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**Washington
Letter**
by SIMON BARBER

SA must be left to make rules for its home game

AS PART of its bid to convert the sword of sanctions into the ploughshare of economic assistance, the ANC hopes to sign a co-operation pact with the state of New York, to go into effect as soon as a "new multiracial government" is in place. The organisation may not see American-style federalism as the right model back home but clearly it is interested in making use of the original.

A draft of the agreement, apparently readied for signature by Governor Mario Cuomo and ANC president Nelson Mandela when the latter was in America for President Clinton's inauguration, is circulating. With New York State legislators even now trying pass a bill to discourage US banks from lending to South Africa, the sooner the thing is signed the better.

In terms of cold resources, the agreement is likely to be pretty meaningless — the kind of symbolic gesture that local US politicians are prone to when they aspire to strut the international stage. However, its mere existence will perhaps encourage other state and local jurisdictions to stop boycotting American investment in South Africa when the ANC gives the word.

No guarantees

New York has what it calls "international partnership programmes" with a number of countries. The agreement would extend such a programme to South Africa "in areas of economic development, education, small-business development, trade and investment, culture, science and technology".

The text offers no guarantees that the state will do anything, only that it "may". Left unclear is whether this means it might, if it felt so inclined, or that it will, if permitted to do so by the new South African government. Perhaps subsequent drafts will adopt a less subjunctive word. Under the heading of economic development, what New York "may" do is "provide advice".

More importantly, however, the state undertakes to promote trade with and tourism to South Africa. If all that means is that it will get out of the way and stimulate others to follow suit by its example, the pact is more than worth the paper it will be signed on. If the state actually goes further and provides tangible benefits such as scholarships to its universities and technical schools and internships in its public health department, so much the better.

Moral suasion

And maybe the ANC is asking for too little. Much of what New York "may" do seems to imply nothing more than busy work and travel excuses for bureaucrats. What about asking Governor Cuomo to offer local tax incentives for firms that invest in South Africa?

Mandela should use all the moral suasion at his disposal while he still has it to squeeze substantive advantages out of this country. Remember, once elections are held and a new government is in place, he will be just another African politician.

The good news is that the ANC is trying to do the right thing. Less cheering are its prospects for getting it done. This is because other state and local authorities, and the activists who drive them on the issue of South Africa, continue to have a strange concept of what helping means. The ANC needs to get on their case.

Oregon ended its South African investment boycott last year while the state assembly was out of session. Now that the lawmakers are back at work, some among them are trying to make trouble. What's a little trouble in an obscure West Coast state?

A lot if it becomes trend, which it might well become, because, until recently, it was a trend the ANC was itself promoting.

Time bombs

A bill is before the assembly which would reimpose the boycott until the ANC specifically says otherwise. What's dangerous here is not the reimposition — that's just silly — but the accompanying proposal to keep the boycott in force for those companies that do not comply with the ANC/Cosatu guidelines for foreign investors.

This is one of those dangerous ideas that look unexceptionable to the innocent (after all, aren't all companies going to have to abide by the guidelines?), but are in fact time bombs if the new South Africa is serious about attracting investment. For foreign investors, there is a major difference between abiding by a host country's regulations and answering to its authorities on the one hand and being hassled by bureaucrats and activists back home on the other.

Let US companies believe that even if an ANC government welcomes them with open arms, their South African operations are going to continue being scrutinised by domestic pests and they are going to look elsewhere. They are not going to waste time and money filling in reports to satisfy American watchdogs about their South African affirmative action policies when those policies pass muster in South Africa itself. There are plenty of other opportunities in other countries that do not entail this burden.

Concession of sovereignty

The ANC/Cosatu guidelines may well be a decent starting point for legislation or rules that a transitional government might adopt, as long as they are enforced realistically. Some of the standards may be a luxury South Africa cannot currently afford: there will be a limit to what investors can justify spending in terms of social work, adult education and on ramps and other facilities to ensure their is no discrimination against the disabled.

But that is something South Africans must work out for themselves. To let others do it for them would not only be impractical but also a humiliating concession of sovereignty. So call off Oregon and find other work for the support groups who were asked to agitate for such initiatives at last November's Riverside Church conference in New York.

By the same token, douse the proposal in the New York State assembly to force banks to disclose their South African activities annually. Even more importantly, start letting the US Congress know that the election of a new government might be the time to drop the federal law requiring US firms in South Africa to abide by some variant of the Rev Leon Sullivan's employment code.

Compliance is expensive and time-consuming and some argue that it forces a misallocation of resources. Again, South Africa must set its own rules.

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As Isolation of Racism Eases, South Africa Confronts AIDS

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, March 15 — Three years ago, when words like epidemic, plague and doomsday began appearing in South African newspapers, some experts on AIDS thought South Africa had a unique opportunity to avoid the catastrophe that had befallen other African countries.

The slow sweep of the AIDS virus southward from its equatorial epicenter and the social quarantine created by the sanctions against the apartheid Government, they said, meant South Africa had time to see the menace coming and head it off.

It has not worked out that way. H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS, has colonized South Africa as relentlessly as it has the rest of the continent, abetted by apartheid's children: neglect, fatalism and mistrust.

Rapidly Rising Curve

By conservative estimates 300,000 South Africans, mostly black heterosexuals, are infected with the virus, and it is spreading to at least 300 new carriers every day. In about 5,000 cases, the virus has erupted into AIDS.

"South Africa has moved from the pre-epidemic to the epidemic phase, the point where the curve rises rapidly," said Malcolm Steinberg, who oversees AIDS programs for the South Africa Medical Research Council.

There are also advances in the campaign against the virus — notably, a belated concord between the Government and the African National Congress on AIDS strategy — but most experts now say the virus is bound to run the devastating course that has become Africa's norm. It will hit its murderous stride just as a new multi-racial democracy tries to find its feet.

Peter Doyle, an analyst for the insurance company Metropolitan Life Ltd.,

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

South Africa Confronts Rapid Spread of AIDS

Continued From Page A1

whose forecasts are widely respected, predicts that by the end of the decade, 3 million people — more than 10 percent of the adult population — will carry the virus, and that 160,000 will be sick with AIDS. The viral tide will still be rising.

A 25% Infection Rate

Five years later, when the virus crests, about one in four adults will carry the infection, Mr. Boyle estimates. Caring for the AIDS-afflicted will consume up to three-fourths of the national health budget, a study by the Medical Research Council found.

Despite the warning, South Africa still lags behind other African countries in combatting the epidemic. Neighboring Botswana, for example, no richer than South Africa, spends three times as much per capita on the prevention and treatment of AIDS.

A deep puritanical streak in South Africa has blocked compulsory AIDS education in schools and has inhibited the advertising of condoms, although the Government distributes free condoms by the millions.

Victims of the disease confirm the view of doctors and educators that ignorance and disbelief remain astonishingly high in the black settlements worst hit by the virus, though AIDS was detected among black heterosexuals here in 1987.

'Afraid to Visit You'

Johanna Witbooi first heard of the disease in October 1991 when her doctor told her she had the virus. Now, hunched over her darning in Sacred Heart House, a Catholic hospice for AIDS patients, wizened and immobilized by tuberculosis, she says the disease is regarded with such superstition in her black township that her husband and children refuse to comfort her.

"My little sister came," she recalled with resignation. "She told me: 'All these people are afraid to visit you. They think it will have them also.'"

In Natal Province, a hub of migrant labor that is rife with the infection, a researcher recently sent students to family-planning clinics to ask for instructions about condoms. The clinic's staff members, the front line in prevention, typically replied with comments like "If you don't know how to use them, you shouldn't be having sex."

Like many countries, South Africa had to contend with popular indifference to a disease that seemed, at first, confined to homosexuals.

Chronicle of Obstacles

There were also the obstacles common in much of Africa: the subservient position of women, the suspicion of condoms as a white plot to keep black populations in check, the resistance of traditional healers to modern medicine (and more recently, the assertions of some healers that they can cure AIDS).

But many of these problems were greatly compounded by the divisions of apartheid, which shattered stable families by forcibly relocating blacks to ethnic "homelands" and by establishing Africa's most enduring migrant labor system to serve white-owned industry. In a migrant society, AIDS commutes.

The forced division of the races,

moreover, left blacks with such a profound mistrust of the Government that when the state finally did begin preaching about AIDS, few believed.

"At first the Government didn't take AIDS seriously," said Nkosazana Zuma, a Natal doctor who studies AIDS for the Medical Research Council. "Then, during the state of emergency, it used AIDS for political games, saying things like 'Beware of the A.N.C., they come from outside the country and bring AIDS.'"

Distracted by Politics

The African National Congress, for its part, was preoccupied with winning equal rights for blacks.

Nelson Mandela, the congress president, mentioned AIDS in public for the first time last October at a conference where the Government and the congress, business and labor groups formed an alliance to promote AIDS prevention and treatment.

In most African countries, the World Health Organization has been the main organizer of anti-AIDS efforts. But because of the sanctions, "as far as the World Health Organization is concerned, South Africa does not even exist," said a W.H.O. official in Geneva.

AIDS May Be a Lesser Risk

Last month Ruben Sher, founder of South Africa's first center for AIDS research, training and counseling, announced he would be closing in a matter of weeks because some corporate donors had withdrawn their support.

Another hampering legacy of apartheid is a pervasive fatalism bred in poverty and violence.

"When you tell black South Africans, here's a disease that will kill you young, keep you from getting work and make you discriminated against — that's nothing new to them," said Mary Crewe, who runs the Community AIDS Center in Johannesburg. "Your chances of being killed in a train attack, or fighting in the townships, or in a police crossfire, are probably greater than contracting the virus."

"If you say to people who are H.I.V.-positive, reduce stress, eat well and get enough sleep — if you are a black South African at the moment, it is very difficult to do any of those things."

Almost everyone contending with AIDS agrees that, in the long run, how South Africa copes with the disease will depend on how it copes with the economic and social effects of apartheid.

Trying to Reach Children

Natalie Stockton, who recently took over as director of the Government's AIDS prevention unit, has won praise for putting the campaign on a more aggressive footing. But she describes the virus as part of a "total paradigm" including poverty, violence, illiteracy and the powerlessness of women.

"Yes, sexuality education must be a compulsory part of the school syllabus," she said. "But my problem is the kids who don't even get to school."

Miss Stockton said the best South Africa could hope for was to be better prepared when the wave of death crashes down: "This is where South Africa does still have a chance: to put the infrastructure in place to deal with the aftermath — the ill, the dying and the children, the orphans."

COMMENT

Sufficient peace

IF THE national peace accord fails, the politicians who allowed peace to die of neglect deserve their fate. Before then, they need to be left in no doubt that they bear most of the responsibility for the continuing political violence, because those who could do most to stop it failed to act.

Politicians can blame each other, or the other side's murderous supporters, for the persistent killings; they may suspect a mysterious "third force"; they can point to non-political causes of violence such as recession, unemployment and overcrowding. Any of these factors, or a combination, may be behind a particular incident. But it is the politicians who can do most to stop the spiral of violence, to bring the guilty to justice, to help foster economic change and to contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance and reconciliation. It is the politicians who are letting the country down, not the peace accord.

The peace accord has not yet failed, and may not do so. This is not the first time it has been said to be on the brink of disaster, and chairman John Hall has despaired before of its provisions ever achieving peace in a divided and violent nation. Yet he has been waiting since last year for the principal signatories — President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — to rededicate themselves to peace in a symbolic signing ceremony. A new peace logo is to be launched this week, without a revised accord because those who

could revise it have not met to do so. And the killings continue.

