

The

World

Victim of Apartheid
Promises His Jailers

By BILL KELLER

PRETORIA

IN the bleary hours before dawn Thursday, as the leaders of South Africa rose to celebrate their new, nonracial constitution, the oratory was falling short of the moment. Nelson Mandela, who can rise to an occasion, was earthbound this time. President F. W. de Klerk was better scripted, but he was hardly the man to express the thrill of emancipation. Then Ismail Mohamed stood, and soared.

Mr. Mohamed, the son of semi-literate Indian shopkeepers who became South Africa's first and only nonwhite judge, delivered an ornate benediction for the pact between the jailers and the jailed of yesteryear who had this day forsaken the pain and shame of our racist past. Then, addressing a self-pitying young Afrikaner who moments before had bemoaned his people's future under black rule, the judge promised kindness and the protection of law, graciously not mentioning that whites had done little to deserve it.

Do not underestimate our fidelity to the Constitution, the judge, who chaired the negotiations and is an obvious candidate to head post-apartheid South Africa's new constitutional court. We shall be intimidated by no government, however powerful.

After the applause subsided, someone approached and said it seemed to be an emotional day for him.

I'm a bloody chief justice of Namibia, the judge replied, referring to one of the judicial posts he holds in neighboring countries. I've got a degree in political science. But I've never been inside a polling booth in my life. So of course it's a momentous day.

He was still feeling buoyant the next day when he sank into an easy chair in his chambers at the Pretoria Supreme Court,

and remained until he was summoned to
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Justice He Never Knew

hear a divorce case.

Mr. Mohamed's experience of apartheid, he recalled, had not been the sudden shock of the cattle prod or the prolonged pain of imprisonment, but a lifelong water torture of petty humiliations.

Educated in segregated schools, expelled from his Pretoria home to a township reserved for Indians, denied admission to the Pretoria bar because its Society of Advocates, like its elevators, was reserved for whites until the 1980's, Mr. Mohamed gained a wry perspective on apartheid's anomalies.

At the more enlightened Johannesburg bar, which did admit him in the 1950's, he could practice law but he could not have an office. The Group Areas Act, apartheid's masterpiece of redlining, did not allow a disqualified person to occupy property in the city even though this disqualified person happened to be co-author of the definitive text on the Group Areas Act.

I could not habitually physically be present in any particular office, he said, reciting the euphemism of the law with enunciated irony. So I became for 12 years a squatter. Every morning I would go to the telephonist and say, Who on this floor is not here? And she might say, Mr. Fischer has a court case, and I would go to Mr. Fischer's office and sit there for a few hours until he returned from court.

Indignity and Paradox

The worst indignity, he said, is the one that has endured even after Mr. de Klerk began repealing the apartheid laws three years ago: the fact that he cannot vote.

Unlike Mr. Mandela, another figure who looks forward to voting for the first time next April 27, Mr. Mohamed technically has the right to vote, but only for the widely despised Asian house of the segregated Parliament.

To me that wasn't a genuine vote, said

the judge. When the Government held the

first elections for Asians and mixed-race citizens (but never blacks) in 1984, 88 percent of eligible Indians declined the opportunity.

Mr. Mohamed's visitor suggested that the paradox of his situation could be stood on its head: Wasn't it a puzzle that a society that had made him enter the train station through a door marked "Non-Europeans and Goods" had entrusted him with the power to pass judgment on whites from the bench?

Since he accepted the judgeship in 1991, after all, he has had the authority to overrule white officials, to rebuke white corporations or even (though he has never done so) to sentence white voters to death. Even before becoming a judge, he could represent whites and challenge white authorities in court.

I suppose the rational answer to that must be that I qualified at a time when the competition between the old and the new had

already started," he said. "There were contradictions in the system, a lot of it seeking to entrench the crassness of the old, and a lot of it seeking to accommodate the inevitability of the new."

Then again, he mused, that was not a satisfying answer. After all, whites had allowed Mohandas K. Gandhi to practice law here 100 years ago; though they would not let him ride in this first-class-only train car. Maybe, he said, it is the Afrikaners have

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1993

A momentous day for

a buoyant champion of

South Africa's new constitution.

a respect for learning and status that sometimes outweighs their obsession with race. If whites expected deference for the opportunities Mr. Mohamed found, they were disappointed. Throughout the years of conflict,

many of his clients were accused terrorists and traitors arrested for taking on apartheid. It was one of the grounds on which I could legitimize my decision to stay in this country and not go into exile," he said. He defended the top leaders of the Communist Party, the United Democratic Front and all the other bastions of resistance, acquiring some victories and a reputation for legal ingenuity. He once represented Fatima Meer, a campaigner for black and Indian rights, when she was caught violating a court order restricting her to the city of Durban. Questioning the

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Ismail Mohamed, South Africa's only nonwhite judge, helped create the new Constitution. He sits on the Pretoria Supreme Court.

on the official map there was an inadvertent gap in the perimeter of the city.

Then Durban can go all the way to Cairo?" he asked. Well, yes, the surveyor sheepishly conceded. The client got off.

In another case the state called an expert to testify that certain documents found in the defendant's custody were Communist, based on their vocabulary. Mr. Mohamed read out a series of texts, which the professor confirmed were clearly the work of Communists. The lawyer then identified the authors: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln and the witness himself. There was an air of unrealism about it," he said.

In a sense, he said, apartheid was a good school for clever lawyers, and also for humane judges. Being the object of cruelty, he contends, can be an awakening, even ennobling experience, rather than embittering.

I understand that the people who did these things to me were the products of a

certain milieu, which knew no better," he

said. That is what he wanted to tell the worried young Afrikaner about the new Constitution, with its encyclopedic bill of rights and renunciation of apartheid's indignities. I don't want that man to feel he's oppressed at all," he said. I wanted to tell him, even if you don't want to trust the politicians, you can still trust the Constitution and the

city surveyor on the stand, he discovered that - custodians of the Constitution.

Zulu chief

refuses to
surrender

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THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

Mandela
sets
the pace

H Inner strength: Although he looks fit and healthy, those close to Nelson Mandela are afraid he might burn himself out, as he stubbornly leads a schedule that men half his age would wilt under. This week was no exception: after nsing at 5am on Wednesday, he got into bed again at close to mudnight â\200\224 the following evening.

By MowicA OOSTERBROEX

THE gruelling daily schedule of ANC president Neison Mandela would have beaten a much younger man. But the 75-year-oid leader ils on a mission.

Since he was released from prison, his working days have frequently ended late af night, after dealing with political pressure from all sides, attending intense meetings, travelling, handling domestic crises and eat-ing sporadic meals

Mandela's only routine ls his daily morning exercise and hearty breakfast.

Although his doc-tor, Nthatho Motlana, described his patient as â\200\234very healthyâ\200\235 he, along with others close to Mandela, is worried.

A close aide said Mandela's schedule was totally unaccept-able and although they tried to make him rest more and turn down invitations, Mandela was a stubborn man who refused to iisten,

; ANC spokesman

PARTY TIME... Ronnie Mamoepa said Neison Mandela. Mandela was a selfless person who tended to

subordinate personal interests in the fight for his people.

â\200\234Mandela is prepared to stretch himself beyond the limit. He lives for the struggte,â\200\235 Mamoepa said.

He has had a few weak moments. In May 1990, he underwent an operation to remove a non-malignant cyst on his bladder. A month later, he suffered exhaustion after a 13-nation world tour. Several times since his release from prison, there have been rumours he has collapsed from exhaustion. He does have hardening of

the arteries and last year he had a bout of influenza.
_But journalists who work with him on tours say he
has the drive and energy of a man half his age,
Television viewers, who saw him at the World Trade
Centre in the early hours of Thursday morning and
then later addressing crowds in northern Natal, were
surprised at his stamina.

He was an inspiring picture of health with few signs |
of the previous two days: e e a2 L

ROWAN CRONJE:

Born in South Africa
where he became a
dominee, he went to
feed in Rhodesia
until he saw sweeter
grass in Ciskei. But
Lennox Sebe swot-
ted him out and he
hopped to Bop
which may not exist
after April 1994.
The FA chairman
has run out of
feeding grounds.

Or has he?

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Reports NP â\200\230gave 1n)

mischievous: Mandela

DURBAN. â\200\224 African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has disputed reports that the National Party capitulated to the ANC in final agreements before the interim constitution was adopted this week.

Addressing several thousand mainly hostel dwellers yesterday at Glebelands hostet, near Umlazi, Mr Mandela said media reports stating the NP had capitulated to the ANC were â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230mischievousâ\200\235.

â\200\234"We all made concessions. It was not just the ANC which succeeded in the multi-party forum but all the parties in South Africa.â\200\235

The ANC president said that with the exception of a few parties â\200\234which donâ\200\231t mean anything to usâ\204ç, at least 19 of the 21 negotiating teams agreed to the interim constitution and had all made concessions along the way

On those parties which withdrew from or failed to participate in constitutional negotiations, Mr Mandela said the ANC

had hoped they would

have taken part in the countryâ\200\231s transition, but â\200\234the train is going to move forward whatever they doâ\204ç

He claimed the parties which had withdrawn from talks had minimal support.

â\200\234They have hardly any

members. They represent no one but their jackets.â\200\235

On a future police

force, Mr Mandela reiterated that policemen who were involved in violence and other criminal acts would not be welcome in a new force

The ANC would deal with them, as it was impossible to build a new police force comprising criminals.

Schools

Mr Mandela's address to the hostel dwellers followed a string of questions and grievances put to him by residents. Among them were several requests for night schools at the huge hostel complex which houses more than 20 000 people.

He promised the crowd that he would ensure that some of the funds he had collected during his recent trip abroad would go towards education for hostel inmates

Mr Mandela attempted to allay fears within the

Indian community, saying |

a future government would not use the policy of affirmative action to favour one section of the population.

