

NEW YORK TIMES
**Mandela's Group Accepts
5 Years of Power-Sharing**

Defeating Militants, It Backs Deal With de Klerk

By **BILL KELLER**
Special to The New York Times

SOWETO, South Africa, Feb. 18 — The African National Congress subdued its angry militant wing today and approved a plan to let minority parties share in governing the country for five years after the end of white monopoly rule.

The agreement, which takes South Africa a major step closer to its first post-apartheid government, creates the prospect that President F. W. de Klerk's National Party would stay on as a junior partner in running the country until near the end of the century.

Until three years ago, the congress and the National Party were bitter antagonists, with the congress outlawed and waging guerrilla warfare against the Government. Sharing executive power with the National Party, which devalued apartheid, remains anathema to many blacks.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the congress and its chief negotiator, told reporters that the agreement could not be described as "power sharing" since the majority party

would get its way on most matters.

If the agreement is finally enacted, white rule would end with the election by April 1994 of a 400-seat assembly, the first in which South Africa's 30 million blacks would have the vote. The assembly would write a new constitution and serve as the interim parliament for a term of five years.

The president would be chosen from the most successful party, and any party that won at least 5 percent of the seats in the new parliament would also be entitled to places in the cabinet. It is widely assumed that Nelson Mandela, the congress leader, would become the new president.

Approval of Cabinet

The president would be obliged to get cabinet approval on major decisions — two-thirds approval on certain issues of fundamental importance, which have not yet been specified.

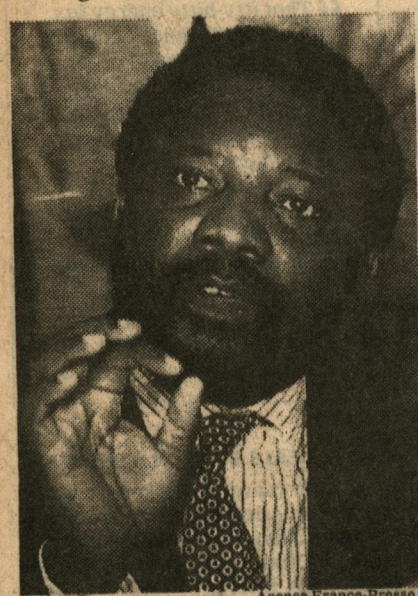
This arrangement already had the endorsement of Mr. de Klerk and must now be sold to other participants in multiparty talks, expected to resume next month.

The proposal has evoked furious denunciations from Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi of the conservative, Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, and from black militant groups like the Pan Africanist Congress, which fear they may be relegated to the margins by a future black-white coalition.

Agreement Called Binding

But the congress and the Government have sworn to treat their new agreement as binding, which means these longtime antagonists in effect reenter the multiparty talks as a formidable team.

The formula for coalition government was worked out by negotiators for the Government and the congress in January, but it caused an uproar among militants within the congress who regard it as a sellout. There was some doubt whether the congress's 100-member governing committee would



Agence France-Presse

Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the African National Congress and its chief negotiator.

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Govt readies itself for free elections

Staff Reporter

THE government is gearing up for the first free democratic elections and is issuing up to 60 000 identity documents (IDs) a week, making ballot boxes and voting cubicles.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday an estimated 96% of the population should have IDs by March next year.

To ensure the government is prepared for an election it has already manufactured 10 200 ballot boxes and 15 200 folding voting cubicles, and ultra-violet lights used for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands have been ordered.

"Seven thousand locations have been identified as possible polling stations," the spokesman said.

Based on the 1991 census there are 21 594 000 eligible voters in South Africa, including 12 334 000 potential black voters, 3 400 000 whites, 2 059 000 coloureds, 645 000 Asians and 3 156 000 people in the "independent homelands".

Foreigners in poll role

THE role of the international community in South Africa's next elections will be decided by an independent electoral commission appointed by a transitional executive council.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar said yesterday observer status for the international community could give the envisaged elections the required legitimacy.

He said the independent electoral commission would be responsible for overseeing, monitoring and supervising the whole electoral process.

Six to seven thousand polling stations had already been demarcated for the envisaged elections, said Mr Pienaar. — Sapa

The precise format of a future democratic election on the basis of universal franchise for all South African citizens must still be concluded at the negotiation table, said Mr K van Wyngaard, Western Cape Regional Director of Home Affairs.

Meeting the objective of having an election in 1994 at the latest implies that a registration would have to be conducted and concluded within a maximum period of three to four weeks and this would require 100 000 officials with an estimated cost of R400 to R450 million, he said.

Countdown for unity government

Argus

19 February 1993

All eyes on Inkatha talks as multi-party conference gets a major boost

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and TOS WENTZEL**
Political Staff

MOVES towards multi-party talks on a new democratic constitutional system will get a major boost today with the Inkatha Freedom Party agreeing to a planning conference.

All eyes are on Inkatha as its crucial meeting with the government in Richards Bay draws to a close in the wake of the ANC's endorsement of a five-year government of national unity.

Top Inkatha sources at the talks indicated today that definite progress was being made. They said a lot of time had been spent on discussing regionalism.

The government side has been presenting its views on power-sharing and the Inkatha side its views on federalism.

Government sources said the talks had been constructive and less confrontational than in the past.

The scene is now set for a two-day multiparty planning conference — probably on Thursday and Friday next week — to decide on the date for the resumption of fully fledged multiparty negotiations, and the form and name of the forum.

Some confusion followed the announcement by the ANC's national executive committee late yesterday that it rejected "power-sharing", but approved an "interim government of national unity and reconstruction" to last up to five years after the adoption of a new constitution.

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer reacted: "The statement itself is quite confusing. I can't see what the difference is between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that."

After this initial reaction government sources today expressed relief at the ANC decision. They said it could have been worse.

The ANC insisted its position differed from the government's "scenario".

Nevertheless, it is apparent the national executive committee has endorsed agreements between ANC and government negotiators in last week's three-day bilateral.

This was the source of feverish speculation about NP/ANC deals at the weekend.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew welcomed the ANC's proposal for an interim government of national unity.

He said most elements of the ANC's resolution on negotiations and national reconstruction were in line with what the DP had been advocating for some time.

"There are some matters that will require clarification and issues that will have to be subjected to negotiation, but encouraging progress is being made," Mr Andrew said.

The NEC statement said: "We reject the National Party's power-sharing proposal either for a permanent or fixed period."

But it added: "In the interest of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces in the period immediately following the adoption of the new constitution, we declare our support for an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which would exist up to the point of the adoption of the new constitution."

It would have an executive proportionally representing all parties which achieved 5 per cent or more of the votes.

Medics ban Mandela speech

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been forbidden by his doctors to speak at a fundraising banquet today.

Mr Mandela, who has fatigue, would have addressed the banquet in Johannesburg in spite of having cancelled other appointments, including an overseas trip next week.

An ANC statement last night said ANC international affairs head and national executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki would address the banquet instead.

Mandela's Group Backs Deal on Majority Rule

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endorse it today.

The congress negotiators' task of selling their deal to their broad and fractious leadership was complicated when President de Klerk and his aides described the deal as "power sharing," an emotionally charged expression that to many black leaders means a permanent white veto.

Anti-apartheid hard-liners like Harry Gwala, the firebrand who heads the congress's war-torn Natal Midlands region, denounced anything short of full-fledged majority rule, and during a three-day debate here, they called unsuccessfully for a nationwide membership conference to debate the issue.

Dissension in Congress

Even as the congress committee was finishing its work today, Chris Hani, secretary general of the Communist Party and a congress leader, was predicting to a student audience in Cape Town that the congress would reject "this business of five years." Mr. Hani said the unity government would endure for perhaps nine months and then step aside for new elections.

As is customary, when the congress governing body finally voted this afternoon the outcome was unanimous, although some of the more outspoken critics had gone to other engagements.

But President de Klerk, in an interview televised here last Sunday, noted approvingly that the new president would not have as much power "as I have in terms of our present system." Mr. de Klerk appoints and controls the Cabinet and has no obligation to weigh the views of minority parties.

The agreement, by whatever name, is a compromise, and if enacted it would institutionalize an element of compromise in the future government.

Mr. de Klerk, who has long insisted that a permanent consensus-style arrangement be enshrined in the constitution, has now agreed to only five

years. After that, whites worried about their future must count on the legal checks and balances incorporated in a new constitution.

The congress, which had earlier insisted on full majority rule, has now agreed to wait a bit, assuming that it will win big enough in the first elections to enact most of its policies as the dominant force in the unity government.

The general strategy of inviting the minority into a coalition was embraced by the congress last year at the urging of Joe Slovo, the Communist Party chairman and a leading congress negotiator. Mr. Slovo contended that abruptly cutting out the white minority would leave civil servants, security forces and businessmen embittered and sow the seeds of a destructive backlash.

"The objective will be to unite our country, to bring about stability, to insure we embark on a reconstruction program with other parties," Mr. Ramaphosa said today.

Mr. Slovo added that holding a second round of "full democracy" elections as soon as a new constitution was drafted would waste time and money, and probably produce an outcome little different from the first election.

Compromise on Regional Issue

In their recent talks, the Government and the congress have also reached a compromise on the divisive question of how to protect the interests of regions.

The Government has dropped its demand that regional powers and borders be permanently entrenched before elections, agreeing instead to leave the final distribution of powers to the new assembly. The congress, in turn, agreed that half of the assembly seats would be apportioned by regions, and that questions of regional power would require a two-thirds vote of those members.

This agreement drew a passionate protest from Mr. Buthelezi, whose support is concentrated primarily in the far eastern Natal province. Along with a few other regional leaders, he has made strong regional powers his highest priority.

Some Issues Unsettled

Congress and Government officials said many details remain to be negotiated, and a few major differences have yet to be bridged, including the future of the army and the police.

The progress could also bog down because of the evident burnout of negotiators.

Mr. de Klerk is rumored to plan a major shake-up of his Cabinet, which has been visibly exhausted by trying to govern and negotiate simultaneously.

