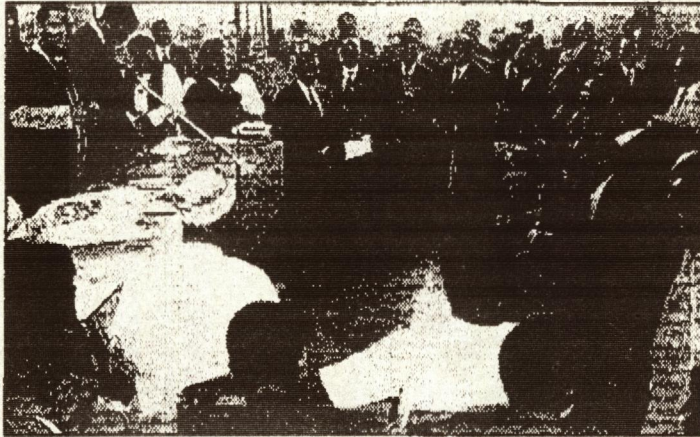


SUNDAY STAR, 7 FEBRUARY 1993



APOSTLES OF PEACE . . .

political affiliations were laid aside as hostel dwellers and church leaders met this week to pray for an end to violence.



Hostel-dwellers light a candle and pledge peace

BY JOVIAL RANTAO

MAGAZINE Dlomo, a Zulu from Jeppe Hostel and German Mlatsheni, a Xhosa from Selby Hostel, sat next to each other, held hands and sang the Lord's Prayer. Together they sang a verse from the Methodist hymn book.

Only a year ago it would have been unthinkable — apart from totally impractical — to see the two, from different ethnic groups, together. Then they would have been on either side of the battle lines, fighting a war neither of them knew much about or how it started.

In the crowded Selby Hostel hall the hostel-dwellers struck a crucial blow for peace, in a move initiated by themselves to bring peace to their "homes".

Residents shed their political affiliations, replaced spears and axes with Bibles, and lit a candle of hope and pain as they asked the Almighty to help them achieve peace.

Amid a celebration of song and prayer, led by the popular Methodist gospel group Amadodana Asewesile, the Reverend Mvume Dandala, who has been a peace facilitator among the hostel community, called for Africans to stop

killing each other and to embrace their culture of respect and love.

A superintendent of the Johannesburg Central Methodist Mission, Dandala said yesterday's prayer meeting was the result of a previous meeting held at the Jeppe Hostel on December 19 1992. Peace committees at each hostel were then established.

The December meeting adopted a statement of purpose for 1993. Part of the statement is that the initiative has emanated solely from the hostel residents and not from any organisation.

In his speech, Dlomo, an induna from the Jeppe hostel, spoke with a lump in his throat as he recalled August 25 1992 — the day he took it upon himself to approach Selby hostel residents with a peace initiative.

"When I arrived at Selby the blood on the walls and on the ground was still fresh from the fighting that had occurred two days before. I was scared to death. I survived, and here we are today," Dlomo told the meeting.

It was Dlomo's initiative that saw hundreds of hostel dwellers, men and women, cram the Selby Hall to pledge their willingness to work towards achieving peace.

Norway presses ANC on R2m it got for printing equipment

By CHARIS PERKINS and
PETER MALHERBE

THE Norwegian government has given the ANC until the middle of this month to account for more than R2-million it was given to buy a printing press.

The ANC was meant to report back to the Norwegian government on how the funds were being used by December, but yesterday a spokesman in Oslo said this had not been done so far.

In a statement issued on Friday, however, the ANC's information department said it had given Norway "full reports" in which it accounted for the money.

The ANC channelled the funds into a private investment company, Thebe Investment Corporation, in

October to set up a national printing trust.

It said it told the Norwegian government that the printing equipment would be acquired last month and the plant would begin operating by the end of June.

Explanation

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the printing equipment had arrived in Durban.

But Norwegian foreign ministry spokesman Ingvar Havnen said his government was still waiting for a full explanation from the ANC about the use of the funds.

He said the government's representative in Johannesburg, Inger Heldal, monitored the use of all Norway's grants to the ANC and had brought the matter of the funds to its attention.

"We were surprised to hear the ANC had transferred the funds to Thebe Investment," he said.

"We asked the ANC for an explanation in December, and renewed the request a few days ago."

Thebe Investment managing director Vusi Khanyile said his company was "quite satisfied" Norway had been fully informed.

"We believe the grant is

being utilised for the purpose it was intended for," he said.

He would not say whether the trust would print the daily newspaper and three magazines the ANC plans to launch in June.

Catalyst

"The trust is a printing company, not a publishing company," he said.

Thebe was established by the community-based Batho-Batho Trust in July to "act as a catalyst to redress the economic imbalances" in South Africa.

Its chairman is the former chief minister of KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Enos Mabuza.

NP's U-turn on new leadership

□ From Page 1

should be strictly defined.

It has demarcated areas on which the president can act on the advice of the Cabinet, after consultation with the Cabinet and, crucially, in consultation with the Cabinet.

In the last instance, it would mean that the president would not be able to act without achieving consensus in the multi-party Cabinet. A decision to declare war is an example.