I'm not asking the Indian community to vote ANC. You are here, I'm sure of your vote, Those of you who are undecided can vote for other parties

but don't vote NP

The ANC president said NP rule had led Indians and others to much suffering

Referring to the recent

squatter occupation of houses in Cato Manor

marked for Indians,

Mr Mandela cautioned
people to be calm about
it, saying a separate so-
lution had to be found.
Mr Mandela travels to
Northern Natal this week-
end, and will end his trip
with a rally at Empange-
ni. Sapa. !

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THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

Politics/mue Hï-\201mmn Crisis

NOW THAT the talking is over, the ANC is anxious that the reluctant homelands are drawn into the democratic process â\200\224 whether their Jeaders like it or not

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IN THE QUEVE .. will homeland citizens have the opportunity to vote in the April 27 elections?

â\200\230Weâ\200\23111 send in the tanks

B Election obstacle: The ANC wants democracy installed, by force if necessary, but a legal tangle over the abolition of homelands threatens the holding of elections in defiant

bantustans,

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POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A LEGAL web of court actions threaten
Â£n8 10 delay the abolition of defiant
bantustans which oppose democracy
But the ANC ailiance has demanded the use of force, and even invaded to prevent recalcitrant bantus.
t sabotaging elections

The legal tangle could have a serious effect on the April 27 elections if averningâ\200\235 KwaZulu and â\200\234independentâ\200\235 Bophuthatswana and Ciskei interfere with the democratis

rights of millions of residents.
Asked whether Bop would permit

polling to take place on April 27 if the homeland continued to reject the new constitution, Bop negotiator Rowan Cronje said: â\200\234At this stage notâ\200\235

Asked whether he would allow electioneering in the homelang,

Cronje said thus had not yet been considered.

He said if Bop itself did not participate as an independent country, "I suppose those who are South African citizens would be able to go and vote. But where outside parties come in to elationeer - that's another matter"

Bitter

Told of the ANC's threat to send in the tanks if elections were not held, Crone said bitterly: "What a great beginning to the new South Africa."

Multiparty negotiations this week resolved to abolish all homelands, after earlier deciding to repeal their representative Jaws

But a patchwork of legal difficulties

threatens to hold up the application of these decisions, some top legal experts say, pointing out that the negotiators did not consider these obstacles when they took their decision.

Although the homelands are bound to lose in the end, legal wrangles could keep the homelands in business until - or after - April 27, creating vast problems around the holding of elections.

Late this week ANC and SACP negotiators said they would demand the Government invade homelands which threatened elections.

The ANC will sit on the Transitional Executive Council, which has the power to instruct the Government on the holding of free and fair elections.

"The tanks will roll in," said ANC legal department head Mathew Phosa, while SACP chairman Joe Slovo said that if Freedom Alliance actions led to violence the Government would have a duty to meet

such actions with resolve

Another option being considered is to cut off the multimillion SA subsidies and starve the bantustans into submission,

But analysts say the first to suffer would be ordinary workers, such as nurses and teachers, while politicians would look after themselves

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says

homeland residents were eager for elections and would pressure bog-cofting homelands through mass actbon

Activity

Bop bans ANC activity a8 the ANC refuses to register as a party under the hometand's law. ANC supporters felt threatened, Niehaus added.

Ke predicted the homelands would use the courts {0 delay the abolition of independence. But Â¢ siud the aut-come would be the same a5 when KwaZulu lost its court Â¢ase against the negotiating counail,

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THE SUNSTAR. 21 NOVEMBER 1993

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DOMESTIC LAW ..
Dugard.

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Which law will prevail, is the issue

JOUN Dugard, of the Wits University law department, said: e |
understand KwaZulu now sees the legislation setting up KwaZulu as an exercise in Zulu self-determination and not as an apartheid law, which has always been assumed to be the case.â\200\235

Dugard said the case of Bop and Ciskei was not an international law problem as they were not internationally recognised.

â\200\234The problem is domestic law.

One point of view is that the South African Parliament is sovereign. It gave them independence and can take it away

â\200\234The other viewpoint is that there is a decision of the Appeal Court which held in 1937 that freedom

once conferred cannot be revoked.

â\200\234This is an argument which has been used by homeland governments in support of their case.â\200\235

Dugard said he believed Parliament had the power to withdraw independence.

He said that if Bop or Ciskei resisted they would be â\200\234illegal, rebellious regimes and guilty of treasonâ\200\235.

He predicted that Bop or Ciskei would not challenge the validity of Government action in & South African court, but its ally the Afrikaner-Volksfront would on its behalf.

Although Dugard predicts they would lose, he said court action could be used as a delaying tactic until after the April 27 elections

This would enable Bop and Ciskei to prevent their subjects from participating in the elections and take steps to prevent dual citizenship.

They could also stop buses taking voters over the border to vote in South Africa.

Dugard said one answer to the dilemma was through compulsion, by cutting subsidies to the homelands. But Bop was largely self-sufficient because of its mines.

â\200\234It is one of the big issues the Negotiating Council refused to consider head on

â\200\234It has failed to address what could be a difficult issue. They just put it on the end of legislation without debate,â\200\235 Dugard said

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A hard day\200\231s night - Wednesday 5am to Thursday 11pm

Wednesday, Sam: Got Up In response
{0 an internal clock implanted by the
regimen of his prison days. Spends an
hour cycling on a staticnary bike and
doing ficor exercises, :
8.30pm: As usual, enjoyed a hearty
breakfast. This is his main meal for the
day. It always Includes porridge, hot
milk and ptenty of fruit.

Tam: Arrived at ANC neadqquarters in
Johannesburg. Met with staff of the

national executive commitiie and other

important delegations.

dpm: Quick and fight working lunch.
2pm: Meetings. Read through the

night's speeches and other documents,
Tpe: Arrived at the World Trade Centre._

11pm: Plenary Session resumed and
tatsk continued untit 4pm.

Thursday, 4.30am: Spent time cele-
brating end of taiks and Cynit
Ramaphosa's birthday.

Sam: Usual moming routine again.
Tam: Flew to Northem Natal in aprivate
plane.

9am: Met delegates and local dignato-

ries.

10am: Addressed religious leaders in

Empangeni.

dpm: Attended rally in the Manden|
Stadium on the outskirts of Empangeni.
8pm: Addressed a public forum
attended by local businessmen anxd
farmers in the Empangeni town hall,
9.30pm: Usualty, Mandela iikes to get
into bed with his pile of documents. But
i's a tate night for him.

11pm: Settled down for a well deserved
sleap.,

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IFP should get in there
and fight â\200\224 for votes

pile right-wing groups and trade

unions were thumping war tuhs,

Dr Buthelezi gave 8 measured -
response to this week's World Trade
Centre happenings: the writing of the

final constitution could not be entrusted

io the ANC, he said; the country needed

the [FP te be there, fighting fit, inside
Parhament

His announcement might not be

enough ta make negotiators again boogie

till dawn, but
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their hard work Itis

some cause for

the clearest indication yet that the IFP |

- and presumably the other Freedom
aAlliance members â\200\224 will come to the
polling party, gIVing another stamp of
authority to the draft constitution and
the election

Dr Buthelezl
is in Parliament, not i a political
wilderness of its oW making. and the
sensible thing to do is to give voters 2

is right. His partyâ\200\231s place

chanee to show whether they Jgree. The

TFP leaderâ\200\231s strong hint this week is a
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He may hold out for one more
concession: a reversal of the decision
for a single ballot paper only at the
election, blurring regional and national
appeals, perhaps prejudicing parties
operating from 2 regional base. The
government's capitulation to the ANC
was surprising. It

Dr Buthelezi will also continue to
drive hard for a firming of federalism
even though Friday night's meeting
between the Alliance and the {
government reached a sticking

point. He |
will be able to make federalism grist for
the electoral mill, while the National

Party could see its support has chipped
away over the issue in partisan
KwaZulu/Natal. It

Dr Buthelezi does well to ignore the
distant drums of the right and should
not be distracted by any rift in an
Alliance where some members are
increasingly impatient and growing in
the conviction that they are wasting
government of |

The stage is set for a7, :
going election battle and as Dr i
Buthelezi would put it, the country needs !
him in it, fighting fit. = = It bedr

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Winnie Mandela escapes in shoot- -out

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â\200\230downtoun who appeared to be a passer- new poht\ al settlement
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- by, then grabbed the assail- â\200\234â\200\230every nch of the way
nie \Mandela, estranged wife said an ANC spokesmaao. burg Jamboree, marking the anlâ\200
\231s 9mm pistoltapd fled, writes Alec Russetl in
of the African National Co- {t was uncertain whether start of the aty's bid for the only
tp be stopped a short Johannesburg !
<res, president Nelson Man- the incident was an ass&nm 2004 Olympic Games. - distance away
and.arrested ke ANC and the Zovern-
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known whether ment are still confident that
| police said. antmversml Mrs-Mandela ugh traffic w qoan me man was iy ived ln lbt the .Fre
edom Alliance, a
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THESUNSTAR 21 NOVEMEBER 1

Parliament
will decide
their fate

CONSTITUTIONAL expert Mar-
inus Wiechers says that in the
- case of self-governing, but non-
independent KwaZulu, the SA
Parliament was still sovereign
and could repeal their founding-
status Act.

He said one law that could
delay ending KwaZulu's exis-
tence was the provision in its
founding Act which states that its
boundaries could not be
changed without consultation.

â\200\234If the SA Government re-
moves the consultation clause
from the Act KwaZulu won't
have aleg to stand on,â\200\235 he said.

The cases of Bop and Ciskei
were more complex as they were
completely independent in
terms of SA constitutional law in
conformity with the principle
that freedom once conferred
cannot be revoked.

â\200\234But nothing would prevent
the SA Parliament, in terms of its
own sovereignty, from unilater-
ally destroying their indepen-
dence,â\200\235 he said. -

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â\200\230I'he practical effect of such
abolition would be that as far as
SA law is concerned these coun-
tries would no longer exist.

