

Constitutional talks to focus on federalism

MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

KEMPTON PARK: Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators have convinced other delegations at the multi-party talks to decide before anything else whether South Africa should have a unitary or federal constitution.

This now becomes the top item on the constitutional agenda.

This was something of a coup for the IFP, and it had the full blessing of African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

In the same spirit of accommodation, Conservative Party negotiator Tom Langley got the negotiating forum to agree to place self-determination on the list of issues to be debated. Benny Alexander persuaded the forum to agree to debate the Pan Africanist Congress version of a constitutional assembly.

Delegates did not go into the details of the federal versus unitary debate yesterday — they just agreed that when the negotiation council meets on April 15 this will be the first constitutional point they start off with.

They agreed that a sub-committee comprising Mac Maharaj of the ANC, Fanie van der Merwe of the Department of Constitutional Development and Ben Ngubane, leader of the KwaZulu Government team, would go through the reports of the five working groups of Co-

desa and prepare a consolidated document.

Nothing in the consolidated report would be binding.

Meanwhile, political leaders from the 26 parties, organisations and governments are jointly to try to come up with ways to end the political violence sweeping the country.

The debate on political violence broke no new ground. If anything it was yet another restatement of all the bellicose old allegations of private armies and hit squads.

There was a general agreement among observers that the only purpose of holding the debate was to give the Government and National Party a chance to appear tough in front of their supporters. However, delegates did commit themselves to effective joint action "leading to the eradication of violence and the attainment of peace in our country as soon as possible".

They mandated the negotiation council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms were required to resolve the issues surrounding violence "as a matter of national priority".

The negotiating council will report back to the next meeting of the negotiation forum due to meet at the end of April.

The multi-party
laugh-in: Page 3

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

02-04-93

No, Mr De Beer

IT would be nice to think that Mr Sam de Beer, Minister of Education and Training, has averted mass action, including the occupation of White schools, by cutting Black Matric exam fees by a third.

Mr De Beer, announcing his decision, said: "It is clear there are people who are willing to sacrifice the education of children for political purposes."

Using political education for political ends "is the worst form of extortion and intimidation. "It is understandable that the government will not be intimidated and cannot accede to these demands."

Well, Mr De Beer, it seems you have been intimidated.

Why else cut Matric fees by a third when all along you refused to do so?

It was, in fact, only when the Southern Transvaal region of the National Education Coordinating Committee threatened to occupy White schools and stage pickets, demonstrations and marches if the government it did not respond to its demands by yesterday that you acted.

A sign of weakness? It seems so.

But in any case the NECC was not asking for a third off the fees. It demanded the suspension of the fees.

And it also demanded the cessation of unilateral restructuring of the education system; the reopening of negotiations on teachers' salaries; the establishment of a national negotiating forum on education; the immediate dismantling of the DET and other own affairs education departments; and a stop to the unilateral closing of schools and education colleges.

So, Mr De Beer, the retreat on Matric fees was to no avail.

The NECC said in a statement yesterday: "If the government do not meet our demands, the NECC will initiate a campaign to force them to see reason".

It called on "the people of our country and the international community to support our demands for the cessation of unilateral restructuring and the establishment of a negotiation forum".

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation called on all Black students to continue to boycott payments of exam fees until the "regime" met their demands.

"We will continue organising our students throughout the country against exam fees," a spokesman said.

NECC regional secretary, Mr Amon Msane, said the plan to organise marches, pickets and sit-ins at White schools would be implemented on April 20 when pupils returned from the Easter holidays.

As we predicted, there is a Right-wing backlash, with the Conservative Party warning that NECC action against White schools would be like a spark in a powderkeg.

It demanded that, in view of the one-third cut in Black Matric fees, the school fees of Whites be subsidised by at least one-third.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party warned the NECC to keep its hands off White education or "face the full force of White action".

Reflecting the concern of White parents, the Federation of Parents' Associations of South Africa said its members should not hesitate to take action to prevent the disruption of White education.

Mr De Beer cancelled a meeting with the NECC.

If this meant he did not want to hear the NECC's demands, it was foolish.

If it was to show that — other than on Matric fees — he wasn't going to bow under pressure, it was futile, since the demands will have to be addressed if the Black education crisis is not to continue.

So you see, Mr De Beer, you achieved nothing.

On the contrary, by partly giving in, you have encouraged the NECC and its supporting organisations to press you harder to meet their demands.

It all goes to show that it doesn't pay, Mr De Beer, to react under pressure.

Or to make gestures that anyone could tell you in advance would not resolve anything.

PAC leader in court row

By Staff Reporter

A warrant for the arrest of PAC secretary general Benny Alexander for failing to appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday was withdrawn when he appeared later.

Alexander is facing charges of fraud for allegedly possessing a false identity document and driver's licence.

Alexander's attorney Moses Mavundla told the court earlier that Alexander could not attend because he was leading the PAC

02-04-93
negotiating team at the multi-party negotiations in Kempton Park.

The court dismissed the reason and issued a warrant for his arrest.

Telephoned with the court's decision, an angry Alexander stormed in at 2 pm, demanding to know why a warrant for his arrest was issued.

The court withdrew the warrant and ruled that the reason given by Mavundla earlier was acceptable.

The hearing was postponed to June 9.

NEWS New moves towards unity for multiparty negotiations ●

SOWETAN 2/4/93

Moving plea to Gwala

PARLIAMENT on Wednesday heard a moving plea for the Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala to reverse his stated intention to retire from active politics later this year.

Mr Robert Haswell, the ANC-aligned Independent Member of Parliament, on Wednesday evening told a Joint Session that Parliament would be the loser if Gwala was never heard in the chamber.

Haswell said: "After 50 years in the struggle, the Lion of the Natal Midlands

■ Don't leave politics - MP:

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

"Baba Gwala, you have the ability, reserved for great orators, to make people sad and happy, to cry and laugh loudly, all in the same speech. Turning to the Speaker, Haswell said: "I am not an Imbongi but it will be tragic if the new Parliament never gets to hear Harry Gwala."

16/1/11

Daily news 02-04-93

Holomisa warned

Crisis seems largely defused

Daily News Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The crisis in Transkeian-South African relations was largely defused yesterday when Transkei's military leader, Bantu Holomisa, agreed that the Goldstone Commission could play a part in investigating allegations of Apla military activities in the homeland.

After a "straight-talking" two-hour meeting in which President de Klerk gave Major-General Holomisa an extraordinary dressing down, a compromise seems to be on the cards.

President de Klerk warned the general that the moment of truth had arrived in dealing with violence.

The Government would not hesitate to take "appropriate action" when its citizens were threatened.

The Transkeian leader announced to the media afterwards that he had decided to appoint Transkei's Chief Justice to probe the Apla allegations.

But, in an important concession, General Holomisa — who has so far flatly refused to acknowledge the Goldstone Commission — said the Chief Justice would work with other structures, including the Goldstone Commission.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha welcomed the move as "very hopeful" although he indicated that in the meeting General Holomisa had not spelt out his readiness to co-operate with the commission.

The formal response will soon be delivered in a diplomatic note to President de Klerk.

He was more definite than the Government about the outcome of the meeting. He told journalists afterwards that complete agreement had been reached and the crisis had been defused.

Mr Botha said at a media briefing last night that the tight security noose around Transkei would not be loosened until the Transkeian government had been seen to "respond constructively" to the Goldstone Commission charges.

There were strong indications last night that the ANC had brokered the compromise.

Mr Botha did not deny this, but would say only that "interlocutors" who had contact with both sides, had played a part.

Daily News 02-04-93

Lost generation

FROM as far back as Soweto '76 when the mantra of 'liberation before education' seduced thousands of black pupils into the political struggle, almost two generations have grown up psychologically and physically brutalised by the civil violence in their communities. In addition, curtailed schooling has stunted their intellectual growth, giving them little hope of finding good jobs. It is a dismal scenario that contributes to the high crime rate.

ANC-aligned MP Pierre Cronje, speaking in Parliament this week, has suggested that all is not lost for the lost generation. He proposed a major programme of rehabilitation which would involve re-building destroyed homes and addressing the question of the rehabilitation of disturbed young people who have never known a carefree childhood. His idea of the formation of a national peace corps which could absorb as many as 10 000 youths is as practical as it is compassionate. This could bring stability to these young people and teach the necessary skills to enable them to take part in public works programmes, and, of course, acquire jobs. It's a great idea. Someone should take it up.

Daily news 02-03-93

HoD MP Michael Abraham joins IFP

Political Reporter

A HOUSE of Delegates Member of Parliament, the Rev Michael Abraham, has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party, yielding a fifth MP to the IFP in the political musical chairs being played out in the Indian chamber.

Mr Abraham said yesterday that he has decided to join the IFP because "it is the only political party that presents a genuine and realistic solution to the complex problems of our country".

Barely four months ago, Mr Abraham had sung similar praises of the National Party when he left the Democratic Party to join the NP.

Despite Mr Abraham's insistence at the time that he had resigned from the DP, the chairman of the DP's Natal coastal region, Mike Ellis, said his resignation was prompted by a notice served on him by the DP hierarchy informing Mr Abraham that he was to be suspended.

Mr Ellis yesterday described Mr Abraham as "a rolling stone" and said he was surprised that the IFP had accepted him as a member.

Talks end on optimistic note: Govt, ANC pleased

CITIZEN 2-04-93

THE multi-party negotiation forum ended its scheduled two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, in one day yesterday on a note of optimism.

There was no doubt the negotiation process was still within its timetable after the meeting, Minister of Constitutional Development and Government chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said last night.

He told a news conference that the agenda for future constitutional discussions had basically been drafted.

"We have achieved what we wanted to at this stage."

Discussions would now turn to addressing differences on constitutional matters to arrive at compromises.

But the issue of violence should be addressed. "There is no way that negotiations can flourish under the current climate

of violence in the country," Mr Meyer said.

National Party negotiator, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises said he was delighted with the progress but there were "still hard nuts to crack".

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said the African National Congress' proposals on joint control of the security forces would amount to control of the security forces, and that he was not in the market for this.

It was the duty of the government of the day to control the security forces. He would be prepared, however, to have a new government control the security forces.

Mr Kriel said he shared in the optimism expressed after the session, but the level of violence should be brought down before free and fair elections could be held.

The African National Congress said South Africa was firmly on the path towards a new constitu-

tional dispensation.

"We in the ANC can safely say the negotiations process is firmly under way. The process is now

no longer about procedures, but now about more substantive issues

which will lead to a new constitution," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said.

"We believe we can keep to the time-frames we first set out when we began the process in earnest. We are pleased and appreciative of the way in

which this meeting was conducted. We further believe that all matters tabled today were handled in a constructive manner."

Mr Ramaphosa said the resolution on the emotive issue of violence in particular had enabled all participants to approach the problem in a non-partisan way.

"The question of violence can now be handled on a collective basis instead of just the ANC and the government."

The ANC would still hold meetings with the government to deal with various other problems, but the organisation would make proposals on the ending of violence available to the multi-party forum.

The ANC envisaged two constitutions: One an

interim constitution to govern the country during the transitional phase, and the second a final document emerging from an elected constitution-making body.