The ANC is waiting for the government's detailed proposals outlining which decisions would have to be made on a consensus basis. The proposals are expected to be discussed on Wednesday.

The government and the ANC are also exploring a compromise to satisfy concerns of domination by a powerful central government after the first five years.

Previously the government believed the only way to prevent this occurring was to insist that power-sharing be included alongside universal suffrage and the need to hold regular elections in a list of constitutional principles.

The list of principles will be agreed on by all parties prior to the holding of elec-

tions and will have to be included in a final constitution.

Again there were strong objections from both the ANC and Inkatha to this proposal.

Government negotiators have now refined their thinking on this matter and believe it is possible to achieve permanent power-sharing by deciding on the allocation of power between central, regional and local government in advance.

Put bluntly, the government now wants the issue of federalism decided in advance of the holding of any elections. On this it has the support of Inkatha.

The ANC also accepts that regions should have "original" powers which cannot be overridden by the central government and that the boundaries of regions can be decided before the holding of the first election.

But it does not believe the powers and functions of regions can be dictated to the constituent assembly that will draw up the new constitution.

So far it has not been possible for the government and the ANC to breach their differences on this issue in their secret talks.

U-turn as NP backs single leader for SA

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has dramatically revised its proposals for power-sharing in a new government, dropping the idea of FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi serving as joint presidents.

It has now proposed that the party which wins a majority in the country's first non-racial elections, elect a single president who, with the assistance of a multiparty Cabinet, will run the country for five years.

This means, in effect, that should the ANC win the majority of votes, President de Klerk could serve in a Cabinet under Mr Mandela.

This new proposal, explored during bilateral talks with the ANC, signals a significant shift from previous NP policy and has advanced the prospects of a constitutional settlement.

A key feature of previous NP proposals to ensure power-sharing under a new constitution was the idea of a directly elected executive council.

Poll

In a speech to Parliament last year, President de Klerk proposed that this council replace the State President as the head of government and the head of state.

Members of the council, he said, would be directly elected in a non-racial poll. The three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the council.

The intention behind this proposal was that the three leaders of the major political parties — De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi would be accommodated.

This idea was rejected out of hand by the ANC and other parties so government negotiators have come up with alternatives, more acceptable to their negotiating partners, but which do not undermine the NP's insistence that power-sharing be a central feature of a new constitution.

One alternative now being canvassed in behind-the-scenes talks is that the majority party will elect a president, but that he will preside over a multi-party Cabinet.

Percentage

All parties which receive more than 10 percent or 15 percent of the votes in an election will be entitled to Cabinet representation. The actual number of Cabinet members a party will have, will be determined by the number of votes it polls in the election — should the NP, for example, poll 30 percent of the votes in an election it will have 30 percent of the Cabinet posts.

This multi-party Cabinet would rule the country for five years after which a final constitution, which would be negotiated in the meantime, would come into effect.

But, whereas President de Klerk at present has unfettered powers to hire and fire whom he pleases and even to declare war, the powers of the new president, the NP proposes,

□ To Page 2

■ JUNE 17

The US and the European Community are considering imposing sanctions against the People's Republic of Azania (PRA) after Her Excellency the State President exhorted Presidents Castro and Gaddafi to "be there with us when we go back to the bush to fight the white man".

Comrade Mandela was speaking during Martyrs' Day celebrations at the Comrades Memorial outside Pretoria yesterday.

She said she would be "the first to go back to the bush, take up arms and fight", and warned: "Any white person who comes here to interfere with us or who comes to preach peace, that person must not be allowed to leave alive. Their wives and mothers will have to fetch them as corpses."

The US and EC see this as a threat to their efforts to negotiate peace between the Government of the PRA and the white terrorist groups opposed to it.

■ JUNE 18

The office of Her Excellency the State President has issued a statement blaming the press for "quoting out of context" the remarks Comrade Mandela made in her Martyrs' Day speech on June 16, and castigating the international community for "misinterpreting" these remarks.

■ FEBRUARY 7 1997

Johannesburg journalist Chris Barron has been arrested by security police in connection with an article he wrote four years ago in which, according to a police spokesman, he "defamed Her Excellency Comrade Winnie Mandela". Barron's lawyers have petitioned the State President for his release, saying the article had been meant in jest.

A spokesman for Comrade Mandela quoted her as saying: "We were not amused."

WOMEN'S VOICES ABSENT IN BILLS ON EQUAL RIGHTS

By CHARLENE SMITH

WOMEN will discuss three draft bills designed to curtail discrimination against them at a major conference of the Women's Coalition in Johannesburg this week.

Women's rights activists are not impressed that they were not consulted in the drafting of the bills released for comment by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee on Friday.

They are the Prevention of Domestic Violence Draft Bill, the Abolition of Discrimination Against Women Draft Bill and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities Draft Bill.

Cathy Albertyn of the gender research centre at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits said she was pleased women's issues were now on the political agenda, but it would require more than amending laws to redress the inequality of women.

She pointed out that in terms of existing labour legislation discrimination in the work place was already an unfair labour practice.

"It requires more than legislation. There is no state-funded shelter for battered women and yet it is estimated that around one in four women are battered."

Frene Ginwala of the ANC's gender committee said women should have been consulted to assist in the

drafting of the bills.

