

ANC's foreign service revamp plan

A democratic South Africa needs a fundamentally restructured Department of Foreign Affairs, according to an ANC discussion document. ESTHER WAUGH reports.

FIFTEEN senior ANC diplomats have drawn up proposals for the restructuring of South Africa's foreign service.

Their proposals, the fruit of a training course in senior diplomacy in France, Belgium and Britain in June last year, are still to be adopted as official ANC policy.

Their document, in the possession of The Star, says no unilateral constitutional and unilateral changes should be made to the foreign affairs service.

Instead, it proposes a multi-party parliamentary committee to oversee the restructuring process.

The ANC's head of administration in its international relations department, Yusuf Saloojee, said it was important to begin the process of giving a new perspective to South Africa's foreign relations.

"Our future relations with the international community will have to be based on economic and trade considerations rather than ideological considerations.

"We will have to pay particular attention to South-South cooperation and North-South relations as the basis of a future foreign policy," he said.

Saloojee said the ANC was

dismayed that the Government was unilaterally expanding its network of representation "even in places where we may not need to be".

Representation abroad would have to be determined within the context of budgetary constraints, he said.

The discussion document says a new Department of Foreign Affairs should be efficient and effective while its employees should be "competent and non-partisan".

The issue of political appointees should be carefully considered in terms of explicit guidelines.

These guidelines should include a code of conduct, disciplinary measures for violations and the establishment of a commission to ensure adherence to the code.

On affirmative action, the document said: "To redress historical and all other imbalances which prevent parts of the population from entering the Foreign Service, a future democratic government should be committed to a deliberate, calculated and conscious programme for the upliftment of these sectors.

"This will be required both during the transition period and beyond."

The recruitment, selection and promotion of new department members should be based on merit, fairness and representativeness, says the document.

Active recruitment should take place in sectors of society that had previously been excluded. □

16/1/11

ANC's NEC rejects sharing power with NP for 5 years

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DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE ANC has rejected sharing power with the National Party for five years and instead wants an interim government led by Mr Nelson Mandela to be in power for nine months.

The ANC's position — worked out at a two-day national executive committee meeting this week — was spelt out by NEC member and Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani at the University of Cape Town today.

He said a constituent assembly should have a nine-month lifespan in which to draw up a new constitution.

"We are saying the government of national unity must go up to the time that the constituent assembly has completed

its task. That can't be two, three or five years."

He said the ANC would like the process completed in nine months.

"Then we must have elections. This is the position of the ANC."

Mr Hani said the ANC and SACP were in favour of elections for a constituent assembly. The leader of the majority party would elect a cabinet of national unity in consultation with leaders of other parties who had scored five percent or more in the elections.

"This government will be led by Mandela ... we are confident."

Mr Hani said it would be unacceptable for President De Klerk to say he wanted Mr Pik Botha to have a specific position in the new cabinet.

He said the National Party wanted a lot of wheeling and dealing between the majority party and other parties.

While he had problems with the word reconciliation, the transitional period would be used to lay the basis for reconciliation, he said.

Mr Hani said Codesa could not draw up a new constitution because some of the parties taking part did not have mandates.

"I don't know what mandate Gatsha (Inkatha Freedom Party leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi) has. That's why it is wrong to say, as De Klerk (President De Klerk) does, that Codesa must draw up a new constitution."

He said the new constitution would have to be passed by a two thirds majority.

Whites turned away in affirmative action: Claim

By Hugo Hagen

MORE than half of the country's larger employers are actively engaged in affirmative action programmes to promote or employ Blacks instead of other races.

Personnel placement agencies claim that many suitably qualified White applicants, applying for vacant positions, are being turned away in favour of lesser qualified Blacks.

Despite an increasing awareness, Mr Albie Sachs of the African National Congress said he believed South Africans were failing to comprehend the scale of the issue of assisting in the advancement of underprivileged people.

The ANC has publicly stated its commitment to affirmative action and will be promoting Black business.

It was in favour of legislation to establish affirmative action quotas and ensure compliance and

enforceability.

A Citizen survey showed that several larger employers have set themselves strict quotas to ensure that more than half of their staff is Black within the next few years.

A survey on affirmative action by FSA-Contact human resource consultants confirmed that 58 percent of a sample group of 66 companies had an affirmative action policy in action.

The rest wanted such a programme started.

Spokesman Harriet Webster said 21 percent of the companies with affirmative action policies "have actually introduced preferential policies aimed at promoting one group to achieve equal employment opportunities."

Miss Webster found major obstacles in resistance from White staff and

inflated expectations from Black employees.

Industrial psychologist and manpower consultant, Mr Gunther Hellhoff, MD of Personnel Performance in Johannesburg, expected the trend towards Black advancement to increase.

"Reverse discrimination is increasingly taking place and has been giving affirmative action a poor reputation on the factory floor.

"Affirmative action is mostly a misunderstood term — it is supposed to prepare Blacks gradually for promotion but because of social pressures to appoint unqualified persons, was causing an identity crisis for Blacks."