The multi-party negotiation forum had proved itself not to be a rubber stamp. Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general, Mr Bennie Alexander, said.

The forum had reviewed the work of its two lower structures, the council and the planning

committee; it had identified the issues which now needed discussion; and it had planned ahead.

The "explosive" issue of the day, the government's threat to drive home the issue of violence and confront the Pan Africanist Congress and Transkei for failing to sign the National Peace Accord, fizzled out in a debate which became almost clubby with goodwill and accommodation.

An open assault on liberation movements by Conservative Party MP, Mr Schalk Pienaar, forced chairman, Dr De Villiers, to pull him up for spoiling the unprovoca-

tive style prevailing.

Dr De Villiers was applauded and, after two or more attempts, Mr Pienaar was silenced.

The issue of violence came on the agenda after the formal adoption of a new four-tier process in which only South Africans will participate.

The structure will consist of:

- A plenary of 260 delegates to adopt agreements at leadership level;

- A forum of three delegates and three advisers a party, which will instruct and supervise the work of a council consisting of two delegates and two advisers and a 1st man planning committee assisted by an advisory technical committee.

16/1/93

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FROM PAGE 1

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FW 'must save what is left of Transnet'

THE State President had to take steps to save what was left of Transnet, which was losing R1 billion annually despite huge retrenchments and other cost-cutting measures, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading debate on the International Air Services Bill, he said Transnet should be taken over by the Minister of Transport, Dr Piet Welgemoed.

"South Africa's economic future is to a significant extent dependent on an effective and well-managed Transnet, and Piet is the man for the job."

Serious questions arose about the competence of Transnet management as to whether the staff

blood-letting, attrition of transport infrastructure and losses could be allowed to continue.

He agreed with the CP that it was ridiculous to split the transport portfolio between the Ministries of Private Enterprise and Transport, with transport policy being in the hands of one, and the executive in the hands of the other.

The situation of the Transnet group — comprising SAA and the commercialised transport bodies — was a matter of major public concern.

It was a massive concern with fixed assets of R35 billion — twice the size of Anglo American — a R11 billion turnover and local and foreign stocks worth R12 billion.

But despite major cost-

cutting measures, including the biggest retrenchments in the country's history, its annual losses had increased to an estimated R1 billion.

Dr Welgemoed was a transport expert who had demonstrated the ability to quickly assess and correct out of line situations, both in his department and commercialised operations.

Mr Carlisle said South African Airways should not be prejudiced through favouritism associated with the new, liberalised aviation policy.

SAA was the only aviation undertaking with the capacity to serve both tourist and infrastructural needs.

"What we do not need in South Africa is a rigged competition which leads to an air transport wasteland."

The DP insisted that all matters relating to the new aviation policy should be made public. The status of the Directorate of Civil Aviation and its commissioner should be upgraded.

People with ability and integrity should be appointed to the DCA and International Air Services Council, which would engender the confidence of the public as well as the aviation, travel and tourism industries.

IFP now has five MPs

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Inkatha Freedom Party membership in Parliament increased to five yesterday with the defection from the National Party of the Rev Michael Abraham, MP for Tongaat, in the House of Delegates.

There have been three defections from the National Party, one from the Democratic Party and one from Solidarity since February.

The former NP members are Mr Jurie Mentz

(Vryheid), Mr Hennie Bekker (Jeppe) and Mr Abraham, with Mr Mike Tarr (Pietermaritzburg North) formerly of the DP, and Mr Mahomed Cassim (nominated MP), formerly of Solidarity.

Mr Abraham said yesterday he believed the IFP was the only political party that presented a genuine and realistic solution to South Africa's complex problems.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP

leader, stood out as the most consistent advocate of the federal constitutional model.

"We in Natal believe that we will have a very strong regional government under the leadership of Dr Buthelezi, and therefore we will work together to realise this objective."

The defection of Mr Abraham also brings about a slight shift of balance in the House of Delegates, where the NP had 23 of the 45 members.

ANC are carping critics

I GROW impatient with the ANC's pettiness and naivety.

Can anyone remember the organisation's spokespersons ever giving praise or credit to its opposition for any action, or generosity, or courage shown?

It condemns with faint praise, and then the "but"; and here comes the petty carping criticism. It is such a pity that the ANC cannot show equivalent generosity, courage and openness. The organisation should be known as the ANCC (African National Carping Critics).

As regards naivety, do they really think that violence will decrease or cease once there is a transitional government?

The people perpetrating the violence today will not stop killing because they enjoy it. It gives them a feeling of power to wield an AK-47 and have the life or death of others in their hands.

After all, they chose liberation before education, and now the AK-47 is all they have.

GRANNY

Boksburg

They're afraid of DP

THE Conservative Party should stop being afraid of its fellow South Africans, Mr Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point) said in a recent debate in Parliament.

One thing is certain — most South Africans are afraid of the Democratic Party.

When a few Democrat-

ic Party candidates obtained seats in the last election, they went over to the ANC. What party will they pretend to stand for in the next election?

Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens) said: "Geographic separation of different ethnic groups often accentuated rather than defused conflict."

That statement is as far from the truth as State President De Klerk's concept of the new South Africa.

Switzerland's 22 self-governing cantons, based on self-determination, have brought peace to that country for more than a century.

C P SUPPORTER

Bedfordview

Back NP to beat ANC

ALL right-thinking South Africans, irrespective of nationality, colour or creed, should make a final decision — and the right one — whom they will vote for when the historic all-races elections take place.

Fellow South Africans must remember any wrong decision and any wrong vote cannot be rectified afterwards.

All parties are gearing themselves to compete for the biggest jackpot in the country's history — to become the ruling party.

Already the ANC brags it would emerge from the elections as "the largest

political force in the country". The question is, is it not shooting itself in the foot long before the hunt has begun?

Despite the unfounded and unproved allegations it has levelled against the NP in an attempt to discredit it in the eyes of the world, the ANC forgets, it, too, has a bad track record.

One needs only to read the report of the Douglas Commission to realise the types of brutality top ANC officials were cap-

able of while they manned the camps of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in Angola.

If you want to save South Africa from the ANC and its ally, the South African Communist Party, I call on all right-thinking South Africans to group together in a united force irrespective of your political affiliations.

With the NP the biggest and strongest party in the country, it would be advisable to support it rather than split the vote if there is any hope of defeating the ANC at the polls.

None of the other smaller parties like the CP and DP could ever beat the ANC in an election in a hundred years, even if they combined.

I call on the Coloured community not to be deceived by the likes of Boesak and his ilk who are making a last-minute effort to lure them into supporting the ANC.

BENITO PEDRO
PHILLIPS MP

Agenda for talks agreed on

The Star

02-04-93

A step closer to democracy

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

South Africa moved a step closer to becoming a democracy when the multi-party negotiating forum agreed yesterday on an agenda for the real negotiations.

Observers and some of the participants were taken by surprise when the scheduled two-day meeting completed its business just before 6 pm, with Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander declaring: "Now we can begin the real negotiations".

After the meeting — which started behind schedule at 10.15 am at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park — there was a general sense of relief that the negotiating forum had gone off without any major hitches.

The forum moved swiftly through its agenda, potential hiccups having been avoided with the discussions on political violence and the transition process having been structured by draft resolutions. The resolutions were adopted with minor amendments.

Tight chairing of the meeting made it difficult for participants to raise issues outside the parameters set by the resolutions.

Substantial progress was made with the forum identifying several constitutional issues as well as causes of political violence which are to be referred to the smaller negotiating council.

A name for the new negotiating structure was also referred to the planning committee and the negotiating council. Ten proposed names are still on the table and the planning committee could not reach consensus on the issue at a meeting on Wednesday night.

The Star 02-04-93
WINDHOEK — A woman who tortured her five-year-old step-daughter to death over nine months by beating and starving her and forcing near-boiling water into her mouth and anus was on Wednesday convicted of murder by Windhoek's High Court.

Local news reports said Meriam Jeremia (28) had forced the child with hot porridge and burnt her with coals and burning wood on her back, hands and between her legs. She died on November 4 1991.

The court heard she was beaten with sticks, fed inferior food mixed with urine, and

Woman beat, starved, burnt girl (5) to death

made to sleep on the ground covered only by an overall.

A doctor who performed the post mortem said he had found multiple bruises, old scars and septic wounds. The cause of death was given as battering, sepsis and kwashiorkor, usually caused by malnutrition.

The child had weighed only 13 kg at death, 7 kg below the average for her age.

Jeremia pleaded guilty to the murder, saying she had tortured the child for nine months with intent to kill her. She said, however, that this was on the instructions of the child's father who had offered her money.

Another report said she was asked to kill the child in exchange for marriage.

A 10-year-old boy from the deceased's village testified that

he saw the accused boil water before using an enema pump to force it into the child's mouth and anus while she shouted: "Mummy, you're burning me."

The judge found that the State had proved beyond reasonable doubt that Jeremia had direct intention to kill the child.

Despite a warning that she could be sentenced to life in jail, Jeremia smiled when she told the court she had nothing further to say.

The case was adjourned to yesterday for a decision whether to send Jeremia to Bloemfontein's Oranje Hospital for observation. — Sapa.

Leaders to meet as Kei tensions mount

The Star 02-04-93
By Helen Grange
and Peter Fabricius

As traffic and tensions built up on Transkei's border after yesterday's South African clampdown, President de Klerk and Major-General Bantu Holomisa agreed to meet late yesterday in a bid to defuse the situation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He expressed concern that companies which supplied services to Transkei would eventually refuse to enter the homeland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Angry PAC chief in court after warrant

By Sandra Lieberum

A VERY annoyed Mr Bennie Alexander, general secretary of the PAC and a member of the PAC negotiating team at the multi-party forum in Kempton Park, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after lunch yesterday on his own initiative after a warrant for his arrest had been authorised earlier in

the day.

About two weeks ago a summons was personally served on Mr Alexander, 38, to appear in court yesterday on charges arising from an incident last November after he was stopped by traffic officers.

The charges of fraud, forgery and alleged traffic offence, and an alleged contravention of the Road Traffic Act relate to an alleged forged identity book and driver's licence which were produced

Early yesterday morning the case was called before Mr C Benade and a warrant was authorised when Mr Alexander was not present.

Some hours later his legal representative, Mr N M Mavundla, who had been delayed because of heavy traffic, arrived at the Magistrate's Court and requested that the warrant be held over.

He said Mr Alexander was involved in the multi-party talks and was therefore not present.

The prosecutor, Mrs N Erasmus, objected strongly, saying that there had been sufficient time for a request for the matter to be held over to another date, but nothing had been done since the summons was served two weeks ago.

Should she have been approached she would have "with pleasure" arranged that the matter proceed on another date.

She urged the court not to accept this last-minute excuse, since there had been ample time to make other arrangements.

The magistrate said that the warrant of arrest would be upheld and Mr Mavundla thereafter left the building and contacted Mr Alexander.

Shortly after the lunch adjournment Mr Alexander, casually dressed in an orange and green outfit, appeared in court, obviously very annoyed that he had to leave the discussions.