Another provision in the bills makes marital rape illegal in cases where the marriage relationship has broken down and the parties no longer live together. Magistrates will also be empowered to authorise the seizure of firearms to prevent domestic violence.

Under the Equal Opportunities Bill it will be illegal to discriminate on the basis of gender, marital state or pregnancy. Women will also have to get equal pay for equal work.

Sexual harassment will also be forbidden.

Nonetheless, discrimination will not be a crime. Victims may lay complaints with the Equal Opportunities Commission.

Other advances which are unlikely to cause women much excitement are the provisions that will now allow them to legally enter liquor stores and pubs, box or wrestle, and become underground miners.

Lawmakers have deftly stepped around the thorny issue of abortion where no changes will be made.

The bills will not be presented to Parliament as legislation at this stage. Should the draft legislation eventually be accepted, it would have to be phased in gradually and systematically, Mr Coetsee said.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF AZANIA

President Mandela (HER, not him)

Fidel Castro at Joe Stalin Airport (formerly Jan Smuts) this morning. This is the President's first state visit to the Republic, and was specially timed to coincide with the 20th anniversary celebration of Martyrs' Day tomorrow.

Comrade Mandela hugged him and told an ululating, flag waving crowd that Cuba had always been her "second home".

She then presented President Castro with the Freedom of the People's Republic of Azania in recognition of his commitment to human freedom and dignity, and a box of Havana cigars. These were immediately whisked away by his security men.

President Gaddafi of Libya will arrive tomorrow to join the State President and President Castro on the reviewing stand for the march past of Umkhonto cadres in Church Street, Pretoria.

■ MAY 7

The chairman of a Government policy drafting committee has resigned after presenting a report critical of the State President's Child Abuse Bill.

A source close to Comrade Mandela said she was "extremely angry and emotional"

about the criticism, and had written a personal letter to the chairman in an effort to reason with him.

It is believed the chairman resigned soon after receiving the letter.

Meanwhile, a former high-ranking member of the United Democratic Front which condemned aspects of Comrade Mandela's

behaviour in 1988 is believed to have left the country hurriedly after receiving a personal telephone call from the State President early yesterday morning.

■ JUNE 15

Her Excellency the State President, Comrade Winnie Mandela, welcomes President

MIKE TARR

THROUGHOUT his political career, Mike Tarr has been one of those rare individuals who is regarded, even by opponents, as a "good guy". This week, he announced he was leaving the stands to join the scrum.

The MP for Maritzburg North left his party of 33 years for Inkatha. He now sits in the back corner of Parliament next to his former NP opponent and now fellow Inkatha member, Jurie Mentz, with a mish-mash of ANC and Afrikaner Volksunie members.

He did not take the decision lightly. In fact, he thought about it for a year. On Wednesday last week, he made up his mind and phoned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to tell him about his decision.

At the weekend, he kept his head down, and on Tuesday morning, he wandered around Cape Town trying to pluck up courage to hand his resignation to the media. After that, he informed DP leader Zach de Beer.

Mr Tarr sees little significant difference between the policies and constitutional proposals of the IFP and the DP. Mr de Beer's retort to this sentiment is that Mr Tarr could simply have stayed put.

But, for Mr Tarr, fighting a democratic election with the DP in Maritzburg spells political obscurity when the real struggle for power is between the ANC and the IFP.

He considers the question of political opportunism very seriously, but he believes there is no room for both the IFP and the DP in Natal — and he would prefer not to be in the wings.

Mr Tarr, who was brought up on a diet of gentlemanly politics in the DP and its progressive predecessors, knows he will have to adapt to a different ethos in the IFP.

"The DP has always stood on the opposition sidelines, so they never got their hands dirty in corruption and violence," he says.

"An unfortunate situation has developed in Natal, where there is an absolute battle for turf. It's a situation of eat or be eaten, the survival of the fittest. It's an unfortunate ethos."

With an abhorrence for violence, Mr Tarr hopes his presence in Parliament will help to establish a different ethos in the IFP.

"I believe the ANC is a better place because Rob Haswell is there. I hope our presence in Parliament

will be a pre-runner to better understanding between the IFP and the ANC."

He refuses to apologise for the IFP's alleged past abuses; he wants to start afresh from "today".

Mr Tarr said he understood from Mr Buthelezi that he would be appointed to the Inkatha central committee.

In this forum, says Mr Tarr, he will make his views known. And there are several views that are unlikely to be approved of by his new leader.

"There's no way I am going to attend a caucus meeting and not have my say. If that's not tolerated, I'll walk out," he says.

NORTH VS SOUTH

The white electorate of Maritzburg elected two Democratic Party MPs to represent them in Parliament. Both have defected — Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) to the ANC and Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) to its bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party. They speak to EDYTH BULBRING about the parting of their ways

HOSTEL dwellers took a further step towards peace this weekend when representatives of 25 violence-plagued hostels came together at a prayer service in Johannesburg.

The service at Selby Hostel yesterday morning followed a peace initiative started in November last year by residents weary of the violence emanating from their hostels.

Hostels represented included Jeppe, Dube, Denver, Mzimhlophe, City Deep, Selby, Kelvin, Orlando Power Station, Antea and Van Beck.