He agreed that resistance among Whites was fierce, but blamed poor communication between management and staff for most misunderstandings.

"Although this blue collar lack of job security and fear of redundancy occurs among all race groups, it is predominant among Whites.

"Where White workers have been forced to accept the policy, they come to accept it once it is realised that it is fair and based on merit — provided, of course, management is completely honest and seen to be fair."

Mr Hellhoff said there were mainly two reasons forcing companies to adopt affirmative action policies — local politically based pressure demanding to know what was be-

ing done to advance Blacks, and internationally based pressure by foreign governments and mother companies.

He warned companies about introducing colour into executive positions unless they were prepared to counter a host of short-term drawbacks such as the socio-economic background of candidates as well as the learning curves of Blacks, which would not be an overnight process.

"In many cases a lack of experience caused unnecessary friction. I have found that companies were not aware how much stress the Black manager or executive had to endure.

"The stress levels of the new work environment, peer pressure and suspicions among acquaintances and friends as well as pressure at home, are considerably higher than among White colleagues."

He said companies should be able to accommodate cultural differences and values, and provide education and support programmes.

Personnel placement agencies canvassed also confirmed a drastic swing among employers to take in Black administrative staff.

Several said they had noticed a growing resentment among excellently qualified Coloured and Indian job seekers who have been turned away in preference for Blacks.

Ancyl wants talks on ANC/NP power-sharing

DURBAN. — The African National Congress Youth League (Ancyl) in southern Natal has called for a special ANC conference to address power-sharing with the National Party after elections for a constitution making body.

Ancyl regional deputy chairman Mr Skhumbuzo Ndlovu said the issue of sharing power was a matter of policy which could not be decided upon by the National Executive Committee.

Instead, it had to be taken to a national conference attended by branch, League and regional executives.

"We need a mandate on such a decision," he said.

Mr Ndlovu added that Ancyl in southern Natal agreed with the notion of

"some sort of coalition government" during the interim phase, but this coalition should be as short-lived as possible.

He said clarity was needed on the government's power-sharing proposal and the ANC's perspective on negotiations. A national ANC conference was required to address these issues.

Turning to the planned summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha Freedom Party counter-

part, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, regional Ancyl secretary Mr Nathi Mthethwa said "conditions on the ground" were not conducive to this meeting taking place now.

"The time is not right for a meeting. Until Inkatha agrees to certain conditions or makes an undertaking to deal with these, this meeting shouldn't take place."

Mr Mthethwa's statements echo similar ones made by the ANC's mili-

tant Midlands and northern Natal regions — both of which are opposed to a presidential summit during the current political climate in Natal.

Mr Mthethwa yesterday said he was likening the current situation to that in January 1991 when the two leaders met.

Nothing concrete came from that meeting, he said, adding that this shouldn't be allowed to happen again. — Sapa.

ANC, govt to hold two-day talks

CAPE TOWN. — The government and the ANC have set down two more days for bilateral talks next week in a last-ditch effort to secure a multi-party preparatory conference before the month's end.

The talks have been set down for Monday and Tuesday while negotiating Ministers have also provisionally diarised the preparatory conference for next Thursday and Friday (February 25 & 26), it was confirmed by Ministry sources yesterday.

Setting the dates, even provisionally, indicates a considerable measure of confidence that the planning conference will come off as expected.

Much depends on the progress being made in a three-day "boseraad" the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are attending in a Natal venue, and the decisions taken at a three-day ANC National Executive Committee now meeting in Johannesburg.

Both gatherings are focusing on agreements reached by ANC and government negotiators in their three-day bilateral meeting in Cape Town last week.

The agreements, including one on power-sharing and one on regional government, have sparked sharp criticism which the government was at pains to address in further rounds of bilateral talks earlier this week.

Diplomatic and political sources said yesterday all the parties were now under extreme pressure

to remove remaining obstacles and hurry along to multi-party negotiations.

Senior ANC executives expressed confidence that the 100-plus NEC would back its negotiators and endorse the key agreements reached with the government.

However they were concerned at the government's chances of taking the IFP and particularly Chief Mangosuthu Buthe into next week's preparatory talks.

Meanwhile government sources said that all outstanding issues were not connected with the preparatory conference and therefore need not be resolved forthwith. There was enough commonality and convergence to be confident of broad agreement being reached by the time a full multi-party constitutional conference was called.

A senior IFP official agreed and said the chances were good that the preparatory conference would go ahead as scheduled, if the government was able to give assurances on Umkhonto we Sizwe smuggling of arms into Natal, power-sharing and the protec-

tion of regional governments in a future constitution.

An intense first day's talks between the government and IFP negotiators aimed at reviving multi-party talks ended at 9.30 pm last night at a Richards Bay hotel.

"I can't say anything at this stage except that the meeting discussed very serious issues," KwaZulu Health Minister and IFP central committee member Dr Ben Ngubane said after the talks.