The matter was postponed to June 9 in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, and Mr Alexander left accompanied by Mr Mavundla.

• There are a number of outstanding warrants of arrest for Mr Alexander on unrelated traffic charges.



Mr BENNY ALEXANDER, photographed at the resumption of the multi-party forum in Kempton Park yesterday, where a warrant was issued for his arrest.

R3 000 fine paid for wanted APLA man

Court Reporter

A FINE of R3 000 was paid at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court building yesterday on behalf of Mr Abram Magagula, a senior member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), for whom the Attorney-General of the Transvaal has authorised a warrant of arrest for failing to appear before a committee of the Goldstone Commission.

The fine arose from an appeal noted against a two-year jail sentence imposed on Mr Maga-

gula in Vereeniging on September 14 last year for permission of a fire-arm and ammunition.

On appeal the conviction was confirmed but the sentence was altered to R3 000 or one year's imprisonment.

The R3 000 was paid yesterday on behalf of Mr Magagula (also known as "Gags").

According to a police statement Mr Magagula was the national co-ordinator of the APLA task force and was believed to be in the Witwatersrand area.

A warrant was also

authorised on the same grounds, of failing to appear before the committee on January 29, in respect of Mr Simon Ngcime, who according to the police statement was the chief of APLA in the Western Cape.

It was ordered that they be prosecuted on a charge of contravening the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act.

The men were summonsed to appear before the committee and the matter was referred for investigation after they failed to comply.

The Star 02-04-93

Switch, slide, duck and dive – it's only politics

The Inside Track



□ □ □

THAT renowned expert on problem solving, Dr Edward de Bono, is a useful chap to have in South Africa right now. Problems are about the only things we're not short of, so he devoted a day to coaching National Peace Committee members on techniques of conflict resolution.

De Bono is famous for his concept of "lateral thinking". Here, that would probably be translated into sidestepping the issue.

□ □ □

AN immediate problem in shaping the New SA is to get Mangosuthu Buthelezi on track, in line, and generally joining the team.

A longer-term problem will be to keep him going off the rails, oratorically. After he completed his marathon 427-page policy address to the KwaZulu legislature this week – 2½ weeks after starting – there were worried faces among potential future MPs.

"If he makes speeches of that length he could bring the urgent

tasks of rebuilding the nation to paralysis," says one analyst. "Mind you, that could just be his intention."

□ □ □

THE world is full of verbose politicians, and when Maggie Thatcher bestrode the stage at Westminster, only the most courageous of her Ministers would interrupt her harangues in Cabinet.

Media interviewers tackled her with equal trepidation. One London editor got only as far as Question No 1. When she'd finished the monologue, which took up most of the allotted time, she told him she'd enjoyed the interview.

He said: "Prime Minister, it was hardly that. Perhaps we could take your answer to the question and turn it into an editorial page article under your name".

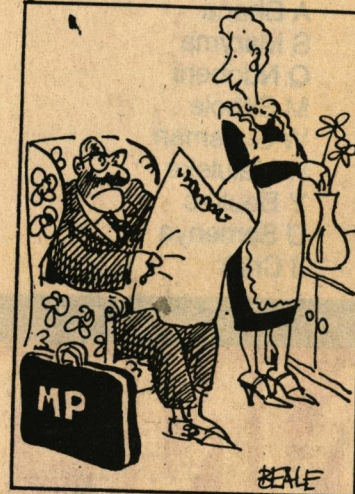
The Iron Lady was not amused.

□ □ □

ONE of the new April 1 Brown Nat Ministers, Jac Rabie, started early with his duties of Population Development. Already on Wednes-

day he'd developed the status of Miss South Africa to Miss World.

His gaffe occurred during a debate with Allan Boesak on the UCT campus. Questioned on current bits of NP "affirmative ac-



"You're just upset because the press hasn't been invading your privacy lately."

tion" in pursuit of coloured votes – such as choosing a coloured Miss NP at a party carnival. Rabie denied any racial bias, pointing to "Amy Kleynhans who has become Miss World".

That didn't convince anyone, but it brought the house down.

● Another darker-hued new Cabinet member, Abe Williams, has acquired a new nickname since accompanying Marike de Klerk to a rather eventful Nat meeting on the Cape west coast.

He's called Abe ("Driving Miss Daisy") Williams.

□ □ □

THE editor of a certain Afrikaans "alternative" weekly, which I deliberately refrain from naming, is renowned for his short fuse.

Sauer is told he had a row the other day with a staff member which ended with her calling him a "tyrant". He then fired her, thus neatly proving her point. □

Hector Sauer

is still alive and well.

The "security" squeeze was put in place, we were told, because of the Goldstone findings on Apla.

How splendid to see Pretoria reacting immediately, decisively, and unquestioningly, to the findings of the eminent judge. Would that it were always so.

Remember Goldstone's recommendations about dangerous weapons and hostels, many moons ago? The judge had to complain publicly about state inaction.

Remember the Goldstone raid on a secret Military Intelligence facility that was up to dirty tricks? Ministers fell over each other in the rush to denounce it.

Consistency? What's that, in a rapidly changing South Africa?

CONSISTENCY? That's a long word in politics. Note, in the current Transkei-Apla-Pretoria brouhaha, the sure-footed way all concerned have been switching tactical positions while scarcely missing a beat.

Bantu Holomisa, who normally claims he can't wait to be part of SA again, now resists attempts to pull him into line over his Apla guests, stoutly asserting his state's "independence".

Never mind that earlier he'd asked for Transkei to have its very own Goldstone inquiry. Now he again calls the commission a "kangaroo court" and (shock, horror) it's part of a foreign state.

And the ANC? If not giving full backing to Holomisa's argument (indeed, Sauer hears that some leaders are a bit embarrassed by his stance) it rallied rapidly to his defence, cha cha cha.

□ □ □

AS for the Government, the Transkei thing shows that its old penchant for piously selective morality

The Star 02-04-93

DE KLERK WARNS HOLOMISA

'Responsible if SA citizens harmed'

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk warned Major-General Bantu Holomisa last night that he would hold him personally responsible if South African citizens were harmed as a result of cross-border at-

tacks by APLA forces.

In the most direct language political journalists have yet heard from Mr De Klerk, he told Gen Holomisa not to threaten the government or people of South Africa.

He expected Transkei to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission, which enjoyed the confi-

dence of the United Nations and the world. Instead, Transkei had responded with threats and an attack on the integrity of the Commission.

"Your allegations are without foundation. If you will excuse my saying so, most of them are preposterous.

"You ought to know that I did not give any order for certain persons deemed to be APLA members resident in Transkei to be wiped out, as you put it.

"To make matters worse, you threatened the South African Government and people.

"You said that we will have to man each and every White home inside and outside of Transkei, because you won't be responsible if the people retaliate.

"I do not take kindly to comments like these, and I also do not expect inflammatory statements from the head of government of a country which has close ties in almost every field.

"Let me make it clear that, if South African citizens inside or outside the Transkei are harmed or

FROM PAGE 1

their property is damaged or destroyed, as a result of actions of omissions of the Transkei Government, I will hold you and your government responsible."

Mr De Klerk went on to tell Gen Holomisa that he was disturbed, to say the least, by reference to the Goldstone Commission inquiry into APLA activities as a "kangaroo court".

Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, secretary-general of the United Nations, had recommended that the Goldstone Commission undertake investigations into the functioning and operations of certain

organisations, including APLA.

"When the Goldstone Commission invites participation, and when it reports and makes recommendations, it is incumbent on all interested and affected parties to respond constructively."

The government had co-operated with the Goldstone investigation into the intelligence activities of the SA Defence Force. The same attitude was expected from Transkei.

"I reject your attack on the integrity, objectivity and fairness of the Goldstone Commission.

"Its credibility and acceptability both internationally and in South Africa are beyond doubt."

Mr De Klerk said Transkei's allegations against South Africa had nothing at all to do with the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

"Attacking and vilifying us will not make those findings go away. Neither will it contribute to a resolution of the problems."

The only helpful response was for the Transkei to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission and present it with all available information in regard to the allegations.

"And if they cannot be refuted, then Transkei must take immediate and effective steps against APLA and all other organisations and individuals operating against South African citizens."

Gen Holomisa was told that the tighter border controls were to some extent part of the country-wide security action to prevent violence.

"It is not an act of aggression. It is a serious effort to reduce violence, which ought to enjoy the support of all leaders who sincerely want to see an end to the senseless killing of people."

Transkei was a party to the negotiation process. It could be reincorporated in South Africa within months.

"It is simply not realistic, at this advanced stage of the reform process, for the Transkei to argue, when it suits it, that it is not involved in the Goldstone inquiry simply because it is an independent state.

"In the mean time, we have also taken steps to protect South African citizens and property from any actions which may be launched from Transkei by APLA or any other similar organisation, by guarding the border and border crossings.

"As far as violence is concerned, we have reached a moment of truth.

"The government will not hesitate to take appropriate action whenever and wherever the security of its citizens is threatened," Mr De Klerk told Gen Holomisa.

TO PAGE 2

Probe by T'kei Chief Justice

CAPE TOWN. — Transkei's Chief Justice is to head an investigation into allegations of Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in the territory, Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday.

He was speaking after talks at Tuynhuys with State President De Klerk to defuse a crisis which has seen Transkei's borders being ringed by South African security forces.

"It was agreed that the Chief Justice of Transkei, Mr Justice Beck, would head the investigation and he would work with any other structures available, including the Goldstone Commission," Gen Holomisa said after the 90-minute meeting.

"We went further to say that both police forces must work together to bring evidence before the Transkei Commission."

Gen Holomisa said he and Mr De Klerk had touched on the question of South African troops controlling border posts between the two countries.

"We said that we were scaling down road blocks on our side and we requested that he (Mr De Klerk) must see that no one is inconvenienced."

"It is a sensitive situa-

tion. We suggested that our good example be emulated to scale down the blockade."

Gen Holomisa said the meeting had been held in a good, frank

TO PAGE 2

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T'kei probe

FROM PAGE 1

spirit and he felt both parties were prepared to co-operate.

"From my side, there has been no crisis."

Asked what would happen if APLA bases were discovered in his country, Gen Holomisa said the law had to take

its course.

Neither APLA nor the African National Congress armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were banned in Transkei.

Gen Holomisa denied his government had supplied arms to APLA. — Sapa.

Lesotho expects a few miracles

Winning Lesotho's first multiparty democratic election was the easy part for Ntsu Mokhehle's Basotho Congress Party (BCP). Now the real difficulties begin, writes JOE LATAKGOMO of The Star's Africa Service.

IN THE next four years Ntsu Mokhehle will be expected to have largely met the expectations of a politically volatile electorate. For a poor country like Lesotho, economic reconstruction is not going to be easy.

It will be next to impossible for the BCP to achieve more in those four years than the government of Leabua Jonathan's Basotho National Party did in its 20 years in office and the Military Council in seven.

The economy has deteriorated markedly, with unemployment increasing and the spending power of Basotho decreasing. In the mountain districts the effect has been even worse, and the recent drought, though largely broken now, has also taken a heavy toll.