A further 15 hostels aligned themselves with a statement of purpose adopted at the November meeting, which was also attended by international observers and officials of the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Johannesburg city council.

"The meeting was a clear signal that the hostel residents were sick

Weary of battle, hostel dwellers pray for peace

By KURT SWART

and tired of the violence that had dogged their lives and had taken a firm decision to do something about it," said Rev Mvume Dandala, superintendent of the Johannesburg Central Methodist Mission, who chaired the meeting.

"A pledge was undertaken to adopt a programme of preaching peace to all other hostel residents and that other hostels not represented at the meeting would be kept informed of progress being made.

"This is a unique, meaningful and low-key exercise in fostering harmo-

nious relations and could become a valuable blueprint for the rest of the country," said Rev Dandala.

On Friday, chairman of the National Peace Committee John Hall expressed strong support for the hostel dwellers' peace initiative.

He said: "The statement of purpose adopted by the 25 Johannesburg hostels laid down that the initiative had come solely from residents themselves and would remain under their auspices, that tribal and ethnic differences would not be exploited and that peace would be preached to all hostel dwellers.

"I commend this initiative and wish them every success."

Coat-tail politicians a threat to ANC

■ ANC nightmare: With a looming schism between the ANC and SACP, the ANC faces a nightmarish task of drawing up a list of election candidates.

By DAVID BRER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE African National Congress faces a crisis when it draws up its list of candidates for South Africa's first nonracial election, political observers believe.

For both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and SACP secretary general Chris Hani have said the relationship of the long standing alliance would be re-examined after the election, expected by next year.

Politicians this week pointed out that it would be an explosive task for the ANC to draw up a list of election candidates including known SACP members, who could split after an election when the alliance was re-examined.

Politicians often cross the floor after elections. But if the likelihood of a split is known in advance, SACP members can hardly expect to be given a free ride into the interim parliament hanging on to the coat-tails of the popular ANC, only to part later.

Mandela said recently the ANC had no idea



HANI ... May abandon ANC.

logical links with the SACP and would renegotiate the alliance after the election.

Hani was quoted in the London Sunday Times as saying he planned to break with the ANC after the elections, but he later denied the report. However, he did say it was an issue that



DE BEER ... Hit by defections.

would have to be addressed after the elections.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, who has himself had a number of MPs defecting, including five to the ANC and one to the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he could not see how the ANC could draw up a list of candidates

including communists for the proportional representation elections if it was known in advance that the alliance with the SACP might change after the election.

Stellenbosch economist and political commentator Sampie Terreblanche said it was easy for Mandela to say the alliance with the SACP would be renegotiated after the election.

But this would have an immediate effect before the election as the ANC tried to draw up its list of candidates.

"All kinds of unforeseen contradictions are going to develop over how to unscramble the egg of the alliance," he said.

ANC executive member Gill Marcus said she did not see the drawing up of an election list as a problem.

"Anyone standing under the ANC banner will be subject to the discipline of the ANC. Anyone unable to accept this cannot stand on the ANC ballot form," she said.

Marcus said all members of the alliance agreed on the main basic platform, although SACP members had a socialist perspective which was not ANC policy.

"Anyone elected under the ANC banner will be subject to ANC discipline irrespective of their different perspective," she said.

Marcus said that the ANC would stand up for its own name on ballot forms and not in the name of an alliance.

INDEPENDENT

FEB 1993

10 INTERNATIONAL ★ ★ ★ ★

Zulu King threatens SA accord

THE Zulu King has emerged as the immediate obstacle to setting in motion plans agreed between the South African government and the African National Congress to defer majority rule until the end of the century but to hold elections for an all-race coalition government within the next 15 months.

The secret government-ANC agreement, the details of which were disclosed in yesterday's *Independent on Sunday*, has involved big compromises by both sides. The government has relented on earlier commitments to entrench the notion of "power-sharing" in a new constitution but the ANC has agreed to such a system — an "interim government of national unity" — for a period of five years after the elections.

The first stage in the process envisaged by South Africa's two leading political players is multi-party talks at the end of this month. Every significant political organisation has agreed to participate, but a delay seems possible because the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, insists that he too should lead a delegation.

The ANC rejects the idea out of hand because they detect behind the move the hand of the King's uncle, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Chief Buthelezi, who manages the King's purse strings and keeps him politically in his pocket, has said he will not take part in the talks unless the King does. The explanation is that he sees a Zulu royal delegation as a useful means of bolstering Inkatha's negotiating strength, which he will need since he is determined to block plans for an election which is certain to confirm the ANC as South Africa's majority party.

But Chief Buthelezi is no fool politically and knows that elections, of one sort or another, are inevitable sooner or later. In which case he wishes to have

From John Carlin
in Cape Town

King Goodwill identified as a partner in voters' minds in order to maximise his appeal to Zulu traditionalists.

Senior government figures are known to be irritated with Chief Buthelezi's spoiling tactics, especially as they have had their eyes opened in recent months and realised that his claims to represent the majority of Zulus are seriously to be doubted. An MP of the ruling National Party said last week that, according to internal electoral surveys, Inkatha would command at most 8 per cent of the national vote.

But, given that every poll taken in recent years has given the ANC a commanding lead over all other parties, the government has also asked itself why the ANC is so resistant to the participation of the King in the talks.

