

# Pact aims to stop violence at South Africa rallies

## ANC, rival to commemorate massacre

By **TOM COHEN**  
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Rival black groups signed an agreement Saturday aimed at preventing violence when they commemorate the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

Both the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, South Africa's main black groups, planned Sharpeville Day rallies today in black townships near Johannesburg.

A power struggle between the ANC and Inkatha has killed thousands of people and hindered talks on ending white minority rule. Last year, several assaults after Inkatha and ANC rallies on Sharpeville Day left seven people injured.

Today is the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, when police opened fire on an unarmed crowd in the township south of



Buthelezi

Johannesburg, killing 69 people.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was scheduled to address a rally in the Vosloorus township today. The ANC planned several rallies, including one in nearby Katlehong.

The negotiations to create a multiracial government involve the white government, the ANC, Inkatha and other groups. They resumed recently, and the ANC and Inkatha are talking about a possible summit between Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Meanwhile, a congress of the opposition Conservative Party passed a resolution saying that if a new government deprives white people of their political autonomy, the party will regard it as an act of war.

On Saturday, representatives of the ANC, Inkatha and the South African police and military signed a plan calling for tolerance and restraint on Sharpeville Day and outlining march routes and rally times aimed at preventing conflict.

It calls for police and soldiers to take part in patrols. U.N. observers also were to monitor events.



# 'Mobilisation' for right wing

21/3/93 Argus

PRETORIA. — Retired Army Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff is to head a Conservative Party-initiated "mobilisation" of rightwing forces.

The former Army Chief of Staff: Planning was appointed after a mass meeting in Pretoria yesterday, but immediately stressed that he was "not party-politically motivated" and that the mobilisation operation would be "peaceful and legal".

CP spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder told Weekend Argus that the mobilisation would include certain "self-defence services" but said the campaign was not tantamount to a revolt.

Mobilisation, he said, would "go

■ Mobilisation of rightwing forces to oppose majority rule was backed by a former Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff, at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday. The general agreed to head what he said would be a "peaceful and legal" group.

**BRENDAN SEERY**, Weekend Argus Correspondent

right to grassroots level and would cut across party lines" to unite people opposed to the ANC's plans for a unitary, majority-rule state.

Dr Mulder said the CP would be only one component of a loose alliance of white trade unions, cultural bodies and agricultural organisations. If the CP's plans bore fruit, the alliance would, ironically, probably look similar to the tripartite grouping of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP.

At the mobilisation meeting, which was attended by hundreds of delegates, including people from outside CP ranks, 18 different areas of society were identified as places for the new movement to "build its power base", said Dr Mulder.

Representatives were elected for each of these areas.

General Bisschoff said he had become involved because he believed the "core values of the

volk" — including Christianity, democracy and the capitalist free market system — were under threat.

"The kernel of democracy lies not in the will of the majority, but in the freedom of people and nations," he added.

The CP followed the mobilisation meeting with its annual congress at which it also celebrated the 11th anniversary of its formation.

A constant theme at the congress was the alleged partisan nature of the SABC, as well as the print media, with one discussion point put in by the Natal branch of the party accusing the media of "blatantly promoting the ANC/SACP whilst at the same time disparaging or suppressing the viewpoint of the CP".



Like-minded groups will dominate the PF meeting writes Kaizer Nyatsumba

# Not all is well with the Front

**F**OR a while in the past two weeks it looked as though the Patriotic Front conference scheduled for Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, tomorrow might go some way towards healing the rift which opened between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress late last year.

This would have injected a new lease of life into the PF, formed in Durban 17 months ago.

For the first time since October 27 1991, the two co-conveners of the Durban conference, the PAC and the ANC, were going to bring together the other 90 members of the PF to assess political developments since then.

This should have taken place six months after the launch of the PF, at the end of last April, according to a resolution adopted at the time of the launch.

Since then the PF — which has tottered on the brink of collapse — has by and large existed only in name. And when the PF has been mentioned in media reports, it has usually been in reference to the ANC's coterie of allies within Codesa, mostly homeland governments and tricameral parliamentary parties.

But when the PAC accepted an invitation to a caucus meeting of the ANC's "Codesa allies" during the recent multiparty preparatory conference at the World Trade Centre, observers were quick to suggest that perhaps the PF — called the Patriotic United Front by the PAC — was not dead after all.