Central Maseru also shows evidence of this economic decline. The fragile economy of this town cannot even support its own people. Everywhere, groups of men can be seen discussing their hopelessness.

Jobs are hard to come by, and even Teba, the Chamber of Mines recruiting office, cannot take on all the thousands of job seekers.

The South African mines do not employ the same number of miners as they used to because of the plummeting gold price, high wage demands and the closure of marginal mines.

Traffic between Maseru and border towns like Ladybrand and Ficksburg by people in search of goods and services unavailable in Lesotho has increased. As one of those stated, "whether we like it or not, Lesotho is almost a province of South Africa. Just look at OK Bazaars or Spar in Maseru".

But it is the women of Lesotho who have to "take the

knife by the sharp end", as the Sotho saying goes, and find money to provide food for the table.

The informal sector is probably now the major provider of employment. Major streets are bursting with vendors. Those with the means sell vegetables which often have to serve as accompaniment for the staple maize meal since meat has become a luxury few can afford. Others sell the odd cob of corn, roasted on make-shift fires.

Most of these vendors expect a BCP government to dramatically improve their lives. Said a voter while waiting patiently in the queue to cast her vote: "I have suffered too long under Leabua. Maybe my life will be better now."

Wage income remittances from South African mines make up more than half of the country's gross domestic product, and per capita income is about R660. More than 31 percent of the unemployed are under 19, and very politically sensitive. The new government will have to deal with this group if it has to survive.

Various public works projects conducted through the Labour-Intensive Construction Unit (LCU) with the aim of halting rural-urban and cross-border migration have not been able to absorb the migrant workers retrenched in South Africa, whose numbers increased sharply when 9 000 Basotho miners were repatriated after the 1987 mineworkers' strike.

When the military seized power from Leabua Jonathan their leader, General Metsing Lekhanya, experimented with what was called "local democracy" — a network of village committees set up to plan economic development. He argued

that if programmes were run "from below", they stood a better chance of success. However, even these collapsed because of bureaucratic corruption.

The deputy leader of the BCP, M Q Molapo, says that his party has identified priority areas to give the economy a fillip: education, health and social services, agriculture and the fostering and strengthening of local government structures.

"All dictators want to centralise," he said. "If you want a public toilet in Mokhotlong, they want you to get permission from Maseru."

This, he said, stifled initiative and growth.

Some party ideologues, however, still believe that there is a great need to "go out into the villages", and bring about a form of "ujamaa" — communal farming. They see this as a way of keeping people in the rural areas, but making them build up an agricultural base which

can begin to address the country's needs.

The reality, however, is that political independence did not bring economic independence. And, as General Lekhaya said before he was ousted, "whoever takes over (government of the country) will inherit a tattered economy". □



At the helm . . . now it's Ntsu Mokhehle (right) and his deputy, M Q Molapo who must meet expectations.

The Star 02-04-93

PAC and CP share limelight

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

They are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and they hate each other with a passion. But the PAC and the Conservative Party shared something at yesterday's World Trade Centre negotiations: the limelight.

Benny Alexander and Schalk Pienaar basked in the attention that comes with being exotic newcomers at South Africa's great indaba, and the two politicians appeared to revel in negotiating rather than boycotting.

So much so, in fact, that the National Party's Dawie de Villiers — chairing one of the sessions — had to twice call Pienaar to order.

Comic relief

Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje, who ably chaired the morning session, whispered into the microphone as Alexander made his way to the rostrum in African attire: "I like your outfit, Benny."

De Villiers provided comic relief when inviting the Afri-

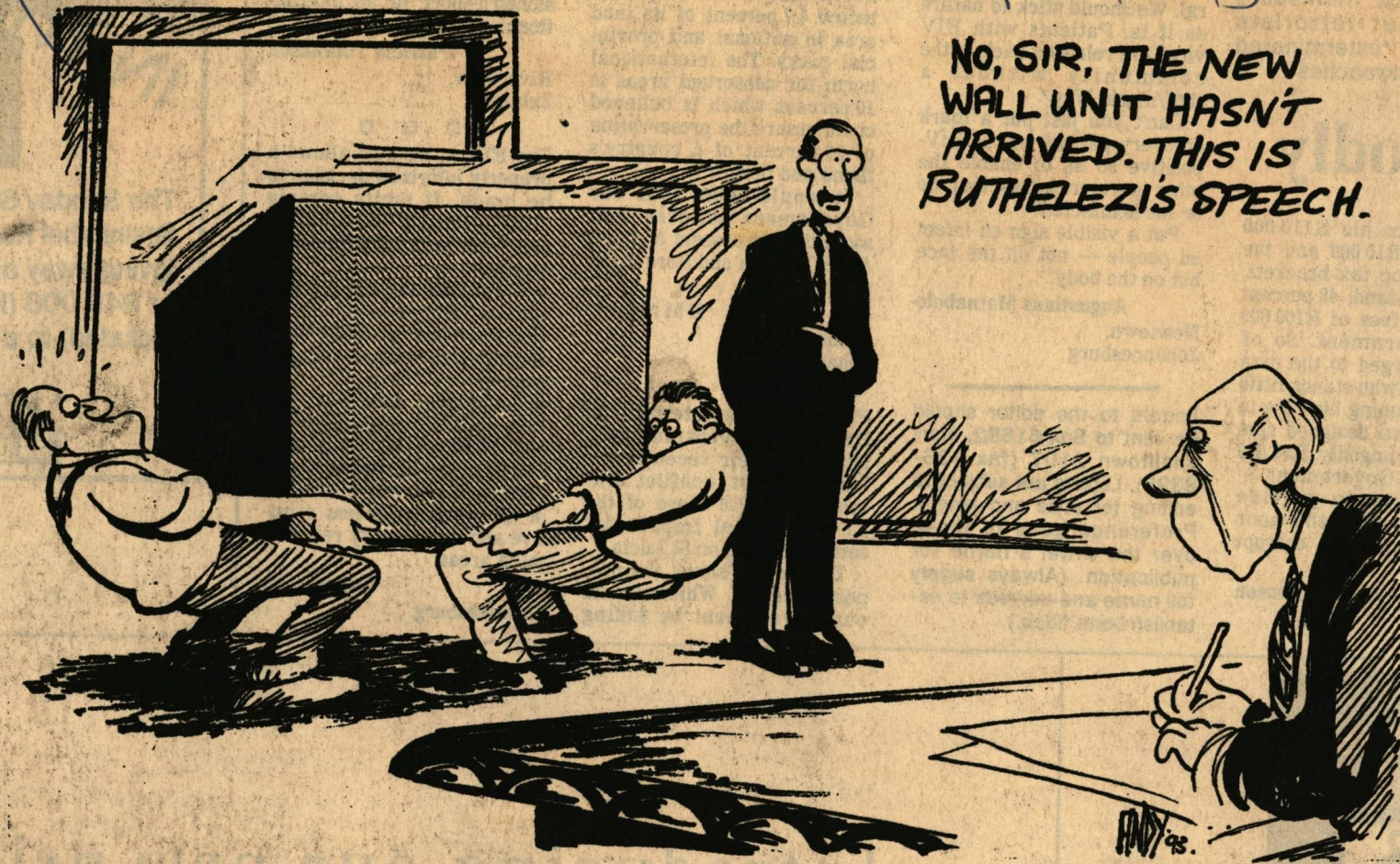
kaner Volksunie (AVU) delegation to address the august gathering. "And now," he said, "Chief (Chris) de Jager of the Afrikaner traditional leaders will address us."

The AVU MP from Bethal came back quick as a flash with: "Thank you, Comrade De Villiers".

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, in perhaps an unintentional hint that certain powers now reside at the World Trade Centre rather than in Parliament, referred to delegates as "honourable members" in intervening.

The Star 2 APRIL 1993

NO, SIR, THE NEW
WALL UNIT HASN'T
ARRIVED. THIS IS
BUTHELEZI'S SPEECH.



NATION & WORLD

Bickering mars restart of talks in S. Africa

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Negotiations to end apartheid quickly lapsed into finger-pointing over political violence Thursday as black and white leaders resumed talks after an 11-month break.

Other than approving a resolution denouncing violence, representatives of 26 parties made no substantial breakthroughs in efforts to arrange the country's first multiracial elections by early next year.

It was political violence that derailed negotiations last May, and the subject dominated discussions Thursday. The ANC, the nation's leading black group, said in a statement that "our society is sick" and repeated allegations security forces were instigating fighting in black townships.

Speaking for the white-led government, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said it would take years for the country to recover from bloodshed that has wracked black areas since the mid-1980s and recently has targeted whites.

"Anyone who might imagine that we will be able to institute democratic institutions under present circumstances must be living in a dream world," Kriel said.

While the resumption of talks was a step forward after the long stalemate, the outcome raised questions about black and white leaders' abilities to overcome the violence issue and plan for elections.

The session was the third time the nation's diverse political parties have come together in formal negotiations since December.

Major issues must be resolved before an election can take place. They include: ANC demands that the security forces be brought under control of a multi-party body, and disagreements among groups over how strong

First nonwhites are sworn in to Cabinet jobs

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — An Indian and two mixed-race men were sworn in as Cabinet ministers Thursday as the first nonwhites in South Africa's government.

President F.W. de Klerk named Jac Rabie, Abe Williams and Bhadra Ranchod to the Cabinet in February in what was considered a move to bolster his standing among nonwhites. There has never been a black minister.

Rabie and Williams are of mixed-race heritage, and Ranchod is an Indian. All three have faced criticism from anti-apartheid forces for working with the white government.

An effigy of Ranchod, the new tourism minister, was burned by Indian university students in 1986 when he became the first nonwhite South African foreign ambassador.

Rabie is the new population development minister, and Williams is the new sports minister.

the central and regional governments should be.

Despite the outcome, the African National Congress and government appeared upbeat. "The negotiations process is now formally under way," said ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa.

In Cape Town, President F.W. de Klerk said he believed participants felt a "new sense of commitment."

Deadlock in talks on black education

THE crisis in education deepened last night when talks between the National Education Conference and new Education Co-ordinating Minister Piet Marais deadlocked over solutions to problems in black schools.

The deadlock has fuelled fears of widespread disruptions with organisations threatening to target white schools after the Easter holidays if their demands cannot be met through negotiations.

The talks between the conference — made up of the ANC, Azapo and teacher and student organisations — and Marais coincided with yesterday's launch of government's new administration designed to streamline the 14 education departments into a single nonracial education ministry.

The dispute between the conference and government was heightened by Department of Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer's unilateral decision to cancel a meeting with the organisations, also scheduled for yesterday, on grounds that the controversial issue of matric exam fees had been resolved.

De Beer announced on Wednesday that the fees would be reduced by one third. But instead of appeasing the organisations, the reduction served only to fuel the dispute.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) has attacked De Beers' "authoritarian and undemocratic" move of cancelling the meeting, as well as his "disrespect for the opposition".

KATHRYN STRACHAN

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) rejected the move, claiming that only the total abolition of the fee would be acceptable.

Paso spokesman George Mpya called on "all African students to continue to boycott payment of exam fees".

NECC spokesman Desmond Thompson said yesterday's meeting was intended to focus on the demands for a halt to unilateral restructuring of the education system, and the urgent establishment of a national education forum to negotiate the way ahead.