He confirmed the two delegations were to share a late night dinner, and would resume their talks this morning.

The IFP delegation is being led by the party's chief negotiator and na-

tional chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, while Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer is heading the Government's team.

"The mood is one of seriousness and addressing the issues," Dr Ngubane said. "We are tabling our concerns and seeing where we are going. There are serious issues on the table..."

"It is impossible to expect any conclusions on the first night," Dr Ngubane said.

The talks, which began yesterday afternoon, are due to last until tomorrow and are viewed by observers as critical in determining a timetable for the country's transition to democracy. — Sapa.

IFP MPs

NOW that three MPs have joined the IFP, it will be interesting to see how many MPs the party will have at the end of this Parliamentary session.

All three new members are from Natal and the IFP is perceived to be a Natal party, but I'm sure MPs from other provinces will also join. It has already been reported that a Transvaal MP is interested.

OBSERVER

Johannesburg

Buthelezi claim 'false'

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday rejected KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claims that the National Intelligence Service was involved in a smear campaign to discredit Inkatha. He said an investigation would be launched immediately.

Buthelezi said on Tuesday that NIS and government were trying to link Inkatha with Renamo and gun-running. The Sunday Star yesterday rejected suggestions that two of its journalists had sought to discredit Inkatha.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Business Day Reporter.
Sapa.

ANC wants Capital

THE ANC has confirmed it is considering buying the ailing Durban-based Capital Radio. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday negotiations were still at a preliminary stage and he could not say if an offer had been made.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, February 18 1993

Elected govt 'better able to tackle SA's violence'

RAY HARTLEY

SA's politicians needed to press ahead with multiparty talks leading to elections despite high levels of violence, the Commonwealth observer mission to SA said in its report yesterday.

The report said the mission was convinced "a government which enjoys the support of the majority of the population is in a far better position to address the issue of violence than one which is not".

But the report also cautioned that it would be naive to assume that elections would lead to "an immediate cessation of this violence".

Mission chairman Duncan Chappell said revelations by the Goldstone commission of Military Intelligence's continuing covert activities provided more evidence violence was being fuelled by "a so-called third force".

The report called on government to coerce homelands into permitting

free political activity. The mission spent much of its time in the Natal-KwaZulu area.

Government also needed to "undertake a major reassessment of its security apparatus so as to draw a distinction between external and internal threats", the report said.

"The SAP has lost the confidence of the majority and particularly those who live in township areas," he said.

More than 15 000 homicides had been committed in SA in 1992 — 50 murders per 100 000 South Africans — making it "one of the most violent countries in the world", Chappell said.

He said only nine homicides occurred for every 100 000 US citizens, while only two were committed per 100 000 Canadians or Australians.

"Structural imbalances in the dis-

tribution of wealth" had also fanned the flames of violence in SA, which was "awash with firearms", he said.

Chappell said it had been agreed with the Justice Department that Commonwealth observers would be able to visit prisons following extensive criticism of the justice process.

Visits to police stations and police cells had also been agreed to.

□ Meanwhile, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker would visit SA next week to gain a first-hand impression of progress being made with negotiations, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday. She would meet key players involved in getting multiparty talks going.

The spokesman said Chalker would arrive in SA on Tuesday and depart on Thursday.

Chalker last visited SA in September last year to attend the British SA Conference in Durban.

Police reform

THE police are studying the court record of the Swanieville murder trial — as well they might. The judge's criticism of the police when he acquitted the five people accused of the squatter camp massacre nearly two years ago was a shocking indictment of the force. It will also be regarded as justification for the many allegations of partiality and incompetence aimed at the police during incidents of township violence.

In the past few months the police have announced several steps to improve their poor image and their relationships with the black community, including the appointment of officers with special responsibilities for liaison with community organisations. These have been wel-

comed, but because of the SAP's poor past record they are unlikely to be effective while control remains in the hands of the old guard.

Nobody denies the police have a dangerous and thankless task, shown by the appalling number of policemen wounded and killed in the past few years, often by political assassins. Sadly, the victims have included many good and honest policemen.

The tragedy is that for too long the men in charge — from Ministers down — failed to acknowledge the need for reform in the SAP when the end of apartheid demanded a complete culture change. Even now this transition will be difficult to achieve without wholesale changes at the top.

Outrage over Swanieville

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had to act decisively against officers whose negligence in investigating the 1991 Swanieville massacre had led to the acquittal of those accused of murder in the case, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said police would suffer "a further loss of credibility" unless action was taken.

He said Judge C J Botha's criticism of police reaction to the massacre — that it was a "scandal" that so few were brought to trial for the killings — provided more evidence that police should "urgently" be placed under multiparty control.

"There is a strong likelihood that the police were involved in Swanieville and then there was a cover-up," he said. There should be an independent inquiry into the police response to the massacre, in which 28 Swanieville squatters were killed, and the Goldstone commission should move quickly to investigate the SAP and SADF.

Niehaus said the ANC was angry that the

RAY HARTLEY

murderers had not been brought to book despite the fact that there was "much evidence" as to their identities.