For, once the PAC was part of the "Codesa PF", the point could be made fairly convincingly that the Durban PF was finally up and running.

After all, as the ANC has often pointed out, those it considered its allies within Codesa had also attended the launch, and consequently were members of the PF.

And when it was later announced that the "broad PF" — to distinguish it from the "Codesa PF" — would meet in Lenasia to discuss a range of issues, including common strategies to be used in negotiations, speculation grew bolder.

Some observers suggested this broad alliance, now including the PAC and possibly the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which was expelled from co-convenership of the PF only days before the launch — could enter into some kind of an election pact "to avoid dividing the black vote".

These observers were running way ahead of developments. As unpublicised events this week confirm, much arguing and arm-twisting remained to be done, and controversy continued to embroil the PF as late as yesterday.

Only 48 hours before the conference, the PAC had still not ironed out its differences with the ANC, and was unsure whether or not it would attend.

At the centre of the row is the status of the organisations attending the conference, and the role of these organisations in arranging the conference.

The PAC feels the ANC has excluded it in organising the conference, in sending out invitations and in drawing up the agenda. Most of the decisions regarding the con-

ference were taken at an hotel in Johannesburg last week, at a meeting attended only by the ANC and its "Codesa allies".

It was that meeting which decided, among other things, that ANC president Nelson Mandela should deliver the keynote address — and the PAC is aggrieved. Mandela can do that, says the Africanist organisation, but PAC president Clarence Makwetu should also be accorded an opportunity to address the gathering.

And to this the ANC says no, according to PAC sources.

Although the PAC was still frothing at the mouth yesterday, its national executive committee decided at its meeting in Umtata, Transkei, last weekend to send a delegation to the conference. Should the organisation reconsider that position, the Lenasia conference will be nothing more than yet another gathering of the ANC and its allies.

While it could be argued that that alliance has a better-than-average chance of entering into an election pact without the PAC, it is also true that the Africanist or-

ganisation — and Azapo when it finally joins negotiations — will make stronger allies for the ANC in a multi-party forum.

With the new forum divided into three distinct groups — the Concerned South Africans Group led by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the "Codesa alliance" led by the ANC, and the Government standing on its own — the ANC would no doubt be happy to have a voice such as the PAC's on its side.

Not only would that eliminate for the ANC the worry about sniping from the touchlines by the PAC and Azapo, but it would also strengthen the ANC's hand on some issues on which these three organisations agree — and there are many such issues, despite the well-known differences.

This explains the ANC's insistence that the PAC should be allowed to attend multi-party negotiations, regardless of the activities of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

And so the success of the Lenasia conference will be gauged not

only by the resolutions adopted there, but also by the quality of the organisations attending it.

For it matters little to have an array of insignificant groups coming out with fine-sounding resolutions, if they lack the capacity to help implement them or their voices do not add weight to the debate.

A meaningful unity or front is not one which involves already like-minded organisations trying to curry the favour of the big one in their midst who might one day be in a position to dish out goodies to those who stood by it when it needed allies.

Instead, it is the one which involves adversaries or organisations which differ with one another but who, for some greater common cause, agree to put their differences aside and co-operate. Such a front would include social, professional, church and sports organisations, but, more importantly, it would also involve the important political players on the Left, notably the ANC, the PAC and Azapo. □



# Election timetable behind schedule

■ **Setback:** With multiparty negotiations about to resume, the Government is hinting that nonracial elections could take place later than expected.

THE election timetable is slipping as the Government hinted this week that polling might not take place by March or April next year as first scheduled.

This week Minister of Constitutional Development told a Cape Town audience that the elections should be held not later than the end of next year. He said they were likely to be held in the first half of next year.

And Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha told the Clinton administration in Washington this week that elections for an interim govern-

ment would be held by the end of next year.

This represents a shift from the original timetable for reform spelt out by State President F W de Klerk late last year and repeated again when he opened Parliament this year.

De Klerk had proposed elections for an interim government and constitution-making body by March or April next year.

Diplomatic and political observers said this week they suspected that March or April next year was an over-ambitious target in view of the complex negotiations that still lie ahead as well as the enormous task of organising the elections and registering millions of voters without identity documents.