The answer lies in the ANC's need to appease its own supporters. The secret deal reached in bilateral talks with the government will prove hard to sell to ANC hardliners. And they come no harder than the ANC's Zulu constituency in Natal province. Tensions have been running high between the ANC's Natal leadership and the national leadership over the latter's perceived willingness to talk to Chief Buthelezi and, generally, to capitulate to government demands. To accept the participation of King Goodwill in the talks would be to impose more strain on this already dangerously tenuous relationship.

In the end, the government will be forced to make a choice. As a Western ambassador said last week, either it joins forces with the ANC to crush Inkatha or it joins forces with Inkatha to undermine the ANC. The mood in government circles indicates that it would opt for the former.

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INDEPENDENT

ON SUNDAY

Mandela agrees to postponement of majority rule

MAJORITY rule in South Africa is to be deferred until the end of the century under a historic compromise between the government and African National Congress.

They will share power for five years in a coalition government of national unity after the country holds its first all-race elections, next year.

The *Independent on Sunday* has learned that agreement was reached in a secret deal in talks between government and ANC negotiators last month.

Sources in both camps have confirmed that each made important concessions on previously inflexible positions.

President F W de Klerk had insisted throughout his three-and-a-half years in office that majority rule was not suitable for South Africa given its racial and cultural diversity.

He sought constitutional entrenchment of what he called "power-sharing", while the ANC leader Nelson Mandela's demand had always been for straightforward majority rule in the manner of the western democracies.

The decisive move came at the end of last year when the ANC accepted the principle of power-sharing for a fixed number of years.

In the latest round of talks, the ANC also agreed to begin negoti-

From John Carlin
in Cape Town

ations on a federal system of government in which power is devolved regionally, as in the United States. This, in turn, prompted the government to relent on its stand.

By June this year, a Transitional Executive Council made up of black and white politicians should be in place, to ensure the impartiality of the security forces, state broadcasting and the voting mechanisms in advance of free and fair elections.

By October the multi-party forum should have reached agreement on a transitional constitution and a bill of rights, which will establish the divisions of power within an interim government of national unity.

By April next year, elections will be held for the interim government, which will also draft the final constitution.

"It is as good a deal as Mr de Klerk could have hoped for," according to Colin Eglin, chief negotiator of the Democratic Party. Mr Eglin, who stands in the liberal centre of South African politics, also praised what he called the "extraordinary maturity" of the ANC leadership.

"I think the ANC is the most sophisticated liberation movement there has been," he said.

"I feel proud to be a South African. What we have achieved will be textbook stuff for negotiations the world over."

Secret democracy deal, page 18



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INDEPENDENT

IN SUNDAY

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Neat as it now looks, the process is not without its obstacles and its potential pitfalls. The rhetorical vitriol, for example, will still fly. Genuine differences will emerge as the government seeks to set in stone as many power-sharing mechanisms as possible before the inevitable post-electoral dilution of its authority. And disputes over the exact degree to which power is to be distributed during the transition may delay the election date by some months.

But the more pressing problem the leaders of both the ANC and the government face is how to sell the new deal to their constituencies. The ANC leadership needs to bring on board those on the radical left whose thinking was best captured by Winnie Mandela two weeks ago when she denounced what she called the unseemly rush with which "the élite" were hurrying to wrap themselves in "the silken sheets" of power. The government also has to still mutterers within its ranks.

Chances are that each will succeed. ANC leaders' confidence that they will defuse the Winnie bomb rests on the belief that their supporters' energy will soon be channelled towards the urgent task of winning an election.

The government knows that the majority of the white population are too befuddled to rebel and that those on the far right, while they might throw stones at the train, will not derail it.

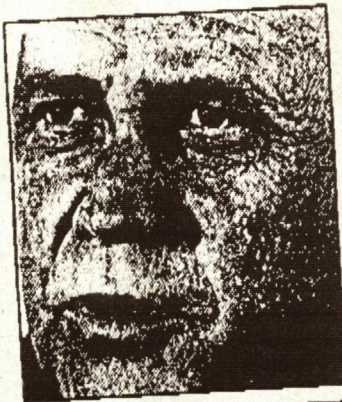
Mr de Klerk's bullish mood is recent days — "We shall succeed," he declared at the opening of parliament on 29 January — is built on the knowledge that the "bitter-enders" in the party are losing their stomach for the old cause, worrying more about keeping their large homes than their parliamentary seats. Four senior ministers have resigned in the past 10 months, the last being the hawkish former defence minister General Magnus Malan, who announced a week ago that he was going fishing in Alaska.

The ANC and the government must also deal with "the Buthelezi factor". Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, rejects the envisaged interim government-cum-constituent assembly. He wants the final constitution to be decided by a self-appointed, multi-party body in which Inkatha's bargaining capacity will rest less on its electoral support than on its capacity to mobilise to influence political events. But it is unlikely he will get what he wants.