Police said the judgment would be studied to decide what steps would be taken to avoid recurrences "of this nature", Sapa reports.

Police pointed out that the Swanieville massacre happened before the Bolpatong killings and steps had subsequently been taken to improve policing, including:

- ☐ Contingency planning covering a wide range of unrest-related scenarios;
- ☐ A review of management structures of the internal stability division; and
- ☐ The deployment of an additional 900 policemen in the area.

But the police said it would require the wholehearted support of the community and the total involvement of all political leaders to stamp out the violence.

● Comment Page 4

US economist criticises SA monetary system controls

TOP US economist Alan Stoga yesterday criticised SA's monetary system, saying it kept much-needed capital away.

Addressing an investment conference at a Johannesburg hotel, Stoga said SA's general image, which was characterised by a shortage of skills, high wage demands, violence and unpredictability, made investing in SA less attractive than investing in the Southeast Asian countries.

Stoga, who is Kissinger and Associates MD and chief economist, said business people he had been talking to in the US had "lost the habit of thinking about SA".

Even after a new government had been installed in SA, foreign investments would not automatically flood the country, he said, adding that it was easier to impose sanctions than to lift them.

Stoga said slow economic

WILSON ZWANE

growth throughout the world had increased competition for capital.

This competition was bound to get more severe in a year or two when the world economic situation improved.

He said in order to attract investment, SA had to do away with its capital controls, privatise its industries and shy away from adopting protectionist policies.

On job creation, Stoga said no jobs could be created in a contracting economy. Public works programmes could play a role in the creation of jobs but that would have to be backed by the private sector's involvement.

A core element of a growing economy was infrastructure and SA had to entice the private sector to contribute towards the development of its infrastructure, he said.

Mission finds SA 'one of world's most violent'

By Vivian Warby

SOUTH Africa was one of the most violent countries in the world, a first-phase report of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa concluded yesterday.

This was apparent according to the mission from the country's homicide rate of 50 a 100 000 people during the period of October 1992 to January of this year.

Comparative statistics with the United States, which has a rate of

around nine homicides a 100 000 people, placed the country's statistics in perspective, Comsa said yesterday.

The country's homicide figures for 1992 were expected to total more than 15 000 while in 1991 the SAP recorded 14 693 murders.

Comsa, a 15-strong observer team which consisted of police, military, legal and political experts, further concluded

that South Africa's best hope of containing violence was to move speedily toward democratic elections and a durable resolution of the country's political crisis.

It would be "naive" to assume that the advent of the first democratically elected government in South Africa would lead to an immediate cessation of this violence.

However, the mission believed that a govern-

ment that enjoyed the support of most of the population would be in a far better position to address the issue of violence than one which was not.

Comsa, which consists of observers nominated from 13 member countries at the invitation of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, released this first phase report yesterday.

It reported that although a reduction in the level of violence prior to elections would be desirable, it seemed "unrealistic ... to expect this reduction as a precondition for the resumption of multilateral negotiations".

The causes of violence were "largely structural and to be found in particular in the gross imbalances in the distribution of wealth in the South African society".

These causes were compounded by:

- a deeply rooted culture of violence;
- easy access to firearms;
- failure by the criminal justice system to act as an effective deterrent; and

• political intolerance including legal barriers to free political activity in many of the homelands.

However, on the positive side, the report praised the National Peace Accords which it cites as "one of the truly consensual documents to have emerged in South Africa over the past two years".

The observers further urged, among other aspects, that signatories to the Peace Accord heed the call by the NPC for a meeting of all the signatories to the accord, that the government require homelands to permit free political activity and that an international presence be maintained in the country up to and including the first democratic elections.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Row (cont)

CALL it a deal, a bilateral agreement, or a preliminary pact; there is no doubt that the government and ANC have agreed that a government of national unity be formed after the first non-racial, open election next year. The time-frame, it seems, is at issue.

After the government-ANC meeting last week, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's international affairs director, speaking on behalf of the ANC delegation, said the government of national unity would rule for nine months.

Mr Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, speaking on behalf of the government delegation, said the deal was for power sharing for five years in a government of national unity.

The ANC made it clear that the party that won the majority of votes would invite others to participate in the government.

Mr Schoeman, on the other hand, said that if it was by invitation, then the matter would have to be renegotiated.

The government clearly wants a more structured government, with all parties which receive five or ten percent of the votes to be entitled to be represented in the Cabinet.

It is an issue that clearly will have to be resolved in further talks next week.

In the meantime, the very idea of a pact/agreement/deal, call it what you will, has set off opposition on all sides.

The chairman of the Natal Midlands region of the ANC, Mr Harry Gwala, has condemned the deal, saying his region was totally opposed to it.

The proposals were a "drastic departure from what we have always known the ANC to stand for".

The ANC negotiators' proposals included a bilateral understanding on regional powers, an agreement on details of a general amnesty to be pursued by the interim government, and a restructuring of the civil service, including the SA Police and Defence Force, which took into account existing contracts and provided for retirement compensation.