De Klerk's timetable is at present only fractionally behind schedule. He proposed the start of multilateral negotiations by the end of March — in fact they are due to start only one day late on April 1 after the planning meetings of the past few weeks.

But there is growing scepticism that the negotiations can keep to other parts of the timetable, notably an agreement on a transitional constitution, Transitional Executive Council, and Electoral Commission by the end of May.

This would involve settling thorny issues such as power-sharing and regional government in only two months.

There has been considerable convergence between the ANC and Government on these issues, notably a proposal for a Government of National Unity lasting five years and for regional powers to be finalised by the elected constitution-making body.

Another major factor that could hold up De Klerk's timetable is continuing political violence and the absence of free political participation. De Klerk proposed in his timetable that this would be achieved by October, but an upsurge in violence especially in Natal this year threatens to delay this programme.



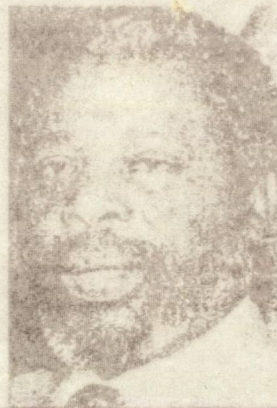
# Wanted: Fair people



RICHARD GOLDSTONE



MARINUS WIECHERS



OSCAR DHLOMO



MAMPHELE RAMPHELE



DESMOND TUTU



SHEENA DUNCAN

A powerful electoral body will soon be making important decisions affecting the lives of all South Africans. But who is going to serve on it? CARMEL RICKARD reports



FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT  
... chairman?

# for free elections



# Whites in turmoil as MPs defect to black parties

THE liberal dilemma in the new South Africa is nowhere more evident than in the small British-colonial style city of Pietermaritzburg in the green hills of Natal.

Less than four years ago, at the last whites-only general election, Maritzburgers in all three constituencies elected liberal Democratic Party MPs. Their brief was to oppose apartheid and promote democracy and a capitalist economy.

But now those same liberal Maritzburgers find themselves disenfranchised. All three white MPs have defected to black-controlled parties: Rob Haswell and Pierre Cronje to the African National Congress, and Mike Tarr to the Zulu-oriented Inkatha Freedom Party. None consulted the constituents and all derided demands that they resign their seats.

The shock and anger is profound. Martin Williams, managing editor of Pietermaritzburg's daily newspaper, *The Natal Witness*, wrote: "We always knew whites would be overwhelmed, but that is no reason to sacrifice liberal principles."

"Instead of upholding the principles of those who elected them, they [the MPs] have opted for another principle: being on a winning side."

"There must be hundreds of thousands of people in Natal who do not like either the ANC or Inkatha, which have both been unable to curb the thugs in their ranks. Who will speak for them if all our representatives opt only for the big parties?"

The question is an important one in Pietermaritzburg, which is at the centre of the virtual civil war between Inkatha and the ANC.

But Pietermaritzburg is part of a wider phenomenon, as politicians of all hues reposition themselves to gain the spoils of power. Two white Democratic Party MPs in the Cape have also defected to the ANC, and in the white liberal heartland of Sandton in northern Johannesburg, Dave Dalling, another Democratic defector to the ANC, now dare not return to his constituency.

Afrikaners are also defecting. In northern Natal, where

## Liberal stronghold loses all its representatives

by Fred Bridgland in Pietermaritzburg

Afrikaners set up a small independent Boer republic in the 19th century. Jurie Menz, the National Party MP for Vryheid, defected to Inkatha. The decision by an Afrikaner who has played a prominent role in NP politics for 40 years has stunned the central leadership of the Nationalists.

Many observers predict the NP could be wiped out in Natal, as Mr Menz was chairman of the party in the province and others stand to follow him in droves.

"The Boers and the Zulus are two different peoples. History has proved that," said Mr Menz at a recent Inkatha rally in Vryheid where Afrikaners barbecued boerwors (farmer's sausage), while Zulus in nylon leopardskins and bearing assegais (stabbing spears) and cowhide shields, chanted war songs and re-enacted their historic drubbing of the British at the Battle of Isandlwana 115 years ago.