Mr. Mandela has canceled most of his public appearances on doctor's orders because of fatigue. He participated in Wednesday's debate on the future government, but was absent today.

By Peter Fabricius
and Jo-Anne Collinge

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's national executive committee last night gave its crucial approval to proposals for a five-year government of national unity.

This promising development, coupled with encouraging signals from the Government-Inkatha Freedom Party boseraad at Richards Bay, indicates that negotiations are still on track for the multiparty planning conference next Thursday and Friday.

This will in turn arrange the resumption of full-scale Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

But the NEC firmly rejected sharing equal power with the National Party in a government of national unity and made it clear that the views of the majority party would prevail.

After an intense three-day meeting, the NEC last night issued a unanimous resolution which endorsed the essentials of the agreement by Government and ANC negotiators for a government of national unity lasting up to five years.

This included a joint Cabinet — of all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the electoral vote — which would run the country for no longer than five years after elections for a constituent assembly.

In the first phase — before the adoption of a new constitution — the government would be called the interim government of national unity, the NEC said.

In the second phase — after the adoption of a new constitution — it would become known as the government of national unity and reconstruction, which would phase in aspects of the new constitution and embark on a far-reaching programme of reconstruction and affirmative action.

Hamstrung

At a press conference in Soweto last night, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was adamant that the NEC proposal was an outright rejection of the Government's notion of power-sharing.

"Our idea of a government of national unity means majority rule should not be sacrificed in any way. We see the president as being able to take decisions without being hamstrung."

The NEC resolution spells out that the president shall be elected by simple majority of the constituent assembly. Representatives of minority parties in the Cabinet will be appointed — in proportion to their voting sup-

port — by the president in consultation with the leaders of these parties.

On most issues the president would have the final say. On certain issues not yet agreed to, decisions would require the support of two-thirds of the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement was confusing and that he could not see the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity.

However, after studying the NEC resolution government sources said it formed a good basis for further discussion.

They confirmed that the discussions in Richards Bay with the IFP were going well, and that everything was set for the multiparty planning conference to go ahead next Thursday.

Ramaphosa also said last night that intense efforts would be made to communicate the resolution to all party structures.

Indications are that this will not entail the elaborate process of consulting the grassroots which ANC militants were demanding.

Placated

The negotiators seem to have placated suspicious militants by uncompromising rhetoric but also by spelling out in unambiguous terms that the NP will not wield equal power with the ANC in a government of national unity.

On another critical issue, the NEC resolution confirmed that the constituent assembly would take all decisions on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government.

A proposed regional commission could only make recommendations to this assembly.

The ANC, however, would be seeking to build a national consensus on regional government.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said at the University of Cape Town yesterday the ANC had rejected sharing power with the National Party for five years and instead wanted an interim government, led by Nelson Mandela, to be in power for nine months.

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 within nine months.

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

Green light from ANC

Multiparty conference looks set to start on schedule

THE STAR, FRIDAY 19 FEBRUARY 1993

Boxing superstar Bowe jets in for ANC indaba

By Peter Davies

World heavyweight boxing champion Riddick Bowe jetted into Jan Smuts Airport from the United States yesterday afternoon as a guest of the ANC's International Solidarity Conference, which begins today.

The massive Bowe, who in November outpointed Evander Holyfield to win sport's richest crown, will also give boxing clinics in the townships.

Bowe was welcomed by sports guru Steve Tshwete in the absence of ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is under doctors' orders to rest.

Bowe's manager Rock

Newman did most of the talking at a brief conference. He said it was "a humbling experience" to touch down on South African soil, and scoffed at suggestions that Bowe's first title defence recently against Michael Dokes was a soft match.

But the heavyweight clash that the whole world wants to see is Bowe — holder of the World Boxing Association and International Boxing Federation belts — against Briton Lennox Lewis, who was awarded Bowe's World Boxing Council title when the champion refused to fight him last year.

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Fear lurks at scene of Swanieville slaughter

By Peter Davies

A long, neat row of freshly dug graves wait to be filled in Kagiso cemetery, just 2 km across the veld from Swanieville squatter camp, where 28 people were brutally slashed and burnt to death nearly two years ago.

Those graves may not stand empty for long. On Tuesday a Supreme Court judge acquitted five Kagiso hostel dwellers of taking part in the May 12 1991 massacre owing to lack of evidence.

The judge sharply criticised the police for failing to make sure hundreds of the killers were brought to justice.

Swanieville residents fear the result of the case may unleash another vicious bout of bloodletting.

The residents are loath to discuss the events of 21 months ago, when hundreds of heavily armed Kagiso hostel dwellers hacked, slit and shot their way through the West Rand squatter camp, murdering anyone they chanced upon.

The attackers, identified as Inkatha Freedom Party members by their red headbands, also left razed shacks and gutted cars in their wake. Squatter camp allegations that police Casspirs escorted the murderous mob were never proved.

Swanieville residents are angry. Some believe attackers will wreak mayhem again.

On that crisp Sunday morning in May 1991, Winifred Mfiko awoke at 5.30 am. Rumours had spread that Inkatha hostel dwellers were planning an attack some time that weekend. As a precaution, she had left her 10-year-old son with a colleague at the nearby Cremona Cheese Factory.

Later, as she was hanging up her washing, she saw a police Casspir moving down her dusty road, heard a car hooter and then the crackle of gunfire.

She woke her husband David.

Fear lurks at Swanieville

● From Page 1

then joined terrified squatters running blindly towards neighbouring Azaadville.

On returning to the smouldering camp that Sunday afternoon, a neighbour told her that David had been hacked and bludgeoned to death.

Titus Nong married the widow last year. He said the community was angry but not surprised at the judge's ruling.

"Police just went to that hostel and arrested people at random. They knew all along that they would not be prosecuted.

"Inkatha will return here before the end of May. Swanieville has no Zulus — the people here don't want them. So we are seen as an

ANC stronghold even if we are not active politically. There is going to be trouble here again."

Swanieville's only white resident, Louis Oosthuisen, who left his wife and three children in Burgershoop six years ago, also thinks another attack is possible.

"I don't worry as a person, but I worry for the people around me. I will help defend them if I have to," says the tractor driver (37).

On the surface Swanieville looks peaceful. Typical township streets are home to lazy dogs, honking geese, and chickens.

But the memories of May 12 1991 lurk just beneath the surface. Residents are too scared to have their photos taken. "To advertise yourself is to sign your death warrant," says Nong.

● To Page 3

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

A vote for peace

A GOVERNMENT which enjoys majority support is in a better position to address near endemic violence than one that does not. From that uncontestable axiom, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) concludes that South Africa's best hope is to move speedily towards democratic elections.

Comsa's proposition can be put differently: the violence must not be allowed to postpone democratic elections, since the elections are themselves a necessary condition for ending it.

The mission's conclusion, contained in a detailed report, contrasts with the view expressed last year by the International Commission of Jurists — that the level of violence was too high for free and fair elections to be held.

Yet from that assumption a different conclusion can be drawn: that unfree and unfair elections might increase anger and resentment and consequently exacerbate violence. The example of Angola, where inadequate UN monitoring allowed the election losers to cry foul and resume civil war, comes readily to mind.

South Africans, like Greek sailors of old, may feel that they risk being sucked under by Charybdis and/or devoured by Scylla. There is, however, a way forward between these perils. A multiparty conference must be convened as soon as possible to chart an agreed course to the future. Meanwhile, all parties must work actively to reduce the violence.

Such a programme may have to include joint control of the security forces. It will certainly require an immediate end to covert operations by these forces, a cessation of gun-running by the ANC and the IFP, a high-profile peace campaign by Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a reaffirmation of support for the National Peace Accord.

International observers, whether from the Commonwealth, the UN, the European Community or the OAU, have a role to play, too. As Comsa observes, their presence helps contain violence in volatile situations. They can help facilitate the free and fair elections so vital to resolution of the fighting.

Distress over outcome

Staff Reporter

Several political organisations have criticised the lack of convictions in the Swanieville massacre case.

The ANC yesterday released a statement saying it was "deeply disturbed and angered" that the Swanieville murderers had not been brought to book.

The organisation said all the evidence to convict the murderers was available, if only the police had done their job.

Very serious questions had been raised by the "shocking" conduct of the police, while there was even

"a strong likelihood that policemen actually participated in the massacre".

In his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court on Tuesday, Mr Justice C J Botha did not exclude the possibility of police involvement.

He acquitted five hostel dwellers of 28 counts of murder as well as other charges relating to the massacre of Swanieville residents on May 12 1991, during which 1 000 armed residents of Kagiso Hostel descended on the West Rand squatter camp.

The Pan Africanist Congress criticised the judicial system, saying it was open to abuse

Golden deckchairs

IT IS all very well for President de Klerk to consider reshuffling his Cabinet in the dying months of his administration, but it is going to cost the poor taxpayers plenty. More Ministers, more money, because most of those new worthies will face retirement after less than a year's service.

The ANC wants elections by the end of this year; government says it will probably be March or April next year. It may even be November next year if Van Zyl Slabbert is right, but elections are coming. So is some form of government of national unity, in which the National Party will have minority representation.

Those likely to stay on include De Klerk and Finance Minister Derek

Keys; few of those to be appointed in the imminent reshuffle can hope to survive the changeover. That means we will have to pay them retirement benefits, and expensive ones if government decides that all those in power on that last day should be handsomely reimbursed for their service. It may even have to be a cash payment to prevent a new government stopping the cheques.

De Klerk faces the inevitable accusations of rearranging deckchairs on the Titanic. Taxpayers face yet another queue for golden handshakes. If the jobs of those fired or retired were shared among the remaining Ministers for a year, at least they could claim to have earned some of the money.

Threats to ANC, Swedes by SARA

Citizen Reporter

THE organisation calling itself the South African Republican Army (SARA) yesterday threatened that "bad things" were going to happen before and after its second anniversary on March 24.