Mr Gwala put it this way: The ANC planned "to take ready-made state apparatus and control it together with the National Party. "For this to succeed, we must throw in re-trenchment packages as sops which will appease the dragon.

"Then we shall throw in a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement.

"This is indeed a strange way of appeasement. We are already setting down the rules of surrender before we meet the enemy."

There was reportedly dissatisfaction in other Natal regions, the Western Cape, among Congress of South African Trade Union members, in some South African Communist Party circles and in the PWV and border regions.

The ANC's National Executive Committee has reportedly decided, in consequence, to refer the deal to its grassroots for a mandate. The government will have a hard time trying to sell the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party at their bosberaad which began yesterday.

The Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and other organisations are also vehemently opposed to it.

Such opposition was to be expected, even among the ANC's own followers.

You can't talk "liberation" and do a deal with the so-called "oppressors" without getting radical Blacks, including the young Comrades, screaming at you.

Similarly, you are going to have the IFP condemning everything that smacks of a cosy deal between the government and the ANC that sidelines it.

At the same time there are Nationalists who are just as opposed to any deal with the ANC and its Communist Party ally.

How this is resolved remains to be seen, but the hitches that have arisen are likely to upset the timetable for transition, including the date for the new multi-party talks.

One thing that nobody has raised is what happens after the five years of a government of national unity end.

That, perhaps, is even more important than the government of national unity itself. . .

Felicity wants Mandela, Treurnicht to join hands

By Brian Sokuts

Felicity Symington is looking forward to the day when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and ANC president Nelson Mandela join hands in a show of peace.

The Midrand mother of three is working around the clock to launch a peace campaign — "Hands for Peace in South Africa" — on March 13.

Symington, known to people in Tembisa as "Thokozani" ("happiness" in Zulu), wants millions of people — from Messina to the Cape — to form a human chain.

The campaign already has the support of Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and South African Council of Churches general-secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane.

"I've also written to President de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Dr

Treurnicht, asking them to take part," said Symington.

The campaign is aimed at building peace across racial and political barriers, and has been modelled on US lawyer Ken Kragen's Hands Across America. Like the US campaign, it will also raise funds for the underprivileged," she said.

Symington said money to launch the project would come from herself and her husband Larry. Funds would be raised through the sale of T-shirts, and the proceeds would be administered by an independent trust. The Symingtons would, however, deduct expenses.

Why is Felicity Symington prepared to devote time and money to a peace campaign which may be impossible to organise?

She claims to have had her share of bad luck but still believes that everyone can work for peace.

Attempt to curb party pressure

DURBAN — The National Peace Secretariat of the National Peace Accord has asked Parliament for legislation declaring forceful political recruitment a criminal offence.

This was revealed yesterday by National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys during a press conference hosted by the Natal/Kwazulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in Durban.

Natal/Kwazulu RDRC chairman MC Pretorius said forced political recruitment had caused "a lot of conflict".

The plea for legislation follows recommendations made at a workshop of the Natal/Kwazulu RDRC held last month at the Durban City Hall.

A resolution passed then recommended that forced political recruitment, especially used as a form of blackmail for access to facilities such as housing and employment, should be declared a criminal offence. —
Political Staff

The Star

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The politics of health

THE ORDER by Nelson Mandela's doctors for him to take a complete rest is a reminder of his importance to a successful political settlement. For that reason his health is a national rather than merely an ANC concern.

Mandela, now in his 75th year, is a pivotal figure in the negotiations, both at a national level and in Natal, where political violence is endemic. A pragmatist who initiated the settlement process from prison, Mandela has pursued a punishing schedule since his release three years ago.

His task has been complicated by his awareness of the need to balance black impatience — after years of deprivation — with white anxiety amid the collapsing old order. It is a demanding process which must have taken its toll.

Mandela knows how important it is to pace himself. His admirers, and perhaps even his lieutenants, do not always share that awareness. At the opposite end of the converging centre, F.W. de Klerk has emerged as another man of critical importance to a settlement.

He, too, faces a tough task. He has had to sustain morale in the midst of deep gloom; remain cool in the face of provocative accusations of betrayal from the Right and conspiracy to murder from the Left.

De Klerk has the advantage of being nearly 20 years younger than Mandela. Even so he has acknowledged, however obliquely, that the strains of office can sap health and strength.

He, too, is a figure whose importance transcends party-political boundaries. So far, fortunately, he has been able to meet the demands of the situation, unlike some of his less robust colleagues who have fallen out, exhausted and disillusioned.

Clouds of confusion cover ANC's power-sharing pact

Fred Bridgland in Johannesburg analyses the Alice in Wonderland path to South Africa's future

WHEN they make the film *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland II* it should perhaps be set in South Africa.

This is a land on the verge of monumental transition, but most of the people, "the masses", both black and white, do not seem to be aware that a general election by universal franchise really will be held within 15 months, with former prisoner-for-life Nelson Mandela likely to become State President.