A new search for peace will take dedication and statesmanship; Mandela showed both in his tour of Natal's killing fields at the weekend. He and Buthelezi are now calling for the peaceful settlement of disputes, for healing and reconciliation. Yet neither will fully convince grassroots supporters while they show themselves unable to remove the obstacles to a meeting between the two of them. There is an uncomfortable feeling that any peace, in Natal or elsewhere, must be temporary because of fear, hatred and intolerance.

Nor will these factors have been removed by the time elections come. The question now being raised by former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert and others is the degree of violence which would prevent those elections, or how much intimidation would mean the result could not be certified free and fair. Negotiations are progressing by sufficient consensus, which prevents minor parties halting proceedings; we may have to decide when sufficient peace will allow slightly turbulent elections leading to sufficient democracy.

Even this slightly unpleasant compromise will be unattainable unless all political leaders persuade their supporters and their opponents that they will campaign peacefully and, if need be, concede peacefully. They have signed a peace accord, but have yet to convince everyone that they mean it.

RUSSIA

Yeltsin to reveal his plans

From ANDREW HIGGINS
in Moscow

PRESIDENT Boris Yeltsin of Russia has accused conservative legislators of trying to restore Communist rule and, his spokesman declared, was laying plans to resist the threat as firmly as he did the August 1991 coup attempt.

There was no hint, however, of what action Mr Yeltsin might take in response to his humiliating defeat at the hands of the Congress of People's Deputies, which ended a four-day emergency session at the weekend.

Messages of support for Mr Yeltsin have flooded in from abroad. Interfax news agency yesterday quoted a Deputy Prime Minister, Boris Fyodorov, as saying in Hong Kong that Mr Yeltsin "is certain" to be invited to vxG-7 meeting in Tokyo: "The President must by all means go there."

Inside Russia, though, declarations of sympathy have so far been limited to radical miners' unions and residents in Mr Yeltsin's home town of Yekaterinburg, where 2 500 residents have visited a newly established Foundation for the Support for the First Russian President.

His real support may be deeper but is difficult to gauge because the national news agency Btar-Tass, perhaps intimidated by a threat by parliament to seize control of the media, has failed to report on it. Only the Interfax agency reports Mr Yeltsin's grassroots supporters.

Mr Yeltsin has not been seen in public since he stormed out of the Great Kremlin Palace on Friday. Back in Moscow after a weekend at his country dacha, he failed to make an expected television address yesterday but issued a statement he would make his plans known "in the next few days".

The statement, signed by his spokesman, accused the



PAUSE TO REFLECT: Embattled Russian President Boris Yeltsin pauses in his plans to resist the threat of another coup attempt.

Congress of violating the constitution and seeking to "return all levers of power to the Communist nomenklatura." It said "numerous appeals" were coming in asking Mr. Yeltsin to defend democracy.

As Mr Yeltsin scrambles to stay in the driver's seat, ordinary Russians have had a chance to buy a stake in the Zil autoworks, purveyor of armoured limousines to the Kremlin "elite."

The sale of Zil, a huge conglomerate with more than 100 000 workers and 17 plants scattered across the former Soviet Union, is the biggest so far in a privatisation drive

that Mr Yeltsin hopes will make reform, no matter who wins a tumultuous power struggle, irreversible.

The sale of a company so indelibly linked with Communist Party privilege is being promoted as an important symbol of the government's determination to resist a conservative onslaught by the Congress of People's Deputies.

The power of conservative forces, though, has already been felt in the privatisation of Zil: only 35 percent of shares are being put on the open market, while workers and managers are guaranteed a controlling stake.

NEWS FEATURE *President Mangope not keen to let go of independence*

Mineral rich Bop beckons to investors

■ **RISK FEAR** *Promise that*

By Michael Sanders

A STAR in the dying apartheid firmament, Bophuthatswana, is beckoning businessmen on the promise that it will prove a super nova and not a black hole.

At first glance, investment would seem a considerable risk. No one, not even Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, believes this 44 000 square kilometre homeland for some 2,5 million Tswana speakers scattered over seven landlocked enclaves can survive unchanged.

The African National Congress (ANC), headed for power in South Africa but barred in Bophuthatswana as a "foreign" organisation, wants the homeland to abandon the independence Pretoria thrust upon it in 1977.

Much resented, independence stripped the Batswana of citizenship in "white" South Africa, making them aliens to be sent "home" when no longer required.

But Mangope is not keen to let go of a land blessed with one third of the world's platinum and chrome deposits.

Despite talks in February last year between Mangope and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the ANC is deeply unhappy that Mangope's "repression" is denying it access to potential voters who could strengthen its hand in a reunited South Africa's future non-racial interim government.

Mangope is currently pushing through labour laws putting the onus on industrialists to keep out the ANC's labour ally, the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (Cosatu) and its affiliates, especially the 250 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The NUM could wield tremendous clout in the mining sector which contributes 45 percent of the country's 4,4 billion rand Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

So far Western businessmen seem unruffled. One told *AFP*: "If you look at the four independent states in South Africa, Bophuthatswana has certainly been the most successful and the most stable. We have remarkably good industrial relations and very little disruption."

The last major disruptions were in February 1988 when Mangope called in South African soldiers to put down a pro-ANC coup attempt and a state of emergency to quell unrest after Mandela's release from prison in February

it won't be black hole:

1990.

But few observers see how he can withstand the new dynamic.

A hostile South Africa could withhold its 25 percent contribution to Bophuthatswana's annual budget of just under two billion rands and no other country even recognises the homeland.

It could freeze transfers by Batswana working in South Africa, who double the homeland's GDP to a 8,9 billion rand GNP.

Bophuthatswana Economy Minister Baptist Keikelame told journalists in the capital Mmabatho last week: "We are there as a state, no matter who says what."

There lies the realpolitik, according to Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation marketing manager John Lear.

"The longer things carry on in any political dispensation, the greater the chances and expectations that decisions should be economically based, no matter who is in power," he said.

So far Bophuthatswana's economic decisions include relocation grants, establishment grants for the first five years, generous tax breaks and long-term finance at a four percent discount on market interest rates.

That has led to 6,1 percent growth and seen manufacturing grow to 13 percent of GDP, according to Keikelame.

The business source said: "Whatever system you come up with, the whole regional issue cannot be ignored. You now have massive population bases in areas that were primarily rural."

"We're seeing nice houses being built by the local population. That's not something you can stop now, it's gained its own momentum."

"A new government can't afford to injure employment-generating industries. It would actually cause big problems for them." — *Sapa-AFP*.

AS PART of its bid to convert the sword of sanctions into the ploughshare of economic assistance, the ANC hopes to sign a co-operation pact with the state of New York, to go into effect as soon as a "new multiracial government" is in place. The organisation may not see US-style federalism as the right model back home, but clearly it is interested in making use of the original.

A draft of the agreement, apparently readied for signature by Governor Mario Cuomo and ANC president Nelson Mandela when the latter was in the US for President Bill Clinton's inauguration, is circulating. With New York state legislators even now trying to pass a Bill to discourage US banks from lending to SA, the sooner the thing is signed the better.

In terms of cold resources, the agreement is likely to be pretty meaningless — the kind of symbolic gesture that local US politicians are prone to when they aspire to strut the international stage. However, its mere existence will perhaps encourage other state and local jurisdictions to stop boycotting American investment in SA when the ANC gives the word.

To say this is not to be rude to the ANC. Its heart is now clearly in the right place. But it must be realistic, or that heart is going to be broken, repeatedly.

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subsequent drafts will adopt a less subjunctive word.

Under the heading of economic development, what New York "may" do is "provide advice". Topics might include "the non-white majority's capability to own and control the means of production", "advancing the economic competitiveness of the new multiracial SA" and "structuring a civil service system". Whether New York has anything worthwhile to say on such issues, especially the last, is open to debate.

More importantly, however, the state undertakes to promote trade with and tourism to SA. If all that means is that it will get out of the way and stimulate others to follow suit, the pact is more than worth the paper on which it will be signed. If the state goes further, and provides tangible benefits like scholarships to its universities and technical schools and internships in its public health department, so much the better.

And maybe the ANC is asking for too little. Much of what New York "may" do seems to imply nothing more than busy work and travel excuses for bureaucrats. What about asking Cuomo to offer local tax incentives for firms that invest in SA?

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The good news is that the ANC is trying to do the right thing. Less cheering are its prospects for getting it done. This is because other state and local authorities, and the campaigners who drive them on the issue of SA, continue to have a strange concept of what helping means. The ANC needs to get on their case.

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Let US companies believe that even if an ANC government welcomes them with open arms, their SA operations are going to continue being scrutinised by domestic pests, and they are going to look elsewhere. They are not going to waste time and money filling in reports to satisfy American watchdogs about their SA affirmative action policies when those policies pass muster in SA itself. There are plenty of other opportunities in other countries that do not entail this burden.

ANC should be driving a harder bargain with US

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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But that is something South Africans must work out for themselves. To let others do it for them would not only be impractical, it would be a humiliating concession of sovereignty. So call off Oregon, and find other work for the support groups who were asked to agitate for such initiatives at last November's Riverside Church conference in New York.

By the same token, douse the proposal in the New York state assembly to force banks to disclose their SA activities annually. Even more importantly, start letting the US Congress know that the election of a new government might be the time to drop the federal law requiring US firms in SA to abide by some variant of the Rev Leon Sullivan's employment code. Compliance is expensive and time-consuming, and some argue that it forces a misallocation of resources. Again, SA must set its own rules.

Finally, even with bits of paper like that to be signed with Cuomo, drumming up investment and assistance is going to be hard. When SA has a nonracial government, chances are it will cease to have any special draw on America's attention. Indeed, it may even be that some major US firms that have withstood the boycotts and shareholder activism of the past decade will leave, having stayed put out of sheer stubbornness and a belief that they were helping.

But that is not a reason to keep badgering them. It is one more reason SA will have to find other, more positive ways, to keep itself interesting.

FW slaps Sadtu 'in the face'

THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFER of a five percent salary increase for teachers remained unchanged after a three-and-a-half hour meeting between State President FW De Klerk and a Sadtu delegation in Cape Town yesterday.

A statement issued by the Government after the meeting said De Klerk had told the South African Democratic Teachers' Union delegation, led by the union's president, Mr Cyril Mdladlana, that although he was sympathetic to problems faced by teachers, economic realities made it impossible for him to give teachers a larger increase.

However, the State President said he would consult widely with everybody involved in teaching when education was restructured and streamlined under a single ministry from April 1.

The Government also committed itself to continue negotiations on the future of education.

Mdladlana said the outcome of the meeting would be discussed with Sadtu members before any decision was taken on further action.

He said the State President was made aware of "anger on the ground" over the salaries issue.

Teachers are sure to get a slap in the face. They will only get a five percent salary increase but they will have to pay more taxes and face huge hikes in VAT and fuel

Meanwhile opposition to the five percent salary increase intensified yesterday. Sadtu members, at a meeting at Regina Mundi church in Soweto, declared that the offer was a "slap in the face" for teachers.

A pamphlet distributed at the meeting called on teachers to prepare for a national strike ballot if there were no satisfactory results from the Cape Town meeting.

By Sonti Maseko and Siphso Mthembu

In another development, three major student organisations announced united front action against the payment of matric examination fees.

At a joint Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the Azanian Student Movement, the Congress of South African Students and the Pan African Students Organisation called on students to observe a day of action on Wednesday next week.

Sadtu asked its members to take part in a work stoppage tomorrow and to stage pickets, demonstrations and marches to coincide with the Budget speech to be delivered by the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, in Parliament tomorrow.

The meeting, called by the Soweto branch of Sadtu, was also attended by United Nations observers.