He added: "I am not hammering on ethnicity but history... and anybody who tackles the Boers and Zulus will have something on their hands. In spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in running this country alone."

In Pietermaritzburg the Democratic electorate is fighting back. The party's full-time regional director, Radley Keys, said: "Democratic supporters are outraged. They feel betrayed by the way their MPs just upped and out without consulting anyone."

"These MPs are very difficult to find now that they've abandoned the liberal ship, where they were free to speak their minds. My impression is that they're all being intimidated into silence. They now have to be licensed to speak."

The strategy of Mr Keys and his local chairman, Peter Barnard, is to dismiss the MPs as irrelevant opportunists best forgotten. They are

planning instead for next year's election to a 200-member constituent assembly by proportional representation.

Under the "list system", five per cent of the total vote will secure Cabinet seats for the Democratic Party in the proposed five-year government of national unity. They believe Mr Hassell, Mr Cronje and Mr Tarr will be purged into political oblivion when they are assigned low places on the ANC's and Inkatha's regional lists.

Mr Keys said: "The Democratic Party can no longer rely on the old white MPs. When our regional list comes out there are going to be a lot of black and Indian candidates' names on it." The

Democratic Party is already recruiting in the coloured and Indian townships around Pietermaritzburg and has just appointed a black township organiser.

Sipho Ngcobo, an ANC branch chairman in the war-torn Edendale Valley, has moved in the opposite direction to Mr Haswell and Mr Cronje.

He objected to vote-rigging in elections to the executive committee of the ANC in Natal, led by the self-confessed communist, Harry Gwala.

Mr Ngcobo said: "I also came to hate the violence, which I had participated in. I used to sjambok people who broke consumer boycotts and strikes. Guiltless people were killed. If either one of those parties [ANC or Inkatha] comes to power, there will be civil war."

"Our African people are confused by the violence, but I think they are democratic at heart."



Defector: Pierre Cronje who joined the ANC

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Telegraph  
London

21 MAR 1993



## Move to curb cell deaths

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE SA Police Board has proposed the formation of a "lay committee" to conduct spot checks on police cells in a bid to curb deaths in detention.

In a document circulated to local regional dispute committees, Major General MJA Bester of the Police Board has proposed a system based on the British Metropolitan Police's "Open Door Method" whereby community leaders form a committee

to make unannounced visits to police cells.

Death in detention came under the spotlight last year with claims by pathologist Jonathan Glickman that many detainees were dying in cells. The Human Rights Trust noted 123 deaths in police custody in 1992 and nine so far this year.

General Bester recommended that local committees of about 25 people be formed under the chairmanship of a person acceptable to the community

who had no official post.

Visits would be made to cells without prior notice, but according to lists drawn up at committee meetings.

They would focus on the well-being of the detainees and would not get involved in the investigation of charges against them. Queries would be raised with the Ministry of Law and Order.

The proposal has been welcomed by community-based organisations, including the Black Sash.



# THE PEACE MAKER

By BILL KRIGE

BY day, Jacob Dlomo is a Johannesburg bank messenger — but after work he is the architect of a peace movement sweeping through the hated Reef hostel system.

Alienated from adjacent communities and isolated by coils of razor wire, hostels have been central to the violence which has left thousands dead in the past two years.

Inmates have been blamed for train violence, for taxi wars and, above all, for murderous forays into neighbourhoods, of which the Belpatong massacre last June was the worst.

There are about 50 hostels in the Johannesburg area housing well over 100 000 men. Now the leaders at 32 of these grim relics of apartheid have signed a peace pledge, and moves to heal the ghastly wounds have begun.

But without the skills and courage of the 54-year-old messenger — who brews tea for clerks at First National Bank's branch at the corner of Simmonds and Market streets — the homegrown peace initiative might have been stillborn.

Last August, with trouble brewing again between Zulus at the Jeppe Street Hostel and the Xhosa and Bhaca municipal workers housed at Selby, the Jeppe leadership decided they'd had enough.

They wrote a letter, a peace overture, to Selby but found no one to deliver it. With reason. Death could be swift and brutal for a Zulu caught in the grim no-man's land of this alien stronghold.

## Diplomat

Mr Dlomo, renowned in his remote Kwazulu village of Nakanda as a diplomat and peacemaker, volunteered to take the missive.