"The masses" can hardly be blamed. Politicians and leaders of opinion work hard to confuse them. Mirrors distort and words do not mean what they seem to mean. Last Saturday, when Mr Mandela was guest of honour at the Wanderers Ground in Johannesburg for the cricket international between the West Indies and Pakistan, the country's leading black newspaper columnist wrote that nothing had changed in South Africa.

But that was only mildly misleading compared with the artificial row that has been concocted this week between the ruling National Party and the ANC about the deal they have been negotiating behind closed doors for the last three months.

Essentially, the ANC and

the National Party, the country's two main political players, have agreed to share governmental power until the end of the century. Smaller parties can have ministries in the planned government of national unity provided they get five per cent or 10 per cent of the total vote in next year's general election to a constituent assembly.

The precise cut-off level has yet to be decided, but the lower level will probably be favoured so that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi can occupy a chair in the Cabinet room.

Both the ANC and the Nationalists would rather have the Chief brooding

inside the government rather than be outside encouraging a rerun of the Zulu Wars.

But despite the deal, which Mr Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, has described bitterly as a bargain between elites getting into bed together between silken sheets, the newspaper headlines here proclaim "No deal — Mandela, FW".

In the midst of all this, politicians are switching sides, trying to be sure they back the right horses in the race ahead. No wonder the man in the suburb or township is as clear in his mind about the future as Lewis Carroll's Alice was when Tweedledee explained to her: "Contrariwise, if it was so, it might be,

and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't." There are two essential truths about the ANC-government "row". First, the difference between them is thinner than rice paper. Second, they need to pretend the differences are deep because both are looking over their shoulders and trying to bring on board sulky minorities.

Mr de Klerk has to massage the ego of Chief Buthelezi and persuade white Right-wingers that power-sharing is the only way. Mr Mandela has to chair a meeting of the ANC's Executive Committee and deflect a strong challenge to the "silken sheets" covenant.

Mr Mandela would also like to lure the extremist black nationalist Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) into multi-party negotiations.

But, ultimately, if Inkatha, the white Conservative Party, the PAC and other minority parties refuse to play ball with Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk the "big men" will ride roughshod over them.

As the Johannesburg Star observed: "The shilly-shallying is over. The real thing that you have prayed for — or dreaded — is about to happen because the men with the power have decided it is going to happen."

Revolt over 'secret deal'

THE African National Congress is facing an internal revolt from its militant Natal region over its negotiation strategy and the disputed power-sharing deal with the South African government, writes Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg.

Mr Harry Gwala, the hard-line Communist leader of the Natal midlands region of the ANC, said his members were "totally opposed" to the proposals. Even though Mr Nel-

son Mandela and President de Klerk had denied that any secret deal had been struck, the ANC in Natal rejected the trend in negotiating policy, he said. "It is a drastic departure from what the ANC has always stood for. We are already setting down the rules of surrender before we meet the enemy."

Mr Gwala said he was seeking the support of 14 other ANC regional branches to support his revolt.

CITIZEN 18.2.93

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'Plot' claim: Reporter speaks**FROM PAGE 1**

Pauw had been in constant contact with the NIS agent as well as a Mozambican Intelligence agent called Vasco to plan the trip.

"Mozambican Intelligence was unable to help the NIS agent and The Star's journalist, Peta Thornycroft, had to return without being able to corroborate her story. This did not, however, stop her and Jacques Pauw from publishing a scurrilous report in the Sunday Star and Sunday Tribune under the heading "How Inkatha Gets its Guns," Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Pauw told The Citizen yesterday that the NIS agent referred to by Chief Buthelezi was a former Special Forces operative who had resigned from the Army three years ago and had since been a source of his.

"The kind of people I deal with are CCB agents, MI agents, and maybe he is working for NIS. I wouldn't be surprised. But it is impossible to know who your sources really work for.

"He (the agent) has a civilian job from which

he gets an income. I phoned him last night, and asked him if he was working for NIS. He said he wasn't going to tell me," Mr Pauw said.

The reason he had asked the agent to assist The Star with its investigation was because the newspaper was finding it very difficult to communicate with Maputo.

"He previously worked there and lived there for a while. I asked him to accompany us because I thought he could open doors for us.

"And he went to Maputo with Peta. They were there for two or three days. But it was at the time of the Renamo Peace Accord, and people were sensitive about giving out information. So they had problems. Afterwards he went back to Durban," Mr Pauw said.

Mr Pauw said the story subsequently published in The Star was, in fact, wholly based on an affidavit made by a former senior Inkatha official, Mr Bruce Anderson, who was part of the Inkatha delegation at Codesa last year.

Mr Anderson was deported from South Africa

on July 17 last year for involvement in gun smuggling.

"We did an interview with him afterwards, and he admitted that he was involved in gun-running and obtaining arms for Inkatha. He also implicated a senior MI officer. He said the arms had come from Mozambique.