Other demands placed at the meeting included the issue of matric exam fees, the urgent provision of resources to black schools, the reopening of negotiations on teachers' salary increments, and the establishment of a national fund to deal with the funding crisis at tertiary institutions.

Thompson said that unless government agreed to those demands, the organisation would launch a campaign "to force them to see reason".

If all negotiations failed to bear fruit, the organisations' members would carry out their threat of occupying white schools and carry the chaos of black schools into the white sector.

The NECC would also be appealing to the international community to support its demands, he said.

X Violence: Dissenting views

THE 26 political parties, organisations and homeland administrations at the multi-party negotiating forum yesterday unanimously accepted a draft resolution on violence with the proviso that a list of issues from dissenting groups be dealt with by the forum's Negotiating Council.

After strong debate, during which the Conservative Party tabled its own resolution on violence, the forum accepted that all dissenting voices be heard within the Negotiating Council, which will finalise a resolution on political conflict.

While unequivocally committing delegations to effective joint action by all to eradicate violence and to peaceful negotiations as the only way to

resolve differences, the resolution said:

"The Negotiating Forum . . . therefore resolves to:

"• Identify those issues that cause violence, which threaten the negotiating process and undermine the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord; and,

"• Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

The CP, while initially rejecting out of hand the resolution, later accepted that its own proposal, dealing with the armed wings of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Azanian

Peoples Liberation Army (APLA), could be dealt with by the Negotiating Council instead of by the forum meeting yesterday.

When the CP first rejected the resolution, the leader of the party's delegation, Mr Tom Langley, said the disbanding of MK and APLA was the only way to move forward with the negotiations process.

"We submit that the only effective way to deal with it (violence) is to disband the culprit organisations, namely MK and APLA, as a pre-requisite to the continuation of any constitutional negotiations.

"Violence has escalated in a shocking manner. The resolution now before us does not address the issue in any other way than before. It thus serves no purpose," said Mr Langley.

However, his position was rejected by the ma-

jority of other participants who noted that the draft resolution merely called for the Negotiating Council to allow political leaders to grapple with the problem.

A commitment was therefore needed from all participants for the council to handle the matter, which was agreed to by the CP after the house accepted the Right-wing party could table a separate resolution before the NC.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party, the ANC, the PAC and the SA Government, as well as other smaller groups, endorsed sending the resolution back to the Negotiating Council where annexures and additions could be dealt with.

It is now in the hands of the council to work out a compromise to suit participants. — Sapa

BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 02 APRIL 1993

Mandela to visit UK

ANC president Nelson Mandela would meet British Prime Minister John Major in London for talks on May 5 and was scheduled to address a joint sitting of Britain's parliament, the ANC said yesterday. Mandela leaves SA on May 1 and will visit Portugal until May 4.

Tokenism

THE party bureaucrats probably think they have struck a blow for women's liberation by requiring that each delegation to the multiparty negotiations must include at least one woman. But, as American academic Myron Weiner carefully argues in the article alongside, affirmative action quotas do nothing to advance the interests of disadvantaged groups, and may in fact harm them.

The worth of the 26 women nominated as part of their parties' delegations is demeaned by the suspicion that they are there only as token representatives. Further, the move does nothing to increase participation by women in our national political life, beyond this artificial opportunity for a couple of dozen

party officials. To extrapolate from Weiner's argument, it could well act as a valueless substitute for policies which substantially increase opportunities available to women. Far from being a policy which reduces inequality of opportunity, quotas actually exacerbate those inequalities by creating a tiny new elite and neglecting the rest of the disadvantaged group.

Our negotiators — supposedly the cream of our community — have demonstrated the same inability or unwillingness to get to grips with the real issues as they show in the negotiations as a whole. Their thinking is lazy, their actions paternalistic. What are the chances of their carrying out the rest of their task any better?

Corruption dissolves exiles committee

FRAUD and corruption amounting to thousands of rand has resulted in the dissolution of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

Announcing the closure of the organisation yesterday, South African Council of Churches secretary-general Dr Frank Chikane said the United Nations High Commission for Refugees would take over the reception of exiles in South Africa.

At a Johannesburg news conference Dr Chikane announced that criminal investigations and a commission of inquiry had been instituted to examine the disappearance of money from within the organisation.

Dr Chikane declined to name the culprits, and said the NCCR would also not disclose the exact amount which had disappeared.

"I do not want to point fingers," Dr Chikane told

reporters. "The (criminal investigation and commission of inquiry) findings will assist in pointing out the culprits," he said.

The NCCR was prepared to say that one case involved several thousand rands, and some of the money had been recovered.

Because of fraud and corruption the NCCR had a funding crisis and it decided it could no longer operate successfully, Dr Chikane said. — Sapa.

Black Ministers called '3 Stooges' by ANC

CAPE TOWN. — The first non-Whites to become full members of a South African Cabinet took office yesterday, but the African National Congress (ANC) immediately branded them as "the three Stooges of apartheid".

Mixed-race Coloureds Mr Jac Rabie and Mr Abe Williams and ethnic Indian Mr Bhadra Ranchod took office in the wake of President De Klerk's February purge of White Ministers reluctant to implement his sweeping reforms.

Mr De Klerk joked as he posed for photographers with the new members of his previously all-White Cabinet: "One day of glory and five years of hard work."

But Mr Jannie Momberg, one of five Whites who represent the ANC in Parliament, vowed in

an interview that the ANC would have them out of office within a year.

"We are going to have the first democratic election in this country by March next year and the people will decide whether they want these men in the government," Mr Momberg said.

"They are the three Stooges of apartheid," he said.

He dismissed Mr Williams, the new Minister of Sport, and Mr Rabie, Minister of Population Development, as "the most hated men in Coloured politics".

Mr Rabie and Mr Williams, classified Coloured under apartheid, are veterans of various second-rank advisory bodies.

"Both these men have been totally discredited during their years of collaboration with the apartheid system," he said.

Mr Williams rejected the criticism and said he preferred to look forward to a new South Africa rather than back to the harsh past of legislated segregation.

"I am an optimist by nature. I don't like to take a negative view of politics," he said.

Mr Rabie told Reuters recently he had no idea what his Population Development portfolio would involve, but said his appointment was "significant, not just tokenism".

Mr Momberg said he had no personal criticism of Mr Ranchod, a former South African ambassador to the European Community. But he said all three, like moderate Black politician Mr Oscar Dhlomo, should have declined the invitation to become the country's first full Cabinet members who were not White. — Sapa-Reuter.

Deadlock over name

THE planning committee for the negotiation process has still not been able to agree on a name for the multi-party negotiating forum.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general, Mr Bennie Alexander, told the forum that the committee had come up with no less than 11 proposed names.

Circulars were distributed among the 26 delegations at the World Trade Centre for them to indicate their preferences, "as a guide to the

planning committee".

Mr Alexander said each attempt to reduce the number of names had resulted in more being added to the list.

The negotiating forum resolved yesterday to keep the Codesa reports alive, instructing the negotiating council to consider and report on all matters arising from a consolidated report containing material from Codesa.

The negotiating council was also instructed to consider and report on the following constitutional issues:

- The form of state of a future South Africa and constitutional principles;

- Transitional/interim constitution;

- Transitional regional government;

- Fundamental human rights during transition;

- A transitional executive council and sub-councils, an independent election committee and an independent media committee; and

- The future of the TBVC states.

No dissent to the resolution was recorded. Supa.

Thousands behind me: Bekker

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe, says he will not resign his seat after defecting from the National Party to the Inkatha Freedom Party, as thousands of people in his constituency are IFP members and supporters.

There were very large numbers of IFP support-

ers in the numerous hostels within the Jeppe constituency.

"I believe that I represent the people of my constituency on political issues such as the need for a federal system or a strong regional system, and for the promotion of peace and reconciliation between all citizens," Mr Bekker said in an inter-

view yesterday.

There was no need for moderate parties to argue among themselves over who offered the best solutions to the country's problems.

Rather, there was a need for moderates to come together. There should be an indaba of moderates to set a joint course for the future.

"Although it seems unlikely that we can achieve alliances before the general election, we will surely need one another before the end of this century.

"Everything indicates that the second election holds no guarantees of power-sharing or joint government.

Backing for urgent probe into new role of regions

CAPE TOWN — The Urban Foundation supported the idea of urgently setting up commissions of inquiry to investigate the role of regions and cities in a new constitution, the foundation's Ann Bernstein said yesterday at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce conference on local government.

Bernstein said the commissions could gather evidence from around the country and make proposals to the constituent assembly.

She questioned the assumption in the regional government debate that development between regions had to be balanced. While all should have equal opportunities, there should not be social engineering to prevent migration of people and capital. Such flows were vital for development.

Bernstein said she was committed to the concept of regions promoting their own comparative advantage and competing for investment and people. Economic policy should be decentralised to allow for diversity and not be subjected to a central government dictatorship.

She expressed concern over the "deafening silence" of the role of cities in the national constitutional debate and warned that in negotiating parties' scramble to arrive at a deal the rights and welfare of individuals under a new constitution would be ignored.

This was apparent in the fact that in proposals proportional representa-

LINDA ENSOR

tion was not linked with constituency representation, eliminating the accountability and responsibility of those elected.

Idasa's Van Zyl Slabbert emphasised the need for the creation of a strong community ethic if the delivery of services was to take place. Without community involvement the transition would be painful, whatever the constitutional arrangements agreed upon.

"We do not have a South African way of life that can sustain us through to the 'new SA'. We are going to have to fashion it out of our own transition," he said.

ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha said interim constitutional arrangements at local and regional level would be necessary in the transitional period. There was a need for a fairly representative interim executive council to deal with the metropolitan budget and rationalisation of personnel rather than this being left to the provincial councils and white local authorities.

The ANC proposed the dissolution of existing local government structures during the transitional phase and the appointment of interim local councils and interim metropolitan councils. They should be appointed on the basis of lists submitted by local and metropolitan negotiation forums.

Govt sees homelands 'back in SA by May'

Political Staff

THE TBVC homelands are to be reincorporated into SA before the end of next month, according to a secret government document.

The document spells out the steps for reincorporation, including the appointment of an administrator-general for each of the four homelands for the period between reincorporation and the establishment of an interim government.

The independent homelands will effectively be reduced to the status of self-governing territories.

Transkei and Venda have already agreed to reincorporation, while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the cold facts last Saturday at bilateral meetings with a government team led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The bottom line — and the financial implications of non-incorporation — were spelt out in an annexure to the document presented to both homelands.

Bluntly, the message was: "Agree to reincorporation or the financial taps will be turned off."

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent financially on SA, which also supplies a substantial portion of Bophuthatswana's budget.

A senior government source acknowledged yesterday that negotiations with the homelands had reached a sensitive stage.

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Homelands

□ From Page 1

And he said May, when the transitional executive council was expected to be formed, was the deadline.

The four homelands will not be able to participate in this executive council if they are still independent.

It suggested that Bophuthatswana might be excluded because it was not a military dictatorship. However, the document includes that homeland, and it is understood that President Lucas Mangope will be offered the position of administrator-general.