"What? Are you mad?" the Jeppe man was asked, recounted the Reverend Mvume Dandala of the Central Methodist Mission, a key player in the peace initiative.

"If I'm to be killed for making peace it's better than being killed without knowing what you are dying for," Mr Dlomo replied.

He carried the letter to the compound at Selby. The Xhosa leadership was so impressed they smuggled him out by car to avoid trouble.

In November delegations from both hostels met

## A humble messenger succeeds in bringing warring hostels together

at a neutral venue.

"It was tense. You could cut the atmosphere with a knife but something was built there which will take a lot of breaking down," said Mr Dandala.

Mr Dlomo, a balding, angular man with highly polished black shoes and trousers that hang too short, doesn't look like a hero and yet to thousands that's what he is.

They crowd around him in the street and even urchins sing his praises.

He refuses to take credit

for getting the peace initiative rolling. Nor does he concede his diplomatic and oratory skills have helped give it a momentum which seems unstoppable.

"It is not my duty to help but, when circumstances call, I have answered," he said through an interpreter. Others, he insists, have done as much.

He singles out Mr German Mlatsheni, his Xhosa counterpart at Selby, as "a man who gives me courage to go on. We are one in thought and we share

process succeed, have been kept at arm's length.

The South African Council of Churches is involved to the extent that it recommended Rev Dandala as a neutral chairman. Even this concession has been accepted grudgingly at many hostels.

"They told me: 'We will speak to you but we want no educated people. We want people who respect our integrity. We don't want people to dazzle us with their thoughts,'" said Mr Dandala.

whatever is happening".

The Rev Dandala — "I am a Xhosa born at Mount Ayliff in Transkei but it has never been held against me" — is more forthright.

"Jacob Dlomo may lack education but he is one of the clearest thinkers I know. He has the type of wisdom needed in the parliament of a new South Africa. He is supremely eloquent.

"People don't understand the Peace Accord or Dispute Resolution Committees and he is able to

So what do they discuss?

"Dlomo tells them we are drawn by the vision of what we can be and that we will revisit the past only to try to find out where we went wrong. He says they are gathered as residents, not politicians, for it is only as residents that they can take binding decisions," he said.

Mending relationships with former hostel inmates is one thing. Reintegrating them with terrorised and damaged communities is

get the ideas across in a beautiful and flowery vernacular. ... It is not possible to have peace in South Africa until we put it in the idiom people understand."

## Suspicious

Education is a sore point among the hostel residents, and they have expressly excluded scholars from the process they have begun.

They are equally suspicious of the involvement of political parties, and the ANC and Inkatha, both deeply anxious that the

another. But soccer matches are being arranged and the process of normalising ties has begun. Residents have been welcomed to peace initiative meetings and hundreds have responded.

But it is the effort to change hearts and minds which promises peace.

"Since the start of the movement the difference has been noticeable," said Jacob Dlomo. "People are starting to come together again. There is contact."



# Strict US rules hold up cash for ANC, IFP

STRINGENT accounting requirements are slowing disbursement of US "democracy" money to the ANC and the IFP.

Responsible for ladling out the \$10-million (R32-million) initially appropriated by Congress in 1990 to help the ANC and other parties prepare for democratic elections is the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), a respected private group.

Its Washington-based director, Robin Hoen, admitted last week that it was having difficulty pushing the money, which includes R12-million for

By SIMON BARBER  
Washington

the ANC, out of the door to recipients.

"It's going very slowly," Mr Hoen said, "because the purpose is very restricted. It's hard to spend the money in accordance with the terms and conditions."

These include a fully documented accounting for expenditures by recipients.

The lifespan of the so-called "Transition to Democracy Project" — which should have been almost complete by now — has had to be extended by 15

months. When initially proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus, the project was supposed to be a slush fund to help the ANC build up its political operation in South Africa after years in exile.

After months of haggling between the sponsors, Congressional Republicans and the State Department, it was finally decided that most of the money should be divided between the ANC and Inkatha, with the former getting the larger share.

The funds were to be spent on office expenses, and further delays were

generated in a debate over whether the parties could use the funds to pay salaries.

It was finally agreed that they could not.

Expenditures would be limited to equipment and furniture.