Almost as phenomenal a development as the power-sharing compromise has been the transformation in the government's attitude to Inkatha. Only six months ago government spokesmen were publicly identifying Mr Buthelezi's organisation as a potential electoral ally. But last week Johan Steenkamp, a power-

Mr de Klerk has joined in the "Third Force". The decisive moment came on 19 December when he announced the retirement or dismissal of 23 officers — including six generals — involved in dirty tricks. But as with the ANC, he has realised that compromise is his only option. Mr de Klerk has made a deal with the generals, built on a commitment on his part not to prosecute. To push for justice, both the government and the ANC have come to realise, is to run the risk of civil war.

The imperative for stability, a prerequisite for the almost impossible task of economic reconstruction, is what underlies the historic compromises the ANC and the government have made over the new year. Such is their mutual resolve to achieve an orderly transi-



The President is in bullish mood. 'We shall succeed,' he said at the opening of parliament

tion to democracy that the police and army are fully confident that soon they will be engaging in a novel task — repressing radicals of both right and left with the blessing of the ANC.

A taste of what might lie ahead came this week when a conflict involving black taxi-drivers brought Johannesburg to a standstill. The government proclaimed a state of emergency in the centre of the city and police unleashed their dogs, tear-gas and ammunition with the gusto of old. The ANC barely raised a murmur.

The true measure of just how far South Africa's two great historical antagonists have progressed is provided by the fact that today the question in most political analysts' minds is not if they will reach a deal, but when. For the core issue of power has been fundamentally resolved.

In the interests of peace and stability, each side has accepted that there will be no big bang. No day, as Mr Fyfe put it, when one flag will go down and another will go up. "No, it will not be as exciting as it might have been. But it will be as exciting as it should be."

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14/WORLD NEWS

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Shifty De Klerk treks towards majority rule

Cape Town

Allister Sparks

AS THE government and the ANC draw closer to agreement on a new constitution, President F.W. de Klerk is subtly redefining 'power-sharing' to disguise the discarding of the central feature of his original plan.

Initially, the term meant a system of compulsory coalition government entrenched in the constitution, with a Cabinet drawn from the three major parties to emerge from an election, and a rotating presidency.

Now De Klerk and his Ministers are defining power-sharing as limitations on the majority party's power through constitutional checks and balances, a bill of rights and devolution of power to states or regions. They have dropped the idea of permanent coalition rule.

The change alters De Klerk's negotiating stance. He had insisted he would not accept majority rule. Citing Switzerland, he said South Africa needed a system of power-sharing between groups, bolstered by a bill to entrench 'group rights', and a Senate in which minority groups could veto Lower House legislation.

The ANC derided this as a 'loser-keeps-all system' enabling whites to block

reforms. Majority rule was Nelson Mandela's bottom line. Finding a compromise was going to be tough. Yet now it is about to happen. The government has dropped its group rights idea; the rotating presidency has been forgotten. Power-sharing is being redefined.

The ANC has also backed off from cherished positions. Where it demanded a centralised unitary state, it has accepted devolution of power to between five and 10 states or provinces. The ANC has agreed to coalition rule in the interim stage, while the new constitution is being drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

A 'government of national unity' is likely to be formed from all parties with 10 per cent or more of the vote in the first free elections late this year or early in 1994. This coalition will be led by the majority party's leader, who will have restricted powers. The interim government will rule while the elected constituent assembly drafts a constitution. Once that is drafted, the interim legislation will make it law — but the 'government of national unity' will serve out a full five-year term. Then a second election will be held, under the new constitution, with no provision for compulsory coalition. That is the compromise formula emerging.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC inquiry into weapons cache

SENIOR ANC officials will travel to Natal this week to investigate the circumstances surrounding the arrest of three alleged ANC members linked to an arms cache discovered by police at a Swaziland border post.

ANC officials on Friday remained tight-lipped, saying they were investigating the matter.

But the organisation released a statement yesterday confirming it would co-operate fully with the Goldstone commission probe into the allegations scheduled for February 15.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced on Friday that his commission's public inquiry into the illegal importation of automatic weapons and explosives into SA would include the discovery of arms on Monday in a vehicle travelling between Swaziland and SA.

Three ANC members were arrested when the cache was discovered.

Cleric calls for pulpit lessons on voting rights

By CARMEL RICKARD

TEACH democracy and human rights from your pulpits — that's the message to South African clergy from Kenya's Anglican Archbishop Manasses Kuria.

The archbishop has been attending the Anglican Consultative Council, a meeting of Anglican church heads from all over the world. It takes place every two years and was held in Cape Town this year.

Archbishop Kuria and 20 Kenyan Anglican bishops say they have chosen a difficult task in that country, regularly challenging corruption and injustice.

The government of Daniel arap Moi has responded angrily to what it claims is "interference" by the clerics, threatening and harassing church leaders. It has even demanded the resignation of Archbishop Kuria.

"But we continue with this work because we have taken the role of being the conscience of the nation and the voice of the voiceless," the archbishop said.

Fraud

Despite official criticism, church leaders began a campaign to educate their members about democracy and voting procedures long before last December's elections, the first multi-party poll in Kenya.

Teaching people about their rights from the pulpit and in meetings after church, the clergy tried to prepare voters to cast their ballots. They also trained church observers, who monitored the elections to ensure voting was fair.

"We were not pleased when we heard complaints of fraud after the elections," said the archbishop. "We had to speak out again to say it was wrong to steal votes and try to rig the election."

