very serious claims, yet the SAP never once visited, phoned or in any way questioned either Chris Hani or Tokyo Sexwale in this regard."

The Star

1-4-93

NEWS

'MI plot to install homeland dictators'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party claims it has been leaked secret information about a Military Intelligence (MI) plot to establish dictators in the homelands to counter the ANC.

DP Umhlanaga MP Kobus Jordaan told Parliament during the Budget vote last night that Inkatha Freedom Party official Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje were key elements in a bid to sabotage negotiations.

Felgate's task was to sway IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Cronje's was to do the same for Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

According to the documents, Felgate succeeded with Buthelezi. Cronje failed with Sebe but was successful with Mangope.

Jordaan said his information was based on documentation leaked to him in September 1990, but some of it had been corroborated by further leaks last November.

He believed those behind the strategy were still fighting democracy "with might and main".

He also named former MI chief General Tienie Groenewald as a kingpin of the strategy. Jordaan — a former Government official intimately involved with negotiations — said that during September 1990 he had received from unknown sources a comprehensive intelligence packet with information on various covert operations.

Certain leaders — Kangwane chief Enos Mabuza and Ciskei

chief Lennox Sebe — were identified as "problem children".

Other aspects were:

- IFP members were trained in Caprivi and Israel. Jordaan said the SA Defence Force had subsequently told him these were Zulus and not IFP members.
- IFP constitutional adviser Albert Blaustein had also largely drafted the constitutional proposals of John Gogotya's FIDA.
- The funds for the campaign came from MI.

The overall approach was that democracy could not work in South Africa and that several dictators must be established to stand against the ANC.

Jordaan said he accepted President de Klerk's assurances in Parliament that he knew nothing about this plan but expressed doubt that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "fully shared the State President's sentiments".

CP to urge banning of MK, Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group would demand the banning of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army at the forthcoming constitutional talks, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during first reading debate on the Budget, he said organisations which openly advocated violence and terrorism, and accepted responsibility for such acts, had to be banned.

There was no place at the ne-

gotiation table for terrorists.

The CP would not take part in negotiations aimed at giving the ANC joint control over the security forces by incorporating the movement into an interim government of national unity.

Once the political principals of MK and Apla became part of the government, they would acquire joint control over the security forces.

It was one thing to debate the issue of violence intellectually, but it was totally out of the question to give criminals joint control over the security forces.

Treurnicht said the Government had already decided on the need for a government of national unity within a unitary state, before the future constitutional model had been finalised at the negotiation table.

The CP would not take part in "this exercise of abdicating power".

Attempts by the Government to blackmail the TBVC states into surrendering their independence and being reincorporated into South Africa were a violation of their rights to self-determination, he added. — Sapa.

India helps) train ANC diplomats

NEW DELHI — India has trained ANC diplomats in international relations for the first time, following a request made by Nelson Mandela.

Foreign ministry sources said the 90-day training course which ended on Tuesday included 15 participants from the ANC as well as officials from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Romania, Zambia, Hungary and Vietnam.

Course director Ravi Soni of the foreign ministry said the comprehensive syllabus included diplomatic practice, international diplomacy, implementation of foreign policy and management and negotiating techniques.

Lessons on protocol and etiquette were given at a five-star hotel here.

Participants also honed up on their communication skills during a week spent at the Indian Institute of Management in the southern Indian city of Bangalore.

This is the second course conducted for diplomatic personnel from abroad. The first programme, which finished in November, was designed solely for Central Asian republics.

India has been a longtime ANC supporter and a critic of apartheid. — Sapa-AFP

India trains ANC envoys

NEW DELHI — India has trained ANC diplomats in international relations at the request of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Foreign ministry sources said the 90-day training course which ended this week included 15 ANC participants and officials from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Romania, Zambia, Hungary and Vietnam.

The syllabus included diplomatic practice, international diplomacy, implementation of foreign policy and management and negotiating techniques.

Lessons on protocol and etiquette were given and participants also honed their communication skills.

— Saps-AFP

Govt answers Holomisa

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government reserves the right to take appropriate measures to protect the interests of its citizens from further cross-border attacks by elements of APLA and any other such organisations operating from the territory of Transkei, the government declared in a 15-page Note to Transkei military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Gen Holomisa's claim that President De Klerk gave orders for APLA members in Transkei to be "wiped out" was preposterous while other aspects of his Note of last week were provocative, threatening and insulting, the government said.