â\200\234It would have the effect of
abolishing any bilateral or multi-
lateral agreements between
South Africa and these States.

â\200\234In effect it would mean that without any kind of international recognition these States would be left entirely on their own.

still be obliged to exercise their own laws, But the political question is, how could they survive?â\200\235

Wiechers said that although the new interim constitution would only take effect after the April 27 elections, President Fw de Klerk could proclaim certain of its sections earlier.

This means after Parliament passes the constitution next month, De Klerk could proclaim the end of homeland rule. Bop and Ciskei would have no recourse to SA courts, which would be obliged to apply SA law.

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â\200\234Legally their courts would -

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CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
general elecution in
April next year would
be about the future
and not the past, about
building and not recti-
mination, and about
creativity and not de-
struction, State Prest-
dent De Kierk. said
yesterday.

â\200\234It will ring in a new
beginning, better fu-
ture. reconciliation, oOp-
portunity, & better life for
all and the proud return

of South Africa to the in-
ternational community.â\200\235
he said in an address to
the international CEO in-
vestment conference.

â«It will offer you Op-
portunities which are be-
coming scarcer in the
world because there will
be dramatic development
in this country and re-
gion.â\200\235

-

The constitution nego-
tiated at the World Trade
Centre was a contract,
and success would depend
on the sincerity with
which all parties abided
by its provisions.

â\200\234We are convinced it
will work, not only be-
cause of the provisions of
a new constitution but be-
cause of the growing

awareness among all
South Africans of our mu-
tual dependence. Partner-
ship and unity & diversity
is the name of the game if
we want to achieve long-
term stability.â\200\235

A major challenge
would be meeting the
enormous expectations
which the immigrant & fi-
nancialisation of millions
of South Africans had
already unleashed. |

political leaders will have to tone down these expectations in as much as they are unreasonable. This will require strong and realistic leadership.

There are unachievable expectations that the vote will bring heaven to earth and what could never be achieved in countries much richer and more prosperous than South Africa

I am glad to see that political leaders, including

those from the ANC,

have started to do that.

It was for this reason that economic negotiations were as important

An economic accord was

needed where the important

active role-players committed themselves to

a charter which would encourage investor

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courage and

friendly climate.

One can feel and see

that an economic accord

Sapa

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is being established.

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(qozo gave
order to killâ\200\235
Sebe: Brig

BISHO. â\200\224 Former
head of the Cisker De-
fence Force Brigadier
Monwabisi Jamangile
told the Cisket Su-
preme Court yesterday
that the Ciskei Head of
State, Brig Oupa Ggo-
zo, had ordered that
Mr Charles Sebe
should be killed.

Bng Jamangile was tes-
tifying in the trial of Brg
Ggozo and his former
bodyguard, Sergeant-Ma-
jor Thozamile Veliti, who
are charged with the mur-
der of Mr Sebe, former
commander-in-chief of
the combined Ciskes se-
curity forces.

Mr Sebe was killed on
January 28, 1991, in Gu-
bevu village, a day after
being wounded at a mili-
tary roadblock on the
King William's Town-
Stutterheim road.

Bng Ggozo faces an
alternative charge of in-
citement to murder.

Brig Jamangile said
when Mr Sebe escaped
from the roadblock, Brig
Ggozo was upset and em-
phasised that when he

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* PÃ@ge 11

was found he should be
Killed

Brig Jamangile said on
the morning of January 28
he went to Gubevu where
he found soldiers and
members of the body-
guard unit :

He said he stood out-
side the gate and ordered
Mr Sebe to come out Âçof &
house, fathng which the
house would be bombed.
Mr Sebe responded to the

call and came out cladina
blanket. Mr Sebe was or-
dered to undress.

Brig Jamangile ordered
him to come forward, es-

corted by soldiers, unal

he reached the corner of
the main house, where he
was instructed to lie down
on his stomach.

He was trying to ar-
range transport to take
Mr Sebe away when Sgt-

Maj Velitr told him Brig

Ggozo had said Mr Sebe
should be killed.

Bug Jamangile said he
moved away from the
gate, and when he was
facing the other direction
he heard shots and turned
around, shouting "cccase

fire"

He went to the State
House and "when I wld
Bng Ggozo that I had in-
tended to arrest Mr Sebe,
he got angry, saying I
would have gone against
his instructions", he said

The trial continues on
Monday. - Sapa.

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THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

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GOVT, FA TALKS
DEADLOCK

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

21 NOVEMBER 1993

NEGOTIATIONS Dbe-
tweep the povernment
and the Frecdom Al
ance yesterday dead
locked, with the gov-
erpment saying that i
wowdd be virtualfly i
possible to mecl the
I'A demands concern-
ing the exclusive pow
ers of regione

Abter a mecting Do
tween State President Dr
Kierk and the leaders of
the Å¥A ot the Union
Ruilding, Pictor ast

nipht, both pastics agee I
to cOntnue Neguiintion

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" Govt, FA talks de

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FROM PAGE 1

in Cape Town on Tues-
day

While the leader of the
Volksfront, General Con-
stand Viljoen, admitted
that progress was slow;
the government's chief
negotiator, Mr Roelf
Meyer, said that differ-
ences between the two
parties on Clause 118 of
the draft transitional con-
stitution were so vast as to
be virtually impossible to
bridge unless the FA
changed its position dras-
tically.

Gen Viljoen and the
other FA delegates insist-
ed that all hope was not
dead and pledged to con-
tinue negotiations up to
the last minute,

Mr Meyer said there-
fore: in fact, been sub-
stantial progress on at
least three of the four
main principles the FA
wanted included in the
draft constitution.

Progress was made on
the fiscal authority of re-
gions, the borders of re-

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gions and regional consti-
tutions.

The last obstacle,
which dealt with the ex-
clusive powers of regions,
however, appeared to be
almost insurmountable.

The government, for

instance, indicated that due to the importance the FA placed on boundaries, including a volkstaat, it would be prepared to co-operate in the exploration of scenarios that could accommodate the objectives of the FA.

The government also saw its way clear to promote fiscal autonomy to federal states as far as it was possible, while regional constitutions were already accommodated in the draft transitional constitution

it was, however, felt that in the South African situation, it was impossible to accommodate a situation where each of the nine or ten states had its own administrative law, criminal law, commercial law, contract law,

corporation and partnership law, debt law, family law, labour law and property law.

Mr Meyer said such exclusive powers to regions would be intolerable in the current situation.

He admitted that while the draft transitional constitution was not federalism in its purest form, one had to take into account that in the South African situation where a unitary state was used as a departure point, political realities dictated the final form of state,

Gen Viljoen stressed that the alliance did not view the expected parliamentary ratification of the Kempton Park deals for an April 27 election and interim constitution as a cut-off date for talks.

â\200\234We must stop thinking that there can be cut-off dates which can simply cut off a big organisation like the alliance.â\200\235 he said on the steps of the Union Buildings.

He was flanked by Alli-

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adlock

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THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 199

ance co-leaders such as
Inkatha Freedom Party
president Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, Bophutha-
swana Minister of State
and alliance chairman
Rowan Cronje, Bophu-
swana President Lu-
cas Mangope and Conser-
vative Party leader Dr
Ferdinand Hartzenberg.

Gen Viljoen said the al-
liance was very disap-
pointed by the govern-
ment's reaction to its pro-
posals, released a docu-

mentary form 190 the
media last night.

"We had to tell the
President that we feel

very serious about what
we request and what we
stand for as an alliance," said
Gen Viljoen.

"Unless we can be ac-
commodated in the way
we would like to see the
negotiations go, we see
no way how the alliance
can take part in the
transitional process for
the election next year,
and that would be a great
pity for this country.

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â\200\230Tanks will r

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 199

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inâ\200\231 threat by /

IF any of the TBVC states
or scif-governing territo-
ries failed to co-operate in
their own dissolution the
â\200\234tanks will roll inâ\204ç, senior
African National Con-
gress official Mt Mathew
Phosa, warned in Johan-
nesburg yesterday.

The Freedom Alliance
was also warned by South
African Commumst Party
charrman Mr Joe Slove
that if its actions led to
the spitling of blood, the
government would have a
duty to meet such actions
â\200\234with resolveâ\200\235,

Speaking at a news Âçon-
ference by ANC/SACP
negotiators, Mr Slovo
said the Right-wing had a
right to mobilise in the
political - sphere against
the agreements reached
at multi-party negotia-
tions.

â\200\234What we object to is
the underlying threat
from the leaders of the
Alliance that if they donâ\200\231t
pet their way, they will
use force.

â\200\234If it comes to that and
they continue to threaten
to spill blood, it is the
duty of the government to
meet that threat with re-
solve.â\200\235â\200\231

ANC constitutional
head. Mr Mac Maharaj,

ANC

rejected Afrikaner Volks-
front co-ieader Dr Ferdi
Hartzenberg's call for a
White election.

â\200\234He is losing contact
with reality. A White
election will never take

place in South Africa
again and it is impossible
for their demand to be
realised.â\200\235

ANC negotiator, Mr
Mohammed Valli Moosa,
told the conference that if
the TBVC states and self-
governing territories
failed to co-operate by
participating in the April
27 elections, certain
clauses in the interim con-
stitution would have to be
invoked and the â\200\234law
would have to take its
courseâ\200\231".

The independent elec-
toral commission had
wide-ranging powers (0
ensured everyone had the
right to campaign and to
vote.

The constitution made
provision for the scrap-
ping of the Status of Self-
Governing Territories
Act and the Acts govern-
ing the independent
status of the TBVC

states. This would be put
into effect during the
November sitting of Par-
liament,

Mr Phosa said the ac-
tivities of the transitional
executive council and
other structures would in-
clude levelling the playing
fields throughout the
country, including the
TBVC states.