The document, marked "confidential", states that testing the will of the people in the homelands is no longer regarded as a requirement.

The reincorporation of the four homelands will remove a major stumbling block in the negotiation process.

The reincorporation of Ciskei will have major financial implications because no company tax is applicable in the territory.

The loss of independence will mean that all citizens of the TBVC homelands will automatically regain their SA citizenship.

□ At yesterday's meeting with Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, President F W de Klerk told him:

"Transkei is party to the negotiation process in SA. You have yourself propagated Transkei's reincorporation into SA.

"This could take place within a few months."

THE crux of yesterday's multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park was for parties to agree on how the process should move forward while ensuring that no parties walk out of the talks despite the contentious issues which must be dealt with.

Given this, no agreement was realistically possible on the crucial issues of violence, the status of Codesa agreements, regionalism and the transitional executive council — the ANC and government's priorities. Rather, methods will be devised for a phased resolution of these issues — to allow slow progress while avoiding deadlock.

The difficulties being caused by relatively minor issues — such as the name of the gathering — is a further indication of the fragility of the process. What's in a name, one might ask. The point is that some — for example those who were not part of Codesa plus Inkatha, whose leader did not attend — see these talks as a new process totally divorced from Codesa while others want it to be a continuation. Some parties are treat-

ing the issue as an important test of strength.

"At this early stage, each little issue is regarded by parties as a major win or lose situation," a senior government negotiator said yesterday. With this kind of touchiness, dealing with the really substantive issues becomes that much more delicate.

So the strategy for the two main players — the ANC and government, who are in substantial agreement on the way forward — is to allow the weighty issues to be discussed superficially then channelled into the process without tackling them head on at this stage.

Finalising the big issues is, in this way, delayed while the parties test their strength on the minor issues and, having gained some confidence, no longer fight to win each point.

Parties avoid weighty issues

BILLY PADDOCK

Hence, the subcommittee dealing with violence on behalf of the planning committee spent Wednesday night struggling to find a structure which would channel the debate constructively. An added complication here is that government and the ANC are divided on the issue.

The resolution eventually tabled was a superficial compromise where all parties condemned the violence and committed themselves to joint urgent action and peaceful negotiations. They bound themselves to identify the causes of violence and the effective implementation of the peace accord, and then — the real point — mandated the negotiating council to find urgent steps and

mechanisms which would end the violence urgently.

The regionalism debate is also being structured so that parties do not have to commit themselves to a position at this stage, and their divergent views can be accommodated within the process for a period.

The same idea runs through the decision that Codesa agreements form the foundation of the new talks while parties be permitted to disagree and oppose them.

An ANC negotiator says that, once there is progress on some issues on the table, undue concern over the seemingly intractable obstacles will start falling away. A government negotiator adds that broad problems need to be dealt with and some progress made before dealing with the nitty gritty of the difficult ones.

Slowly but surely, one source says, the hope is that government and

ANC's plans for the transition will be woven through the fabric of the talks, with some changes to accommodate other parties.

For instance, with the regionalism question, a commission is to look at the issue of boundaries for the first elections but will steer clear initially of debating powers, functions and duties of regions.

Meanwhile, attempts will be made in bilateral talks to convince parties like Inkatha that there will be enough regional representatives on the constituent assembly to satisfy its demands. In this way, it is hoped, Inkatha may forgo its opposition.

Continued bilateral talks will be the forums where the major horse trading will continue to take place.

Because they are conducted behind closed doors, it is regarded as easier to forge agreements within these talks.

The parties still have a less than clear idea of exactly where and how the process is going. But they are moving forward like a river which is wide at its source and slowly gets channelled into a narrower path.

NO ONE has developed a theory of how one can deal with what is clearly one of the most difficult tasks in all contemporary multi-ethnic societies — how to reduce disparities among ethnic communities and how to reduce ethnic conflict, two goals that are not always compatible.

Broadly speaking, affirmative action means laws, regulations, administrative rules, court orders and other public interventions and private actions to provide certain public and private goods on the basis of membership of a particular ethnic or racial group. Affirmative action is not intended to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but rather to bridge the gap between groups.

Four countries that have adopted affirmative action programmes are India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the US. In all four, these policies have become controversial. Some opposition comes from those who are racist, who believe that one group is superior to another, but their criticisms are of no serious concern.

The more serious concerns come from those who want to build a non-racial, colour-blind society and who are therefore uncomfortable with the idea that benefits should be allocated on the basis of race or caste or ethnic identity.

There are also objections from those concerned that individual merit will be downgraded when admissions to universities and jobs are given out on the basis of group membership. These are genuine concerns that need to be addressed.

The kinds of interventions adopted in each of these countries were wide-ranging. Basically, there are two somewhat differently orientated affirmative action policies.

We might call one affirmative action for expanding opportunities. This includes all policies to eliminate discrimination, race/ethnic-conscious policies intended to expand the pool of qualified individuals, such as training programmes to upgrade skills of workers, special bridging programmes in higher education that enable students who lack adequate preparation to catch up,

Affirmative action quotas do not solve the basic problem

MYRON WEINER

financial aid to students qualified for tertiary education but who could not otherwise attend universities, loans to businessmen in disadvantaged communities, subcontracts to minority businesses, and so on.

These policies improve access to education and employment; they entail positive efforts by universities, government and the private sector affirmatively to include groups that had been previously excluded; and the beneficiaries are intended to be members of those groups.

A second set of affirmative action policies emphasises fixed outcomes based upon designated quotas. They set out to ensure that distribution of education, employment, income and wealth among individuals will be in proportion to the population of each ethnic group or race in the country. According to this view of affirmative action, every group would ideally be proportionately represented in universities and in professional schools, in legislative bodies, in high levels of bureaucracy, in medicine, law and teaching and as CEOs of corporations, and in boardrooms.

Under this model, targets are set and the goal of affirmative action is not achieved until there is proportional representation. If necessary, and it usually is necessary, requirements for admissions and skills and standards of performance would be lowered to achieve these targets.

In the haste to fill quotas, standards are lowered and preferences for some begin to erode the notion of equality of opportunity for all. The performance of institutions decline as a downward levelling occurs. Moreover, when beneficiaries constitute a majority of the population, as in the case of Sri Lanka, the response of the excluded social strata can impair the political order.

A second set of issues raised in each of these cases is the relationship between affirmative action and other policies intended to reduce disparities among groups. In several of these countries there was a tendency to regard affirmative action as the intervention to deal with inequalities. Affirmative action policies often addressed needs of aspiring middle classes to the neglect of policies and programmes aimed at needs of the lower social classes.

In India, for example, the government did little to create a compulsory universal elementary school education system which would have improved the wellbeing of the poor as well as expand the pool of scheduled castes and tribals who could have entered universities adequately prepared and who could then have

moved into the modern professions and into the middle class on their own. Similarly, in the US affirmative action did not address needs of the inner city, of unemployed black youth and single mothers.

Affirmative action can become a substitute for addressing the large issue of inequality.

A third issue is the impact of preferences on identities and on the way in which people organise to make demands. Once preferences or quotas are established, people will choose an identity if there are benefits to be derived.

The system of preferences invariably strengthens identities on the basis of race, religion, language and caste. It is in the self-interest of politicians to mobilise group claims and group lines, and for individuals to assert group claims and group identities. The creation of a caste-blind, colour-blind society — difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances — is made more difficult when the government allocates benefits in education and employment on the basis of group membership.

In the US, affirmative action was initially intended for blacks, but other groups subsequently demanded that they too be included among the beneficiaries — native American Indians, Hispanics, Asian Americans and then women.

Although each of these groups suffered from discrimination, or more accurately some members of these groups suffered from discrimination, they were included on the list of beneficiaries.

But the beneficiaries included very diverse communities, from disadvantaged Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, to better educated more prosperous Cubans. Asian Americans were included on the basis of historical discrimination, though a large part of the Asian American community today includes educated migrants who came to the country after 1965 and who themselves did not suffer from the disadvantages of an earlier generation.

Similarly, in India benefits were extended to backward classes who do not share the same disabilities as the scheduled castes and tribes and who are often among the prosperous rural landowners.

These costs of affirmative action are made higher when policy-makers neglect a central feature of any programme to reduce inequality, what Andre Beteille, quoting the British social historian Tawney, described as not just eliminating disabilities but creating abilities.

All too often affirmative action programmes were directed at mechanically filling slots with people of the appropriate colour, or language, or sex without regard for enabling those chosen to have skills needed to perform satisfactorily.

All too often well meaning people have selected people for benefits with little regard for whether they are adequately prepared. Universities cannot and should not provide education that should be delivered in secondary schools. And employers should not be asked to hire people who lack at least minimal skills. However, employers, medical schools, engineering schools and universities can often provide the additional skills through bridge programmes and in-house training programmes to enable those who fall short to meet the standards of universities and employers.

□ These are edited excerpts from an address by MIT political science professor Weiner to an Urban Foundation symposium on Monday.

No-name forum off to good start but the real negotiating

CONSTITUTIONAL talks have restarted but the real negotiating begins in a fortnight after a successful day planning the way ahead.

The first meeting of the multiparty forum lasted only one day instead of the scheduled two. Each contentious issue was swiftly consigned for the attention of the negotiations council, which meets for the first time on April 19.

The forum still has no name. The ANC, government and the NP were pleased with progress yesterday.

"We were pleased and appreciative of the way in which the matters

were handled in a constructive way," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The negotiation process was now firmly under way and the parties were determined on the rapid resolution of constitutional issues and the violence, he said.

Constitutional Development Minister Rolf Meyer said the meeting had achieved what it set out to do — identify the issues to be addressed and draft the constitutional agenda.

"We did not even try today to look at the differences, that will come later."

Meyer said the process was still within the framework of the timetable for elections to be held early next year "but this

BILLY PADDOCK

will depend on the progress we make in the next two months".

Meyer said that in those two months agreement on constitutional principles had to be reached. The first phase would be to get agreement on the transitional executive council and its subcouncils. Once this happened, arrangements for the interim government and elections could be made.

The second phase would be to reach agreement on the content of an interim constitution and the constitutional principles binding the elected constitution-making body.

He said each phase should take a month to negotiate if the process was to keep to the timetable.

NP delegation leader Dawie De Villiers warned that there were "very difficult issues that had to be dealt with in the next weeks".

The day was marked by some tense debates on violence and the status of Codesa agreements.

Government and the PAC fired verbal salvos at each other about violence, but the whole display appeared to be stage-managed. A resolution drafted prior to the debate was later accepted with little change. The resolution stated that all the

lies ahead

parties abhorred violence and committed them to peaceful negotiations. It also said the negotiations council had to find ways urgently to strengthen the peace accord.

The CP's first day at multiparty negotiations saw delegate Schalk Pienaar insisting that the ANC and PAC armed wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla, be disbanded before constitutional talks proceeded. He accused the ANC of being a terrorist organisation and shouting the loudest about peace while it was the main perpetrator of violence.

The forum identified the main constitutional issues to be dealt with by the negoti-

□ To Page 2

Forum

ating council, determined as the major negotiating body in the new structure.