It claimed that the aim of one of its operations was to "bring the African National Congress to its knees", and it threatened to target Swedish institutions in South Africa because of the Swedish Government's support of the ANC.

The Legation of Sweden in South Africa was treating the threats seriously, and would notify the proper authorities, a spokesman said yesterday.

It was regrettable and indeed, deplorable, that anyone would consider such terrorist activities particularly at this time of great change in the country he said.

ANC spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, called on the South African Police to thoroughly investigate the threats.

SARA should be brought to book if there was found to be any truth in its previous claims of responsibility for the assassination of the ANC's

Natal Midlands deputy chairman, Mr Reggie Hadebe, and the killing of six people at the Chris Hani Squatter Camp.

"The ANC believes that the vast majority of people in South Africa will not allow themselves to be carried along by this type of lunatic fringe," he said.

The police are investigating.

In a telephone call to The Citizen yesterday a Mr Douglas Ndlovu said SARA believed President De Klerk's dealings with the ANC were "totally out of order" and felt that Mr De Klerk was "playing with fire".

SARA called on its "brothers" in the South African Defence Force (SADF) to stage a coup d'état and "take control of the country" with a "total seizure of power".

SARA also called on its "brothers" described as Right-wingers to take action.

"We feel that in nine months there is going to be total chaos in the country. It is going to be like Somalia. There are going to be warlords," said Mr Ndlovu.

He told The Citizen that SARA supported the Inkatha Freedom Party's

ideals, but had members who belonged to a variety of organisations, including the ANC.

In a previous telephone call Mr Ndlovu claimed that SARA consisted of returned exiles opposing the ANC.

ANC Midlands plans to do away with kwaZulu

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE African National Congress' Natal Midlands region has announced plans to launch a mass action campaign to press for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland and the implementation of transitional government structures in the province.

ANC Midlands deputy-chairman Blade Nzimande said the region believed that the formation of transitional structures at national level would not automatically filter through to the ground, "where it matters most". Natal was becoming "a base for reactionary forces" and a "strong federal bloc", he said.

Nzimande said this had to be countered through mass action or else the ANC would be "weak and forced to submit to everything in negotiations".

ANC regional executive committee member Mpume Sikhosana said the region would also campaign for the dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland. All kwaZulu-controlled departments, including the police force, health and education, should fall under the South African government. These would come under multiparty control in the run-up to elections, Sikhosana said.

The ANC was already having success on this front, he added. In the face of immense pressure last year, kwaZulu-controlled schools in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, had been transferred to the Department of Education and Training.

The ANC was also putting pressure on local councils under kwaZulu government control. "For example, we are pushing for Wembezi to fall under the

Estcourt town council."

Nzimande commented that Codesa agreements did not clearly state that the "self-governing states" would be dissolved before an election — and mass action was therefore needed to ensure that it happened.

The dissolution of the homeland would also break Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "leverage" over King Goodwill Zwelithini, and with it the Inkatha president's claim to be the custodian of Zulu culture.

"We believe very strongly that the king is being held hostage by the kwaZulu government. If the homeland goes, the king will be free to act above party political interests, to attend both Inkatha and ANC rallies."

The ANC's southern Natal branch has not signalled its intention to join the mass action campaign, but is formulating an election strategy aimed at weakening Inkatha. Regional secretary Sibusiso Ndebele said the movement would present itself as the champion of the Zulu cause, and Inkatha as playing the contrary role.

The region has declared 1993 "the year of King Dinizulu", and plans a cultural festival to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the king's death.

The emphasis on Dinizulu is significant — and a subtle attempt to discredit Buthelezi. Some historians claim that Dinizulu was defeated by the British at the Battle of kwaCeza in 1888 after Buthelezi's grandfather, Chief Mnyama, deserted the king and sided with his enemy. Dinizulu was made honorary president of the ANC shortly after its launch.

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini is reported to be backing 14 indunas in their bid to stop KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from removing their area from royal jurisdiction — and imposing "foreign" chiefs there.

This is the first time Zwelithini and Buthelezi have locked horns in public in over a decade, although some observers say it does not signal a major rift between the two.

In papers before the Durban Supreme Court, 14 indunas from Bonanango in the Ngquthu district in Zululand claimed that Buthelezi wanted to demarcate the areas and impose three "foreign" chiefs on them.

Induna Simon Mnguni said in an affidavit that his people were opposed to the constitution of new tribal author-

ities and boundaries in the Bonanango area. Buthelezi's "illegal actions" were designed to reduce Zwelithini's authority. This would be "contrary to the custom where the area was directly under the control of the Zulu king".

In a replying affidavit, the deputy secretary in Buthelezi's office, Carol Vos, denied this. He claimed Zwelithini had given his approval to the constitution of new tribal authorities.

Minutes of a community meeting

Royal battle as Buthelezi locks horns with the king

A clash over new tribal authorities has created a rift between Inkatha's leader and the Zulu king.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

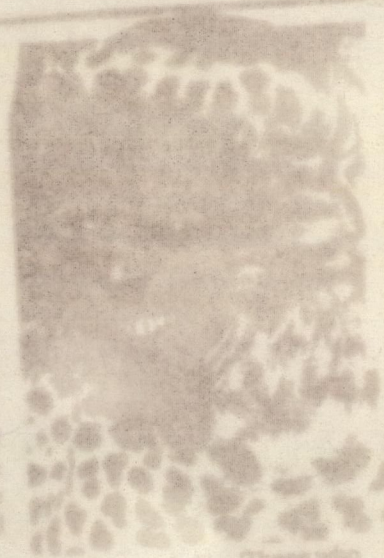
held in 1980, however, paint a different picture. Presented to the court, these quote the king as saying: "The scripture is correct that Jesus Christ's clothes

were divided amongst the people, but with me my area is subdivided and given to foreigners while I am still alive.

"Those who subdivide the area must stop," Zwelithini added.

Mnguni said Zwelithini had told them at a subsequent meeting that he had resolved the problems with the KwaZulu government and chiefs would not be imposed.

The case was adjourned to next month.



King Goodwill ... "Those who subdivide must stop"

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 7

Confusion mars deal with ANC

SOUTH AFRICA'S negotiating process is taking on the semblance of a wandering civil war as political leaders once again exchange threats, insults, and accusations in what have almost become traditional rites of passage marking any hint of progress.

The latest hostilities came in response to reports of the outcome of last week's negotiations between the ANC and the government, at which agreement was apparently reached on some form of power-sharing.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi of Inkatha said at the weekend that if there had been any such deal, the country had better prepare for real war. Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, said the deal was not for power-sharing, but for a sharing of power and anyone suggesting the contrary was engaged in "mischievous" rumour-mongering. The government in turn suggested the contrary and declared that if the ANC said anything different, the deal was off.

At the centre of the controversy was a statement by the deputy minister of constitutional development, Fanie Schoeman, on Friday that the government and the ANC had agreed to five years of power-sharing by means of a "government of national unity" after a final constitutional settlement had been reached.

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

stitutional settlement had been reached.

Mr Mandela, however, insisted that no such deal had been reached, that the ANC had proposed an "interim government of national unity" which, he insisted, "is not power-sharing". On Sunday, Mr Schoeman reiterated that "a government of national unity is power-sharing" and said that if the ANC persisted in its denials, "we are back to square one".

Sources say the ANC, which faces opposition in its own ranks to entrenched power-sharing with the

white minority until the end of the century, is anxious to present the five years of unity government as a voluntary initiative. The government wants the phase constitutionally entrenched.

Members of the ANC negotiating team are believed to have offered a compromise by which they would give written undertakings to President F. W. de Klerk's National Party that they would form a multi-party coalition government after elections.

The Guardian has learned that other significant advances include an agreement in principle that there should be a mechanism to break deadlocks in the constituent assembly on the adoption of a final constitution. There are differences as to the period in which the mechanism — probably a referendum — would be invoked, however, the government wanting a period of about three years, the ANC nine months.

(Le Monde, page 20)

Cautious route to accord in SA

JOHANNESBURG — Having learnt from previous setbacks, Minister for Constitutional Reform Roelf Meyer, who leads the government's negotiating team, and ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, are proceeding cautiously. A final accord that would allow the multiparty negotiations suspended in May 1992 to be resumed has not yet been reached.

The agreement will have to be endorsed by the South African cabinet and the ANC leadership. Nevertheless progress has been made. "There are still wide differences on some issues," said Fanie Schoeman, deputy minister for constitutional affairs and a member of the government negotiating team, "but our positions have moved closer together." Progress has been made possible largely as a result of concessions by the government which is now convinced that the country needs early political stability.

Addressing parliament on February 1, Roelf Meyer proposed that a multiparty conference draft a provisional constitution before the end of May 1993. The constitution would then be ratified by the present parliament. Elections would be organised in March or April 1994 with a view to forming a provisional government which would be able to amend the fundamental law but only within the limits of the principles embodied in the provisional constitution. What this meant in short was that the government was looking for safeguards against any charges a new majority might want to introduce.

The agreement reached on February 12 ultimately falls somewhat short of such expectations. Anxious not to have its hands tied by principles laid down independently of any majority issuing from an election, the ANC has always insisted that the new constitution should be worked out by an elected constituent assembly. The elections would take place as soon as possible, in all probability in the first quarter of 1994. However, this constitution is to be ratified only by a qualified majority which has still to be determined. This difficulty was responsible for the talks breaking down in May 1992.

Pending the drafting of the new constitution, the country would be run by a government of national union consisting of the parties willing to take part in the process. Only parties which have obtained 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the vote would be eligible.

Schoeman claimed that the ANC had agreed to a transitional government of at least five years. Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC negotiating team, took a more cautious attitude and spoke of a nine-month guarantee with the future constituent assembly given the possibility of lengthening the transitional government's life. The official ANC statement spoke of a "limited duration" after the adoption of a new constitution. These semantic variations have in fact more to do with tactical considerations than with real differences of opinion. The principle of power-sharing was accepted by the ANC some months ago, but it has still to get it accepted at the organisation's grassroots.