"We had to corroborate his evidence, and that is why Peta flew to Maputo to speak to government officials. We had also been told that two Inkatha members had been arrested and were being held in Maputo on gun-smuggling charges. We wanted to speak to them, but because communication with Mozambique was so difficult, I asked my source for help."

Sunday Star Editor Mr Dave Hazelhurst told The Citizen that the newspaper's legal representatives were keeping a close watch on developments and would act when, and if, necessary.

Chief Buthelezi said in his statement that he had been informed by individuals in Mozambican Intelligence that two individuals understood by them to be operatives of NIS

had visited Maputo on October 28 with the view of soliciting their support to discredit the IFP.

He said the agent who had accompanied Mr Thornycroft was directly controlled by a Major Hentie Botha, a CIS officer with close links to NIS.

"Before flying to Maputo, where he met with Ms Thornycroft, the agent reported in detail to Major Botha and I thus draw the conclusion that he went on this mission with his full blessing," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi said he held officials of the South African Government directly responsible for "this disgraceful smear campaign".

He called on the government to remove Major Botha from office and to take urgent steps to ensure that NIS was not abused for party political purposes.

"They are abusing an intelligence arm of the State to besmirch political opponents in line with their plan to engineer a deal between the current government and the African National Congress," he said.

POLITICS

ANC factions differ

Political Staff

The ANC decided officially yesterday to consult its grassroots members on a controversial power-sharing deal with the Government, after strong criticism from hardliners in its ranks, party sources confirmed.

The decision was taken by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) on the second day of a three-day meeting in Soweto yesterday.

Sources said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance met

last night to discuss a draft statement on the NEC's decision to consult the organisation's members.

The Star was told that the NEC had also decided to call a conference of "reconstruction and strategy" to inform its members of developments in constitutional negotiations.

This means that the multiparty planning conference aimed at resuming negotiations could be delayed.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus refused to be drawn on the issue, saying the NEC was expected to announce decisions taken at the meeting at a news conference today.

Reports that Government

and ANC negotiators had clinched a deal to share power for five years after the first democratic elections have triggered fiery opposition from lesser political parties and from within the ANC's own ranks.

The ANC's Natal Midlands region has led the internal revolt, which is believed to have been backed by the western Cape.

Meanwhile, the Government and the ANC will have another two-day bilateral meeting, starting on Monday, in a last-ditch effort to secure a multiparty preparatory conference before the end of the month, reports Sapa.

CITIZEN

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'Plot' against IFP 'Agent' was Special Forces man: Reporter

By Chris Steyn

THE man accused by the Inkatha Freedom Party of being at the centre of a National Intelligence Services (NIS) plot to discredit the IFP is a former

Special Forces member and may now be working for NIS.

This was disclosed to The Citizen yesterday by a reporter of The Star, Mr Jacques Pauw, who, together with a former colleague, Miss Peta Thorn-

ycroft, who is now working on the Sunday Star, has been accused of colluding with NIS in the alleged smear campaign.

Early yesterday, IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a statement he had estab-

lished that Ms Thornycroft flew to Maputo in October last year in the company of an intelligence agent from Natal with close links to NIS. Chief Buthelezi said, Mr

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ANC radicals angry

ELSON MANDELA, the president of the African National Congress (ANC), was resting at home yesterday after a doctor's orders while the rest of the ANC leadership met in Johannesburg. The organisation was attempting to resolve an internal dilemma created after an open revolt against a deal negotiated with the government to share power for five years.

Doctors ordered "a complete rest" for Mr Mandela, who was deemed to be suffering from exhaustion. An ANC spokesman said he had experienced a tough schedule recently and had cancelled

all appointments until further notice. These included a trip to England, Scotland and Portugal next week, which was to have included lunch with John Major in London on Monday.

Embarrassed that 74-year-old Mr Mandela might be seriously ill were dispelled by ANC leaders who were with him on Tuesday. Andrew Mlangeni, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, said that Mr Mandela was "certainly not sick". "He attended the ANC NEC [National Executive Committee] meeting with us," Mr Mlangeni said. "He looked healthy."

The same could not be said yesterday for the ANC as a whole. Mr Mandela himself has issued public assurances that ANC negotiators, who are led by the Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, have not entered into a "power-sharing deal" with the government. But radicals within the ANC have refused to be fooled by what they view as an attempt by their president at semantic obfuscation.

What Mr Mandela has not denied, and what has indeed been confirmed by the government, is that an agreement has been reached for an interim govern-

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

ment of national unity to be established after South Africa's first all-race elections, which are expected early next year. The coalition, membership of which will be determined by the number of votes each party wins, will rule for five years.

That, ANC hardliners say, amounts to a deal to share power. Leading the revolt against Mr Ramaphosa and fellow negotiators such as Joe Slovo, the

INDEPENDENT

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at power-sharing deal

Communist Party chairman, is Harry Gwala, the ANC's most powerful leader in Natal province radicalised by six years of bloody conflict between the ANC and Inkatha and its security force allies.