"Teachers are sure to get a slap in the face. They will only get a five percent salary increase but they will have to pay more taxes and face huge hikes in VAT and fuel. The apartheid Budget gives little, but takes a lot," the pamphlet stated.

Sadtu is demanding a 30 percent salary increase for teachers in the low-salary category and has supported a call by political and education bodies for a national education forum to debate the future of education as opposed to what it called the Government's unilateral restructuring of education.

BUSINESS DAY 16/03/93

SOMEONE has to say it. The national peace accord is comatose. It slipped quietly into this state last year when its key signatories refused to meet, despite — perhaps even because of — the tightening grip of violence.

Hopes that the accord would miraculously awaken as talks about talks resumed last month were quashed at the weekend when members of its executive committee said they did not have time to attend a crucial evaluation meeting.

A peace committee spokesman said political parties could not make the meeting because constitutional talks were more important. Peace would be one of the items addressed in bilateral meetings between political parties.

And in Natal — where leaders have been slapped on the wrists by accord structures for their bellicose statements — violence has flared with new intensity and political parties have admitted their members could have been involved.

Added to these problems is the fact that most South Africans do not have the faintest idea what the accord is and how it works.

All they see is the refusal of their leaders to meet in its governing structures and the violence that surrounds them.

Peace in someone else's time

The big question is how the accord — surely the most hopeful political structure in SA at the time of its formation — came to be an ineffective body.

By accord officials' own admission, the structure's dependence on government for money and the fact that it is administratively linked to the Justice and Constitutional Development Departments have raised questions on the ground about its independence. UN observer head Angela King raised the question of government links last year. The matter has also been aired by the Commonwealth observer mission.

Another problem raised by King and certain violence monitoring agencies is the accord's "white big business" appearance. The decision to appoint Barlow Rand executive John Hall to the position of peace committee chairman was taken with the best intentions. It was rightly believed that a person without a history of partisan politics and with substantial managerial skills was needed to head up the organisation.

But many ordinary South Africans do not really identify with the busi-

ness and marketing executives who appear to run the accord.

Then there is the question of the accord itself. Peace accord leaders have been quoted as saying between 90% and 95% of the public have not seen or do not understand the document.

The accord itself is written in vague legalese and it takes great concentration and commitment to read it from beginning to end. Even when this has been accomplished, one is left wondering what the main point of the document is. An adequate, simplified and easy to read version of the document has yet to be produced.

The apparent lack of power to punish those who breach the accord has led to the allegation that the accord is toothless. Far from suffering public embarrassment, those named for breaching the accord shrug their shoulders and mutter about bias in accord structures.

RAY HARTLEY



□ HALL

The public can be forgiven for not knowing how the accord works. Structures include the national peace committee, the national peace committee executive committee, the national peace secretariat, the peace accord signatories, the core signa-

tories and several subcommittees.

Peace accord officials seem to be aware of these problems and eager to deal with them, but without the backing of political groups their concerns will remain unaddressed.

Moves to try to market the accord using donated media time and space are destined to be a fruitless exercise unless backed up by commitment from political leaders.

The accord needs to be wheeled into the political operating theatre and subjected to a serious examination leading to decisive surgery, or it will never be revived.

The accord's greatest successes have been achieved in some of its regional and local dispute resolution committees, where political parties thrash out local differences and deal with specific disputes.

Recently, the Natal regional dispute resolution committee played an important role in helping to calm Natal after the ambush killings there, and there have been reports that some local dispute resolution committees are integral to defusing potential violence in many areas.

This is where the energies of those trying to reduce violence should be channelled. But whether or not the national peace accord and its myriad structures are needed to do this remains questionable.

Investors 'waiting in the wings . . .'

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

INVESTMENT and large-scale aid will be available to SA as soon as political stability is achieved, Howard Hughes, world managing partner of international accountancy firm Price Waterhouse Meyernel, told Cape Town business people yesterday.

He said in a presentation at the Mount Nelson Hotel that "there are literally dozens of aid organisations with substantial funds waiting in the wings for a multiracial government."

He expects foreign investment to increase, particularly when exchange controls have been lifted.

But, he warned, to attract this it is essential for SA business itself to be seen to be investing in this country rather than moving funds overseas.

"During my travels I have learned that business leaders in other countries are unfavourably impressed by what they perceive as a reluctance on the part of South Africans to invest heavily in their country's future.

"To paraphrase one comment that was made to me, 'Why should I invest there when disinvestments, and investments abroad, by SA companies are almost double foreign investment into SA?'

Scant confidence

"Local investment spending is understandably low because business confidence is low.

"However, much progress is being made and SA's future looks more and more promising. Perhaps this is the time for local business people to send a strong signal to their counterparts in other countries by becoming more visible as investors in an evolving SA."

Hughes suggested that more investment in labour-intensive activities should be encouraged.

"Capital-intensive investment has up to now received the lion's share of incentives. There may at this point be a need



Howard Hughes
Price Waterhouse
managing partner

Investment in new technology

SA companies are investing in new technology to make themselves internationally competitive, members of a UK-SA Business Association (Uksaba) trade delegation now in Cape Town said yesterday.

Tony Raisbeck, area sales manager of the Bonas Machine Co of Gateshead, which supplies equipment to the textile industry, said he thought the longterm prospects for the SA economy were good.

"Political uncertainty and lack of consumer confidence are obviously affecting the market here. But, all the same, manufacturers are investing.

"They realise they must prepare for the upturn and must be competitive with manufacturers in other parts of the world."

Philip Evison, marketing director of

Waddington and Duval of Merton, specialist producers of plastic taps and valves, said he was in the Western Cape looking for a distributor and a manufacturer under licence of his firm's products.

Evison said SA wines were becoming popular in Britain and he expected them to become better known when British tourists tasted them in this country.

"I cannot understand why SA is not bursting at the seams with tourists when it has so much to offer."

Anna Petherick, manager of the trade mission, said that in spite of the recession the 17 members seemed to be satisfied with the business they were doing and the contacts they were making.

"They knew what it would be like here. Many of them are making an annual or bi-annual visit."

to re-think local incentives to encourage labour-based investments.

"A few months ago I read about a group of successful American 'name brand' franchise companies which were seeking licensees in SA, primarily from the black business community.

"While American franchises such as Pizza Hut and Kentucky Fried Chicken have been in SA for many years, this 'second wave' of franchises seems tailor-made for black businesses, particularly in the light of the fact that it is supported by USAID, the world's largest bilateral aid agency.

"This franchise initiative is just one example of activities that are relatively low-tech and more labour-intensive than capital-intensive."

Pointing out that the European Community (EC) lifted sanctions a year ago, Hughes said it was following developments in SA with great interest and was "poised to provide large amounts of state aid and private sector investment.

"Some \$89m in EC aid is expected to be available this year for the 'positive measures' programme for the resettlement of refugees and health and education programmes."

Britain planned to open a special development division at its Pretoria embassy in mid-1993 to help support efforts towards stabilisation and economic prosperity.

"Other EC countries eager to normalise relations with SA include France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway — all conditional on continuing democratic reforms."

Although some 160 US cities, states and counties continued to impose penalties on companies doing business with SA, "we can hope this will change in the near term.

"Major US companies are testing the waters for a plunge back into the country and US aid organisations are ready to assist SA's economic resurgence."

Feasibility

The Japanese Nippon Steel Corporation had begun a feasibility study on chrome iron ore mining in SA along with Mitsui & Co. "It is my understanding that if the project goes ahead it will be the first Japanese investment in SA since Japanese economic sanctions were lifted in October 1991.

"I also understand that Mitsubishi Corporation plans to extend a \$25m loan to SA mining company Western Platinum. This is the first large-scale investment by a Japanese company since the end of sanctions."

However, "successfully attracting investment from other nations calls not only for political stability but for a concerted investment effort by South Africans themselves."

Cape Times 26.3.93

Steps designed to halt crime'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
JACKIE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN is to get a new high-tech, super-snooper "eye-in-the-sky" helicopter as part of the nationwide 10-point plan to crack down on rising crime and violence.

This is one of a number of measures set out in a 10-point plan announced by President F W de Klerk in parliament on Wednesday.

The plan — already in effect in the Western Cape and Transvaal — was "an honest attempt to amalgamate all crime prevention methods under one umbrella, and is not aimed at Apla but all criminals", a police spokesman said yesterday.

It will cost an estimated R10 million, involve at least 21 000 reservists and entail more visible policing and added support to farmers and businesses.

The network will be expanded to combat arms smuggling and provide for a more effective application of mechanisms established under the National Peace Accord.

The announcement of the 10-point plan came only hours after a high-ranking officer from Pretoria police headquarters told the Cape Times that the PAC's military wing, Apla, had targeted the Western Cape as new ground for its campaign of violence.

He said that recent intelligence indicated strongly that Apla "has plans to attack certain venues in the West-

ern Cape soon".

"We do not want to frighten the public, but they should be alert and should also know that we are working hard to gather more information to prevent any attacks," the officer said.

He declined to divulge more information about the "venues" Apla has apparently targeted, except to say that these were "frequented predominantly by white people".

"Apla hits one area and moves when security force activity steps up there," he said.

Asked for comment, Western Cape PAC spokeswoman Mrs Patricia de Lille said: "The media are trying hard to point out that there is a division in the PAC leadership about Apla activities. For this reason inquiries about Apla will only be attended to by spokesmen at our national office."

A PAC national spokesman could not be reached for comment.

Cape Town senior police liaison officer Colonel Raymond Dowd said: "We are aware here that Apla has targeted the Western Cape and the necessary preventative measures are being taken.

"We are not, however, specifically targeting any organisation in our investigations but the individuals who are committing crimes."































Giving further details of the 10-point plan, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said in Pretoria that the highly effective "eye-in-the-sky" Leo airborne surveillance system, which currently operates in the

To page 2

Voting in new S A — how it would work

Ballot paper for the Constituency of Rubicondorp South Five-member constituency

DIRECTIONS: Please mark one 'X' in the box beside your favoured candidate.
ONLY USE ONE 'X'

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS				DEMOCRATIC PARTY			
Christopher Hani (African National Congress/SA Communist Party)				Zach de Beer (Democratic Party)			
Dr Nelson Mandela (African National Congress)				Denis Worrall (Democratic Party)			
Albertina Sisulu (African National Congress)				INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY			
AZANIAN PEOPLES ORGANISATION				Dr Gatscha Buthelezi (Inkatha Freedom Party)			
Dr Itumeleng Mosala (AZAPO)				Modlar Loe (Inkatha Freedom Party)			
KONSERWATIEWE PARTY				NATIONAL PARTY			
Dr Andries Treurnicht (Konservatiewe Party)				Pik Botha (National Party)			
				F.W. de Klerk (National Party)			
				Roelf Meyer (National Party)			

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A BASED system of proportional representation, which allows voters to choose between candidates and not merely between parties, has been suggested by an American academic for South Africa's first crucial non-racial election.

Mr Andrew Reynolds of California University has had his proposal — along with others — published in a book, *Voting for a New South Africa*, with the support of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Mr Reynolds, who spent 1991/92 teaching at the University of Cape Town, suggests that there should be 37 multi-member constituencies electing a total of 300 representatives to the Constituency Assembly, with 100 "compensatory" national members which would be awarded to parties to ensure proportionality in the Assembly.

A voter would simply place one X next to the candidate of his or her choice and the party votes would be totalled to work out how many seats each party would be entitled to.

Mr Reynolds says: "For example, in the 11-member constituency of Wynberg-Khayelitsha, the ANC might win 30 percent of the vote and so be entitled to three of those 11 seats, but the individual ANC candidates filling those seats would be chosen by the voters as the top three

polling ANC candidates in the constituency.