The central issue was

TO PAGE 2

Govt answers Holomisa

FROM PAGE 1

the findings of the internationally-respected Goldstone Commission and not whether there was a dispute between the South African and Transkei Governments.

The Note added: "The South African Government reserves the right to take appropriate measures to protect the interests of its citizens from further cross-border attacks by elements of APLA and any other such organisations operating from the territory of Transkei."

In the opening section, the Note said the government would not respond to the provocative and insulting parts of Gen Holomisa's Note. However, it responded to a number of his claims.

Gen Holomisa said

members of the SAP were respraying vehicles in preparation for an attack on Transkei. The government said the only vehicles resprayed were heavy vehicles of the Internal Stability Unit, such as Caspurs and Hippos, which were previously in camouflage colours.

Since the beginning of 1992, there had been a process of respraying these vehicles light green.

Referring to a meeting of the SAP in East London on March 24, the government said police held regular meetings, and this meeting was in no way related to the allegations made in Gen Holomisa's Note.

No trace could be found of a Mr Van Claren or McClaren, or a Jeep with the registration number GSK 354 T, referred to by Gen Holomisa.

"The allegations that President De Klerk gave

an order that 'certain persons deemed to be APLA members resident in the Transkei be wiped out' is so preposterous that it does not merit a response.

"Such an allegation, together with related allegations, reflect negatively on the Transkei Government, not on President De Klerk," the Note said.

"It is a matter of concern that the Transkei Government obviously made no attempt to verify its allegations, which were given wide publicity.

"This strengthens the impression that the Transkei Government is attempting to hide its reluctance to substantiate its denial of APLA activities in Transkei by irresponsible counter allegations."

The second part of the Note recalls United Nations Security Council Resolution 765 on peace

in South Africa, and quotes numerous extracts from international observers in this country.

"Against this background ... it would seem that the Transkei Government cannot escape the responsibility to co-operate with the existing peace structures in seeking a solution to the problem of violence, along the lines indicated in the Security Council resolutions and reports of the Secretary-General."

After quoting the findings of the Goldstone Commission committee investigating APLA, the Note added: "Mere denials of the findings of the Goldstone Commission are not sufficient to prove that those findings are without substance."

Gen Holomisa is due to meet President De Klerk at Tuynhuys, Cape Town, this afternoon.

Last-minute bid to find a name

Violence on the agenda as talks resume

MULTIPARTY negotiations get under way again today after an 11-month break following the collapse of the Codesa constitutional talks.

In contrast with the wave of optimism at the start of Codesa, today's meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park will be marked by caution, with negotiators well aware of the problems facing them.

Preparatory negotiations over the past few months have failed to resolve a number of issues, from constitutional questions to the treatment of violence and a name for the new gathering.

Because of the procedural nature of the two-day meeting, it will not be attended by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela or Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The PAC and the right-wing CP are among the parties taking the number of delegations up to 26 from the 19 at Codesa, making this the most representative gathering yet.

Sapa-AFP reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who will head the government delegation, said yesterday he believed the new round of talks would succeed.

"We believe that this is the real thing. This is the place where we are going to negotiate over the months to come the constitutional principles on which the future constitution of this country is to be drafted and adopted."

"We are determined to reach agreement on these matters within the next month or two. It means time is of the essence and we should at all costs avoid devoting time to

BILLY PADDOCK

side issues and rather concentrate on the priorities."

He said SA was "still on target" for a timetable suggested by De Klerk last November, which envisages elections by April next year at the latest.

He also made it clear government wanted the talks to deal with the question of an interim constitution. The elected constituent assembly would then write a permanent constitution "on the basis of constitutional principles we are negotiating now".

Codesa failed last year partly because the ANC suspected that government wanted an interim constitution so immutable that a democratically elected assembly, inevitably dominated by the ANC, would have its hands tied.

Meyer said violence would top the substantive agenda at today's talks.

Delegates are expected to get straight down to tough bargaining today. Negotiators said it was vital that parties decided on the rules before negotiations began.

The first area of possible conflict is government's insistence that the issue of violence be dispensed with first. All parties have agreed that the forum is the best place to deal with the issue, but government and the ANC still differ strongly on measures to control the violence.

The ANC insists on joint control of the armed forces by way of subcouncils of the envisaged transitional executive council, while government wants the SAP and the SADF treated separately from the other

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Talks

armed formations

Other problem areas include the adoption of Codesa agreements as a foundation for the new forum, the reincorporation of the TBVC states, regional powers, the phases of the transition and the control of future elections.