Much the same sort of problem is

facing South Africa's ruling National Party. It had to have the agreement reached with the ANC accepted by the other parties and above all by the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthe. While there appears to be no difficulty about executing the decisions concerning the early establishment of a transitional executive council to assist the government until the elections, or setting up independent commissions to oversee the elections and ensure impartial radio and television coverage, the regions pose an altogether different problem. As Inkatha, like the government, favours a federal, even confederal, structure, it wants the tricky questions of defining borders and identifying the areas of authority settled before the elections.

The ANC has, however, succeeded in having the matter referred to the constituent assembly. This will be the most prickly issue in next week's bilateral talks between the government and Inkatha.

Predictably, the recent discovery of an illegal arms trade in which several ANC activists are involved has also come in for extensive coverage, but contrary to many predictions, the incident failed to wreck the talks.

The two sides would in fact appear to have agreed that given the complexity of the situation in Natal Province where ANC followers are clashing with members of Inkatha, other incidents of this sort are likely to take place. An ANC arms cache has, for example, been discovered near Durban, while military materiel, this time transported by the ANC's adversary, Inkatha, was seized at the South Africa/Mozambique border. Neither of the two incidents, though very similar to the previous one, has been unduly exploited.

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

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A government of horse-traders

A GOVERNMENT of national unity is inevitable and desirable. It is the only alternative to an ongoing struggle that would deplete the country, strengthen the hands of those who have developed a taste for violence and ensure that the rest of the world loses interest in us.

But that does not mean we have to jump up and down with joy. Very few South Africans can be happy at the prospect of being stuck for another five years with the same scoundrels and crooks in government, even as junior partners.

This newspaper has long argued that the priority of national negotiations must not be point-scoring or electioneering, but finding the shortest route to democratic elections that will sort out the real power-players from the rhetoric-driven trouble-makers. At last, that seems to be the case — whether you call it power-sharing or a government of unity.

However, we must not hide the difficulties that lie ahead. Power-sharing is a necessary evil; we must recognise that it's necessary, but we must also prepare for the evil inherent in it.

It means rule by horse-trading. Representatives of different parties will be in government to look after their constituencies and each one of them will have to be given a slice of the cake. Resources will be doled out not on the rational basis of investing where the need is greatest, but by ensuring that each element of the government has some food in its belly.

Take, for example, the money that will have to be spent on education. Instead of the ability of a strong government to take an overall perspective and spend money according to need and demand, a government of national unity will have to spend according to the strength of each interest group. And since the National Party is likely — by virtue of history, skill and cunning — to continue to wield disproportionate power, we can expect its supporters to continue to get a substantial part of education funds.

If a government starts slashing the civil service in the way that is so badly needed in order to divert funds from, as another example, homeland bureaucracies to education, it could destroy a cabinet of national unity. Neither NP nor Inkatha ministers are going to sit around while their voters lose jobs. There goes the peace dividend.

But the biggest single problem will lie in the lack of a substantial official opposition. If any party with at least five to 10 percent of the vote is in government, then the only opposition will be the tiny, fractious, fringe voices that are easily ignored.

This removes the most powerful watchdog of a democracy: a strong opposition that can use parliament to ask hard questions and speak out against any wrongdoing. The other major watchdog is usually the courts — but judges will also be chosen by horse-trading.

Add to this the culture of silence that is likely under any government of national unity and you have a major problem. Criticism of politicians will be an attack on a government with a strong claim to represent national interest, whatever it does. There will be a strong temptation to silence dissent for the sake of unity.

The only likely watchdogs are going to be non-government organisations and independent media.

THE African National Congress has quietly launched world-wide operations to raise at least \$100-million for its campaign in South Africa's coming multiracial election.

Officials of the organisation said a network of fund-raising groups was in place in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Australia.

Their targets include sympathetic governments, political parties, trade unions, movements and church organisations besides people in streets of cities around the globe.

Their plea for support is being played on two levels.

●Recognising that few governments are likely to pay anything towards the electoral expenses of a political party engaged in campaign-

ANC on election trail for R100m

ing, the ANC intends pressing for contributions to a voter education fund which, in theory, would benefit the country's blacks. The reasoning is that South Africa's disenfranchised majority needs to be properly briefed, or taught, about the intricacies of democratic politics from which it has been barred for so long.

●On the non-governmental plane, however, the ANC seems convinced that it can count on the backing of a variety of groups and movements for its own particular policies and programmes because of the leadership role it has been playing over the years in the liberation struggle. The inten-

The African National Congress is globetrotting to raise R100-million for its election campaign, reports
ARTHUR GAYSHON

tion is that potential supporters would be made aware of the exact way in which their contributions would be used.

Despite the constraints imposed by the worldwide recession there is little doubt that the ANC can rely upon considerable help from the United States, European Community, Com-

monwealth countries and from Japan and other leading trading nations.

In most of these lands activist groups have been supporting the struggle against apartheid for many years with money, gifts and political rallies. US state and civic authorities have banned investments in South Africa and business with South African firms.

Most of the 12 European Community member-countries have been doing the same although, as apartheid structures have come down, their boycotts have been easing. The ANC has been the main beneficiary of material help with its per-

ident, Nelson Mandela, acclaimed almost universally as the symbol of black resistance.

Underlining the esteem in which Mandela is held, the freedom of 10 British cities has been conferred upon the ANC leader. He was to have received the awards at a ceremony in Glasgow on Monday, but the occasion has been postponed because, on medical advice, he has had to call off his planned visit to Europe next week.

The aim of fund-raisers in Britain is to collect at least \$1.5-million for the ANC. In the US and Japan, more is expected. Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Malaysia and the Caribbean states are expected to be the main Commonwealth contributors.

Agent 'confesses'

FROM PAGE 1

Services.

A spokesman for Minister of Justice Kobie Coen said yesterday evening that an investigation had been launched into the alleged plot.

"The National Intelligence Service is not involved in strategems and activities of the nature described in the report, and views the matter raised by Chief Minister Buthezi as a serious threat. Investigations were immediately launched."

The alleged NIS agent also confessed that the purpose of the operation was to smear the IFP, and not to complete a normal security services investigation.

The IFP said yesterday that it was extremely concerned about threats to the agent's life and his family by a very senior intelligence officer.

This had caused the IFP to reveal his identity to a director of NIS who had travelled to Durban from Cape Town.

"The IFP formally asked that the government take urgent steps to guarantee the safety of the agent and his family," the statement said.

Yesterday's dramatic developments followed claims by IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, that two Star reporters, Mr Jacques Pauw and Ms Peta Thornycroft, had worked with NIS to prove that Inkatha had smuggled weapons into South Africa from Mozambique and that it had links with the rebel Renamo movement.

Following weeks of investigations, the IFP was able to establish that a report published in the November 1 edition of The Star under the heading 'How Inkatha Gets Its Guns' was the result of contacts over many weeks between Pauw and intelligence sources in Natal, and followed directly on the heels of a visit to Mozambique by fellow Star reporter, Peta Thornycroft, with this agent," the IFP statement said.

Coincidentally, the Weekly Mail, apparently unaware of the operation, published a report stating that a group of NIS agents had visited Mozambique late in October — at the time Thornycroft and her Natal agent arrived in Mozambique.

Mr Pauw has disclosed to The Citizen that the agent was a former Special Forces operative who had resigned from the army three years ago and had been a contact of his since, Mr Pauw said.

the man might be a NIS agent.

However, he pointed out that the story published in The Star was wholly based on an affidavit made to the newspaper by former senior Inkatha official, Mr Bruce Anderson, following his deportation from South Africa for his involvement in illegal gun running.

The IFP also disclosed in its statement yesterday afternoon that the agent had requested an urgent meeting with the organisation "because a key individual from the ANC's intelligence department (DIS) wanted to speak to the IFP to do a deal."

"The offer was rejected," the IFP said. "The IFP is aware of a series of projects in which the ANC and government intelligence services have co-operated as part of a plan to undermine the IFP."

At a Press conference in Durban yesterday, IFP Regional Natal Organiser, Mr Senzo Mfayela, said if the security services were genuinely attempting to establish whether there were links between the IFP and Renamo, then the very last thing they would have done was to operate through journalists, since this would have defeated the ends of the police enquiry.

"In fact, the investigation has revealed that it was not the Press that was being of use to the security services, but rather that the security services were smoothing the way for the Press. This reveals a definite political motive or agenda," Mr Mfayela said.

* NIS agent confesses, says IFP

By Chris Steyn

A FULL confession has been made by the National Intelligence Services agent at the centre of an alleged plot by NIS to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party by implicating it in illegal gun-running, Inkatha spokesman, Mr Ed Tillet, told The

Citizen yesterday.

Once the agent realised "the game was up", his confession was "totally voluntary".

"We made it clear to him that we had concrete evidence against him and others. He just had to explain what had happened."

"It was then that the realisation dawned on him... and it was under

these circumstances that he made the confession," Mr Tillet said.

The agent confessed that his actions had been fully authorised by the head of NIS in Natal, Major Hentie Botha, who had links with the former Security Branch, now-called Crime Intelligence

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Talks on track

CAPE TOWN. — Constitutional talks are firmly on track to a two-day preparatory conference in Johannesburg next week after getting green lights from both the African National Congress and the Inkatha

Freedom Party yesterday.

Although Inkatha's official position is still to be finalised today, negotiating sources say positive progress has been made at a current three-day "boseraad" with the government.

One more two-day bi-

lateral between the government and the ANC remains to be held on Monday and Tuesday to finalise arrangements for the preparatory conference.

The conference will decide on the format, name

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Talks are on track

FROM PAGE 1

and date for the resumption of Codesa-style multi-party constitutional negotiations.

The preparatory talks are expected to target March for the first plenary of resumed constitutional talks, well within the time frames pursued by State President De Klerk and the ANC for a rapid transition to democratic elections.

Although the NEC statement yesterday rejected any notion of power sharing deals, it confirmed the ANC's agreement to an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which could rule for five years

before an election based on the new constitution is called.