"Instead of being simply chosen by the party headquarters, the candidates elected would be the most popular party candidates in the constituency."

The accompanying graphic shows what the ballot paper would look like for a five-member constituency under the Reynolds scheme.

Voters in his fictional "Rubicondorp South" constituency would have merely to mark one X in the box next to the his or her favoured candidate.

Mr Reynolds says that his proposal "has two great advantages over previous 'list PR' ideas".

"Firstly, the system would have a constituency base to ensure a personal/geographic connection between the people and their representatives and, secondly, those elected to the Assembly would be directly chosen by, and accountable to, their constituents.

"In such a crucial election, to choose the very people who will draw up the new constitution, it seems highly desirable that they be judged by the electorate (rather than their parties) for their ability and honesty."

Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town believes that Reynolds's proposal "may well be ... the most suitable one for a stable South Africa".

LABOUR PARTY				PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS			
Reverend Alan Hendrickse (Labour Party)				Benny Alexander (Pan Africanist Congress)			

IT COULD LOOK LIKE THIS ... If South Africa used American academic Andrew Reynolds's version of constituency based proportional representation, this is what the ballot paper would look like. Voters in the (fictional) five-member constituency of "Rubicondorp South" would vote for the candidate, not just the party, of his or her choice.

NP seeks more acceptable symbols

Political Correspondent

THE New Nats, or the Free Nats, campaigning under different colours and with a "thumbs-up" logo could be part of South Africa's political landscape soon.

NP sources confirmed yesterday that a change in the orange-and-blue party colours and from the "kruithoring" symbol were

being seriously contemplated in an effort to change the party's image.

However, there was resistance from "high up in the party" to a substantial name change and if this does come about it is "not likely to be substantial... something like the New National Party", said a source.

Another NP member said the

party had been toying with the idea of getting the word "free" or "freedom" into the name.

They said consultants were being used to advise the party on the implications of colours and symbols in black communities.

Orange was apparently unpopular in such communities and would probably be scrapped, while the symbol being consid-

ered at the moment was the "thumbs-up".

No decisions have been made yet, but NP information team member Mrs Sheila Camerer said the results should be out by the end of the month.

She confirmed that consultants were being used in the research, but had not personally heard about the use of sangomas.

IFP chief rejects Mandela charges

Cape Times
16 MARCH 1993

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday hit back at suggestions by Mr Nelson Mandela that he had set preconditions for their peace summit, saying he would meet his ANC counterpart "any time".

"I am prepared to see the president of the ANC this afternoon or tomorrow without any preconditions," he told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Mandela said after touring Natal at the weekend he was not prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi until he was "convinced it would be fruitful".

He said the ANC put conditions to the IFP, including prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons and free political activity in KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi demanded the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, Mr Mandela said.

However, the IFP leader said it was "utterly untrue" that he made the issue of MK a condition for their summit, which is being planned by a joint ANC/IFP working group.

"We say you cannot go forward with negotiations when there are private armies in existence... it was raised by the Concerned South Africans Group (of which the IFP is a member) but it had nothing to do with my meeting Mr Mandela," he said.

He said the ANC's charge that traditional weapons were a threat to peace was "vile propaganda".

"Everyone knows the children at Table Mountain (outside Maritzburg) were mowed down with AK-47 rifles.

"I am saddened by this kind of posturing... I would have thought Mr Mandela would have been more willing for us to put our heads together to work for peace," Chief Buthelezi said.

• The ANC yesterday said it was "most definitely not" about to disband MK simply to facilitate the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela. But the ANC confirmed Mr Mandela would meet Chief Buthelezi providing the right groundwork was laid.

● Over-ripe fruit — Page 6

Over-ripe fruit

Cape Times — 16 March 1993

HOW much longer must a nation wait while the leaders of two warring factions dilly-dally about the most propitious moment to meet? Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi both commit themselves to peace, yet delay taking even the most initial of steps to promote peace between the ANC and Inkatha. Meanwhile the slaughter continues.

Over the weekend Mr Mandela announced he would make no move to see Chief Buthelezi "unless I am convinced the meeting will be fruitful", and pending "proper preparations". Surely the fruitfulness of the meeting cannot be determined until it takes place. And how many more preparations are required before these two key leaders sit down face to face and discuss how the low intensity warfare between their followers can be defused? One of the main problems has been their mutual reluctance to have a single personal encounter, let alone the frequent meetings necessary to show their respective supporters that they are serious about the peace process.

Mr Mandela also appealed to ANC supporters to engage Inkatha supporters in talks to end the killings which claimed 1 500 lives in Natal last year. But he should give the lead. How can he expect rank and file members to bury the hatchet while he still awaits guarantees of fruitfulness before he himself engages the Inkatha leader? The longer he and Chief Buthelezi prevaricate, the greater the suspicion that neither has proper control of his followers or the ability to halt the sickening atrocities.

MK cadre slays sister, himself

East Rand Bureau

An Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre shot dead his sister before turning his gun on himself in Tembisa on the East Rand on Saturday night.

Police said Jackie Ncube (26) shot his sister Eunice (24) in the kitchen of a house.

Elizabeth Radebe said she

was bathing when she heard the first shot. She found Eunice, heard another shot and saw Jackie's body outside.

The motive for the killing is not known.

Police arrested Ncube in September while he was disguised as a woman.

He was later freed without being charged.

We're not spoilers, says Mangope

The Bophuthatswana government does not want to be seen to be "negative spoilers" in the negotiations process, says the homeland's leader, President Lucas Mangope.

Speaking at a conference in Mmabatho yesterday, he said:

"For this reason we are tempering our determination not to be pushed around with a responsible attitude to remain open-minded in our approach."

However, fundamental beliefs and principles were not negotiable. — Political Reporter.

Call to resolve debate on regions

By Patrick Laurence

Resolution of the debate over regions is essential to achievement of a national accord, according to experts assembled by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM).

The team, whose report was released yesterday, notes that there is virtual unanimity among key political players on the need for regions and regional government.

There are, however, different approaches on how and when boundaries should be drawn, by whom and on what criteria, as well as on the division of power between central and regional government.

The team, which was

led by businessman Clive Menell and which held discussions with the main political organisations, sought to identify criteria for the demarcation of regional boundaries and powers, rather than prescribe what the answers should be.

It did, however, take a stand on one issue: it came out in favour of a second legislative chamber — where regional interests would be represented — in the debate over whether South Africa's future constitution should have one or two chambers.

The report gives several reasons for its preference for a second chamber: it would involve regions in the leg-

islative process by giving them a role in forming national policy, and it would provide a check on the power of the lower Houses and thus ensure that laws had increased legitimacy and broader acceptability.

The report suggests that these criteria should be used to demarcate boundaries: economic viability, geographic coherence (they should not be too big or too small), administrative capacity, socio-cultural elements (ethnicity should not be overstressed but cannot be ignored), and historical boundaries.

The report advises in favour of between seven and 10 regions in a new South Africa.

Bilateral talks seek consensus

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In a further step in the negotiations process, a new round of bilateral meetings begins this week when the ANC and Government continue their ongoing constitutional discussions on Friday.

The Government and IFP are expected to resume their talks soon, but no date has yet been finalised.

The ANC-Government talks are aimed at achieving broad consensus on the transition. However, fundamental differences on regionalism and power-sharing remain between the two groups.

Friday's talks are expected to focus on regionalism, a government of national unity and legislation for a transitional executive council.

A crucial ANC conference on regionalism, where its draft document on regionalism will be discussed, takes place in

Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday. It will be attended by the organisation's 14 regions, which have proposed amendments to the draft document.

ANC negotiators said the draft document on regionalism had provided important impetus to ANC-Government talks and contributed to the breakthrough on a government of national unity.

ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha yesterday said no radical shifts from the draft document are expected. One of the areas of debate will be the number of regions in a new South Africa.

The draft document did not specify the number of proposed regions.

Botha said that once the document had been finalised, it would be presented to a proposed delimitation commission and a constituent assembly.

Negotiators indicated after the multiparty planning conference, held on March 5 and 6,

that bilateral discussions had become an integral part of the negotiations process.

They said the last round of bilateral meetings had contributed significantly to the success of the planning conference.

In another development, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — begins a two-day meeting in Pretoria today.

Cosag spokesman Rowan Cronje said the meeting would finalise positions and strategies for the multiparty conference on April 1 and 2.

Cronje denied that a rift had developed between the CP and other Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever," he said.

Cronje made the statement after what he termed Cosag's "most successful meeting yet", held at the weekend in Ciskei.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

A delay we can't afford

THERE is an obvious inconsistency in Nelson Mandela's call on his followers to engage Inkatha members in peace talks. The problem is this: if leaders can't agree to meet, why should they expect ordinary supporters to seek rapprochement with their rivals?

Mandela makes a valid point when he argues that a further meeting between himself and Chief Buthelezi might be worthless — and perhaps downright dangerous — if it is not preceded by exhaustive negotiations involving the two sides. Bluntly put, the summit itself should be the public affirmation of practical agreements already secured; it is more important for its symbolism than its on-day content.

But top negotiators from the ANC and the IFP have had plenty of time to do such groundwork, and it is now fair to ask whether one side — or both — is purposely stalling while the Natal death toll continues to climb. We do not discount the possibility that sinister elements bent on wrecking negotiations are fuelling the awful violence in Natal, and that each new massacre bedevils peace talks.

But this merely makes the top-level meeting even more urgent. The leaders must recognise this, and ignore the war-cries of those in their organisations who would like to settle matters on the battlefield rather than at the conference table.

It is unnatural that two leaders of the stature of Mandela and Buthelezi — leaders who will certainly feature prominently in any future dispensation — should not be on speaking terms. They should be meeting regularly, irrespective of their political differences. The current, protracted delay is unacceptable, and it has the additional effect of lending to their coming-together an apocalyptic quality which is entirely unnecessary.

It has proved possible to get multiparty talks under way again very quickly; it is inexcusable that the negotiators of the ANC and IFP cannot organise what is, after all, a much simpler indaba.

NP set for new image, in new SA

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is considering changing some of its colours and symbols to give it wider appeal in an election next year.

Having dropped its archaic "kruithoring" (gunpowder horn) symbol in the early '80s, the party is now also looking at its official colours and its present symbol: an "NP" with an arrow pointing upwards.

Opinion polls and research are being carried out to find ways for the party to gain support among black voters.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the party's new information and management committee, has confirmed that the party is looking at these matters.

According to some Nationalist MPs, the party will try to adapt and modernise its "corporate image" to fit in with the realities of a new South Africa.

Research has shown that the NP colours of orange, white and blue are not popular colours in Africa. It has also been found that animal symbols are popular in Africa.

Black cultural figures will be consulted in the process and one Nationalist MP did not rule out the possibility that sangomas (traditional medicine men) might also be consulted.

A change of name for the party is also being discussed, but there is resistance to this in the party.

Skeletons studied for clues to disease

British scientists who recently studied skeletons in a burial ground for clues to brittle bone disease, say modern women seem to suffer greater bone deterioration than their forbears, possibly due to a lack of exercise.

THE researchers, writing in the latest edition of Britain's *Lancet* medical journal, examined bones buried between 1729 and 1852 in the crypt of a London church to gain data on the history of osteoporosis, or brittle bone disease, which particularly afflicts elderly women.

Osteoporosis is caused by a loss of bony tissue linked in part to hormonal changes and calcium intake. Problems associated with brittle

bones such as hip fractures have increased among women in northern Europe in recent decades, even taking into account increased life expectancy.

The team from the Wynn Institute for Metabolic Research in London found that the rate of bone deterioration was greater in modern women than those buried in the crypt, who came from a part of the city where silk-weaving was an important industry.