He believes churches can play a similar role in South Africa, preparing their members for



ARCHBISHOP MANASSES KURIA

elections. They must be educated about their rights and how to vote, and church leaders should also denounce in advance election malpractices, such as intimidation. He also recommended that special church observers be trained to monitor the progress of elections.

South African church leader Sheena Duncan endorsed Archbishop Kuria's call to use the pulpit for voter education.

The senior vice-president of the South African Council of Churches said the Church had to be involved in "education for democracy".

Speaking to a group of clergy in Durban, she said: "I've been a member of those captive congregations for long enough to know that, in fact, ministers can say what they like during their sermons."

"We have to make an absolute commitment to do this (educate about voting) if people are going to make an informed decision." She also urged churches to encourage their members to obtain ID books so they would be eligible to vote.

OPINION

Steady course

THE form of our political future now slowly emerges from opaque depths. After a year of recriminations, false starts and violent cul-de-sacs, a tenuous agreement begins to take shape that will almost certainly end in a coalition government by the most powerful parties.

The path is not always easy to discern. This week alone we have been distracted by the row over MK arms being imported into South Africa and the publication of the National Party's charter of rights, a defensive document aimed at protecting the residual interests of the old empire rather than embracing the democratic values needed by the new.

No matter. Recent statements by President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela show that South Africa's storm-battered political negotiations are steady on course. This is not surprising. Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have committed themselves to a process from which there is no turning back.

Should either contemplate it, they will be at the mercy of the hungry outriders on their flanks: white conservatives on the one side and the chaotic legions of the poor and embittered, the rich sea which communists like Chris Hani are now busily harvesting.

Despite this clear community of interests, there are certain niceties that have to be observed — the most obvious being that

neither party must look as if it is eager to accept the other's point of view. Thus we endure this coy courtship in which neither suitor wishes to be caught, in Winnie Mandela's classic words, between the "silken sheets".

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer insists there is no deal, but everybody knows the ANC and NP are on the brink of agreement about a government of national unity. Nelson Mandela, in an interview with the ANC's mouth-piece, *Mayibuye*, welcomes the idea of joint rule — but insists that it will not be enforced.

The details of the transition may be unclear but the objective is obvious: a rapid movement towards establishment of a transitional authority and the holding of an early election so that a "legitimate" multiparty government can again begin to rule the country rather than merely preside over it, as is happening now.

It is right that our leaders proceed rapidly towards political settlement. It is wrong if expediency replaces principle, private trade-offs subsume national agreements or favoured lobbies subvert the common good. A flash deal which avoids rather than encompasses fractious parties is easy to arrange and ultimately the work of technicians. A durable settlement, however, is the craft of statesmen. South Africa's leaders have only a few months left to show which they are.

ROB HASWELL

ROB HASWELL finds it hard to accept Mike Tarr's decision to leave the DP and join the IFP.

"It is clear the election battle in Natal is between the IFP and the ANC. In the process, the NP and the DP are mosquitoes," he says.

He can therefore understand Mr Tarr's desire to play a relevant political role in Natal, as his decision to leave the DP was also based on this consideration.

But on a personal level, Mr Haswell says he cannot understand Mr Tarr's deci-

sion to choose a party which has brought so much death and destruction to the people of Maritzburg.

Mr Haswell has known Mr Tarr for more than 20 years. They belonged to the same rugby club, and he believes relations between them in Parliament will remain cordial.

The sense of personal outrage Mr Haswell expresses at Mr Tarr's decision to join the IFP is similar to that of his own white constituency when he left the DP to join the ANC in April last year. There were calls for him to resign from parliament.

Mr Haswell used to be an independent city councillor before he joined the DP in 1989. He then won the election for Maritzburg South, a seat held by Mr Tarr for six years.

His disillusionment with the DP grew after the party failed to implement its programme of action aimed at forming pacts with like-minded organisations such as the ANC.

"Despite a number of meetings with the ANC, it became clear that the DP intended to stay exactly where it was — smack in the centre with a holier-than-thou attitude," he says.

His views brought him into increasing conflict with the DP, and he left with four others to join the ANC. His decision to go the

ANC route was influenced by his experiences of the violence in Maritzburg.

"Shortly after being elected to Parliament, I came into increasing contact with people from the township, mostly ANC members," he says.

"The real turning point came when the IFP invaded Edendale during what became known as the seven-day war. More than 20 000 people were made homeless and over 100 killed in what can only be described as an Inkatha rampage, aided and abetted by those entrusted with keeping law and order."

He became frustrated with the lack of sympathy for the ANC in Natal in his caucus, and admired what he described as the ANC's sincere and creative attempts to find solutions to the country's problems.

Mr Haswell is uncompromising in his view that the people of Natal have a right to defend themselves from the violence.

"We are still involved in a bloody war. The ANC is still effectively banned in Natal. ANC people are harassed and arrested, while armed IFP people are treated with respect.

"What are we supposed to do? Just allow ourselves to be assassinated?"

Despite his ANC membership, he says he strives in Parliament to serve Maritzburg as a whole.