"Some progress" had been made by government and Inkatha Freedom Party officials after a second day of bilateral talks in Richards Bay, chief IFP negotiator, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said last night.

It was possible to resolve "certain issues" the IFP had raised in time for next Thursday and Friday's proposed multi-party preparatory conference in the Johannesburg area.

The IFP had made it clear its objections about, for instance, an alleged power-sharing deal between the government and African National Congress, had to be "sorted out" before a pre-

paratory conference could be held.

"It is now possible to resolve them in time for next Thursday," Dr Mdlalose, also IFP national chairman, said from his hotel in Richards Bay.

According to observers, the government/Inkatha "boseraad" is crucial in getting multi-party negotiations back on track.

Dr Mdlalose refused to be drawn on the details of the government/Inkatha talks of the past two days until they ended.

They are expected to complete their discussions by early this afternoon. Dr Mdlalose confirmed a joint government/Inkatha statement was scheduled for this afternoon.

The talks had been con-

ducted in a "very friendly and cordial" manner. "We have covered quite a lot of ground and will probably be able to make some statement when they end". —Sapa.

CP ready to talk, but no govt-ANC deal: Dr T

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — The Conservative Party is prepared to take part in constitutional negotiations, but not on the basis of prior government-ANC deals or agreements, Dr Andries Treurnicht, CP leader, said yesterday.

The CP and parties which participated in Codesa had agreed to be part of the proposed Planning Conference, to help design the future multilateral negotiation process.

"But if the government and ANC come to the conference with some sort of 'understanding', then they already have their answer, not only from the CP, but also from others in COSAG.

"We are part of the debate in South Africa today. We are active in talks," Dr Treurnicht said in an interview on the eve of his 72nd birthday today.

Having led the CP since

its formation in 1982, he was convinced the party represented an important and fundamental point of view, based on the human realities of the country, with its diversity of people and ethnicities.

"Our basic point of departure is not just a fashion of the day, but is more deep-rooted," said Dr Treurnicht.

It had proved to be well-grounded within society. While other groups might lay less stress on ethnicity, it was nevertheless a reality, and would be one of the determining factors in the country's future.

Secondly, events elsewhere in the world confirmed the CP in its point of view that self-determination was an essential component of a peaceful society.

Even those who did not sympathise with the CP agreed that South Africa

should not become "another Yugoslavia," where ethnicity resulted in violence.

In otherwise stable countries, such as Belgium and Canada, satisfactory solutions had to be found for the reality of diversity.

In the European Community, in spite of a spirit of interaction and co-operation, different countries were retaining their independence.

"We do not, as some critics maintain, represent an outmoded view. Our point of departure is very modern."

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had gained ground since being the losing party in last year's referendum. Its policies were being better understood and appreciated.

For example, certain basic principles had been adopted within the Concerned South Africans

Group (COSAG). These included a rejection of Communism, and the unacceptability of an interim government based on the imposition of a central, unitary government over the whole of South Africa.

COSAG would not accept a centralised government, in which power was delegated downwards. In such a system the delegated powers could be withdrawn by the central government.

Instead, COSAG saw the existence of various states within South Africa as the point of departure, with authority delegated upwards on certain issues.

It was on this point that Codesa had been off-track — its initial Statement of Intent had set out a unitary state.

"It is also important that COSAG will not consent to the government and ANC coming with bilateral agreements, and viewing the negotiations merely as a rubber stamp."

Dr Treurnicht said of his own leadership of the CP: "I see myself not in terms of leadership, but as part of a team. If the team is happy, then I am happy."

The CP had experienced increasing support, especially since the government-ANC Record of Understanding last September and the CP's involvement with others in COSAG.

"The CP's image is better. It is seen as a party that stands by its principles."

Won't share power with NP

FROM PAGE 1

political players and should have a limited life.

Speaking at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto, Dr Jordan said: "The NEC recognised that in the interests of peace, stability and reconstruction, there will be a need for a Government of National Unity of limited duration that draws on the talents of a representative range of South Africans.

"The NEC affirmed that the composition and mandate of a Government of National Unity is not a deal struck between political parties in smoke-filled rooms," said Dr Jordan.

Such a government should therefore be composed of all parties which achieved a minimum of five percent of the seats making up a Constituent Assembly — the constitution-making body.

The constitutional process was spelled out by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at a Press conference.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC executive had endorsed the multi-party Negotiations Planning Conference to be held on February 25, and this should then lead to a resumption of the Convention of a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Thereafter, a Transitional Executive Council — with sub-councils for law and order and defence — should be set up

to level the playing fields, prepare for the country's first general election and ensure a climate for free political power, said Mr Ramaphosa.

Once a general election had been held, the NEC believed an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) should run the country while deliberations continued over the constitution.

"After the adoption of the new constitution, the IGNU would continue in the same form as a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction in order to phase in structures provided for in the new constitution," a resolution amplified.

The resolution added that the Government of National Unity would exist for a specified "limited duration".

Its term would come to a close by the first election — which would be held no later than five years after the elections for a Constituent Assembly (CA) — under the new constitution.

But, it added, such a united executive would be governed by the overriding principle that minority parties did not have the power to paralyse the executive.

"That is completely different from the National Party scenario."

The Government of National Unity might exist less than five years. "I must emphasise that the duration of the Govern-

ment of National Unity is still subject to negotiations at a multi-party forum," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Turning to the question of regionalism — in the light of threats by Kwa-Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to declare a Rhodesian-style UDI — Mr Ramaphosa said the CA would consist of people elected on the basis of national and regional lists.

A special commission would be established to deal with regional boundaries and powers.

"Any TBVC state refusing to join a united South Africa will be going against the will of the people," said Mr Ramaphosa in a later interview.

The TBVC states would be represented on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) as "it is essential for them to be part of the new South Africa, which we all want".

Turning to sanctions, Mr Ramaphosa was cagey, saying the NEC had discussed the issue at length, "but a decision will be communicated to you either on Saturday or Sunday at the International Solidarity Conference".

The three-day International Solidarity Conference takes place at a venue outside Johannesburg from today.

Mr Ramaphosa told the SABC's Agenda programme that while the African National Congress' government of national unity and the National Party's power-sharing proposal were structurally identical, the difference lay in the process of operation.

The ANC's government of national unity would be "fully empowered in terms of the mandate (that) the majority party would have received from the population", and would immediately move to implement that mandate.

The NP's concept of power-sharing, however, was a "concept which seeks to dilute democracy which would limit the application of democracy".

Mr Ramaphosa said the NP proposal that all parties should have veto powers could "paralyse the effectiveness of government".

He also disagreed with the NP notion of a rotating Cabinet chairmanship. The President should be elected by a constituent assembly.

He stressed, however, that minority parties would participate jointly with the majority parties as governors of the country. This would enhance democracy.

The ANC envisaged that a new constitution would be adopted within nine months of the implementation of an interim government. — Sapa.

Roelf is confused

THE ANC's national executive committee statement on constitutional negotiations was "quite confusing", Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said in reaction yesterday evening.

"The statement itself is quite confusing," Mr Meyer said at a hotel in central Johannesburg where he was the guest speaker, hours after the NEC statement was issued.

"I can't see what is the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that."

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➤ Roelf is confused

FROM PAGE 1

The NEC said it unanimously rejected the National Party's proposal of power-sharing, "whether permanent or for a fixed period".

Instead the ANC said it wanted the majority party after elections for a constituent assembly to invite smaller parties to join it in an interim executive to run the country until the adoption of a new South African constitution.

After the adoption of the constitution the ANC wanted "a government of national unity

and reconstruction". Its term would last a maximum of five years until the first elections after the ballot for the constituent assembly.

Asked to comment on the ANC's maximum five-year period, Mr Meyer said, "We have been exploring and consulting on the basis of a period of a five-year transitional government and not anything less than that".

As for the government's next step in the negotiations process, he said, "We are still busy with our own process of consultation with our own constituency, and

as soon as we have completed that we will also be able to make clear what our position is".

Pressed on how the ANC statement compared with understandings between the government and ANC at their recent bilateral meetings, Mr Meyer said:

"Well that's why I am saying, it's not clear from the statement actually what they're saying. It's quite confusing and I suggest that we take it up with them in further discussions to get more clarity on what exactly they have decided."

ANC suggests affirmative action in new foreign service

PRETORIA — A democratic SA would need a fundamentally restructured foreign service, an ANC discussion document has recommended.

Compiled by 15 senior ANC diplomats after a training course in Europe last year, the document suggests the institution of a "deliberate, calculated and conscious" affirmative action programme.

The programme should take active measures to harness talent and develop potential "in an effort to redress historical and all other imbalances which currently prevent parts of the population from entering the foreign service", the document said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department had been been recruiting among all sectors of the population for many years. While there had been a reluctance to join the service because of political and financial considerations, about half of this year's new recruits were black.

"Obviously there is a great deal to be done to recruit among a wider proportion of the population and we recognise that steps should be taken to redress the imbalances, but it is not necessary to implement a stringent programme of affirmative action," he said.

The document said a parliamentary commission should be responsible for the restructuring of the foreign service but

ADRIAN MADLAND

added that unconstitutional and unilateral changes should not be employed.

The ANC diplomats argued that the foreign service should adopt a code of conduct with disciplinary procedures to tackle violations by service officers.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said its diplomats' actions, guided by the Public Service Code, were "very seldom found wanting".

The document, which is not yet official ANC policy, also argued that current foreign service members and political appointees should be required to undergo a reorientation course.

"I don't think any course of this nature is necessary during the transitional phase or under a democratic government," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said. "All diplomats undergo continuous training mostly conducted by private institutions outside of the department."

"The courses are of the highest quality and I don't think the ANC or anyone else would be dissatisfied with what is currently available."

The ANC document said as SA took its place in the international community, the Foreign Affairs Department would need to be expanded.

Inkatha starts wooing voters

INKATHA has launched a massive campaign intended to woo at least 70% of the voters in Natal.