This suggested that exercise might be a factor in brittle bone disease, as women textile workers toiled long hours at the loom, had heavier household chores than present-day women and generally walked more than people do now.

"We know that walking was an important feature of their daily lives," the report said. — *Sapa-Reuter*

Another son of Kaunda arrested

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Former President Kenneth Kaunda's eldest son, Colonel Tanji Kaunda, has been picked up in connection with a plot, which the government claims was designed to topple the current leadership.

Secretary-general of the opposition United National Independence Party (Unip), Benjamin Mibenge, said the colonel was arrested early yesterday.

Kaunda, a member of parliament for Chadiza, is believed to be detained somewhere in eastern Zambia.

He is the third of Kaunda's sons to be arrested in connection with documents detailing the "Zero Option" plot. Wezi Kaunda, who is reported to be starving because he has refused to eat prison food, is being detained at Mukobeko Maximum Prison. Tilyenji Kaunda was released last week after a brief detention.

About 18 other opposition members are still in detention, scattered in prisons across the country, following the announcement of a state of emergency earlier this month.

Meanwhile, 21 Iranian diplomats left Zambia on Monday while a group of Iraqi diplomats are expected to leave tomorrow, following Zambia's decision to sever diplomatic ties and expel the diplomats of the two Gulf states for allegedly interfering in Zambia's internal affairs.

New post for Star staffer

The Star's Political Correspondent, Peter Fabricius (right), has been appointed Washington Correspondent for Argus Newspapers from May 1. Fabricius (42) has covered the dramatic changes to South Africa's political landscape in recent years, in Parliament and beyond. He has been a correspondent for The Star since 1989. Before that he was Political Correspondent of the Pretoria News and a staffer on The Argus in Cape Town. He replaces Hugh Robertson, Argus Newspapers' correspondent in Washington for the past two years, who returns to The Argus on May 31.



P.1 Patrick Laurence looks at the deeper significance of the plot to overthrow Sebe

Kingmakers of the homelands

THE military conspiracy to overthrow the Ciskei regime of Lennox Sebe in 1988-89, detailed in secret documents released last week by Bantu Holomisa, represents — in extreme form — a recurring feature of government policy from Hendrik Verwoerd to F.W. de Klerk.

The central government and its agencies intervened for decades, either overtly or covertly, in the political life of black communities in an attempt to shape events to their advantage. They were not always successful.

Verwoerd, who wielded immense influence from the National Party's triumph in the 1948 election until his assassination in 1966, interfered incessantly in tribal affairs; hereditary chiefs who dared to resist him were demoted and/or banished while more amenable subordinates rose to power in his apartheid empire.

One of the men rewarded for co-operating with Verwoerd was Nelson Mandela's cousin, Kaiser Matanzima.

The same Matanzima was identified in the mid-1980s by Joffe van der Westhuizen, the then military commander in the Eastern Cape and alleged architect of the plot to overthrow Sebe, as a strong leader who could be used to

promote the idea of a greater Xhosa state as a bulwark against the ANC and the United Democratic Front.

Matanzima, a relatively minor chief, rose steadily through the ranks of the political and tribal hierarchy with the backing of Pretoria, ending as the first Prime Minister of Transkei and, equally important, with the title of Paramount Chief.

Matanzima actually lost the 1963 popular election in Transkei but he was able to emerge as the eventual winner because, with the help of the then Commissioner-General in Transkei, he won the support of most of the chiefs who served as ex-officio members of the Legislative Assembly.

In the 1970s apartheid ideologists attempted repeatedly to manipulate events in the black community to their advantage or what they thought was their advantage.

To quote another example: in 1973, Patrick Niphephu, a conservative tribal leader in Venda, was defeated in a popular election, winning only five of the 18 contested seats.

He was nevertheless chosen as Chief Minister after nominated chiefs were taken on a four-day trip to the Manyeleti Game Reserve, reportedly given or pro-

mised gifts, and brought back just in time to vote in the election of the Chief Minister.

Five years later there was another intervention in Venda: it has intriguing parallels to Van der Westhuizen's master plan to topple Lennox Sebe, replace him with his brother, Charles, a former agent of the dreaded Bureau for State Security or BOSS, as a step toward the establishment of an anti-ANC greater Xhosaland.

The intervening agency in Venda in 1978 was BOSS. It decided the Venda opposition leader, Baldwin Mudau, was a more credible satesman for an independent Venda, in the same way as Van der Westhuizen preferred Charles as an auxiliary to Lennox Sebe.

Secretly backed by BOSS — which made funds available to his Venda Independence Party — Mudau, a sociology graduate, triumphed, winning more than three-quarters of 42 contested seats.

Mudau and BOSS, however, miscalculated: Niphephu, backed by white officials in his administration, struck a pre-emptive blow and detained scores of his opponents, including 11 victorious candidates; Mudau's party boycotted the legislative assembly in the hope of denying Niphephu a quo-

rum but failed to do so.

Niphephu, surprisingly, prevailed against BOSS and Mudau to become Venda's first president, just as Lennox Sebe prevailed, temporarily, against Van der Westhuizen's machinations with his enemies in Ciskei and Transkei.

The 1970s saw two attempts by central government agencies to unseat Mangosuthu Buthelezi in KwaZulu; Buthelezi's offence was that he was too independent-minded for Pretoria. One of the attempts involved BOSS and secret payments to Charles Hlangwa, the founder of the anti-Buthelezi Umkhonto ka Saka (Saka's Spear).

In the 1980s, as Verwoerd's empire of independent and partially self-governing black states began to collapse under pressure from a resurgent ANC, P.W. Botha's regime reverted increasingly to Machiavellian stratagems.

Van der Westhuizen's plan for a greater Xhosaland — which exploited the quest of Kaiser Matanzima and his brother, George, for a united Xhosa state stretching from the Unzinkulu River in the north to the Fish River in the south — was but one of these stratagems.

Another, pioneered by Foreign Minister P.W. Botha, involved a se-

cret deal with Swaziland: in terms of the deal, South Africa proposed to cede the Swazi "homeland" of KaNgwane and a strip of KwaZulu, known as Ingwavuma, to Swaziland, in return Swaziland undertook to accept South Africa's Swazi people as its citizens.

The proposed deal between South Africa and Swaziland was a convenient device for depriving more black South Africans of their citizenship, in the same way as millions of blacks had been stripped of their citizenship when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei became nominally independent states between 1976 and 1981.

The deal, however, was defeated by concerted opposition from the then KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, and Buthelezi (a similar but less advanced plan to transfer the Basotho "homeland" of Qwaqwa to neighbouring Lesotho was abandoned after the Botha administration was forced to retreat on the Swazi deal).

Manipulative and covert intervention did not stop with the advent of President De Klerk in September 1989.

There was, of course, the payment of R250 000 to help finance rallies of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in Durban in Novem-

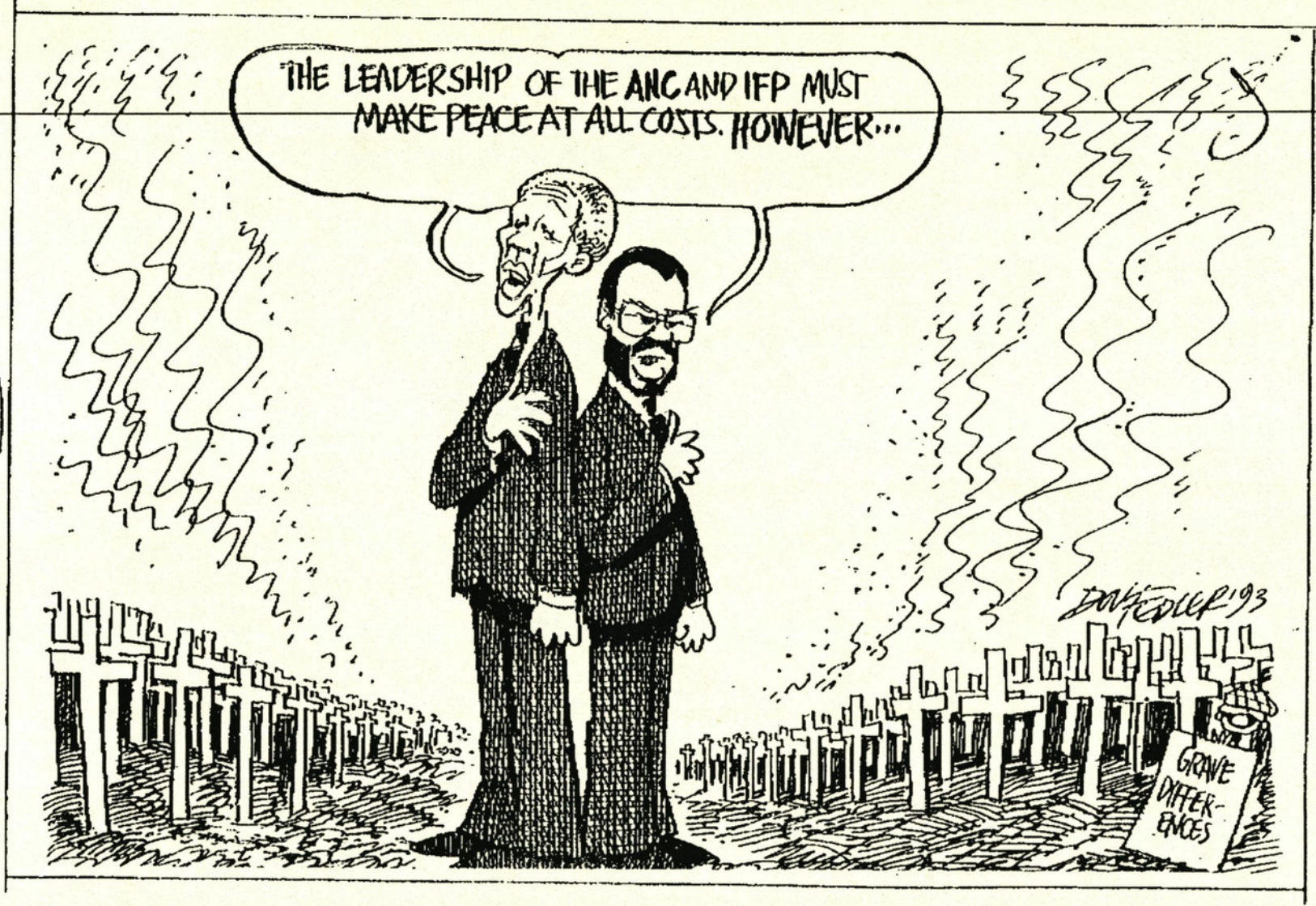
ber 1989 and March 1990 and the continued channelling of taxpayers' money to the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa until mid-1991.

There was the bloodless coup in Venda in April 1990 which overthrew the incompetent administration of Frank Ravele in Venda. The SADF was suspected of orchestrating the coup to pre-empt an ANC-led rebellion and to forestall the rioting which had accompanied a successful coup against Lennox Sebe in Ciskei the month before.

Suspicious abound in Transkei, and elsewhere, that South African security forces turned a blind eye to the failed attempt by Transkei dissident Graig Duli in November 1990 to overthrow Holomisa's military regime in Transkei.

Then, finally, there was the disclosure last November of the existence of the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC) and its use of former members of the supposedly disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau in a surreptitious campaign to besmirch and disrupt the ANC.

In a sense the unveiling of the DCC closed the circle: it falls under military intelligence, which is now headed by Joffe van der Westhuizen. □



Urges 16.3.93

SPECTRUM

— Fooling around with own affairs —

HAS the government chosen April 1 for the demise of its own affairs administrations because it is still planning a bit of fooling around?