â\200\234ff the progress is
undermined, the relevant
authorities must be em-
powered to expedite (the
implementation of) the
relevant provisions of the
(interim) constitution.
We are not in a helpless
situation.

â\200\234f the only option left
to us is to roll in the
tanks, then that is what
we will do.â\200\235

Mr Valli Moosa said
the transitional executive
council would probably
hold its first meeting with-
in two weeks and prepa-
rations for its work had

already begun.

They hoped to establish
the Independent Elccto-
ral Commussion and mde-
pendent broadeasting
authonity before . -the
Christmas break so they
could be â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230up and run-
ningâ\200\235 by the New Year,
~â\200\224 Sapa.

Threat by Right-wing groups

By Fred de Lange
RIGHT-wing politi-

Mineworkers Union,
SA Iron & Steel and Al-
licd Union, Afrikaner

that their threats should
not be treated lightly.

cal parties, cultural
organisations . and
trade unions yester-
day demanded that
the government im-
mediately <1 a
White general elec-
tion failing which
steps would be taken
to form an alternative
Afrikaner govern-
ment. disrupt the
economy and ultima-
tely engage 10 2 civil

Weerstandsbeweging,

Afrikaner Volkswag.
Afrikaner Volkstigung
and other bodies said at
a jomnt Press conference
it Pretoria yesterday

The chairman of the
Afrikaner Volksfront

and leader of the Con-
servative Party, Dr Fer-
di Hartzenberg, said the

war, if necessary
The
Afrikaner
Conscrvative
Herstigte

leaders of the
Volksfront,

Bty
Nastonale
Party. Boercstaat Party.

majority of Afrikaners
were not represented at

| the World Trade Centre.

State President De
Klerk did not have a man-
date for the draft tran-
sitional constitution nor
did he fulfil all the prom-
ises he made before the
1 referendum

The constitution was
not a federal constitution
and did not ensure
| enough powers to the
| regions. Property rights
were not protected as had
been promised, and there
was no question of the
sharing of power

Dr Hartzenberg said

for these reasons the volk
now demanded from
President De Klerk that a
White election be held to
enable the volk to elect
their own leaders

Should he refuse to do
so, he would have to bear
the consequences.

One of the first steps to
be taken by the Right-
wing: would be a mass
meeting of all Afrikaners
on December 16 to reaffirm
the vow of Blood
River.

This would be followed
by the appointment of the

Afrikaner Volksfront executive says the new government of the volk. Further steps would be announced at a later stage, he said.

Threat by the Afrikaner

nounced at a later stage, he said.

The Afrikaner nation is still free. We are not defeated, and we will not subject ourselves to Communist government, Dr Hartzenberg concluded.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, said the Afrikaner nation did not wish that millions should die. It demanded the right for each nation to determine its own future.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said there were only three avenues open to the Afrikaner.

three-wing groups

The first was negotiations, which had been tried and which had been unsuccessful.

The second was violence. This had got yet been seriously considered, but could be if the avenue, an election, was denied to the Afrikaner.

The president of the Mineworkers' Union, Mr Cor de Jager, gave his full support to the politicians.

He said mineworkers were experts in underground work and explosives and this expertise would be used if the demand for an election was not met. Even if every drop of blood we have

must be shed.

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THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 1996

Six killed, children hurt

in E Rand massacre

Citizen Reporter

ARMED men burst into a home on Katlehong on the East Rand, and opened fire on the family inside, killing six people and injuring three children, on Thursday night.

The killings occurred after it was rumoured that a member of the family belonged to the Inkatha Freedom Party following a dispute about the financial affairs of the United Bunal Society.

According to the society's secretary. Mr Lucky Ngala, the dispute arose about three months ago after claims of embezzlement - involving about R48 000 of money generated through subscriptions by 300 to 400 of the society's members. Mr Ngala claimed that a dissatisfied group of about 15 people first called for the resignation of the committee, and then spread a rumour that a member of the murdered family was an IFP member

Mr Ngala, however, said the family member in question was in his seventies, was not prominently involved in politics and was, in fact, a member of the African National Congress.

East Rand police spokesman, Lieutenant

Jamne Smith, said be-

tween four and SA

men, all armed with AK-
47 rifles, entered the
house, in the S\$kosana
Section, at about
11.15 pm on Thursday.
They opened fire on
the family inside, killing
three men and three |
women and slightly |
wounding three children

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AVF, AN

ETHE African National Congress and the Afrikaner Volksfront have decided to establish 2 joint working group following two days of discussions outside Pretoria.

General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation, while the ANC deputation was headed by its chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

A joint statement issued yesterday at the end of the discussions did not specify the issues discussed, but ob-

served that they be-

lieved the AVF's demand for a "Volksstaat"

and self-determination for Whites had been central to the discussions.

The statement said both parties presented proposals on a variety of matters. They would refer these proposals to their principals for discussion, after which another meeting was proposed.

A joint working group would be established to pursue matters arising from the two-day discussion.

Both parties expressed their commitment to finding a sustainable arrangement, despite the serious time constraints imposed on

these discussions, given the speed at which other national processes are proceeding, the statement said.

The Afrikaner Volks-

front yesterday issued a statement denying that a Mr Koos van Rensburg served as 3 Secretary to the movement

Information Mr Van Rensburg supplied to foreign media on Thursday had also been incorrect. Gen Viljoen and co-leader, Dr Ferdt Hartzenberg, said.

No statement delineating the geographical position of the projected volkstaat had been finalised.

The AVF's stand-

C working group X

point was that a core area had been indicated, but that no borders finalised.

The AFV's policy remained political segregation for Whites and economical interdependence with the new South Africa, the statement said.

It was untrue that the AVF had ever decided to negotiate directly with the African National Congress because the National Party government had lost its power to take decisions. Thursday's and yesterday's talks with the ANC had been authorised by the Freedom Alliance. â\200\224 Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 19

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A

US vote to
lift curbs

WASHINGTON. = " Africanâ\200\231 | Democratic
With strong biparti- Transition Act. Was .p-
san support, the proved by voice vote
House of Represen- and sent 0 the Senate
tatives voted yester- after a brief debate,

| > â\200\234We have witnesscd
day to lift all remam-

: 3 8 .. dramatic cvgn(s it
ing: e o ecaRon Sonth Africa since Nel-

sanctions against 00 e delas release
South Africa. from prison just threc-

The legislation also ,ig.a-half years ago.â\200\235
lays the groundwork for o4y Rep Harry

Africa to support the
teansition to democracy
ONGE AN INterim govern:
ment is in place as a re-
sult of free. non-racial
elections

The bill, the_ South

future US aid 10 South,

Johnston, <hairman of
the Housc Foreign Al-
{nirs subcommittee on
Africa.

â\200\234Black South Afn-
cans will be granted hu-

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Lift curbs vote

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FROM PAGE 1

man rights and civil
rights, including the
right to vote,â\200\235 he said.

Rep Donald M Pay-
ne, a member of the
Congressional Black
Caucus, said that the
move to pou-racial
democracy it South
Africa was proof that
â\200\234â\200\230economic sanctions do
work when enough time
is allowed to permit
them to work.â\200\235

But the time (or the
end to US sanctions had
come, Payne said, be-
cause â\200\230â\200\230Nelson Mandela
and the ANC have
made it clear that the
transition to democracy
will not work unieess the
economy is given a
boost.â\204¢

During debate in the
Foreign Affairs Com-
mittee, the bill was
ammcnded to bar future
aid to any organisation
mn South Afnca engag-

ing ln violence.

Repubhcan Rep Dan
Burton said he support-
Â¢d the hfting of sanc-
tions, but wanted to
make sure that no aid
went to the South Afri-
can Communist Party or
to other groups that
might have Â¢ndorsed vi-
olence.

â\200\234The track record of
the ANC ls not a good
onc at all, We must
make it clear o them
that without adherence
to these principles (of
non-vicience) they can-
not count onm our sup-
port and assistance,â\200\231 he
sand.

Among the sanctions
that would be lifted by

the Bill arc the ban on
direct airline flights be-
tween the United States
and South Africa.

The Bill also would
2nd US opposition to in-
ternationat financial
institutions operating
there, â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

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Plot to kill ANC
chairman alleged

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 A Vil-
liersdorp policeman has
claimed he was asked by
superiors to take part
in a plot to assassinate the
Chairman of the African
National Congress branch
in the town, his lawyer
said yesterday

Assistant Constable
Vernon Cupido said he
and a group of other
policemen were told by a
colonel from Stellenbosch
last month that the chair-
man, Mr Thomas Jansen,
and local ANC secretary
Mr Peter de Wet had to
be eliminated

However police

spokesman Captain Nina
Barkhuizen said the
policemen's claims were

â\200\234absolute nonsense
â\200\234We'd never do anything
like that.â\200\235â\200\235 she said

Cape Town attorney
Mr Huxley Joshua con-
firmed that Mr Cupido
had signed a statement in
his office this week to the
effect that there was a
planned police operation
to eliminate the two men.

He said he had faxed a
copy of the statement to
the police division of
community services, and
had not yet received a
reaction

Ms Joshua, who
acts for the ANC, said Mr
Cupido feared for his life
now that he had â\200\234spilled
the beansâ\204. â\200\224 Supa

overnmen

t didnâ\200\231t

capitulate at talks
says Meyer

CONSTITUTIONAL

Development Minister
Roelf Meyer yesterday
rejected suggestions
that the interim consti-
tution reflected a ca-
pitulation by the gov-
ernment or a take-over
of power by any party.

Mr Meyer told 2 media
brisfing in Pretoria there
were' many checks and
balances i the draft con-
stitution to prevent any
party from â\200\234runming away
with powerâ\200\235,

Sentor Afncan Nat-
ional Congress officials
reportedly said the gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s last-minute
concessions on the consti-
tution amounted 0 a
â\200\234complete collapseâ\200\231â\200\231, and
that they had been
stupned with the ease
with which these had
been won.