Inkatha Natal organiser Senzo Mfayela said in an interview yesterday his organisation had formulated a programme through which it was hoping to get Natalians to vote for it in the coming elections.

The programme included teaching people "who never voted before" how to vote, setting up election committees in areas where Inkatha had no branches, helping people obtain identity documents and canvassing support from the Indian community.

As part of the programme, Mfayela said, Inkatha would go all

WILSON ZWANE

out to secure the co-operation of people who owned vehicles such as trucks and buses. These vehicles would be used to transport people to the polling stations.

Mfayela said funds which his organisation were channeling in the campaign came from sympathetic businessmen and members. To date, more than R100 000 had been obtained for the drive.

Mfayela said he was not aware of plans to invite foreign experts to help Inkatha during its election campaign.

MP Mike Tarr said recently Inkatha had the potential to win an election in Natal.

Capital Radio: No ANC move to buy station — MD

DURBAN. — Capital Radio's managing director yesterday dismissed reports that the African National Congress was considering purchasing the Durban-based station.

"We have not received any offer from the ANC so far . . . none of the offers is from any political party but merely from people with a commercial outlook," said Capital MD Herbert Jikela.

He was speaking in an interview with Sapa fol-

lowing media reports that the ANC was considering buying the station.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday also denied reports to this effect.

"This report is entirely wrong. All I have said was that there is interest from democratic organisations to investigate the possibility of securing

Capital Radio as an independent station," he said.

Mr Jikela, meanwhile, described the reports as "pure speculation".

He said the station — owned by the Transkei Government — was up for sale for R6 million.

There had been about six offers but these would remain confidential until the homeland's Military Council, who was consid-

ering the offers, had made a decision.

Questioned on reports that the station was experiencing financial difficulties, he said: "The current economic climate is not good for anybody and we're no exception".

The station was still being funded by the Transkei government and was not planning to close down or retrench staff, he added.

He said the sale of the station stemmed from the Transkei's decision to privatise some parastatal organisations which could be run on a commercial basis.

On the subject of deregulation, Mr Jikela said his station was ready to broadcast on an FM frequency and was awaiting the outcome of an application for a temporary FM transmission licence from the Minister of Home Affairs. — Sapa.

Affirmative action will collapse economy: CP

AFFIRMATIVE action programmes in favour of Blacks will lead to the collapse of South Africa's economic and bureaucrat-

ic structures, Conservative Party economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said yesterday.

"Affirmative action as

opposed to equal opportunity has a negative effect on those it was supposed to help as well as on those who are discriminated against because of misguided guilt complexes," Mr Nolte said in a statement.

Such programmes would also accelerate the demise of South Africa's reputation as an efficient and well-run, developed country. — Sapa.

Terrorist forces in SADF rejected: CP

THE Conservative Party rejected any integration of terrorist forces into the SA Defence Force, Dr Willie Snyman (CP Pietersburg) said yesterday.

Introducing debate on his motion in which he said the alarming climate of violence was not being satisfactorily combated, Dr Snyman said the CP would not allow "terrorist murderers" to wear SADF uniforms and serve in the SADF.

Organisations such as the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, the ANC/SACP alliance and Umkhonto we Sizwe should be declared illegal and banned.

The government had

known of APLA's plans to attack White targets and had not lifted a finger to stop it.

Military Intelligence knew attacks against White soft targets were imminent but nothing had been done.

Responsibility for attacks against Whites in Ficksburg and Queens-town must be laid squarely at the door of the government.

It was ridiculous that the government should negotiate with terrorist organisations such as the ANC because no such organisation would negotiate merely to reach consensus. The ANC was negotiating for power.

The CP had already

appealed to the government to cease its bilateral discussions with the ANC because it was continuing with its revolutionary activities.

In his notice of motion Dr Snyman said the House was of the opinion that:

- The alarming climate of violence in the Republic was not being combated satisfactorily;

- All organisations and bodies advocating violence and revolutionary change of government should be declared illegal and banned; and

- All foreign and international interference in any domestic security force actions should be discontinued and prohibited. — Sapa.

Nat power-sharing model rejected

ANC support for five-year coalition govt

THE ANC yesterday announced its acceptance of a coalition government for up to five years after the first nonracial elections, but one in which minority parties would not have veto powers.

Following the three-day national executive committee meeting in Soweto, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the endorsement of the plan for an interim government of national unity was unanimous.

The NEC also endorsed the proposal that a multiparty planning conference be held from February 25.

The ANC rejected government's power-sharing proposal for either a fixed or a permanent period. Government wanted the executive of an interim government to take decisions by consensus and thereby dilute majority rule, he said. "Majority rule must not be diluted or sacrificed in the executive. The president, elected by a simple majority of a constituent assembly, will be able to take decisions and not be hamstrung by minority parties."

He said government and the ANC had an agreement that government's insistence on the power-sharing idea would not be an obstacle to a negotiated settlement. But he indicated that government might raise the proposal at a multiparty forum.

There is still uncertainty whether the plan outlined by the ANC yesterday is the preliminary agreement its negotiators agreed to with government, although the organisation presented it as such.

It said the report from the ANC's negotiators was endorsed and the NEC underscored its rejection of government's

BILLY PADDOCK

power-sharing proposal.

The ANC will meet government on Monday to thrash out the finer details of the agreement.

In terms of the plan adopted by the NEC, an interim government of national unity, elected within the next year or so, would govern and negotiate a new constitution. Once the new constitution was adopted, this interim government would become a government of national unity and reconstruction. It would continue to rule for not more than five years from the date of elections for an interim government.

The executive would be made up proportionally of members of all parties with at least 5% of the seats in a constituent assembly. The president would appoint representatives of minority parties to the cabinet.

The president would exercise executive powers after consultation with cabinet but in the case of certain specified powers, to be determined in negotiations, he would have to consult other parties and their leaders. In the event of a disagreement, the president's decision would have to win the support of two-thirds of the cabinet.

The assembly would have to adopt a new constitution within a nine-month period.

The NEC emphasised that the negotiations package would be linked to the restructuring of government, the judiciary and the public service in the transition period. The ANC planned to convene a "major conference" within the next four

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ANC

months to design clear policies for reconstructing government.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet members of Congress today and later Asapo and the PAC to discuss the full plan and to "ensure that they are represented at the planning conference".

Sapa reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement on constitutional negotiations was "quite confusing. I can't see what is the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that."

Government spokesman Dave Steward said the differences between government and ANC amounted to "semantics", and

added: "It looks like the process is still on track."

□ Yesterday the NEC also condemned the Budget deficit and government's attempts to shift its "incompetence and corruption" to the taxpayers. It recommended that a moratorium be placed on all gratuities except the contractual ones of public servants. Government should establish a fiscal commission to advise on revenue and expenditure; there should be transparent departmental and judicial controls over expenditure including an audit on the 1992/93 Budget; and a planned approach to expenditure and homeland duplication should be adopted to provide an efficient public works programme.

□ From Page 1

ANC WON'T SHARE POWER WITH NP

THE African National Congress' National Executive Committee, yesterday endorsed a government comprising all parties for up to five years after an election.

But it rejected a proposal that it would share power with the National Party for a similar time period.

Reading from a statement, after the NEC's three-day meeting in Johannesburg, ANC information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, said the proposed government of interim unity should draw on all

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STATE OF THE NATION

A lack of moral fibre

President F W de Klerk's recent interview with Sir David Frost was notable for his extraordinary optimism in the face of obvious economic and political adversity. The same tone characterised his discussion with the *FM* in his Tuynhuys office this week; his answers, which are forthright and perceptive of public interest, appear on the following pages.

In essence, De Klerk's optimism finds its justification in the trust he places in responsible leadership in all communities and most spheres of life in this country; in the overwhelming desire he identifies in most people for peace and prosperity; in his confidence in a sound economy; in a resilient and talented private sector; and, in what he calls a new spirit of realism.

One of De Klerk's strengths is that he has not lost perspective. Despite substantial setbacks and many irritating delays, the great achievement of the past three years has been the removal of apartheid laws and the gradual convergence of political and economic views towards consensus.

The Frost interview was broadcast for a second time on Monday night, because the President was dismayed that two points he made were edited out.

One in particular had to do with apologising for apartheid and it is entirely understandable why De Klerk wanted it to be given wide currency. Patently the editing skills at Auckland Park haven't changed much. Our guess is that in the SABC tower block there are those saying much the same thing of Tuynhuys.

But, of course, there has been a fundamental change at Tuynhuys and De Klerk's optimism is part of it. As he acknowledges, it is possible to conceive the most discouraging scenario — as the economy kickstarters at the SA Perm, Old Mutual and Nedbank have contrived to do.

There is no guarantee that SA will not be plunged into a Balkan conflict by inadequate leaders.

But De Klerk has shown a canny sense, in more than one electoral test, of the direction of public opinion. His instincts are probably worth more than backroom planners care to acknowledge.

However, on one question put to him by the *FM*, De Klerk did not care to elaborate — and we, with the benefit of hindsight, did not adequately probe. It is a question over which many ordinary folk have the gravest misgivings — the depths of the moral decay and criminal violence to which we have declined in SA.

De Klerk dwelt on the economic and social causes of criminal violence, and on how in a more stable and prosperous country they would decline of their own volition. But the matter should not be allowed to end there, for its implications are too serious.

There has in this country been a lapse in moral standards in all walks of life, but especially in the bureaucracy.

We know from what he has said in the past that De Klerk believes he has acted swiftly to

curb corruption where it has been exposed; he has appointed commissions to delve into it further and seen off some Cabinet colleagues, senior civil servants and army officers as a result. There have also been prosecutions, though few convictions so far.

The question, however, is not whether he has done something, but whether he has in the political circumstances of this country done enough.

Corruption has become rife in almost every African state. In those countries that chose a collectivist road to what turned out to be their ruin, the exigencies of a system of preferment encouraged the accumulation of dishonest wealth to the extent that corruption has become endemic. In those countries where some semblance of a market economy has been allowed to allocate resources, the expected utility was corrupted by widespread moral degeneration.