Their stated intentions about local government seem to verge on irresponsibility, bearing in mind the delicacy of negotiations at this stage.

That is, as far as one can divine what the government intends to do. Detective work, if not adept mysticism, seems to be needed to find out whatever it is they have in store.

In pretentious government *constitutionspeak*, local government is to cease being an own affair and will become a general affair.

No doubt the government is hoping for praise for this bit of brilliance, which is at most a small step back to normality.

But before even the kindest observers (I am not one) can be moved to praise, much will have to be done to clear up the confusion and speculation at the moment about some key areas.

One is the fate of management committees.

For some time, the agendas of Cape Town's nine management committees have featured correspondence about a proposed negotiating forum in terms of the Interim Measures Act.

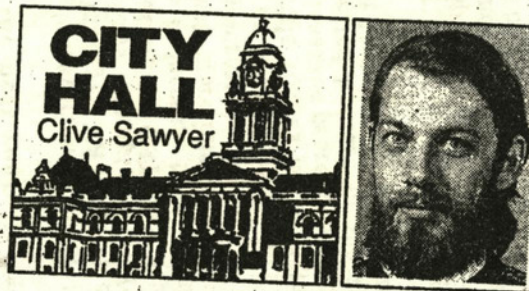
But any hopes management committees may have pinned to that Act — which in any case could not have been used to compel councils to form joint administrations — have been dashed by indications it is to be scrapped or at least amended beyond recognition.

Not that all hope for management committees has gone, if the government has its way.

Dr Tertius Delpoit told parliament last week that management committee members would become fully-fledged city and town councillors from April, as part of comprehensive and negotiated reform steps.

What an extraordinary thing to say.

The first meeting of the Local Government Negotiating



Forum is next Monday, nine days before the end of the month.

This means the government believes that in the time left after the speeches, it will be able to get councils great and small — to say nothing of the SA National Civics Organisation and its allies — to accept the idea of management committee members becoming full councillors.

Why stop at this?

The action committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs has worked out a formula for applying the "one city one tax base" principle. Presumably the government expects everyone will be ready to accept their formula by the beginning of April.

Presumably government optimism that the formula will be accepted is not dampened by the fact it is based on the idea of allocating money according to race. This formula, just to labour the irony, was devised to redress economic problems caused by racism.

Surely the government is not trying to give the impression, nor can it believe, that the work of the forum can be pre-empted?

It would be a profound mistake if the government used the forum merely as a type of think-tank, and proceeded to do as it thought best.

Not that anyone should sit back and believe nothing is going to happen, simply because the government is no longer the only one with a hand jerking at the tiller.

Plenty is going to happen, and soon.

Non-government sources seemed to offer a much more reliable version of what could be in store for local government.

Their hopes are that government legislation will be informed by resolutions of the local government negotiating forum, and that the national process will produce offspring in the cities, towns and countryside.

Progressive organisations have their share of optimism, too: that the government will "speed-process" legislation to give effect to forum resolutions.

After all, a principal benefit of the forum is that it could produce solutions for the dilemmas of service and rental arrears, while creating structures to replace those regarded as illegitimate.

Transitional metropolitan and local authorities could follow soon afterwards. Likely to hold up this stage would be bargaining over their constitution.

A number of proposals are doing the rounds; informally, among them are that transitional councils would be made up of appointees from the local negotiating forum, or that establishment and non-establishment bodies be given equal representation.

The formation of transitional local authorities, whatever their composition, will bring redistribution of resources and wealth, and in this will lie the deepest shock for some — beyond any mere revaluation exercise.

And speaking of April fooling, a word has been whispered in my ear that the city council will soon be ready to unveil its Vision 2 000 project.

How quaint. City leadership unlikely to be around in the year 2 000 is going to tell us all how it sees the place might have been or might still be, had it been there (?).

Methinks the council at this stage should devote itself to managing municipal services, and not get its printing presses chattering over visions it lacks the capacity to fulfil.

Perhaps then, and only perhaps, ratepayers might remember it fondly when moaning about the brave new transitional council.

Keys seeks to unlock growth potential

GIVEN South Africa's economic circumstances, there was no way the Minister of Finance could have produced a popular Budget. He was faced with a situation where he had to find revenue to offset a national deficit of almost R40 billion. And along with the need to raise that sort of money was another to somehow try to stimulate the economy through growth and by creating job opportunities.

That Mr Derek Keys has sought to do in two ways: Through the corporate sector, by reducing the rate of company tax, and by promoting small business development. More than R112 million will be available to small enterprises, which the minister rightly sees as an important element of fiscal and industrial policy, with the possibility of a secondary allocation later in the year.

No one could disagree with his assessment that one of the most urgent priorities is to stem what he calls the "job haemorrhage" of the past few years. Nor can it be denied that vibrant private enterprises, both large and small, are the best route to future development.

These considerations, however, will be of little comfort for the average taxpayer. VAT will be up to 14 percent — which Mr Keys attempts to justify by saying this was the level where GST was headed anyway. The fuel price is to increase by a whopping 15 cents a litre at the coast, more inland, which will cause prices to rise again across the board.

The result will be that an inflation rate which has just been contained to single figures is bound to go back to two digits. But at least the poorest consumers will not be as much affected because of the zero-rating on a wider range of basic foods, as announced earlier.

There is relief, too, for social pensioners, with a general rise and black recipients reaching parity with whites from September. And the exemption threshold for taxpayers over 65 will be raised from an income of R25 000 a year to R35 000.

The reduction in the rate of corporate tax to 40 percent could have an additional spinoff by attracting foreign investment, since it brings us into line with most other countries.

There are anomalies. The TBVC states are allocated a bigger slice, where it was expected they would get less. And clearly Mr Keys is not sufficiently his own man to be able to curb government expenditure as much as he would like to.

But the overall impression of the budget is that it is a sincere attempt to balance growth with placing finances on a sounder footing. Also, that it is the work of an economist and business mind rather than — as so often in the past — some politician fumbling in the dark.

TBVC states to get 21 % more — despite rows

Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are getting a 21 percent bigger slice of the South African Budget this year — in spite of controversy over large-scale wastage.

The annual allocation goes up to R6,2 billion.

The biggest portion is budgetary aid amounting to R5,1 billion. The rest is made up of provisions for manpower purposes, project aid, technical and other help, tax compensation and a contribution to the industrial incentive scheme.

There will be a R3 million provision for the salaries and allowances of judges serving in the TBVC states.

An additional R72,9 million will be provided in the form of transfers under the Common Monetary Area Agreements — an increase of just more than 10 percent.

Payments to the TBVC countries under the Customs Union Agreement and payments of VAT are estimated at R2 billion and R761 million respectively in 1993/'94 (before tax proposals). These are made direct from the state revenue account.

The six self-governing states will get a total of R10,6 billion — up 22,1 percent on last year.

Tax compensation — for VAT and income tax on individuals, which is paid direct to the self-governing territories — is estimated at R1,5 billion.

The proposed allocations include funds for education — R4,9 billion, 28 percent up on last year — and health services — R1 billion, 2,5 percent up on last year.

The Argus 16/3/93

All-race elections next year, says Meyer

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa should have its first non-racial election not later than the end of next year, the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said.

He told a gathering of invited businessmen and academics in Cape Town last night that in spite of the risks of violence and intimidation in the run-up to the ballot, it was a vital step in South Africa's constitutional development and there was no choice but to go ahead.

Mr Meyer said in response to questions that fears of a violent election campaign were valid, "but we simply have no choice".

He said that the election was likely to be held during the first half of next year.

A crucial part of the negotiating process was to determine parties' support.

This was not only important in determining who would be represented in the transitional government after the election, but also in endowing it with legitimacy.

He said law and order measures could be partially effective in reducing violence, but, ultimately, only a political settlement would bring lasting stability.

Already the negotiation process had generated a spirit of reconciliation.

Mr Meyer said 1993 was a critical year.

"All South Africans face a choice this year — either we negotiate, or we retreat into the laager and prepare for a civil war that would destroy the whole country."

One of the gravest dilemmas was the contradiction between seeking agreements with negotiating partners while preparing for an election battle against them.

"This places us under great pressure and will require an enormous responsibility from all parties," Mr Meyer said.



Mrs Ray Alexander



Mrs Graca Machel



Mrs Danielle Mitterrand

Women win UWC doctorates

Staff Reporter

THE University of the Western Cape will confer honorary doctorates on four women, including the French first lady Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, at a ceremony on April 14.

The three others to be honoured are former Mozambican Education Minister Mrs Graca Machel, veteran anti-apartheid activist and Communist Party member Mrs Ray Alexander, and the late Mrs Dorothy "Mama" Zihlangu, former president of the Federation of South African Women.

In honouring Latvian-born Mrs Alexander, UWC said it would be recognising the combined role she played as a feminist, trade unionist

and intellectual.

The degree to be bestowed on Mrs Zihlangu is in honour of a generation of South African women who were the rocks on whom the liberation struggle was built, it said.

In conferring an honorary degree on Mrs Mitterrand, UWC said it was recognising a woman with consistent commitment, courage and a broad, and internationalist vision.

The university said by bestowing an honorary degree on Mrs Machel, wife of the former Mozambican president, Mr Samora Machel, it would be making a statement of its commitment to creating greater solidarity among all the people of Southern Africa.

The Argus 16/3/93

ANC plan to woo business at briefings — for a price

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) is wooing businessmen to meal-time briefings at which confidential information will be passed on ... for a price.

The ANC says the idea of the briefings is to promote closer ties between the organisation and the business community.

For an annual subscription of R2 000, businessmen will be treated to food and drink at six confidential, in-depth briefings on political and topical issues from an ANC point of view.

In a letter to would-be members, the ANC says its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, had promised that the briefings would include information and analysis not available to the Press or public.

"The idea (is) ... to ensure that business community leaders are fully informed about ANC strategies, policies and views and to foster closer relationships between the ANC and the business/financial world," the letter says.

Executive Club subscription fees not spent on food and drink at the breakfast, lunch or cocktail sessions would go into ANC coffers. — Sapa-Reuter.

US storm death toll rises to 168

NEW YORK. — Rescuers have failed to find 24 hikers missing in the snowy southern Appalachian Mountains after dozens of others trudged to safety.

Rescue crews struggled to reach thousands snowbound at home and in shelters as the death toll from the weekend blizzard rose to 168.

In addition to the deaths — reported from Cuba to Canada — 32 crewmen were missing after a freighter sank yesterday off Nova Scotia, Canada, and 16 seamen were missing in waters around Florida.

Most major airports moved back toward normal operations but hundreds of thousands of customers still had no electricity. During the height of the storm at the weekend, more than three-million homes were blacked out.

Teams from North Carolina and Tennessee searched the Great Smoky Mountains National Park for remaining members of a group of 117 teenagers and adults from a Detroit school who had been hiking on an annual spring break when the storm struck. The search for 21 pupils and three adults still missing was called off at nightfall.

More than 1 500 travellers were stranded along Interstate 77 in south-western Virginia, and Tennessee officials said 4 000 people remained in 95 shelters. — Sapa-AP.

ANC demands cell deaths probe

THE African National Congress called yesterday for an immediate investigation into the deaths of detainees in South African police custody after another suspect was found dead, the ninth this year.

The suspected robber was found dead in a cell on Sunday after being arrested following a beating by security guards at a shopping centre near Johannesburg, police said.

The cause of death has not so far been revealed.

"We are calling for an independent investigation into what is going on, and to know what steps are being taken by the police to prevent deaths in custody," said ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

"The figures of people dying in police custody are growing by the week," said Mr Niehaus, accusing Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel of

"trying to cover things up".