The planning committee failed after a six-hour meeting last night to agree on a proposed new name for the forum. Nor could the contentious issue of formulating

a structure to discuss violence be resolved.

A subcommittee was set up last night to meet through the night and this morning in the hope of reaching agreement in time for a recommendation to be made to the forum meeting.

After lengthy debate on the Codesa agreements, the planning committee decided not to change the existing recommendation that the agreements be regarded as a foundation, but that parties were not bound by them and could oppose them.

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Top political leaders to pray for peace

SA's major political leaders would soon come together to pray for peace. Rhema church leader Pastor Ray McCauley said in Johannesburg yesterday.

McCauley said President F W de Klerk, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had accepted an invitation to hold a joint prayer meeting in Johannesburg in May. ANC president Nelson Mandela and CP leader Andries Treurnicht were expected to an-

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nounce soon whether they would attend.

Church leaders such as SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, would participate.

McCauley said the idea of the prayer meeting was to bring various political leaders together to publicly show their commitment to peace.

Hani urges commission probe

THE SACP fully agreed with Inkatha that the Goldstone commission should investigate allegations made by Solomon Mqanqeni that armed robberies were instigated by SACP general-secretary Chris Hani and ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, Hani said yesterday.

At a media conference Hani and Sexwale denied they were involved in any way in criminal activity, and accused the SAP of "stage-managing the whole operation to discredit us and our organisations in the run-up to elections".

Last week Mqanqeni, in a statement allegedly taken under duress, alleged that the two leaders ordered a series of armed robberies during 1991 and that the loot of R1m was handed to Sexwale.

Mqanqeni and his alleged accomplices escaped from custody on the evening that the statement was presented to the Rand Supreme Court.

Hani said the SACP called on Goldstone as a "matter of urgency" to set up an

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inquiry to investigate the unprofessional conduct of the SAP investigating officers who never visited them to investigate the allegations; the circumstances surrounding the escape of Mqanqeni; and any possible complicity of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said that since the Markinor survey in January this year showed Hani to be SA's second most popular political figure after ANC president Nelson Mandela there had been a campaign of character assassination.

In response to the SACP allegations, W/O Andy Pleke said that it was ludicrous to believe the escape was stage-managed. The SAP was investigating the matter to its fullest capability.

However, he said until any of the 16 escaped prisoners were rearrested it would be difficult to establish exactly what had occurred.

COMMENT

On guard

BAND music and anthems accompanied the formal granting of independence to Transkei 16 years ago. But the martial melodies that sounded so grand in October 1976 must now have a hollow ring in the corridors of government. How Pretoria must be wishing it could turn back the clock on the constitutional curiosity that is taking such overt delight in taunting its creator.

Transkei was the first of the Verwoerdian bantustans to be made nominally independent but it shares, with the other three TBVC states that followed it into self-styled nationhood, an enduring ambiguity about its constitutional status. However, whether it is regarded as fully independent or as a pseudo-state, President De Klerk's latest measures to tighten security at the territory's borders with South Africa are totally justified.

If, as Pretoria and Umtata would have had the world believe since 1976, Transkei is a normal, sovereign state, then the intensified border formalities are part of conventional international practice and still relatively easy by African standards. Many industrialised countries deploy security forces at border checkpoints, conduct border patrols, search individuals and vehicles and demand presentation of identity documents.

Even if South Africa and Transkei were ordinary international

neighbours, such monitoring of their common borders would be commonplace by world norms and certainly not deserving of Bantu Holomisa's inflammatory description of the measures as "bellicose".

But the two countries are not ordinary international neighbours. In the eyes of the rest of the world (and of many of the South African taxpayers who contribute more than half its budget) Transkei remains part of South Africa and therefore subject to the Pretoria government. If, therefore, there is the slightest suspicion that terrorism against South African citizens is being conducted or aided from within Transkei, the international community would surely not balk at measures by Pretoria to verify and curb insurgent activity.

Indeed, world opinion would surely fall in behind the worthy assertions of domestic organisations such as the ANC, which rightly demand government action to end civil violence in South Africa. Far from being bellicose, De Klerk's new border measures then take on a defensive and passive dimension and are likely to be opposed only by interests with something to hide.

Whether De Klerk and Holomisa meet today as fellow heads of state or as President and local leader, they have the opportunity to reach civilised agreement on a serious problem. In the meantime, the border must be as well guarded as any other international frontier.