The fear of ordinary people here is that if the overtly Protestant government of the National Party — which enshrined such concepts as Christian National Education — has had to countenance one scandal after another within its own administration, to what extent will a new government of national unity find it convenient to turn a blind eye to corruption?

Corruption — especially a corrupt bureaucracy — is capable of subverting the most democratic of constitutions, the most equitable legal system and efficient market economy.

In SA, where the public service and public utilities could again be used as an instrument of perverse affirmative action, even a more democratic and open society, bolstered by a Bill of Rights, might not prevail against incipient corruption.

There is a possibility that, demoralised by failure and enervated by reducing tenure, the present administration is in a peculiar state of moral disarray. A new bureaucracy serving a more democratic government could be less, rather than more, corrupt — but there is not much precedent in Africa to lend credence to that view.

It is not only the political and legal institutions of Western society that foster the ethical bond essential to the success of capitalistic endeavour. The clergy, which teaches ethics and monitors their adherence, plays a decisive role.

Unhappily in SA, the clergymen of the established religions have for so long, with such single-mindedness, sought the downfall of apartheid, paying scant attention to the nature of the society afterwards, that their influence is limited and example unseen.

While De Klerk needs to act with greater effect against the dishonest and unscrupulous, he cannot succeed on his own.

Quite apart from the restoration of prosperity, the re-establishment of moral rigour requires concerted action from those in all walks of life.



LEADING ARTICLES

THE PRESIDENCY

Getting beyond suspicion



With talks on the political transition poised to enter a crucial stage, President F.W. de Klerk spoke exclusively to the *FM* about the obstacles to peace and stability — and his optimism that they will be overcome. De

Klerk was interviewed this week in Cape Town by *FM* editor Nigel Bruce and senior editor Chris Freimond.

FM: How critical are talks this week to the resumption of broadly based constitutional negotiations and what is the main obstacle? **De Klerk:** They are very important — as were last week's talks. Critical is maybe too strong a word, but time is of the essence. It is fundamentally important that we get the planning conference going.

“We must not allow ourselves to be rushed for the sake of staying on schedule”

There is already broad agreement that the conference is a starting point for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Hopefully, this week's talks will lead to the detailed arrangement of the planning conference soon.

Do you expect substantial opposition from Chief Buthelesi and the IFP?

The purpose of the talks is not to convince anyone of any point of view. It is to remove suspicion and explain our position and inform negotiating partners about issues raised in talks with other parties. The major purpose is to get multiparty negotiations going again. We are not entering the bilateral talks with the IFP in a confrontational manner.

We want to clear up misunderstandings that may have arisen, due to incomplete or incorrect representations of what took place during our discussions with the ANC. We aim to narrow the differences that may still exist between us.

You told Sir David Frost that you saw 12 years down the road a dynamic, prosperous and stable country of great opportunity. What persuades you to this view and, given our problems, is it not stretching credulity?

Obviously scenarios other than the optimistic and positive one can be drawn. I'm optimistic not just because it's my nature, but because I believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfil the promise

which this country holds. We have responsible political leadership in the most important parties and in a number of smaller parties. These leaders share a commitment to a negotiated and peaceful solution.

We have responsible leaders in business and other fields. We are a country with a lot of talent and the overwhelming majority of people want a peaceful solution. In addition, we have an inherently sound economy in spite of structural problems and the need for economic reforms. And we have a private sector which, at the end of a difficult period, is still alive and well.

It has proved to be resilient and resourceful during this period of deep recession. The National Economic Forum is progressing well, as is development in other spheres, such as education and local government, where a new spirit of realism is evident among all parties.

SA has entered a period of moral turpitude and criminal violence. Can a government of national unity and a new constitution survive this substantial rejection of moral sanction?

I believe a government of national unity, operating within the framework of a transitional constitution which includes a proper Bill of Rights, will be in a good position to address these issues. Part of the problem is the historical distrust of the police.

The SAP has gone a long way to rectify this. When a government of national unity is in place, that type of problem will be removed and the task of the police will be made easier. Furthermore, the economy will benefit from political stability and, as economic growth resumes, a major cause of criminal

“I see an active role for the leader of the NP and I plan to remain leader of the NP”

action will be eliminated. **Unless you and other credible leaders can restore mutual trust and common purpose, could not the first election deteriorate into a bitter and violent power struggle?**

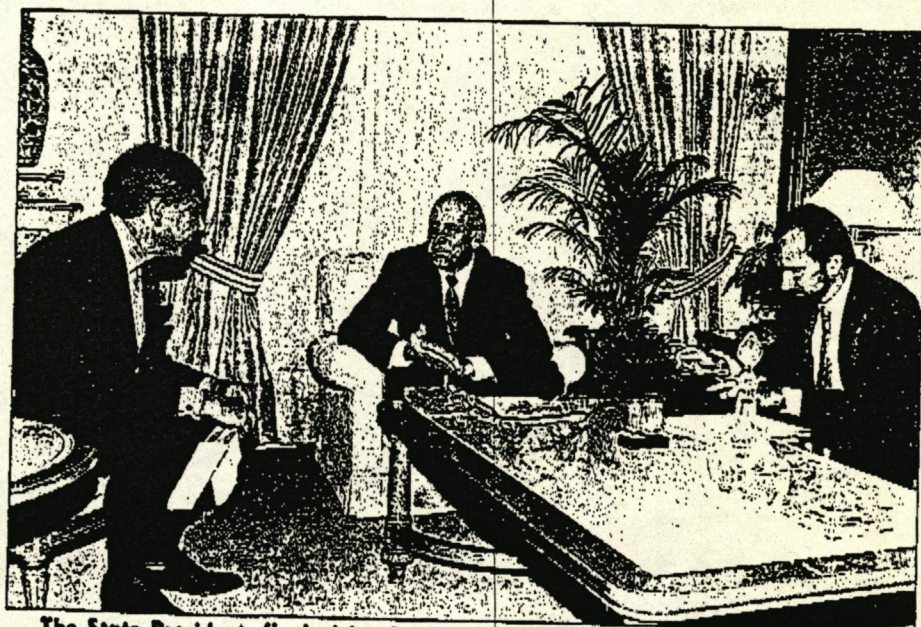
It is important to establish mutual trust and common purpose, but obviously this does not mean entering into alliances. The essence of democracy, particularly during an election campaign, is the emphasis on policy differences and the voters are wooed on that basis. There is a risk of violence continuing to threaten a peaceful democratic process.

That will have to be managed and one of the most important tasks of the proposed Transitional Executive Council will be to analyse this problem and come up with solutions.

The essential task of the TEC will be to level the political playing field. We can't talk about a level political playing field while there is widespread violence. But I'm confident that violence can be curbed by successful negotiations.

In your view, is there a level of violence which, if it is reached, would make the holding of an election ill-advised?

I don't believe there is a way to measure violence exactly — and we cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections by threat-



The State President, flanked by the *FM*'s Nigel Bruce (left) and Chris Freimond

ening violence. On the other hand, if violence results in widespread intimidation, then we can't have free and fair elections.

In that sense the level of violence must be "normal" and not as abnormally high as it is now. While political leaders say there are fairly large areas which are no-go areas for their parties (and the accusation is made by more than one political leader), then obviously you can't talk about free and fair elections, preceded by a campaign in which all parties have the opportunity to present their case.

Is it your impression that destabilisation is being pursued with less vigour than previously?

I believe we are moving to a situation in which small groups of radicals from various points on the political spectrum are perpetuating violence, but that it is not a policy of any of the major parties. There is a growing rejection of violence and a consensus that it must be stopped at all costs.

Whatever new rules, procedures and struc-

I believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfil the promise which this country holds

tures are negotiated, business is going to have to fund them. Is this not an argument for broadening negotiations beyond political considerations?

Negotiations are not limited to constitutional affairs. There is the National Economic Forum and other forums, so the assumption that business is not being included in the process is not entirely correct. It is true that business as such is not represented at the constitutional talks and there are good reasons for that. If we were to allow interest groups other than political parties and constitutional institutions we would have to include all interest groups.

In a climate where all political parties are active, the vehicle for constitutional negotiations must be the political party and it is available to all South Africans. Therefore it is important that political parties also interact with business. The NP does this from time to time and so do other parties.

Most business would prefer to be seen to be nonpartisan. Should the initiative come from the parties or from business?

In practice it comes from both sides, but I have no problem with business wanting to be nonpartisan; I think it's a good thing. On the other hand, business cannot just stand on the sidelines and exercise no influence whatsoever. After all, the investment of their shareholders is at stake.

Has business applied pressure on the NP to push negotiations in a particular direction?

No. I find in my interaction with businessmen that they are well informed and in general they impress upon whoever they talk

When a government of national unity is in place, the task of the police will be made easier

to the need to ensure that the economy in a new SA will be free from government manipulation, that the principles of free enterprise should form the basis of the economy and that there should be effective protection of fundamental economic rights such as private property ownership. Without becoming politicised, business is manifesting its interest in the process. It is an effective lobby.

Is the negotiation process a race against time because of our serious economic difficulties?

While time is of the essence, progress creates time and space. I therefore believe it is unwise to be tied to a rigid time frame. We decided to publish what we believe is an attainable schedule, but one must be flexible about it. I perceive flexibility among other players who published slightly different schedules. This is a good development. While we are all aware of the urgency, we mustn't allow ourselves to be rushed into ill-considered actions just for the sake of staying on schedule.

You say there is a "new spirit of realism" among political leaders. What do you mean?

In bilateral talks we find parties more inclined to focus on real issues and to posture less. We are dealing with honest attempts to narrow the gaps. In that sense we are nearer to real negotiations and moving away from a situation in which negotiation was just another aspect of confrontational politics.

That's clearly the case with the ANC, but does it apply to other parties?