The ANC said its appeal was all the more urgent because of the lack of government response to allegations made eight months ago by pathologist Jonathan Gluckman. The pathologist said most of the victims in more than 200 "cell-death inquests" he carried out over a two-year period had not died naturally.

Law and Order Minis-

try spokesman Captain Craig Kotze branded the ANC reaction to the latest cell deaths "political opportunism".

"I think that people who are using deaths in custody as an excuse for police bashing should think again," Captain Kotze said.

He said the government had done all it could to open its police cells for

inspection.

These included random visits by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, while former magistrates and retired generals had been empowered to carry out similar probes. There had also been studies about why suicides took place in custody and a senior officer had been appointed to investigate every death in detention.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Study on regionalism unveiled

THE Consultative Business Movement yesterday released a study on regionalism it said it hoped would help speed up negotiations by giving political parties options for dealing with this sensitive issue.

The report concludes that there is a danger in determining the exact powers and functions of regions too early in the negotiations process. It should be left to the final stages of the constitution-making process, such as an elected constitution-making body.

However, the group also warns against deciding on principles for regions "that are so broad and vague that their interpretation leads to conflict and dispute and minimises confidence".

It suggests the best way forward is to strike a balance between these two. This

BILLY PADDOCK

would be possible by "reaching agreement on a framework of principles, definitions and criteria for approaching regional issues before moving to the final stages of constitution-making".

The group also warns that regions must be involved in the negotiations or consultation process in some way.

The report, drawn up by a group of 19 local and international academics and constitutional experts late last year, examines three key issues regarding regionalism: regions and their demarcation; levels of government and their relationships; and regions and constitution-making.

The group, led by Anglovaal's Clive

□ To Page 2

Regions

Menell, includes Tony Ardington of the SA Sugar Association, Bertus de Villiers of the HSRC, Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Prof Nick Haysom and Prof Charles Simkins of Witwatersrand University, Van Zyl Slabbert of the Metropolitan Chamber, Prof David Welsh of UCT and Prof Marinus Wiechers of Unisa. It also includes academics from the US, Britain, Denmark, Canada and France.

The report has been discussed with leading political bodies. Menell said their response was such that he was optimistic a solution to regionalism could be found.

One suggestion is that regions be allowed maximum flexibility to draft their own constitutions using guidelines drawn up by the national negotiations forum.

The group suggests two possible frameworks — for the demarcation of regions and for establishing powers, functions and duties of regions.

Demarcation criteria include economic functionality and a human and natural resource base; geographic coherence; institutional and administrative capacity; and socio-cultural issues.

A delimitation commission could play a

useful role in allowing the democratic consultation of national, regional and local interest groups in the determination of boundaries. This could involve holding local referendums where necessary.

"While consideration should be given to the potential tax base of regions, a central mechanism such as a fiscal commission should be considered to facilitate a fair allocation of revenue to poorer regions," the report says.

It lists nine broad guidelines for dividing power between the centre and the regions. Essentially the centre should predominate where a state needed to act as a single entity or where minimum standards of services and equity were needed. These included defence, foreign affairs, immigration, currency, national standards regarding weights and measures etc.

"In aspects of those functions where variety, regional or cultural diversity is desirable, power should be allocated to the regions (eg certain aspects of education, language policy and culture)." Functions relating to territorially fixed matters (eg town and regional planning) should be allocated largely to regional authorities.

□ From Page 1

THE CITIZEN
COMMENT

Stand firm

THE African National Congress talks more and more as if it will win the open election next year.

We can understand its cockiness.

For one thing, it has got its way on crucial aspects in the bilateral talks with the government.

Indeed, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, has boasted of the list of ANC successes.

The ANC has also launched an effective propaganda campaign, reassuring Whites on issues of concern to them.

After presenting trophies together with Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, at Kyalami on Sunday, Mr Ramaphosa said: "I hope next year the Formula One Grand Prix will be running here in a democratic South Africa."

The GP had helped "put South Africa back on the world sporting map ... The government of the future will be well advised to invest money in sports like motor racing."

Isn't that jolly decent? He certainly hopes you feel that way.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, toured the troubled Midlands of Natal, where three massacres resulted in 20 people, including six children, being killed.

Nearly every word he uttered concerned peace, the theme being: Join the ANC in the search for peace.

No doubt every word that he says is well-meant, but the intended impact is to give the ANC the image of the organisation of peace, whereas its supporters remain involved in violence.

Hardly a day passes without one or other ANC leader berating the government on its policy, or demanding that it consults the ANC, Co-satu or any other affiliated organisation which may have, or professes to have, an interest in the matter being dealt with.

Foreign governments and organisations treat the ANC as if it is the government-in-waiting, adding to its aura of invincibility.

Big business interests here and overseas also fawn on the ANC, smarming up to it ahead of its coming to power - or because they think it might do so.

As a result, the ANC is not short of money, whether it is for its projected newspaper or for its election funding.

It is not easy for the government to adopt the same tactics. It still has to govern. It has to take unpopular decisions.

Casinos are banned, upsetting gamblers. Tough measures to curb smoking are to be introduced, upsetting smokers and the tobacco giants.

The Budget is going to see VAT raised, possibly to 13 percent, causing a chain reaction of food and other price increases. Petrol is to go up, making motorists angry, and causing another chain reaction of higher prices.

Liquor and cigarettes are to carry higher excise duties, upsetting drinkers and smokers. Taxes are to rise, upsetting individuals already over-taxed.

All this is happening within a year of an open election which will decide the future of South Africa for years to come.

We believe the National Party and government should be countering the ANC's deliberately fostered image of a government-in-waiting.

The government needs to protect and help the small man to overcome the terrible burdens of ever-rising prices.

It needs to protect all of us, in the Black townships and the White towns and cities, from vicious gun-toting gangsters.

Above all, the government should not appear ineffectual and hangdog, but should start winning votes now on the basis that it is the only organisation capable of fighting the ANC at the polls. It should show that it is not capitulating to ANC demands, but will do what is best for everyone.

Let's have tough, assured rule, an awareness of the public's needs and a firm response to the public's insecurities and complaints.

Let's have a government that shows it is determined to run the government of national unity by winning the election, that it does not believe it is beaten before the battle begins.

Over to you, Mr De Klerk.

Norway lifts curbs

OSLO. — Norway lifted its trade sanctions against South Africa yesterday because of progress in efforts to replace apartheid with democracy, the Foreign Minister said.

Spokesman Ingvar Havnen said trade and investment boycotts were cancelled, although Norway continued to abide by United Nations embargoes on the sale of petroleum and arms to South Africa.

The government announced on February 23 that it would lift the sanctions on March 15 because "political developments in South Africa are now on a positive track".

"Today is simply the day the decision goes into effect. There is no special action required," said Mr Havnen.

Norway has said it will monitor developments in South Africa, and maintained pressure to keep reforms moving toward a multi-

racial, democratic government.

In January Norway restored full diplomatic relations with South Africa and revised laws to make it easier for Norwegian companies to trade with the country after more than 20 years of boycotts.

Neighbouring Sweden has maintained most of its trade sanctions against South Africa, but has begun making exceptions for individual companies. — Sapa-AP.

Protection for New York Post

NEW YORK. — The New York Post, America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper, filed for bankruptcy protection yesterday, a bankruptcy court clerk said.

The financially strapped paper was awarded to real estate developer Abraham Hirschfeld by a bankruptcy court judge on Friday.

But Mr Hirschfeld immediately fired the paper's editor and started issuing layoff notices to other staff members, prompting a revolt by the editorial staff.

It was not immediately clear who filed on behalf of the Post. Mr Hirschfeld has operating authority over the paper, but has not completed the deal to purchase it.

The paper was being sold by Peter Kalikow, a property developer who is in personal bankruptcy protection.

The paper did not ap-

pear yesterday and a court hearing was scheduled for later in the day. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC inquest postponed

Court Reporter

AN inquiry into the death of ANC youth section leader, Mr Vuyani Mabaxa (23), was yesterday rescheduled to July 15 at the request of the representative for the family.

Mr Mabaxa died on October 13, 1991.

The cause of death is believed to have been multiple gunshot wounds.

He was fatally wounded in Zone 6, Diepkloof.

Aussie to be republic by 2001, says Keating

SYDNEY. — Prime Minister Paul Keating, fresh from a general election victory, said yesterday that Australians will have a republic with a new flag by 2001.

A referendum on the change could be held in three years to let Australians become "masters of their own destiny", he said.

The government wants a "Federal Republic of Australia", Queen Elizabeth II replaced with an Australian as head of state and Britain's Union Jack removed from its flag.

Mr Keating spoke at his first news conference since his 10-year-old Labour government defied opinion polls on Saturday

by winning an historic fifth consecutive term.

The year 2001 marks the centenary of the federation of Australia's six states which began as collection of British colonies after White settlement two centuries ago.

Although Australia, with a population of 17.8

million, is an independent nation, it has kept the reigning British monarch as head of state, represented here by an appointed Governor-General.

Mr Keating argues this should end now Britain is part of the European Community and Australia is seeking greater ties with Asian neighbours to its north.

Mr Keating denied the change will strain relations with Britain.

In May, Parliament is expected to pass laws requiring new citizens to swear allegiance to Australia rather than the Queen. — Sapa-AP.

Ready for meeting

INKATHA president
Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the
KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly yesterday he was
prepared to meet ANC leader
Nelson Mandela without any
preconditions.

Bop not a spoiler, but won't 'go in blind'

MMABATHO. — Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday the homeland did not want to be a "spoiler" in negotiations, but was not willing to go blindly into a constitution which would be determined after elections.

Speaking at a conference in Mmabatho, he said the South African Government and the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance was asking Bophuthatswana to give up its hard-won independence and everything it had sacrificed over the past 15 years in exchange for "something they cannot

even define".

"They want us to blindly buy into a situation where the boundaries and powers of regional states — and the new constitution — will be decided after the elections," Mr Mangope said.

"This means that those in the majority after the elections would have the power to influence these critical decisions to suit themselves."

He said Bophuthatswana believed in deciding critical matters before an election so that people could make an informed decision. Forcing people in a particular direction was a

non-starter.

Political decisions taken in the next few months would be judged by history, and Bophuthatswana had no desire to be found wanting.

"By the same token, we do not want to be seen to have been the negative spoilers. For this reason we are tempering our determination not to be pushed around with a responsible attitude to remain open-minded," he said.

Mr Mangope said fundamental beliefs and principles of members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) were non-negotiable.

UN body's concern at freedom in homelands

POLITICAL freedom in homelands is a key concern of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa), according to a report made to the UN Secretary-General last week. a Unomsa spokesman said yesterday.

Unomsa head Angela

King on Saturday returned to South Africa after a two-week visit to New York to report to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and senior Security Council officials on political freedom and the "global situation of South Africa", said Unomsa spokesman

Unomsa had visited all homelands, urging the South African Government to promote free political activity and to remove any hinderances to political freedom for free and fair elections, he said.

Unomsa was likely to remain in South Africa for some time, because its period of presence was open-ended in terms of Security Council Resolution 772.

However, it was possible its mandate would be amended as agreement was reached on a transitional authority. — Sapa.

Committee tells of plan to put pressure on govt

A RANGE of political and educational organisations are to campaign to make government join a national forum in a bid to rescue the beleaguered education sector, National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) chairman James Maseko said yesterday.

Maseko said much of the chaos in schooling was brought about by government's industrial restructuring of education. Despite many appeals to the state for negotiations on education, there was still no clear vision of the way ahead.

And the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) and the Azanian Students' Movement announced yesterday they would step up their opposition to paying the matric exam registration fees. The protests, planned for

KATHRYN STRACHAN

Johannesburg and Cape Town, would also target Parliament with marches and sleep-ins on March 24.