The two major Critic-
wsms against the govern-
ment concern decision-

making by the Cabinet in
a government of national
unity, and the abolition of
two votes in favour of one
in next year's election.

Mr Meyer said defining
percentages on which
Cabinet decisions would
have to be taken would
have been anomolous to
consensus-seeking, which
was the underlying spirit
of such a government.

Consensus-seeking in
the Cabinet would lead to
better power-shannng at
executive level, he said,
adding that on most poli-
cy decisions a future
president would be
obliged to consult his
vice-presidents.

The abolition of two votes for a provincial and central government in favour of one was a temporary measure, he said.

The April 27 election would be the only election where votes for the two tiers of government would be cast at the same time. Holding provincial elections at a different time in future was being investigated.

Mr Meyer denied the last minute deal, insisting the deadlock-breaking mechanism and the role of the Senate, amounted to a trade-off.

On the safeguarding of the powers and functions of regions, Mr Meyer said the government had managed to place specific restrictions on the Constitutional Assembly when writing the final constitution.

It had also convinced the ANC that the Senate, which would consist of representatives appointed by regional legislatures, would play a special role in determining the powers, functions and boundaries of provinces (regions).

Also, regional or provincial legislatures would be able to adopt their own constitutions as long as these did not contradict the central constitution.

He added that these measures would be presented to the Freedom Alliance (FA), with which the government held talks yesterday.

The door was still open to the FA and if it made acceptable proposals, we will try and urge the

The door was still open to the FA and if it made acceptable proposals, we will try and urge the

The door was still open to the FA and if it made acceptable proposals, we will try and urge the

other parties to agree and
even adjust the constitutionâ\200\235, said Mr Meyer.

The constitution would
be submitted to Parha-
ment not later than
November 30, he added.

It was a wrong percep-
tion, the Minister con-
tinued. that the elected
Parliament would be re-
placed or â\200\234overthrownâ\200\235
in two years' time

â\200\234There will be no elec-
tions under a new consti-
tution before 1999 7 â\200\224

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

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SAMSOLE.

he right wing is planting ac-

tion at Parliament tomorrow

and the ANC is taking their

threats to disrupt the country

very, very seriously, according to
Natal ANC intelligence chief Mo
Shaik.

There is talk in right wing circles
of a Summer Offensive due to -

start tomorrow with a march led by
the HNP's Japie Marais. Further ac-
tion is planned for next Monday,
culminating on December 16 - Blood
River Day and another in
January reaching a high-point in
March on Majuba Day. " :
Speaking at a conference on cov-
ert operations this week, Mr Shaik
said the security scenario faced by
the country up to and beyond elec-
tions was one of a convergence of
right-wing forces in the region, in-
cluding Angola and Mozambique,
which was "now starting to present
a real threat to the transition pro-

cess, : i

| He told the Tribune that the ANC
was aware of a significant build-up
of right wing pre-military activity-

ty, including the stockpiling of

tion of different cells and networks

Another ANC security source

pointed to the emergence of profes-
sional soldiers in key positions in
the right wing: "This is no longer
the brandy (and coke) brigade.
There is a new dimension of sophis-
tication and professionalism here."
He rated the current security threat
at 7 or 8 on a scale of 10: "We are at

3 danger point already."

Both the Volksfront and the ANC
have been tight-lipped about this
week's discussions. . However, a
source close to the discussions said
that a sunset clause paving the way
for temporary protections in an Afrikaner
region could be a route of compro-

mise.

Among senior ex-security force members said to be involved in the right are former Military Intelligence Department of Covert Collection chief Brig Tolletjie Botha, retired by the Steyn inquiry, former commander of the notorious police Vlakplaas units, Lt Col Eugene de Kock, and South West Africa campaign veteran Cmdt Willem Ratte. -

The ANC has claimed rightwingers have been involved in providing

training for Inkatha's recently an-

veiled "self-defence units". Another source claimed General Constand Viljoen had held meetings -

with Henamo and Unita representatives recently, Volksfront spokesmen

Koos van Rensburg said this was nonsense, :

Right-wing analyst Dr Wim Boyse told the Tribune that security within the right had been stepped up enormously in the past months: Before it was easy to get information out, now it's very difficult. -

Therefore this occurs it is a certainty,

2%

weapons and the growing coordination - 3

. strategy: This {5

200\224200\224_200\224

But the good news is

JOHN MACLENNAN
. Political Correspondent

RS L, PN P S

Chief Minister of Buthe's

(:

:-q»-
Freedom Alliance partners will follow
200\230W Kifled 200\224 that provides
Approach FIEE constitutive

ed WhivH produced it. 3

also on technical matter and specifically
call on the Electoral Bill ..

. The 'most recent jndlmgi
Freedom Alliance Interest in ght-
inÂ\$ elÂetions is found In their appli-
cation to haÂçÂ¥ tHreSge L the .
Electoral Commission which .will
conduct the election on April 27.

Until now IFP spokesmen have
Âald only that the parly Âill contest
an election, but not for a constitu-
tion-writing body. The IFP has de-
manded that the consttution be
tomplÂed before elÂctions.

This week's acebrd at the World
Trade Centfe, however, has cleared
the way for elections and a parlia-
ment which will have to complete
the final constitution. - ' .

Mow Mr Biithelez! has said a spe-
cial genÂril eongress of Inkatha
would decide In January whether
the garly should contest elections.
But he added that in the meantime
the IFP's fundraising efforts for i3
election campaigd: were going foll .
steafd ahead. . - @

- Bpedkifig at & fundfaiding difinef
in Pretortd this wÂek he said the
welting of the final constitution
cotld not e enttdsted to the ANC |
and that the countty needed the [FP

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lament. S T
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Town ProfÂsiok Hobert Schrire the
hoyfBtt stratÂgy wag devised At a
timâ\\202~ #hen the Freedom Alliadce
partits believed they had lttle sip-
H. â\\200\\234Now they have mach greater
suppott and they ard Âçhanging thelc
shfÂerd and Âçynical
calculation of pdw8F politics.â\\200\\235
* He sald the FrÂedom Alliance had *
three strateglÂs, The first was to
threaten actiof {o dÂtail the procÂss â\\200\\231
or intimidate the delegates. But that
strategy falled When their bluff was

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g tacit
. aboard and contest the dlection
Hes, Ji-Spi&BL thelr public boycdH AN
~of the WotldÂ@Â¥ade Cenlte, have'
been providingâ\\200\\231 eotial Proposss:

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~ Buthelezi looks like
jumping 6n board

Â@ â\\200\\234callÂd, The govefnment, the ANC

and others were resolute in not glv-

Ing them the veto,
"The second strategy was to influ-

ven the cledrast tinditation yet...ence proceedings by making de-
\\ that Inkatha will fight the elec.â\\200\\235 Midnds
~tlon. g8

Â¢ T outside and they have
i Faet been thore successfal outside
thati thay woild have been ai the
â\\200\\230talks. But that strategy has now
s67YEd Il puitpose.

e faat optior 13 to come

thorÂ® Tonfidedt, not be:
are catching up with the
e Nat support

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â\\200\\234pickiig tp strong white sanpport
mg:t also throw their weight
behind the ailliance.â\\200\\235 :
O Df Buthelest will speak at the
DurbÃ©h City;Hall tomorrow night on
_â\\200\\230mgotlatloï~\\201s crunch â\\200\\224 who are the
â\\200\\234Pedl spojlers?â\\200\\235

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ANC president Nelson Mandela was prevented from speaking to the people of Dukuduku Forest in northern Natal yesterday after local chiefs and senior Inkatha Freedom Party members organised a meeting at the venue where he was supposed to address residents.

The regional ANC leadership claimed the IFP was opposed to Mandela's appearance because local chiefs had not been consulted,

Speaking at Ingwavuma earlier,

li;' ;P i)locks Mandela meetin .)i~\201

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Mandela said the ANC was opposed to the unilateral removal of people from their land to make way for game reserves,

He said authorities should meet traditional leaders who should get a mandate from their people on the establishment of reserves,

He said if the people were re-

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 199

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moved before the April 27 election |

the ANC would

bring them back. ~-
Sapa

CIENAAIAEOIO

' THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

e - :
F W DE KLERK ... may not hold
deputy rank.

ANC deals made on the assumption
that the NP would come second to
the ANC in the April 27 elections.
The FA plan 15 that one of its
leaders such as Mangosuthu Bu-
thelezi, Lucas Mangope, Constand
Viljoen or Ferdi Hartzenberg will
become a2 deputy president instead
of FW de Klerk as ANC and Nat

ith the FA 1
r support after

or in the interim con-

The FA plan is to retain its Doy
he last strategic
he country guess-

erisis atmosphere

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TERTIUS DELPORT ..
of federalism.

. in favour

negotiators had assumed
The interim constitution guaran-

tees a deputy presidency for the |

party coming second whatever its
support,

The third-placed party earns 3
deputy presidency only if it polls at
least 20 percent - an unlikely pros-
pect

CARL NIEHAUS ... IFP-AWB
linkage a disgrace.

This would result in maximum
impact when the election came
paign is launched. ;

FA planners believe that parties

tend to perform best in elections in the immediate aftermath of their launch and the full glare of publicity.

The planners cite the Demo-

As the likely president, Nelson Mandela would be constitutionally obliged to consult the FA deputy president who would be in the ideal position to obtain government strategy in advance so the FA can counter it.

The formula for a coalition Cabinet would mean FA Ministers being privy to government secrets.

Polisters

FA strategists say their plan is to box clever and fight the government of National unity from within as well as extra-parliamentarily

Human Sciences Research Council pollsters say the FA, consisting mainly of the [FP and CP, is now slightly ahead of the NP.