Mr Hoen downplayed suggestions that there were problems with the accounts submitted by the recipients, preferring to stress the stringency of the accounting rules laid down by the US government.

Ussalep and the parties were also discussing using remaining funds for voter education programmes.



## ANC is invited to help in 1994

### BUDGET NEWS

By MIKE ROBERTSON

IN A break with tradition, Finance Minister Derek Keys has called on the ANC and other interested parties to join him in drawing up next year's budget.

Because the budget is a ruling party's most important policy instrument, its preparation is normally a closely guarded secret.

Mr Keys's offer is a recognition of changing political circumstances in South Africa and a partial recognition of the validity of opposition party complaints that money allocated in the budget is not getting to the people for whom it is intended.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Mr Keys responded to an ANC call by saying he had a better idea than their suggested appointment of an independent fiscal commission to trace and audit how money allocated in the budget is actually spent.

"They are concentrating in the wrong place. I think the audit side is in tip-top shape. Witness the reports of the auditor-general."

His idea, Mr Keys said, is that members of the National Economic Forum, which includes the ANC and trade union federation Cosatu, should instead serve on "function" committees overseen by the Department of State Expenditure.

### Priorities

"A function committee will take, for example, the question of health and then apply itself to every level of government where health expenditure is taking place."

"It looks through the cross-section and then tries to apportion priorities and settles the basis of the allocation for the next year's budget for that item."

"We have already decided that we would like to see outside representation on those function committees. They will look forward, ensure that spending is planned right."

In this way, Mr Keys said, outside parties, should they believe corruption is taking place in a particular area, would be able to have "an immediate effect on how much money is sent down that channel and in whose hands it ends up. I think that is a much better way of getting an immediate result."

The Finance Minister said that he had already raised this suggestion with certain parties.

"The natural people to be represented (on the function committees) would be the economic forum."

Mr Keys said he was prepared to meet ANC economic head Trevor Manuel's challenge to give the organisation information at his disposal in drawing up this year's budget so that it could, within three months, produce a costed development programme for social expenditure.

"I would love to give him the figures. I would like to have his input," he said.

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# ANC turns on charm to woo white voters

by Richard Ellis  
Johannesburg

THE white woman with the blonde highlights, large gold earrings and red Mercedes was not convinced. The old enemy, a black African National Congress (ANC) official, a former guerrilla who served time on Robben Island, was sporting a blazer, polished shoes and a beaming smile. "Do you think we can really trust them?" she whispered. "He's very radical."

Her friend, clutching her handbag to her knees, puckered her heavily made-up brow. "Yes, I suppose he is," she offered, and then thought for a moment. "But they're being very courteous, too."

The dilemma of what to think about the ANC is one increasingly confronting the white "ladies who lunch" in Johannesburg's northern suburbs and who like to think they have done their bit to meet changing times. They now greet each other with cheery phrases such as "Dumela" (Sotho for "How are you?"), hold joint birthday teas with their black maids, and support causes aimed at alleviating hunger in the townships.

Once, over salads and glasses of low-alcohol wine, their discussions would have centred on nothing more taxing than the merits of their husbands, the performances of their "gynies" (gynaecologists), or the latest outrage from a hospital whose record for Caesarean births had earned it the title "Caesar's Palace". Now, though, they are pondering the big question: can they bring themselves to vote for the ANC?

The ANC, aware of its generally poor image among South Africa's 5m whites — only about 1% say they support it — has embarked on a charm offensive. It hopes to

use international celebrities to raise its profile, and cheese and wine parties are to be held at the homes of selected white supporters. The process of "getting to know the ANC" began with a public meeting in the hall of a boys' high school in Highlands North, a well-off, largely white Johannesburg suburb.

Leading the drive for votes was Tokyo Sexwale, 39, the charming, dapper head of the ANC's Johannesburg region, tipped as a future national leader. In his blue blazer, he looked more like a black yuppie than the Robben Island prisoner and Soviet-trained guerrilla he once was (in the 1970s, he escaped from custody by throwing a grenade into a police van).

There was none of the fervour normally associated with ANC gatherings: clenched-fist salutes, throngs of youths and shouts of "Viva, ANC, Viva". Polite black ANC marshals spent most of their time escorting old white ladies to the toilets. Sexwale oozed voter appeal. "I'm not Comrade Tokyo," he smilingly rebuked a fellow-ANC member who had lapsed into old revolutionary-speak. "I'm just the chairman."