But discussions about establishment of a national education forum have faltered because of the state's fear that such a forum would detract from its authority. While it welcomed an educational forum with an advisory or consultative role, government sources said, it did not want to be involved in a structure which had the power to implement its decisions — as envisaged by the NECC.

The NECC's decision to launch a strategy to put pressure on government to take part has also been stalled by the PAC's reluctance to negotiate with the state. But Maseko said the PAC announced at a meeting last week it had

changed its position — and the campaign could now begin.

In the meantime, the NECC has released reports on a two-year investigation of policy which will serve as the basis for its position when negotiations finally get off the ground.

Speaking at the launch of the NECC reports, Maseko said it was disappointing that while there were forums on so many issues — such as housing, electricity and local government — the sector which faced the greatest crisis and was most in need of negotiated solutions, had been disregarded.

He said that after the 13 reports had been debated widely over the next four months, a final policy document for rejuvenating the educational system would be adopted.

Pik to see UN chief

SOUTH African Foreign Minister Pik Botha will meet United Nations secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in New York this week to discuss accusations that South Africa is supplying Unita with logistical support.

Mr Botha leaves Johannesburg for the USA tonight. Foreign Affairs

spokesman, Awie Marais, said.

"Regional issues" pertaining to Southern Africa and the weekend allegations by Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos against the South African Government would be discussed, he added.

Mr Botha's trip to the United States was arranged over a month ago

and, topping his agenda, would be a meeting with Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

He also planned to meet American legislators before returning to South Africa on Saturday, Mr Marais said.

In a letter to Mr Boutros-Ghali, President Dos Santos condemned what he called South Africa's "logistic support" to

Unita rebels battling his government.

He specifically attacked the Pretoria-based air freight company, Wonder Air, which, he claimed, had been making nightly deliveries of weapons, food and medicine to Unita forces.

The letter also claimed Wonder Air's director, Gert de Klerk, had "very close personal connections" to Mr Botha and former South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Foreign Affairs revealed on Friday that it had warned several air operators, including Mr De Klerk, that they could face investigation if they disguised the destination of their flights abroad.

Mr De Klerk denied that his firm had been flying supplies to Unita. — Sapa.

NECC threatens action on education changes

THE National Education Co-ordinating Committee will push for intensified but unspecified action if the South African Government continues its "unilateral restructuring" of education, it was dis-

closed yesterday.

NECC general secretary James Maseko said in Johannesburg his committee was pushing for an early education forum which would include as many organisations and

parties as possible.

He was speaking at the release of National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) research reports each covering a sector of education.

Mr Maseko said actions taken the NECC and its affiliate organisations would first be discussed with other organisations which were against restructuring.

He declined to comment on the nature of the actions being considered.

Mr Maseko said the NEPI reports — an NECC project between December, 1990 and August, 1992 — had already strengthened and empowered the movement to enter the education policy debate with confidence.

He said the reports covered principal sectors of the education system such as adult basic education, adult education, curricula, early childhood education, education planning, systems and structure, and governance and administration. — Sapa.

Man killed as Bop police fire on demos

A MAN was killed when Bophuthatswana police used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse protesters outside the Maboloka police station near Brits yesterday.

A spokesman for the demonstrators claimed four people were also seriously injured during the protest against school tuition fees and alleged police harassment.

The marchers had presented a memorandum to local station commander Capt P Dibetla, and although they were given two minutes to disperse, police opened fire before the protesters were able to depart, the spokesman claimed.

Bophuthatswana police confirmed in a statement that a 30-year-old man had died after being hit by a teargas cannister, but denied there had been any serious injuries.

"A villager said the trouble started at 4 am on Monday when "comrades" made door-to-door housecalls, ordering people to take part in a march on tribal offices," police said in a statement.

"Transport services and school classes came to a halt when the comrades stopped buses and taxis and forced commuters and pupils to take part in the march," the police said. — Sapa.

Views differ over system for waste

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE ANC and the CSIR are at loggerheads over an integrated waste system for SA, says an Environment Affairs Department report.

The report "Hazardous waste in SA: Summary of responses" says the mining and waste industries also disagree on most principles and approaches.

The CSIR report into the handling, treatment and disposal of waste was published by the department in response to the 1992 President's Council recommendations on environmental management systems.

The two most contentious recommendations were the "polluter pays" principle, by which polluters were held responsible for clean-up costs whether pollution occurred through intent or negligence, and the "cradle to grave" principle which involved tracking waste from the generation site to final disposal.

The latter holds landowners and developers responsible in perpetuity for pollution of properties.

The ANC welcomed the "polluter pays" principle as the basis for future legislation. But mining and industry respondents pointed out the difficulty in determining guilt and negligence. The Chamber of Mines also disputed the "cradle to grave" principle's effectiveness and recommended that the Minerals Act provisions for closure certificates should be more rigorously applied.

Respondents said a single regulatory authority would be the best approach to integrated waste management, but did not agree on the balance between self-regulation and government intervention.

The ANC has favoured strong statutory regulations along the lines of the CSIR's recommendations. The Chamber of Mines, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Industrial Environmental Forum preferred a self-regulatory system driven by industry and underpinned by minimal legislation. Government should be restricted to a monitoring role, the forum said.

Govt must act on jobs, crime and poverty: DP

Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN. — The government must act to create jobs, to combat crime and to alleviate the plight of the poor, if tomorrow's national Budget is to promote economic confidence, says Mr Ken Andrew, Democratic Party spokesman on finance.

The single largest economic cause of instability in the country was high unemployment, Mr Andrew told a pre-budget media conference yesterday.

It was therefore urgently necessary for tomorrow's Budget to give priority to job creation. The DP believed that at least R2 billion should be set aside in the Budget for job creation programmes.

"Unemployment must be vigorously and imaginatively tackled. Community programmes should be negotiated which provide for job creation or essential capital works such as schools, houses, clinics, roads and electrification."

Direct relief to non-governmental organisations to alleviate the suffering of those who lived in poverty and starvation should be increased this year to R500 million.

Old age pensions

should be equalised for all. The present means test was more stringent for other races than for Whites, and unless it was made equal for all, this money would not reach the poorest sections of the community.

Also essential for creating greater internal stability was a higher priority for crime prevention. The DP believed an additional R800 million should be voted this year to protect and provide security for all South Africans.

"Policemen on the beat, nurses in the wards and teachers in the schools, these are the people one must not touch."

There were also wastrels in a host of duplicated departments, and

this is where the cuts must take place."

Salaries of civil servants accounted for about 35 percent of total government expenditure.

NP set for new image, in new SA

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is considering changing some of its colours and symbols to give it wider appeal in an election next year.

Having dropped its archaic "kruithoring" (gunpowder horn) symbol in the early '80s, the party is now also looking at its official colours and its present symbol: an "NP" with an arrow pointing upwards.

Opinion polls and research are being carried out to find ways for the party to gain support among black voters.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the party's new information and management committee, has confirmed that the party is looking at these matters.

According to some Nationalist MPs, the party will try to adapt and modernise its "corporate image" to fit in with the realities of a new South Africa.

Research has shown that the NP colours of orange, white and blue are not popular colours in Africa. It has also been found that animal symbols are popular in Africa.

Black cultural figures will be consulted in the process and one Nationalist MP did not rule out the possibility that sangomas (traditional medicine men) might also be consulted.

A change of name for the party is also being discussed, but there is resistance to this in the party.

Call to resolve debate on regions

By Patrick Laurence

Resolution of the debate over regions is essential to achievement of a national accord, according to experts assembled by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM).

The team, whose report was released yesterday, notes that there is virtual unanimity among key political players on the need for regions and regional government.

There are, however, different approaches on how and when boundaries should be drawn, by whom and on what criteria, as well as on the division of power between central and regional government.

The team, which was

led by businessman Clive Menell and which held discussions with the main political organisations, sought to identify criteria for the demarcation of regional boundaries and powers, rather than prescribe what the answers should be.

It did, however, take a stand on one issue: it came out in favour of a second legislative chamber — where regional interests would be represented — in the debate over whether South Africa's future constitution should have one or two chambers.

The report gives several reasons for its preference for a second chamber: it would involve regions in the leg-

islative process by giving them a role in forming national policy, and it would provide a check on the power of the lower Houses and thus ensure that laws had increased legitimacy and broader acceptability.

The report suggests that these criteria should be used to demarcate boundaries: economic viability; geographic coherence (they should not be too big or too small); administrative capacity; socio-cultural elements (ethnicity should not be overstressed but cannot be ignored); and historical boundaries.

The report advises in favour of between seven and 10 regions in a new South Africa.

Bilateral talks seek consensus

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In a further step in the negotiations process, a new round of bilateral meetings begins this week when the ANC and Government continue their ongoing constitutional discussions on Friday.

The Government and IFP are expected to resume their talks soon, but no date has yet been finalised.

The ANC-Government talks are aimed at achieving broad consensus on the transition. However, fundamental differences on regionalism and power-sharing remain between the two groups.

Friday's talks are expected to focus on regionalism, a government of national unity and legislation for a transitional executive council.

A crucial ANC conference on regionalism, where its draft document on regionalism will be discussed, takes place in

Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday. It will be attended by the organisation's 14 regions, which have proposed amendments to the draft document.

ANC negotiators said the draft document on regionalism had provided important impetus to ANC-Government talks and contributed to the breakthrough on a government of national unity.

ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha yesterday said no radical shifts from the draft document are expected. One of the areas of debate will be the number of regions in a new South Africa.

The draft document did not specify the number of proposed regions.

Botha said that once the document had been finalised, it would be presented to a proposed delimitation commission and a constituent assembly.

Negotiators indicated after the multiparty planning conference, held on March 5 and 6,

that bilateral discussions had become an integral part of the negotiations process.

They said the last round of bilateral meetings had contributed significantly to the success of the planning conference.

In another development, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — begins a two-day meeting in Pretoria today.

Cosag spokesman Rowan Cronje said the meeting would finalise positions and strategies for the multiparty conference on April 1 and 2.

Cronje denied that a rift had developed between the CP and other Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever," he said.

Cronje made the statement after what he termed Cosag's "most successful meeting yet" held at the weekend in Ciskei.

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A delay we can't afford

THERE is an obvious inconsistency in Nelson Mandela's call on his followers to engage Inkatha members in peace talks. The problem is this: if leaders can't agree to meet, why should they expect ordinary supporters to seek rapprochement with their rivals?

Mandela makes a valid point when he argues that a further meeting between himself and Chief Buthelezi might be worthless — and perhaps downright dangerous — if it is not preceded by exhaustive negotiations involving the two sides. Bluntly put, the summit itself should be the public affirmation of practical agreements already secured; it is more important for its symbolism than its on-day content.

But top negotiators from the ANC and the IFP have had plenty of time to do such groundwork, and it is now fair to ask whether one side — or both — is purposely stalling while the Natal death toll continues to climb. We do not discount the possibility that sinister elements bent on wrecking negotiations are fuelling the awful violence in Natal, and that each new massacre bedevils peace talks.

But this merely makes the top-level meeting even more urgent. The leaders must recognise this, and ignore the warcries of those in their organisations who would like to settle matters on the battlefield rather than at the conference table.

It is unnatural that two leaders of the stature of Mandela and Buthelezi — leaders who will certainly feature prominently in any future dispensation — should not be on speaking terms. They should be meeting regularly, irrespective of their political differences. The current, protracted delay is unacceptable, and it has the additional effect of lending to their coming-together an apocalyptic quality which is entirely unnecessary.

It has proved possible to get multiparty talks under way again very quickly; it is inexcusable that the negotiators of the ANC and IFP cannot organize what is, after all, a much simpler indaba.