The FA is convinced that large numbers of undecided white voters confused by dramatic change would cast a protest vote for the FA, enabling it to beat the NP easily into second place leaving the Nats nowhere, as happened to the old United Party after it lost power in 1943

!

cratic Party which was launched !

in 1989 and achieved by far the best 234 progressive 235 231 election results a few months later,

They also point out that the CP achieved its best by-election results shortly after it was formed in 1982

Leadership

The DP experience shows them that a new party with multiple leadership can do well in elections - the DP successfully fought the last white election under a leadership troika. »

And, they add, there is a precedent for a party taking part in a system to destroy it from within - this was the reason the Labour party gave for taking part in the tricameral Parliament.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus
said the IFP would be absolutely
disgraced if it stood for election in
the same company as rightwingers
such as the AWB leader Eugene
TerreBlanche and CP leader
Ferdinand Hartzenberg.

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

8 Late entrants: The

Freedom Alliance plans to

e|d

enter the elections at the last
minute and beat the faltering

ikl

NP into second place.

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FREEDOM ALLI

w government of National
be elected on April 27
rces say they plan to enter

race at the last possi-
ent, beat the faltering Nats
cond place and undermine

W governnient from within

includes the KwaZuly,

Bophuthatswana and Cisker gov-

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ernments as well as the Inkatha
Freedom Party, the Conservative
Party and Afrikaner-Volksfront

Advantage

After exhausting the spoiling
role, TA sources disclosed that the
plan is to take advantage of Nat/

payoley

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FOREIGN MISSION: Umnkhonto we Sizwe fighters killed by rebels

MK cadres are

Killed in action: Cadres from the
ANCâ\200\231s military wing, Umkhonio we
Sizwe, are fighting - and dying -
alongside Ugandan troops in com bat
operations, SQUrces say.

By Brexnan SEERY

CONEIRMING reports teaking out of Uganda to
(lgandan exiles abroad, intefligence sources
.av at least (4 South Africau fighters have been
kelled in missions against rebels inside Uganda
wmd in operations in support of rebel move
ments in the southern Sudaa and Rwanda. bath
s which border Uganda
ANC spokestinan Ronnie Mamioepa said he

lad an knowledge of any casualties atong MK
ramnees tn Uganda, nor was he aware ifthey
sere heing deployed operationaliy wwith the

leandan Army

He said, howeser, that he doubted if the

reports of 14 dead were true.

â\200\234That pumber is just too big. There
vould have had to be big funerals
And nothiog like that has happened
that I am awace of "

He said he would have to discuss
the matter with the organisation's
military headquarters before com
menting further.

After the ANC was forced to quit
Angola in 1989, with the implementa-

tion of the various southern African peace accords. It moved its training operations to a number of other countries, including Uganda

late last year, it was reported that up to 1 600 untrained MK recruits had

left South Africa for training camps in Uganda

The ANC justified the recruitment at the time on the grounds that it needed to beef up the numbers of trained troops it had, in order that MK would not be swamped when the time

came

Mangosuthu Buthe.

ing in Uganda

came for integration with the SADF and homeland armies.

South African officers are said to be involved in commanding some of the units or overseeing training

Intelligence sources say that part of the programme for the estimated 2500 MK cadres being trained by the Ugandan Army includes actual operational experience. Its inclusion in the programme, from 1990 onwards, was at the insistence of Chris Hani, when he was still in the command structure of MK

Fighters in MK, including Hani, gained valuable combat experience in Angola in the 1980s when fighting alongside the MPLA against

Unita
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speaking at a

Pretoria rally yesterday said that criticism had been leveled at him and the IFP for training self-protection units in Northern Zululand while nothing has been said about the ANC's raising of troops in both Uganda and India.

The Ugandan Army has been accused by international human rights watchdog groups of murder, arbitrary arrests and torture.

Uganda President Yoweri Museveni, who came to power in 1986 after a bloody civil war and years of internal turmoil, has also been accused of fomenting rebellion in both Sudan and Rwanda.

In Sudan, Uganda is alleged to support Christian rebels in the south in their struggle against the Muslim government in Khartoum.

A Ugandan force of rebels from the Tutsi tribe, to which Museveni belongs, invaded neighbouring Rwanda in 1991 in an attempt to overthrow the Hutu dominated government

in the capital, Kigati

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.~ THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1993

Kriel bales X
out of talks

LAW and Order Minister
Hernus Kriel baled out of
the final and critical stage
of democracy talks this
week after a blazing row
with government chief

i negotiator Reelf Meyer.

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Mr Kriel, a cabinet
hawk, was last seen at the
World Trade Centre on
Monday night when he
stormed out of the govern-
ment offices after a bitter
exchange with his police
negotiator, General Andre
Pruis, and Mr Meyer.

The row, which led to Mr
Kriel absenting himself
from Wednesday's plenary
session at which President
FW de Klerk endorsed a
democratic coostitution,
began durio talks
between the ANC and the
government on a new po-
lice force.

Sources at Monday's
talks said police and ANC
negotiators had been un-
able to reach final agree-
ment on a proposal. They
then took it to Mr Meyer
and. his ANC counterpart,
Cyril Ramaphosa.

They endorsed the pro-
posal, which allows for a

By EDYTH BULBRING
Politics1 Correspondent

single national police force
with limited powers for
provincial police commis-
sioners.

But Mr Kriel was un-
happy and said: "There is
no deal I am taking it to
cabinet."

Later, in the govern-
ment's office, he was heard

attacking General Pruts

for letting him down.

Sources said Mr Kriel
accused Mr Meyer of con-
ceding too much to the
ANC, and said Mr Meyer,
having sold out the police
force, might just as well
give the country to the
ANC.

Mr Kriel then left the
World Trade Centre in a
rage, according to those
present.

Government sources
said at the next day's cabi-
net meeting, Mr Kriel,
backed by Local Govern-
ment Minister Tertius Del-
port, attacked Mr Meyer
and other senior ministers
in the negotiating team.

But, the
deputy
Mr Meyer.

On Tuesday night, as the
negotiating council de-
bated the ANC/govern-
ment proposal on the po-
lice force, Mr Kriel was
absent.

Some sources say the
agenda had been confusing,
and Mr Kriel did not know
the matter was to come up
for debate that night.

But when negotiators
finalised the draft constitu-
tion the next day, Mr Kriel

was again absent.

He was still absent when
leaders endorsed the com-
stitution at the plenary ses-
sion later that night.

His spokesman, Craig
Kotze, said Mr Kriel was
a bit too tired to attend
the plenary.

added, Presi-
lerk supported

Presidential spokesman }

Dave Steward said Mr
Kriel had a long-standing
engagement to attend an-
other meeting.

But a senior police offi-
cial said Mr Kriel had not
attended another function
that night.

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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 199|

Rugby team praises IFPâ\200\231

By MPHO KOBUE
angd GILL BESTER

THE Natal seven-a-side
rugby league team in full
kit chanted greetings to
IFP leader Mangosuthu
Buthelezi at a political ral-
ly in Pretoria yesterday.

Led by manager Bill
Kewley, the â\200\234Zulu War-
riorsâ\200\235 shouted â\200\234IFP, IFPâ\200\235
before going to the podium
to shake Buthelezi's
hang. They were at the
Rerea stadium in Pretoria
to compete in the annual
SA seven-a-side tourna-
ment and had dedicated
their three matches to In-
katha, Kwazulu/Natal and
Mr Buthelez

Mr Buthelezi told his
supporters the Freedom

i would be radica

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lised If the government and
ANC failed to recognise it.
Addressing the rally, he
said no government would
ne able to prevail against
the force and political
strength of the alliance,
which he described as the
second strongest political
force in the country.
Large numbers of sing-
ing [FP supporters bearing
traditional weapons
danced and sang through
the streets of Pretoria to0
attend the rally oo the
rugby fields

In Katiehong yesterday
morning IFP supporters

prepared for the rally by
treating themselves with
muti.

Marshals sprayed the

men with a traditional J;o-
tion as a prayer was said lo

rotect them during the
P
day

â\200\234

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Aosdiion s

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v,

By NICK OLIVARI |

GUNMEN tried to shoot Mrs
Winnie Mandela, estranged
wife of ANC president Neison
Mandela, in a Johannesburg
street last night.

Mrs Mandela, 59, escaped unhurt,
but her driver and bodyguard, Mr

Lieutenant Smith said
the dead gunman had been
carrying an identity docu-
ment, which showed his

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. police did not | John Lawrence, died when an uniden-
tified black man pulled open the door
release his name last night. | it was not clear if the man was

Lieutenant Smith would of white Toyo said an
not comment on the possi- opened fire with a 9mm pistol.
ble motive for the attack. Mr Lawrence, of Eldorado Park

returned fire, fatally wounding the
gunman, who collapsed and died in
Simmonds Street about 10m from the

Mr Mandela, who was
campaigning in Natal yes-
terday, was not available

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for comment, but ANC | car.

spokesman Gill Marcus Mrs Mandela was in the passenger
, said from the Empangeni seat of the vehicle at the time.

hotel where he was staying Within minutes, a man who police

that he had been informed

said was the an's accomplice
N about the attack and was gunm p

was arrested by security guards on

extremely concerned duty around the corner in Pritchard
The news was relayed to Street. He was found in possession of
Mr Mandela within hours the murder weapon, according to po-

of him being prevented like.
rom addressing people

The shooting occurred at 7.40pm.
Four hours later, police were still at
the sceme and Mr Lawrenceâ\200\231s body
was still slumped in the driverâ\200\231s seat

living in the Dukuduku
Forest in northern Natal
after an election rally at

Ingwavuma. Cail of the vehicle.
i Sï\201iï\202s&miï\201jpgela A senior officer from the Brixton
18 salid N Manges

Murder and Robbery Squad had taken
charge of the investigation at the
scene. Eyewitnesses had been taken to
John Vorster Square for questioning. -

Mrs Mandela had not yet made a
statement to the police, and had left
the scene to go to her daughter Zinzi's
house in the Johannesburg suburb of
Bez Valley.