It was the case with the PAC until the Apla attacks and the PAC's failure to distance itself from the actions. In the case of the IFP we had open discussions for a long period, but after the formation of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) the situation was not what we would have liked it to be. But it has improved in recent weeks and we are sitting down with the IFP and addressing really important issues.

What role do you see for yourself in a new SA?

There is already a broad consensus, not

The essence of democracy is the emphasis on policy differences

only bilateral agreement, that there will be a government of national unity. I see the NP as one of the strongest parties after an election. Therefore, the leader of the NP, together with leaders of other parties that do well, will play a decisive role on the basis of co-operation to restore stability to SA and create a climate conducive to investment, reconcilia-

tion and nation-building.

I see an active role for the leader of the NP and I plan to remain leader of the NP; I'm young and healthy and unless something happens, I will be there.

What about after a government of national unity?

We go into all negotiations with the view that in order to ensure long-term stability we need some form of long-term power-sharing, coupled with various checks and balances built into the constitution and the Bill of Rights. We believe the principles we enunciated during the referendum last year are fundamental to long-term stability and we have not renounced any of them.

Do you see an amalgamation of white parties with yourself as leader?

Definitely not. I'm not the leader of a white party. There may be an amalgamation of parties that prefer to call themselves white parties, but the NP has already changed and we represent South Africans from all population groups. They are represented in our structures and hierarchy and are working actively for the party. The NP has become a party espousing values to which most moderate South Africans subscribe. It is a truly nonracial party.

On the other hand I think we can expect some sort of political realignment that will continue for some time because we have

We cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections

political organisations that do not have clearly defined policy bases. The ANC is the best case in point. It has historically been a political home for people who perceived it as the vehicle through which they would attain political rights rather than because of policy issues.

From Dr Mandela's reply (to Sir David Frost) with regard to the relationship between the ANC and the SACP, it is already clear that the ANC itself sees a realignment. In the long run I don't think SA will be much different from other countries and we will find a two- or three-stream type of system.

What attitude would you like to see the major powers and the UN adopt towards the negotiating process and what follows it?

I would like to see them adopt a helpful and constructive approach and to be supportive of the process. I welcome the fact that this is already beginning to happen. I also welcome the broad consensus among all players in SA that we don't need interference or the internationalisation of our internal solutions. We definitely need support and understanding for the complexity of our problems and the return of SA to the international fold in the fullest sense.

I also welcome the widespread international recognition of the pivotal role SA has to play in sub-Saharan Africa.

POWER-SHARING

Depends what you mean

There's no secret deal between government and the ANC — but broad agreement has been reached between negotiators on power sharing in an interim administration.

Details of the proposal have not been finalised, but various options were due to be discussed this week by the Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Government wants the period of joint rule fixed for about five years, while the ANC believes it should not exceed the time it takes for the constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution.

But both sides are flexible. After talks with government last week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the issue of a government of national unity "for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution" had been discussed.

The organisation believes such a government will unite SA, reconcile rival groups and start the process of nation building.

The ANC rejected government's initial call for constitutionally enshrined power sharing based on proportional representation. ANC leader Nelson Mandela told Sir David Frost in a television interview last week that, in his view, the party that won a majority of votes should form the government and invite opposition representation if it felt the need to do so. A coalition should not be mandated in terms of the constitution.

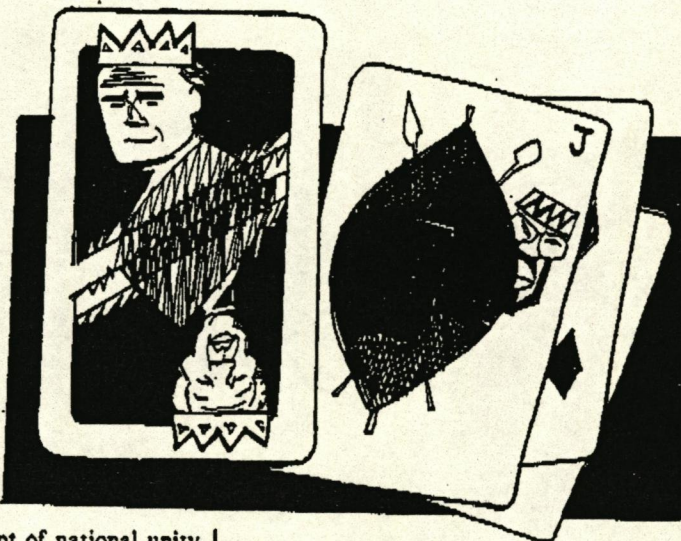
It seems that this view has now been accepted as the basis for a government of national unity — and it indicates a surprising degree of trust between ANC and government negotiators.

Trust appears also to have been carried through to discussions — and some agreements — on steps to "level the playing fields" in a run-up to an election, including the appointment of an independent electoral commission and a media commission.

Details of the appointment, powers and functions of the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-TECs (for law & order, defence, foreign affairs, finance and regional & local government) were also discussed last week. The ANC made certain proposals which government agreed to consider.

The multi-party TEC and sub-councils will play a key role in the pre-election phase.

Though the existing government will continue to exercise full executive authority, the councils will be consulted on all major issues. In effect they will be the first step towards formal power sharing — and co-responsibility.



The ANC proposed at the meeting that Codesa co-chairmen Justices Schabert and Mohammed be asked to initiate the appointment of a panel, which will in turn appoint a new board for the SABC. Government agreed that a "transparent process" was needed to appoint a new board.

Meanwhile, government negotiators were scheduled to meet their counterparts in the Inkatha Freedom Party and Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) this week, in an attempt to convince them that they were not being cut out.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reacted angrily to initial reports of the power sharing agreement, but government negotiators were confident this week that the IFP would be placated when the nature of the agreement with the ANC was fully explained.

Buthelezi's response followed disclosures last week by Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman that agreement had been reached with the ANC on power sharing.

President FW de Klerk and Mandela denied any deal. All that happened was that the two groups of negotiators reached consensus on an agreement both sides could live with.

It still needs to be ratified by their respective leaderships and will then be put forward for further discussion when multi-lateral talks resume. But the significance of the agreement should not be underestimated. It represents major concessions by both sides.

In essence, the ANC has moved much closer to accepting regionalism as a funda-

mental pillar of a new constitution, while government has backed away from insisting that the details of regionalism be finalised before constituent assembly elections.

Ramaphosa says it was agreed at the meeting that the constituent assembly would decide on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The consensus reached last week was due partly to what has been described as a new sense of realism on both sides.

The resumption of Codesa is considered to be the priority and should not be delayed by issues of detail that will probably be debated more fully when all multi-lateral talks get under way.

In an interview with the *FM* this week (see Cover Story), De Klerk said it was "fundamentally important" to hold the multi-party planning conference (scheduled for later this month) so that full-scale negotiations could resume (probably next month). ANC negotiators are equally anxious that the bilateral talks do not become bogged down in arguments over detail.

The infiltration of arms through Swaziland into Natal by alleged ANC members is regarded as a potentially serious obstacle to talks, but government is prepared to give the ANC the benefit of the doubt at this stage and accept assurances that the leadership was unaware of the actions.

Opposition to the agreement was mainly of two kinds: from those, like the IFP's Buthelezi, who fear exclusion during the transition and after it; and from those within the ANC who want the party with majority electoral support to rule alone. Interestingly, the strident opposition of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been dented by support for power-sharing from fellow communist Chris Hani.

De Klerk appears to be confident of his constituency and is apparently once again negotiating from a position of strength; his main task is to persuade Buthelezi that he is not being excluded.

But for Mandela, on the other hand, some hard decisions loom: how much longer can he tolerate open defiance of the official ANC position from regional and junior leaders? If he fails to muzzle or expel them, his own credibility will be affected — and De Klerk's could well be enhanced.

THE MILITARY

Another notch

Defence spending, already 38% down in real terms since President FW de Klerk took office, is expected to be slashed even further

MIKE TARR

Next time in Zulu

The Inkatha Freedom Party's latest parliamentary recruit, Mike Tarr, doesn't regard himself as a white Zulu.

In fact, if he believed the IFP was a Zulu party he wouldn't have joined. "The IFP is keen to get rid of its image as a Zulu party. Part of my job will be to expand membership among whites to do just that."

Tarr (50) shocked the Democratic Party last month by quitting to join the IFP. He has been MP for Maritzburg North since 1989 and was considered a staunch DP man.

Tarr was first elected to parliament for the Progressive Federal Party as MP for Maritzburg South in 1981, but lost to a Nationalist in the 1987 "total onslaught" election.

Before that he taught agricultural economics at the University of Natal for 10 years. He is a partner in a Maritzburg agricultural economics consultancy and specialises in rural development issues.

In a possible interim Cabinet published by the FM this month, based on predictions by political observers, Tarr was placed as Minister of Agriculture (*Leaders* February 5). He believes his expertise can be of value to the IFP.

Tarr says he defected to the IFP because he found very few differences in policy with the DP. "The views of the two parties are similar on various issues — boycotts, sanctions, stayaways. I support a federal option for SA and I believe that no-one but the IFP can make it happen in Natal."

He also argues that it's time whites started joining predominantly black parties that they believe in, rather than vice versa. "I tried for a long time to recruit blacks for the DP, but it just wasn't working."

Tarr says he had no problems with DP ideology but the party was simply going nowhere, particularly in Natal. "I would like to stay in active politics and if I do, I want to be in a party that can make a difference."

However, he acknowledges that as a white member of the IFP he is in a small minority and can't expect special treatment. His future will be largely determined by party decisions.

Tarr speaks some Zulu but not enough — so he's working on it. "I spoke at a rally at Trust Feeds at the weekend and told the audience that next time I addressed them it would be in Zulu."

His break with the DP was amicable and he still speaks to his former colleagues. "People in the DP are pretty civilised in that respect."

He disagrees that he's let down his voters. "Judging by the telephone calls I've received since my move I have no doubt that most whites in Maritzburg would support the IFP rather than the ANC."



Tarr ... I want to be in a party that can make a difference

His recreational interests include road running and backpacking. He is married and has two daughters. ■