Secret deal could bring democracy to SA

DYLAN MARTINEZ REUTER

F W de Klerk has pledged to kick the power habit. John Carlin reports from Cape Town

IT IS A testimony to the allure of the nicotine habit that South Africa's President F W de Klerk is finding it more difficult to give up smoking than to give up power. In 40 years he has made three unsuccessful attempts to abandon the habit. Last year he endured a full three months without a cigarette. But today he is back to his old ways, seizing every opportunity to treat out of the parliamentary chamber for a puff.

However, the addiction to political power is something he is resolved to overcome. In a secret deal between the government and the African National Congress, a schedule has been agreed for the transition to what Nelson Mandela calls "ordinary democracy". Mr de Klerk has bowed to the inevitability of majority rule. The compromise, accepted by ANC negotiators, is that Mr de Klerk will not give up power suddenly. He will cut down gradually.

It is, however, the most significant concession in the history of South African politics. For until now, and still publicly, the National Party position has been that a system of "power-sharing" should be entrenched in the post-apartheid constitution. Mr de Klerk has said it time and again

the "winner-takes-all" model favoured by Western democracies is not appropriate for South Africa. Now he has changed his tune. The agreement, in essence, is that a transitional government of national unity will rule the country for five years after the first all-race elections, which the government and the ANC expect to be held within the next 15 months. Majority rule will wait until 1999.

Last year the ANC made a remarkable concession of its own. In a move spearheaded by the Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, the ANC accepted the principle of democracy deferred. Mr Slovo proposed the new constitution should include what he called a "sunset clause" providing for "compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years". ANC leaders endorsed the proposal and Mr de Klerk has been persuaded to repay them in kind.

The deal rests on one other major ANC concession. It has accepted government demands for a federal model that will entrench a system of checks and balances designed to limit domination by central government.

It is as good a deal as Mr de Klerk could have hoped for, according to Colin Eglin, chief ne-

gotiator of the Democratic Party. Mr Eglin, who stands in the liberal centre of South African politics, praised what he called the extraordinary maturity of the ANC. "I think the ANC is the most sophisticated liberation movement there has been," he

said. "I feel proud to be a South African. What we have achieved will be textbook stuff for negotiations the world over."

If all goes according to plan, the textbook will contain the following timetable for transition:

- Multi-party talks, which were

suspended last May, resume before the end of this month.

- By June, a Transitional Executive Council made up of black and white politicians is in place, its purpose to ensure the impartiality of the security forces, state broadcasting and the electoral mechanism

prior to the holding of free and fair elections;

- By October the multi-party forum has reached agreement on a transitional constitution and a bill of rights, which will establish the divisions of power within an interim government of national unity.

- By April 1994 elections are held for the interim government, which will also draft the final constitution.

- Within perhaps 12 months the constitution will be fixed in law and for the next four years the executive and the legislature will serve a coalition government.



Taste of things to come: the ANC did not object when police attacked a demonstration by taxi-drivers in Johannesburg

ful National Party MP in Natal, said electoral surveys had shown that to equate Inkatha with all seven million Zulus was a myth. "It is questionable that in an election the majority of Zulus would support Inkatha," he said. "We have also learnt that, such is the widespread aversion that Inkatha generates among the black community, that if we want to capture black votes, we have found it might be counterproductive for us to be identified with them."

This view has not permeated through to all members of the government (one MP defected to Inkatha 10 ten days ago), much less to the whole white population. But Mr de Klerk shares Mr Steenkamp's view. The feeling is that if Inkatha insists on playing a spoiling role, it will be ditched.

The question remains, however, whether Inkatha's potential for violent disruption will flower again if it does not get its way. And the answer lies in the attitude of the security forces, the pillar of white minority power since the first colonists arrived in 1652.

The hidden manipulators of the security police and army intelligence have helped to orchestrate the Inkatha-ANC war of the last seven years, a war that has claimed some 10,000 lives.

ANC OFFICIALS say men may not be members

Arrest of two gun runners a threat to talks

■ **Obstacle surfaces:** The arrest of two alleged MK members on the Swazi border caught smuggling a large arms cache into the country threatens to disrupt security bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government. ANC officials want to see the two men themselves.

BY SUNSTAR REPORTER

THE African National Congress said yesterday it would not accept Government claims that senior ANC officials were involved in smuggling weapons into the country until a full investigation had taken place.

The smuggling row threatens to jeopardise the security bilateral talks presently being held between the Government and ANC and dominated discussions yesterday.

The Government accusations follow the arrest of two alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres at the Swaziland border on Thursday.

They were caught smuggling a large arsenal of weapons from Mozambique which were said to be destined for Durban initially and from

there presumably to be used on the battlefields of Natal.

The men had collected the weapons on the instruction of Natal commander and commissar of MK, Sipho Daniel Sithole, according to information provided by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The Government has demanded an explanation from the ANC and in addition has laid an official complaint with the National Peace Committee.

In a statement yesterday, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC was unable to establish whether the suspects were ANC members.

The organisation would only be able to investigate the incident once the Government gave it free access to the prisoners.

Ramaphosa said the armed struggle had been suspended in August 1990.

A further undertaking that no further infiltration of MK combatants and arms would take place was given in the DF Malan Accord, he said.

"The ANC," he added, "is fully committed to the negotiating process and the need to move as fast as possible to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy."

"Such a settlement should of course also cover all security and armed formations in South Africa."