By midnight, police had thrown a
cordon around Zinzi's
house and were not allow-
ing anyone to speak to Mrs
Mandela.

Police did not release
detalls of the shooting until
after 11.30 last mght.

SAP spokesman Lieu-
tenant Janine Smith said
the gunman pulled open
the driverâ\200\231s door while the
vehicle, which was travel-
ling south, was at a robot
and fired several shots at
Mr Lawrence. â\200\234He re-
turped the fire, fatally
wounding his assailant,
who collapsed and died in
the street,â\200\235 she said.

ly disturbedâ\200\235
from shock

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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 199

Natal gives
Mandela wet,
warm hello

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

NELSON MANDELA's Natal election
campaign trail ended on a colourful note
yesterday with Indians lavishing him
with gifts, garlands and chutney mu-
sic:

Not even a light drizzle dampened spir-
its at Durban's Chatsworth Stadium,
where 10 000 cheered, clapped and uluiat-
ed as the ANC president made his way to
the centre stage decked with a giant ANC
banner,

Elderly sari-clad Indian women,
dressed in a rainbow of colours, held tiny
lamps- as ANC aides jostled with the
crowd to clear the way for the de facto
president to take his seat on a padded oak
chair beside Cosatu's election candidate,
Jay Naidoo.

Cormung straight from talking to hostel-
dwellers in Glebe, near the airport, Man-
dela was overwhelmed by the reception
in Chatsworth,

His face glowed under the bright flood-
lights as he waved and greeted supporters
in a style that brought out his charisma
and statesmanlike figure.

It was a night the people of one of SA's
most densely populated townships will

| not forget. rap mixed with Indian pop

| (known as chutney music) as supporters

! danced and toyi-toyed in the rain

" Only the kaleidoscope of fireworks was
missing from the dark skies. But there
was enough thunder on stage as Mr Man-
dela and his lieutenants fired some of
the rockets from the floor.

Putting the race question to bed, Mr
Mandela told Indians they were as black
as Africans and coloureds, and that they
need not fear affirmative action

The crowd roared when the world's
once most famous prisoner told them he
was the political protégé of Yusuf Dadoo
and Ismail Meer, the community's mar-
tyrs. . -

" Then the ANC election campaign be-
gan, with Mr Maatsoe telling Indians he
needed their vote to turn South Africa

into & country in which they will prosper.

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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1991

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Children among 11%
killed in township

THE death toll in strife-torn Katlehong has risen to at least 11 since Thursday.

Yesterday, the bodies of two men, a 17-year-old ° youth and two children, aged 5 and 11, all with gunshot wounds, were found in the township's Skosana section.

Six members of a family were killed by gunmen in Skosana section earlier this week. Two children, aged 11 and 12, were seriously injured during the attack

When police found the five bodies yesterday, they also recovered 38 spent AK-47 cartridges at the scene.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Janine Smith said no arrests had been made

Meanwhile, police recovered several weapons during searches at two houses in Daveyton yesterday, and 4 men were arrested for illegal possession of a gun.

THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1993

By JCCELYN MAKER

A HEAD-ON clash is looming between Afrikaners and the rest of South Africa, Volksfront chief General Constand Viljoen warned yesterday.

General Viljoen said the mood among his people - was "dangerous", but stressed everyt possible was being done to wapege the situation.

He denied speculation that a rift had developed between himseif and ultra-rightwingers, angry about his dealings with the ANC over a Boerestaat,

"I have heard vague rumblings about this but, after a meeting last Saturday at the Valbaila primary school in Pretoria, our executive committee unanimously voiced in support of negotiations with the ANC.

Originally, the discussions were kept & secret between myself and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg because of security reasons. It was only the Volksfront generals who held these first negotiations. Now politicians have joined in.

There have been no positive signs from the ANC and this contributes to the dangerous mood of my people."

He also denied that, by talking to the ANC, he was moving the Afrikaner "to the left",

"I am not here to appease my people but to do everything possible to reach our goal for self-determination,"

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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 199

â\200\230Mandela, |
silenced X

ANC PRESIDENT Neison |
Mandela was prevented |
from speaking to the peo- |
pie of Dukuduku forest in â\200\230
northern Natal yesterday |
after chiefs and semior |
Inkatha Freedom Party |
members organised aj
meeting at the venue |
where he was supposed to
address residents,
The regional ANC lead-
ership claimed the P
| was opposed to the wisit
because local chiefs had |
not been consulted
Speaking at Ngwavuma |
earlier, Mr Mandela said
the ANC was opposed to
the removal of people from
their land to make way for
game reserves
The ANC wruld protect
the people of Ngwavuma
who had complamed they
were under threat of re
moval, he said.
lf they were removed |
before next vear's April 27 |
election, â\200\234we as the ANC |
will bring them backâ\200\235 â\200\230
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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1998

By RYLAND FISHER

AS POLITICAL pundits throughout the country joined the guessing game over his possible participation in South Africa's first non-racial elections next year, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi employed the age-old trick of politicians â\200\224 using many words to say as little as possible.

In an interview on Friday, he criticised the â\200\234 unilateral impositionâ\200\235 of the draft constitution by the government, the ANC and their allies.

However, he did not rule out participation in the elections, saying he would â\200\234 draw on the collective wisdomsâ\200\235 of his party members before making decision,

â\200\230e are holding a central committee meeting next Sunday and I will ask them to call an early general conference of the party next month. I will get my next step from that. I canâ\200\231t predict what will happen,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Buthelezi refused to say whether he felt he should take part in the elections, saying he always consulted his voters.

He was as evasive on how far he was prepared to go in resisting the draft constitution. â\200\234We'll cross that bridge when we come to it,â\200\235 he said

Mr Buthelezi also lashed out at his

political rivals, claiming ANC president Nelson Mandela hated him and that his confidence in President F W de Klerk had been shattered.

Asked if he felt opposition to the elections could lead to violence, he said: â\200\234There is a civil war in this country and, quite clearly, if tensions go up, that will escalate.

â\200\234But I've never myself said I wanted any civil war. I've never believed in taking up arms.â\200\235

He was â\200\234not personally interested in an election where you decide the issue of who is going to write the constitutionâ\200\235.

â\200\234I thought there'd be a constitution agreed upon, even if you referred it to a referendum, and then you'd have an elec-

tion.

| â\200\234Those are my personal views, But the
b issue is too important to be decided just
on the basis of my feelings.â\200\235

| " He denied there was a split in the IFP
| over possible participation in the election,

saying the issue had been debated i
| several central committee meetings.

â\200\234I feel the IFP should have a special
general copference, probablyin a monthâ\200\231s
time . . . then we'll see what the majority
view 1.

He predicted â\200\234very tough times ahead

Buthelezi keeps /
all doors openâ\200\224â\200\224

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WILL HE OR WON'T HE ... Kwazulu's
Mangosuthu Butheles! In his Ulgnel
office Picture: HORACE POTTER

for the Zulu peopleâ\200\235 i central govern-
ment funds were cut off.

â\200\234Kwazulu is part of South Africa and
the people of Kwazulu are taxpayers.â\200\235
Money was allocated from the national
fiscus for school, clinics and pensianers.
The money belonged to the Zulu people,
Mr Buthelez sai |

He claimed the Kwazulu/Natal region
was underfunded by the government.

â\200\234That's why I feel 30 strongly about the
constitution which has been passed, which
is a upitary systems copstitution, which
rmeans that with the hatred I can seÃ© from
Mr Manpdela's utterances, quite clearly if
his party wins, the Zulu people will suffer
even worse as far as the allocation of |
funds i2 concerned.â\200\235 !

Mr Buthelezi said Zulus waoted to be
part of South Africa but: â\200\234We would like
to manage our own affairs at regional
tevel and we would jike to know what our
king's status is.â\200\235

â\200\234The fact of the matter is that the king
is not accommodated and the Zulu people
are being obliterated from the map.â\200\235

Mr Butbelezd, who sard-he had â\200\234loved
Mr Mandela all my lifeâ\200\235 denied political
parties other than the {FP faced testric-
tions when campaigning in Kwazidu,

â\200\234Which party has ever complained?
Only the ANC has made propaganda
about it. Vet here Mr Mandela is cam-
paigning, he is going all over the place
and 1 bave never sad that he shoujd not
be free to campaign hereâ\200\235

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 198

@ Enigmatic survivor: Rowan Cronje has become the most visible spokesman for South African rightwingers since he became chairman of the Freedom Alliance. We chart 15 past - and possibly his future.

kepoaTs By Pera THORNYCROFT

UTTING his eggs into fatal-

ly flawed baskets has

become a habit with

Rowan Cronje. â\200\234Diabolic-

ally fascinating,â\200\235 is how a

senior negotiator describ-

>d him at the World Trade Centre

this week. â\200\234He was definitely helpful

sn procedural matters when he was

in the chair, but substantively

â\200\230hereâ\200\231s nothing there.â\200\235 Another

lescription from former fellow nego-

iators is of â\200\234a political mercenary, a

â\200\230apable guy".

He's also charming, approach-

able, accessible, immensely likable

and the very best person to add gloss

and relevance to the Freedom

Alliance

Rowan Cronje has been looking

for a country to call his own for a

long time. It turned him into some-

thing of a political grasshopper.

First he was a South African and a

dominee. Then he became a

Rhodesian and a politician. Then he

briefly became a Zimbabwean, and

when that Government started its

North Korean-style one-party state

baloney, he threw in his lot with the

Ciskel dictatorship, claiming the

people had democratically chosen

independence

~ \ " Honourable

BB,) ;Tswang

nrs

When that didn't work out he

became an honourable Tswana, or a8

sort of a Tswana in yet another onc-

party set-up, Bophuthatswana,

Cronje has perfected the sincere eye contact, the mellifluous explanation. He quickly establishes an enviable intimacy with an interviewer. And he can cloak the most ludicrous standpoint in reassuring reason.