Mr Gwala, only two years younger than Mr Mandela and also a former political prisoner, issued a statement on Monday which struck a chord among substantial numbers of ANC activists.

"We find the agreement unacceptable," Mr Gwala said, describing it as "a drastic departure from what we have always known the ANC to stand for".

Unwavering in his perception that the war is not yet over, he added: "This is indeed a strange way of appeasement. We are already setting down the rule of surrender before we meet the enemy. If we go out to negotiations with such terms of surrender, where do we draw the line?"

Mr Gwala made a proposal which, as he saw it, would resolve the matter once and for all. A national conference should be called to elect a mandate from the ANC rank and file. This proposal, ANC sources said, was heatedly debated in yesterday's NEC meeting.

It was a shrewd move by Mr Gwala, the sources said, as to refuse would be to lay open the leadership to charges of anti-democratic elitism. Such a conference, however, is the last thing the likes of Mr Ramaphosa want. At best it would delay the negotiating process, and accordingly the election date. At worst, the interim government deal would be rejected, rendering pointless several months of painstaking bilateral negotiations with the government, plunging the ANC into the deepest leadership crisis of its history and casting the future of the country into doubt.

South African democracy talks



Mandela: vital role in quelling rebellion

FROM MICHAEL HAMILTON
IN JOHANNESBURG

THE news that Nelson Mandela is cancelling his engagements and has taken to his bed with exhaustion raises the question of how far the democracy process really depends on the relationship between President de Klerk and the African National Congress leader he freed from prison almost exactly three years ago and who may yet, health permitting, become president of a new South Africa.

Surprisingly perhaps, the answer is that although Mr Mandela may indeed be seen as the guarantor of the process, the democracy talks do not depend on him. It used to be suggested that the relationship between the two men was vital to the success of the negotiations. Mr Mandela, it

■ The momentum towards power sharing is well established, and the ANC leader seems likely to be the next president of South Africa health permitting

was said, had sympathy for and an understanding of the pressures on Mr de Klerk.

This may stem from the international perception of the two leaders as personifying the points of view of their constituencies. It also stems from the euphoria generated between them in early talks soon after Mr Mandela's release.

Both sides appeared then to understand each other's interests of their followers in enthusiastic pursuit of an accommodation with each other. But the democracy process has moved on since 1990, and Mr Mandela's absence for a fortnight need not be disastrous.

If there are delays they will be because of pressures which have already built up.

It was clear even before doubts arose about Mr Mandela's health that there was slippage in the carefully crafted timetable for the transition to democracy. Because of the opposition among left-wing militants of the African National Congress to the agreement which was reached with Fickens last week, the movement's grassroots organisations have now to be consulted. This concession was wrong from the central leader,

THE TIMES THURSDAY FEBRUARY 18 1993

move out of Mandela's shadow

ship of the ANC by the hardline revolt against the deal led by Harry Gwala, head of the Natal Midlands region, who argued that a special conference should be held. He said the grassroots needed to be able to approve a deal, apparently selling out some of their essential interests.

Though a grassroots consultation could take time, the time needed to organise a special conference would severely set back the timetable. It now appears likely that the multiparty planning conference which was pencilled in for the end of next week will have to be delayed.

A last-minute effort to maintain the momentum and secure the planning conference before the end of the month was made last night when it was announced that the ANC and the government will have

two days of bilateral talks early next week.

The planning conference was to be the agreed precursor of a reconstituted Convention for a Democratic South Africa which was expected to meet in March and set up the transitional arrangements for the election of a constitution-making body, leading to the election of what the ANC calls a "government of national unity" or — in the government's terms — power sharing.

This is where Mr Mandela comes in. He has a significant role in calming rebellion and leading off trouble within ANC ranks. Mr Gwala may be troublesome to the ANC leadership, but he has respect for Mr Mandela and would be more so in his absence.

Mr Mandela is not part of the negotiating team. The negotiators led by Cyril

Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, have a good deal of freedom within the guidelines laid down for them. Those guidelines include the *Strategic Perspective* adopted by the movement late last year.

A clear explanation of the outcome of last week's talks with the ANC is still being demanded by other would-be members of any multiparty forum. Lucas Mangope, the president of Bophuthatane, the most reluctant of the so-called independent black homelands to reincorporate with South Africa, was in Mr de Klerk's Cape Town office on Friday seeking such clarity. A joint committee has been appointed to consider "various aspects of their bilateral relations and the general constitutional situation".

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday began a three-day

meeting at a hotel in Richards Bay at which considerable progress will need to be made.

In late March or April, preparations begin for a general election of all races. In June a transitional executive council will be formed consisting of the National Party, ANC, Inkatha and others. Between next September and April the election will be held, based on proportional representation. The new parliament will elect a president who, since the ANC is likely to be the largest party, will probably be Mr Mandela.

□ Guards convicted: Three white South African security guards, including the son of a former police general, have been convicted of torturing a black colleague to death in an interrogation over a theft. They were remanded for sentence. (AFP)