Despite the disappointment of not seeing the sort of political passion she had previously witnessed on television, Joy Coplan, in her pearls and neat black suit, was so excited that she could not stop talking in a loud whisper to her friend, Miriam Stein. "Look at her," she said, as an elderly, white-haired woman shuffled to a nearby seat. "She looks like an old communist." Stein giggled. Their reactions

got louder when an ANC official spoke of the need to upgrade townships.

"It's going to cost a fortune, millions," said Stein. "Billions, I should think," replied Coplan. An ANC supporter two rows in front turned round: "Could you please be quiet so we can listen," he said. Coplan was outraged. "Move elsewhere," she snapped back.

Finding such unlikely people at an ANC gathering is no longer a shock. With a general election open to all expected within a year, South Africa's once rigid political playing field is being rapidly redrawn. While the ANC is now found in the white suburbs, canvassers for the once exclusively white, pro-apartheid National party are often in townships, trying to win black support. White female members are encouraged to take their black maids along to party meetings.

Even though the ANC and the Nationalists have agreed to share power for at least the first five years after an election, the number of seats they get in a government of national unity will depend on the support they muster at the polls. Capturing the white vote, just under a quarter of the total expected electorate of 22m, will be vital.

Conventional wisdom once had it that most whites would support De Klerk's Nationalists, most blacks would support Mandela's ANC, and a few hundred thousand Zulus would back Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha. Now nobody knows what will happen.

Coplan and Stein were reassured by what they had seen and heard, and said they would vote for Mandela's movement. Others, though, were not so sure.

21 MAR 1993

Sunday



## Beware the Son of Codesa

**Name game:** The search is on for a new name to replace "Codesa" as the politicians resume their haggling over the new South Africa.

By POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CODESA talks are about to resume, but new participants like the Pan Africanist Congress and Conservative Party want it to have a new name.

Suggestions are pouring in. "Convention on the Future of South Africa" (Confusa) may be a popular public choice, but is too close to the truth to suit politicians. "Forum for a Great South Africa" (Fogsa) has the same problem.

There are also few takers at this stage for the proposal by minority rights supporters — "Convention against Domination in South Africa" (Condomsa).

Instead the new parties at the talks have come up with boring suggestions like "Negotiating Forum of South Africa" (Nefsa), "Multi-party Constitutional Forum" (MPCF) and "South African Constitutional Forum" (Sacof).

### Gleeful

Of course we could always stick with the "Convention for a Democratic South Africa" whose proper abbreviation should be "Condemsa" as the CP gleefully pointed out at the time.

But at Joe Slovo's suggestion back in 1991, that unfortunate abbreviation was further shortened to "Codesa", which sounds like

nothing on earth except the Ukrainian port city of Odessa where Red Joe might have whiled away a few pleasant hours back in his Soviet days.

Meanwhile in the absence of anything better, the new multi-party negotiating forum next month might just have to stick to "Codesa".

The alternative could be too ghastly to contemplate, for we could just end up with a compromise like "Constitutional Multi-party Negotiating Forum for a Democratic South Africa" (Conmulpnegfordemsa) or "South African Convention for Constitutional Negotiations towards Multiparty Democracy" (Sacbnconegmulpdem).

So let's be grateful for small mercies and stick with Codesa. The issues it will have to deal with are confusing enough as it is.



**T**IPPED as the most powerful body in the country during the forthcoming elections, the proposed Independent Electoral Commission could have a major impact on the lives of all South Africans. Yet few people have heard of it. Fewer still have thought about its powers or who should serve on the commission.

Under the present electoral law the Department of Home Affairs runs elections through its director-general, who serves as the chief electoral officer.

The department has wide experience of overseeing elections, first through years of whites-only polls; more recently through elections for the tricameral houses. However, most parties involved in negotiations would argue against the department as an acceptable authority for the forthcoming elections because of its government links. So alternatives are needed: both a new electoral law and a generally respected body to oversee the polls.

Little has been published about the parties' proposals, but it seems that the National Party and the ANC share the view that an independent commission must be in charge of the elections. Some body would need to certify whether the elections were free and fair. If the certification came from a group of people widely accepted as eminent, experienced and themselves fair, the outcome would have greater local and international credibility.