After much haggling it was agreed that the council would negotiate and report back on:

- The form of state and constitutional principles;
- The constitution-making body or constituent assembly;
- The transitional or interim constitution;
- Transitional regional or local government;

□ From Page 1

- Fundamental human rights during the transition;
- The transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections commission and the independent media commission;
- The future of the TBVC states; and
- Self-determination.

The meeting also managed to agree on the rules that would be followed during the negotiations process.

● See Pages 4 and 5

SOUTH AFRICANS keep nameless talks on the road

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S latest constitutional conference decided that discretion was the better part of valour and failed to identify itself yesterday.

But, whatever it was, it pulled off a remarkable feat when 26 organisations, ranging from rightwing racists to leftwing revolutionaries, staggered through a day of talks without much affection, but also in the absence of what is locally known as a serious incident of "unrest".

Despite advance pessimism about its chances of success, the conference was wound up last night, a day ahead of schedule, leaving delegates with the startled realisation that they had somehow got South Africa's negotiations back on track. The talks are to continue at a lower level in a fortnight's time.

The closest the conference came to breakdown was a heated debate over political violence in which the government, the rightwing Conservative Party and the militant Pan-Africanist Congress exchanged angry denunciations of one another.

The row blew up after the ruling National Party's delegation demanded to know whether the PAC's commitment to negotiations could be taken seriously when they failed to distance themselves from "atrocious killings of innocent civilians" by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The PAC retorted angrily that it had "the cleanest hands" of any party where political violence was concerned.

"Let it be clear that the PAC and Apla policy is against the killing of women and children," said the PAC spokesman, Barney Desai. "They are never our targets and their deaths are indefensible."

The Conservative Party joined in the exchanges with added fury. "We demand the suspension of constitutional negotiations with murder machines," said their spokesman, Schalk Pienaar, referring to the PAC along with the African National Congress. "We propose this suspension until the capacity to terrorise has been destroyed, or terminated."

But the row was almost miraculously defused. Agreeing a vaguely, if passionately worded denunciation of the carnage, the conference resolved to defer consider-

ation of "urgent steps" to counter the violence to a later meeting.

The precedent for the use of deferrals to keep South Africa's fragile negotiating process alive in a minefield of political controversy was set by the handling of an early deadlock over the naming of the conference, held at a trade centre outside Johannesburg.

There had been strong opposition from some participants to describing the constitutional talks — the third in a series which began with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa in December 1991 — as Codex 3 because this might imply acceptance of conclusions reached at the previous two meetings.

After a planning committee confessed that it had been unable to win compromise on 10 alternative names proposed, the issue was assigned to what was to become a bulging sack of deferred matters.

Other contentious issues shelved included Inkatha's insistence that there be prior acceptance of the principle of federalism and the Conservative Party's demand for the right to racial "self-determination".

There are hopes that the deferral tactic, while not resolving any of the disputed issues, will at least have the effect of locking the wide spectrum of participants into the negotiating process.

The major achievement of the gathering, apart from survival, was agreement on the structure of continued negotiations. They are to be conducted on four tiers, headed by a "plenary" made up of leaders of the political organisations taking part.

The plenary will meet "when necessary" to formally adopt agreements reached by a streamlined "negotiating forum" made up of teams of four delegates and two advisers.

The forum is to set the agenda for meetings of a "negotiating council" in which the real negotiating will take place. It will be made up of teams of two delegates and two advisers.

At the bottom of the negotiating edifice will be a 10-strong "planning committee" which will act as a trouble-shooting agency.

Yesterday's conference, which was effectively a meeting of the negotiating forum, agreed that the formal talks will resume with a meeting of the negotiating council in about a fortnight.

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LONDON

GUARDIAN

Plans for democratic elections within a year remain on course after an eventful day of multi-party negotiations

South African talks survive sabre-rattling abuse and bluster

CIRCUITOUS speeches, sabre-rattling and futile semantic debate conveyed the illusion of no progress at multi-party constitutional talks yesterday, but delegates of the main parties said the day's events boded well for plans to hold South Africa's first democratic elections in the next year.

The fact, as government and African National Congress officials noted afterwards, was that 26 parties representing virtually every point of view on the political spectrum had met and, no blood having been spilt, had agreed to meet again. Business, which was originally scheduled to last two days, was wrapped up in one.

The radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the far-right Conservative Party exchanged invective, the government blustered, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC strained to keep up civil appearances, the likes of the Dikwankweda Party and the United People's Front (whose slogan is "Love and Peace") enjoyed a rare day in the sun and, in a favourite negotiator's phrase, the process remained on course.

The fear was that the Conservative Party, and perhaps Inkatha, might jump ship: they might refuse to persist with negotiations unless two demands they share were met, namely that the ANC's and PAC's armed wings should be disbanded and that agreement should be reached on a federal system of government for "the new South Africa".

But both issues were referred for discussion to a newly-constituted "ne-

JOHN CARLIN
in Johannesburg

gotiating council", a sort of negotiations cabinet which, it was unanimously agreed, would from now on meet four days a week.

The most significant part of the day's business was discharged in the first hour when agreement was reached — again unanimously — on all the technical procedures, numbers of delegates in each forum and such-like, that will apply in future negotiations. Disputes, all also agreed, would be resolved on the basis of "sufficient consensus", a concept which all parties struggled to define but which has appeared, in practice, to work.

Point two on yesterday's agenda was what to call the new negotiations body. Last year it was the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The ANC wanted the name to be retained, but some of the parties who only joined the process this year and others who did not like the tentative deals Codesa struck, such as Inkatha, wanted a change. In total, 10 new names were proposed — Nelsa; Codesa/Nelsa; Sacof; Cofsa; Conedsa; Conesad; Decosa; Mpc; Mpdic and Negosa.

A ballot was proposed but, in the absence of sufficient consensus, the issue was referred to the negotiating council.

Violence, which everyone agreed was the principal obstacle to democratic change, was the next issue, and

the one on which everyone insisted on having a say. After four hours of speech-making, in which the objective was more to score political points than substantially to address the conundrum, it was again decided to refer the matter to the negotiating council — which, it emerged during the course of the day, is South Africa's transitional government in waiting.

It was important, nevertheless, for the politicians to let off steam, especially the white politicians. Whites have been killed in politically motivated attacks recently and, though far more blacks die in such incidents every day, both the National Party government and the Conservative Party had to be seen to be addressing the terrors of their constituencies.

Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Law and Order, said it was imperative "to bring down the level of violence to an acceptable level". The Minister of Manpower, Leon Wessels, called into question the seriousness of the PAC's participation in talks when its armed wing, the shadowy Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), was claiming responsibility for some of the white deaths. The Conservative Party's Schalk Pienaar called for the "suspension of negotiations with the murder machines".

The PAC's information secretary, Barney Desai, said for his part that the South African security forces had been involved in 2,000 times more complaints, 900 times more prosecutions and 200 times more convictions than Apla.

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LONDON

NECC mass action warning

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

The National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) has urged the international community to support its demands for the cessation of what it calls the unilateral restructuring of the education system and the establishment of an education negotiating forum.

In another development, Minister of Education and Training Sam de Beer called off a meeting with the NECC in Pretoria yesterday because "the matter has been dealt with".

He was referring to his announcement on Wednesday that exam fees — which the NECC wants scrapped — would drop from R72 to R48 and candidates who had already paid the subscription would be refunded.

In a statement yesterday, the NECC warned there would be "unprecedented mass action to force the Government to see reason" if it failed to meet demands — including the scrapping of matric examination fees, a halt to unilateral restructuring of education, the reopening of negotiations on the salaries of teachers and the urgent establishment of the negotiating forum on education.

The exam fee issue is threa-

tening to plunge education into disaster as pickets, marches and sit-ins are being planned at white schools after Easter.

The Pan African Students Organisation (Paso) yesterday rejected the reduction of exam fees, saying pupils demanded its total scrapping.

The NECC called De Beer's cancellation of the meeting as an example of the Government's "disrespect for its opposition, and its authoritarian and undemocratic way of operating".

The director general of the Department of Education and Training (DET), Dr Bernhard Louw, said the one-third reduction in exam fees would only affect black schools.

Break-up of family life has wrought violent changes, reports Stanley Uys in London

Abnormal is now the norm

ONCE again, my subject is Britain, this green and pleasant land. The question today is — whatever became of this peaceful nation? Teenagers murdering two-year-olds? Crime rates as high in the genteel shires as in the squalid inner cities? Clockwork Orange being enacted in real life? Something is amiss.

"Not long ago," says a saddened commentator, "we saw ourselves, with some justification as inhabitants of the most peaceful, law-abiding nation on earth." The rise of crime since the 50s has been shocking, so steep as to be a wild statistical improbability. The result is a climate of paranoia and cynicism. People are afraid and expect nothing of the police — something very frighteningly, and very rapidly, has gone wrong.

Sounds a bit like home, doesn't it? Fourteen years of tough Thatcherism, massive increases in

spending on the police, and party conferences demanding short, sharp shocks for young people with tattoos, earrings and excessively short haircuts have yielded nothing.

Crime rose 16 percent in 1990 and 17 percent in 1991. If you are burgled these days, you are lucky if the police even pay you a visit.

What has caused this alarming increase in crime? I'm back on another of my hobbyhorses — the break-up of family life.

One writer believes that across the political, moral, intellectual and religious spectrum, almost everyone now agrees that small, warm, caring families are the single best hope that children do not end up as criminals.

Unfortunately, they are a dying breed. The good old British family — mother, father and dependent children — represents, almost incredibly, only 25 percent of white

British households. The abnormal family has become the norm. The number of single parent families is growing by 40 000 a year. Within two years of a separation or divorce, 50 percent of children lose touch with their fathers and may be out of a mother's control.

An estimated 16 000 school-teachers are assaulted by pupils every year, although there are successful schools — for example, a boys-only school of 600 youngsters from six different ethnic backgrounds, normally a recipe for chaos. Not a single staff member has been attacked there.

"I suppose you would call us very old-fashioned," said the headmaster. "We believe in compulsory school uniforms. The pupils must address the teachers as 'Sir' or 'Miss'. There is a strict code of discipline. Everybody knows from the very first day where they stand."

Modern sociology is under at-

tack. In a much-publicised speech recently, Prime Minister John Major said Britons should "understand a little less and condemn a little more." In other words, don't let the sociologists distract you from the crime by always bringing up the social cause.

A reader wrote plaintively to his newspaper: "An Englishman's home is his castle, but why should he be forced to turn it into a fortress?" Where, he asked, is the human right to walk the streets unmolested?

As in South Africa, there is a strong movement here for the return of the death penalty (Japan has just reimposed it). There is a clamour for stiffer sentences. Ministers have promised new secure training centres for young offenders, and a strict code of ethics will be introduced for the police.

There are some similarities with the situation in South Africa, where, for example, an expanded

police force also urgently needs a code of ethics. It is particularly difficult when police are part of the problem instead of the solution.

Both countries have overcrowded prisons, too — South Africa is second only to the United States in the number of prisoners per capita of population.