All the other questions about the commission must still be answered by the Codesa parties, but it seems likely that the IEC will be given significant authority.

Powers of election commissions can vary widely. In some countries they might be strictly limited and have a purely administrative function like preparing ballot papers and boxes. Where commissions are given more power, they could have an additional quasi-judicial role with the authority to enact regulations.

**A**T THEIR most powerful they might, under unusual circumstances, be asked to draft the electoral law, setting out the detail of how the elections will be conducted. They might even have full judicial powers, with the right to adjudicate on complaints relating to the elections.

The ANC's model would give an IEC the widest possible powers. Its supporters argue that this is necessary to ensure that the election results have broad support from all political groups.

The ANC suggestion is for an uneven number of commissioners, probably between seven and 17. They would be chosen by the Codesa parties from names submitted by the parties themselves.

According to sources within the ANC, their proposal is that these commissioners should be people with a record of non-partisan public service. They should not hold party office, nor be candidates in the election. They would also have to be available full-time during the election period.

They would have the responsibility of drafting an

electoral law for the Transitional Executive Council to authorise (though like other aspects of their work this could be delegated to sub-committees with experts brought in to help). They would also have the power to decide on voter identification and who would be eligible to vote.

The ANC view is that the IEC should also deal with security, ensuring that the "appropriate bodies" provide enough protection to parties and the public. It should also obtain agreement from all the political parties to campaign peacefully and abide by a code of conduct — the existing code or a new one.

The IEC would also be responsible for ensuring fair access to the broadcasting media by the parties; deciding whether political advertising will be allowed on television or radio; and seeing that the electronic media were used for an intensive voter-education campaign.

In addition the commissioners would have to see to all the administrative tasks undertaken in the past by the Department of Home Affairs. This would include training a small army of election officials to be present in every polling area.

The IEC would have the responsibility of setting up a countrywide network to hear complaints about election irregularities, including breaches of the code of conduct. Decisions of the IEC

about irregularities would be final.

Sources within the ANC say this is a vital issue: if appeals were allowed to the courts against decisions of the IEC it would cause lengthy delays and might even put the elections in jeopardy.

Some of these suggestions appeared to find acceptance by delegates to a conference held in Cape Town last week on Free and Fair Elections, convened by the centre for development studies at the University of the Western Cape and the US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

**P**ARTICIPANTS from a broad range of political parties and non-governmental organisations heard suggestions that would extend the powers of the IEC even beyond the powers proposed by the ANC.

One such idea came from UWC public-law lecturer John Murphy. He proposed that the IEC should not act against only those election practices which were "unlawful" in the strict legal definition. The commission should be empowered to investigate and prevent activities it believed were "unfair", even if in all other respects these actions were lawful.

This, like many other questions about the IEC, must still



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be settled. For example, if the commission is to be the final word on issues under its jurisdiction, with no appeal allowed to the courts, what would happen should there be a complaint against the IEC?

Should the IEC have the power to deregister parties which persistently intimidate voters — even if this means the election process cannot go ahead or has to start again?

Should international eminent persons be included on

the IEC? What should be the relationship of the IEC to other bodies if their jurisdiction intersects? For example, the planned independent broadcasting authority would also have the task of ensuring fair access by the parties to the media.

Similarly, the Goldstone commission recently asked for representations about how to prevent intimidation and violence during the elections, a task which might fall under the IEC. One way round this particular diffi-

culty might be for the commission's chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, to be asked to serve on the IEC.

Other names mentioned as possible commissioners include Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (tipped to take the chair), Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, former MP Helen Suzman, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the National Peace Committee, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Mamphela Ramphele, Unisa

law expert Marinus Wiechers, University of Zululand law professor Charles Dlamini, South African Council of Churches senior vice-president Sheena Duncan and "possibly some other judges".

An IEC should be in place as soon as an election date is officially announced. However, judging from the blank response to questions about the commission put to members of the public and even politicians, it seems that few people have given the IEC serious thought apart from some academics and a select group from the party hierarchies.

If the election and its outcome are to gain wide support, then there needs to be vigorous public discussion about the IEC and the individuals trusted to serve on it.