What can South Africa do though to arrest the break-up of family life and reduce the hordes of young criminals who are spewed out annually from black schools?

If the good old British family represents only 25 percent of white British households, it is a miracle that black family life exists in South Africa at all, considering the pressures on fathers to migrate on the shortage of housing, the growth of squatter camps, the partial collapse of black education, etc.

Some tribute, it seems, is due to

black mothers, who offer some solidarity in what their children must see as a world adrift. How they manage to provide small, warm, caring families in the turmoil that township life is little short of miraculous.

Black men don't come out of the lockdown too well. A South African woman living in England who is writing a book about exiles found the children of black exiles hardly referred to their fathers — the mother was the anchor in their lives. The nature of exile life tends to tear families apart, but the black community, research suggests, appears to have more than its share of male chauvinists.

Rebuilding black family life surely must be the key to the new South Africa. This means more jobs, houses, education, medicine — the familiar needs. But the focus should return to family life. This is where the criminalisation of the young can be stopped. □

Moose for key Aspen conference

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The full US Senate yesterday confirmed the nomination of George Moose as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and he will be sworn in today, just in time to catch a plane to South Africa to attend the Aspen Institute's conference on developments in the country, which is to be attended by many prominent Americans and South Africans.

While it was merely fortuitous that his first official duty should be a visit to South Africa, the event nevertheless signifies the importance which the Clinton administration will be placing on policy towards South Africa.

Even the resumed fighting in Angola, and the US's mediating role in the conflict, and the imminent prospect of a US-led United Nations operation in Mozambique, have taken second place to the Aspen conference and the opportunity it will give Moose to meet President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and many other key participants in the negotiating process.

The new administration appears to have enthusiastically embraced the idea of a revitalised South Africa serving as the springboard for the economic regeneration of the southern Africa region.

Exiles' body gives up in failure

By Peter Wellman

The National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) closed yesterday, admitting it had not been able to do its job properly, had been hit by corruption, and had no idea of how many people still needed help to return home.

Formed in 1990, it helped bring 16 000 exiles home in conjunction with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said the Rev Frank Chikane, leader of the SA Council of Churches, on behalf of the NCCR at a press conference in Johannesburg.

He said the lack of a reliable "master list" of who qualified for assistance had been a major

problem.

Unable to resolve this, the NCCR had decided to ask the UNHCR to "take over responsibility for the reception of returnees", he said.

The UNHCR would also set up an independent trust to take care of the longer-term needs of returning exiles.

A panel would be set up to solve the issue of outstanding grants, and the operation of reception centres for exiles. The NCCR would form a committee to discharge its outstanding legal obligations and responsibilities, he said.

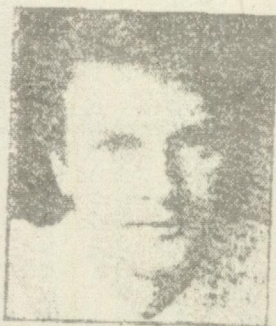
Chikane said two employees had been charged with corruption involving more than R300 000, and R200 000 had so far been recovered.

He said there might be other instances of corruption, which would be pursued.

NCCR sources said more than R52 million in UNHCR and other funds had been used so far, and most of this had gone on bringing exiles and their families home, and helping them when they arrived.

The UNHCR had budgeted for 12 800 exiles, but this figure had already been exceeded, and it was possible that up to 10 000 more exiles still had to be brought home to South Africa.

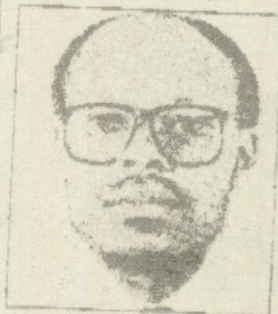
The ANC had supplied a list of about 15 000, which had been found to be reasonably accurate. But other liberation movements had not supplied detailed lists and this had created confusion.



Shaun Johnson . . .
deputy editor.



Joanne Collinge . . .
metro editor.



Mike Siluma . . .
in-depth page editor.

The Star today announces new appointments

Staff changes at The Star were announced this week. They came into effect yesterday, April 1.

Shaun Johnson, political editor, has been appointed deputy daily editor. He retains his political editorship.

David Legge, former chief sub-editor of The Star, has been appointed assistant editor responsible for design, production and training.

Mike Siluma, special writer, has been appointed in-depth page editor, responsible for The Star's main briefing page.

Colleen Ryan has been appointed assignment editor on The Star's news desk.

Joanne Collinge has been appointed metro editor and will head a three-person local government team which includes Cyril Madlala and Jacqui Myburgh, who have been appointed municipal reporters.

Chris Whitfield from the Natal Mercury, and political reporters Kalzer Nyatumba and Esther Waugh, become political correspondents on The Star.

Political correspondent Peter Fabricius is moving to Argus Newspapers' Washington bureau.

Former staffer Norman Chandler has returned as head of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.

David Robbins, a CNA prize winning author, has joined The Star as a health writer.

His two-year stay is being sponsored by the Kaiser Family Foundation, an American-based company whose goal is to improve the health of South Africans by helping to establish an equitable national health system.

Bryan Pearson has been appointed an assistant editor of Sunday Star.

Two men killed in Vaal attack

Vereeniging Bureau

An Evaton resident was shot dead, and another died later, after they were attacked by unidentified gunmen at a house in the Vaal township on Wednesday.

The victims have been identified as Samuel Mathawa (25), of West Road, and Themba Dladla (24), of Body Road, Evaton.

Police said both were at Mathawa's home when armed men arrived in a white Isuzu minibus and stormed into the house.

Mathawa was called outside. He was then shot in the head. He died instantly.

His attackers then helped themselves to a hi-fi and clothing valued at about R5 000.

As the gunmen were preparing to leave the premises, they spotted Dladla near the gate and opened fire, seriously wounding him.

Dladla was admitted to the Sebokeng hospital, where he died a few hours later.

Talks step closer to democracy

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ing with political violence.

Law and Order Minister and Government negotiator Hernus Kriel and Wessels questioned the commitment of political groups to ending violence.

Wessels asked the PAC how it could commit itself to a resolution against violence, while failing to distance itself from "the atrocious killings of innocent civilians for which Apla unashamedly and openly claims responsibility".

PAC negotiator Barney Desai said his organisation had emerged with the "cleanest hands" in all the reports compiled by the Goldstone Commission and that the security forces were guilty of more crimes than Apla.

The NPA had failed and there was "no inherent magic in signing it", he said.

The PAC and Apla were against the killing of women and children, who were not Apla targets. It "knew nothing about Eikenhof".

Kriel contended that the issue of private armies would have to be addressed in concrete terms.

"Arms caches will have to be uncovered and brought under control, trained personnel will have to be placed under control and discipline and further recruitment must be terminated.

"We want to know what steps political parties and organisations are taking to play their part in bringing down the level of violence," Kriel said.

The ANC proposed that all armed formations should be dealt with in phases linked to the transitional process and should be placed under multi-party control with the installation of a TEC.

Ngubane asked the forum to consider reconstruction funding for violence-torn communities because it would contribute to a healing process.

Late in the discussion on the subject, Conservative Party negotiator Schalk Pienaar launched a vitriolic attack on Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He was interrupted by the session's chairman, NP negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, and requested to remain within the parameters of the resolution.

The CP's alternative resolutions for the disbandment of MK and Apla were referred to the negotiating council.

TBVC reincorporation 'near'

Political Staff

The reincorporation of the TBVC states could be imminent, following the circulation of a confidential document by the Government to homeland leaders last week.

The document spells out a number of steps for swift reincorporation, accelerating the process which was expected to take place only when a transitional government of national unity was installed.

President de Klerk has said elections for such a government could take place early next year.

Now sources are saying that reincorporation could be tied to the earlier transi-

tional step — the installation of multiparty transitional executive councils and perhaps even precede it.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer pointed out that it would be difficult for the TBVC states to participate in the TECs while remaining fully "independent".

The document was presented to homeland leaders last week, and Government sources confirm that bilateral meetings are under way.

It is understood that a Government committee under Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has been working closely with the Departments of Constitutional

Development and Foreign Affairs.

The steps outlined in the document include the appointment of administrators-general and administrative councils for the territories in the period between reincorporation and the birth of an interim government.

Transkei and Venda have in the past agreed to reincorporation, while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the Government's position at a meeting last weekend.

Tensions between South Africa and Transkei appear to have injected urgency into the Government's approach on this issue.

Homeland sources yester-

day indicated that the financial implications of not accepting reincorporation had been spelt out in cold terms.

The document refers to an annexure on "the financial implication with regard to non-incorporation".

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent on South African money, which also accounts for more than half of Bophuthatswana's budgetary requirements.

Homelands sources said last night that they had been told to pass legislation stripping themselves of independence by the end of May.

A top Government source said the talks were at a "highly sensitive stage".

Agenda for talks agreed on ahead of schedule

On track to a new SA

By Esther Waugh
and Kalzer Nyatumba

South Africa moved a step closer to becoming a democracy when the multiparty negotiating forum agreed yesterday on an agenda for "real negotiations".

Observers and participants were taken by surprise when the scheduled two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park completed its business a day early, ending just before 6 pm.

Both the Government and the ANC hailed the progress as a "real and substantive beginning".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We can now safely say that the negotiations process is firmly under way. We are going to be dealing with the real substantive issues".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the press that the meeting had achieved its aims and all that remained to be thrashed out was the question of violence.

He warned that there was no way that negotiations could flourish with the violence that existed at present, but he was optimistic that elections could still be held early next year.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander declared: "Now we can begin real negotiations".

The forum yesterday moved swiftly through its agenda. Potential hiccups were avoided because potentially explosive discussions on political violence and the transition process were strictly controlled, and draft resolutions were adopted with minor amendments.

Tight chairing of the meeting made it difficult for participants to raise issues

outside the parameters set by the resolutions.

Substantial progress was made with the forum identifying several constitutional issues as well as causes of political violence which are to be referred to the smaller negotiating council.

It is in this council that the hard bargaining on these issues will take place in the coming weeks.

A name for the new negotiating structure was also referred to the planning com-

mittee and the negotiating council. Ten proposed names are still on the table and the planning committee could not reach consensus on the issue at a meeting on Wednesday night.

The negotiating council comprises two delegates from the participating groups, including leaders, and two advisers from each group. Its next meeting takes place on April 15.

Early in the meeting, the KwaZulu administration in-

dicated that it wanted the agenda to include discussion on whether a new South Africa would be a federal or unitary country.

The forum decided to place the issue at the top of a "shopping list" of constitutional principles.

The list includes a constitution-making body, transitional constitution, transitional regional and local governments, fundamental human rights during the transition, transitional exec-

utive council (TEC) and sub-councils as well as the future of TBVC states.

The issue of self-determination was included on the list after it was proposed by Conservative Party negotiator Frank le Roux. This has effectively ensured that the CP would stay on board for the time being.

In the discussion on political violence, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane proposed that the

signing of the National Peace Accord was a prerequisite for continued participation in further negotiations.

The PAC, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are at the negotiating forum but are not signatories to the Accord.

The ANC, Government and National Party proposed that the issue of private armies be addressed in deal-

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