He's comfortable with black people, distinctly at ease with the Far Right and men like Ciskei's Qupa Gqozo

Diplomats of important Western countries asked; Has he any convictions at all? He is vain, he wanted to

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art of history at the World Trade !()â\200\230Zr?&re. to be remembered for his contribution to the future. He was taken out of negotiations kicking and screaming. He's an opportunist. Rowan Cronje said it was â\200\234hurtful to be called an opportunist. : â\200\234That's the greatest insult. Being an opportunist implies acting for gain. If that was the case I would have left politics long ago. It implies

wealth. â\200\234Speak to my bank manager about

my finances. I own a house in Uvongo. And I have a lot of money on it. I don't own any farms. I have no other assets. I would feel deeply about things and have very strong convictions. My whole integrity is being questioned, There are many things I've not said about Rowan Cronje, among them that the charm masks a more sinister side. That was raised in Parliament by Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan, who questioned

A ST VAN S SN

whether Cronje had ever been involved with the State security apparatus. ;

Cronje is outraged by the insinuations and his challenge to Jordaan to repeat them outside the protection of Parliament remains unfulfilled.

I asked him what it was that the Freedom Alliance wanted - what was the bottom line?

â\200\234There is not a single thing that cannot be accommodated ... following international trends .. look at

Europe ... a constitution must protect people against excesses and protect the rights of political minorities .. it should be inclusive so we can all build a new South Africa .. no-one has ever said we are unreasonable .. the Government and the ANC just

AT LA otk

said, this is it ... what we said was of no consequence .. we are talking about rational, reasonable issues . we are not speaking out of one mouth, we are a negotiating alliance not a political alliance . we haven't even discussed fighting the elections as an alliance .. we need more guarantees .. we are not negotiating about maps, nor about language and culture .

Half an hour later there was nothing more substantial in my notebook than what comes out on radio or television, The usual Cronje moderation. But at least, this time anyway, he didn't justify anything because of Bosnia, which tumbles out of the mouths of so many who don't want to be part of the new South Africa

In a more expanded form, what Rowan Cronje said sounded reasonable. Reading it back there wasn't anything to hang on to, nothing black and white, nothing unequivocal. Just that the new interim constitution can

R ST

be improved
But doesn't everyone know that? =
The bottom line is that I haven't.
I know what it is he wants, But perhaps:
there is a clue, His position in Bop 18,
massively powerful. He has three
Cabinet posts and influence extend-

ing beyond even those.

It's hard to imagine that his boss, Chief Lucas Mangope, could muster more than a few votes if there was a free and fair election in the polyglot - that calls itself Bop | Even the name of the political party he heads is hard to recall.

So Cronje, with his colours nailed to Bop's mast, would seem to be on a short cut to oblivion. But he's very, very clever; a strategist, a survivor.

Diabolically fascinating, yes

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THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Mixed

THERE IS a great deal of backslapping, no doubt much of it well-deserved, at the outcome of the multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park.

As chief architects of the government-ANC constitutional package, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development and chief government negotiator, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, get the main credit â\200\224 and why not?

Most of what was decided emanated from their bosberaads and bilateral negotiations and there is no doubt that, as the chief negotiators, they were the kingpins in the multi-party talks.

Mr Meyer yesterday rejected suggestions that last-minute concessions by the government on the draft constitution came as a result of a â\200\234complete collapseâ\200\235, or that the draft constitution reflected a takeover of power by any party.

The â\200\234complete collapseâ\200\235 statement was attributed to Mr Ramaphosa. Other senior ANC officials were said to have been stunned by the ease with which they won key concessions from the government,

Not only did Mr Meyer deny this was so, but ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday described the reports as mischievous.

â\200\234We all made concessions,â\200\235 said Mr Mandela. â\200\234It was not just the ANC which succeeded in the multi-party forum but all the parties in South Africa.â\200\235

At least 19 of the 21 teams had agreed to the interim constitution and all had made concessions along the way.

Mr Meyer told Mr Stephen Solarz, a former arch-enemy of this country in the US Congress, it may not be all wine and roses when the National Party caucus meets on Monday.

However, he dismissed speculation of a split in the National Party over the constitutional agreement reached at Kempton Park.

Opposed to the World Trade Centre talks and interim constitution are major non-participants in the negotiations-â\200\224 - -

Lehlanthle Maseko, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose KwaZulu homeland is to be reincorporated into South Africa in accordance with the decisions at the multi-party negotiations, is one of the opponents of the agreements.

He threatens to meet the new constitution with â€œdetermined resistanceâ€.

Mr Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana Minister and chairman of the Freedom Alliance, rejects the decision to reincorporate the TBVC states, including Bophuthatswana.

He claims Bophuthatswana is an independent country and no law passed by the South African Parliament has any effect whatsoever on his country, -

General Constand Viljoen, leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront, says South Africa is at the brink of war. But the AVF is still trying to strike a deal with the ANC on an Afrikaner volkstaat.

Right-wing political parties, Â€œcultural organisations and trade unions yesterday demanded that the government immediately call a White general Â€œlection, failing which steps would be taken to form an alternative Afrikaner government, disrupt the economy and ultimately engage in civil war, if necessary.

Among the organisations which took the decision were the Afrikaner Volksfront, Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, Boerestaat Party, Mineworkers' Union, SA Iron and Steel and Allied Union. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Afrikaner Volkswag and Afrikaner Volkstigting Their threats, they say, are not to be treated lightly.

If you analyse the Freedom Alliance â€œwith-its. White Right components, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana â€œthere are several million people who are opposed to the decisions taken at Kempton Park. | â€œ

So while there is ANC-government joy about | the outcome of the negotiations, there is enough potential resistance to take some of the gloss off the historic decisions.

To put it bluntly, the battle is far from over â€œand in some ways, has not even begun

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, THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 19

THE REALITY IS that the ANC will only be bound by their common sense

Let's hope the deal
on a consensus will work

& ANC rule: All that gobbledegook
about a consensus Cabinet means

the majority party will rule - but it will

be wise to listen to minorities.

an ANC government next year, political
experts say
But if the ANC knows what is good for it, it

. FORGET the frills - South Africa will have

will not ride roughshod over minorities, as this

would undermine the economy, weaken
international confidence and antagonise the
old white order still entrenched in the public

service, the security forces and the people with
the skills.

That is the only real guarantee against ANC
domination - not the power-sharing deal
struck at the World Trade Centre this week.
analysts say.

The deal involves decision-making on the
Cabinet to be elected proportionally from
parties with more than five percent of seats in
the National Assembly

it will be up to the Cabinet chairman -

probably president-designate Nelson Mandela

- to set the tone that will determine whether
the coalition Cabinet works.

New conventions or informal practices are
expected to emerge in which Ministers from
minority parties will be able to criticise
Cabinet decisions publicly without having to
resign, as was the case in the old Cabinet
system.

Cabinet vote

Another new convention expected to
develop is that the Cabinet may decide to take

a vote on certain issues - the Cabinet has never

voted in the past

The key deal is the paragraph which states that the post-election Cabinet will function in a manner which gives consideration to the consensus-seeking spirit underlying the concept of the Government of National Unity as well as the need for effective government.

That mouthful means the Cabinet is due to continue working on the basis of consensus, as it did in the past - with the difference that this will be a multiparty Cabinet while past Cabinets were one-party affairs.

This is how a consensus Cabinet works: at a

Cabinet meeting, Ministers talk freely on an informal basis. Ministers are free to express their views on any issue. Ministers are free to express their views on any issue. Ministers are free to express their views on any issue.

51

Davip
Breier

POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

If the ANC wins a

landslide, the electorate will have spoken. Minority parties will not be terribly influential. If the ANC wins, but not by a

Rober Schrire points out that other coalition cabinets, such as those in Germany and Israel, results in which no single party has a majority.

In coalition cabinets are taken seriously, as they have the power to bring down the government

landslide, minority parties will

be relatively more influential. None of the gimmicks or conventions will make any

difference.

agenda item, often expressing divergent views, At the end of the discussion, the chairman

sums up the consensus as he sees it. This summing up is all-important. The chairman decides what the consensus decision is, No

. vote is taken.

If the chairman is authoritarian like PW Botha, he can ride roughshod over divergent views. If he is more flexible like FW de Klerk, he can accept compromises. Mandela's personal style will therefore be crucial to how

' the coalition cabinet will work

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Under the old consensus Cabinet system, Ministers who disagree with the Presidentâ\204çs

| consensus view are bound by the principle of
| joint Cabinet responsibility to accept the
i decision.

if dissident Ministers criticise such â\200\234consensus, decisions outside the Cabinet. their only

| countries also set own their own conventions

v

recourse is to resign or be fired.

But constitutional authority Marinus Wiechers, a member of the technical committee at the negotiations, expects the new coalition Cabinet to develop its own conditions. He says one of these may be that Ministers will be able to differ publicly from Cabinet decisions without having to leave. Another may be that some Cabinet decisions may be taken on a vote - with different majorities required for different matters

Wiechers says coalition cabinets in other

countries have to take decisions.

University of Cape Town political scientist

are not entrenched by law, but reflect elections

Schrire says that minority parties in South Africa

can be walking out.

Minority walkout

But in South Africa, if the ANC has the majority, the minority parties will have no such power, he says. If they walk out, the majority will still stand.

He believes the influence of minority parties in the Cabinet will be in proportion to their election results and not on the vague negotiated deal.

â\200\234If the ANC wins a landslide, the electorate

will have spoken. Minority parties will not be terribly influential. If the ANC wins, but not by a landslide, minority parties will be relatively

influential, which the ANC will be exceeding

{
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SESEVISEIN L P S O PG

| expertise and personalities, not agreement

more influential. None of the gimmicks or conventions will make any difference,â\200\235 he says,

But Schrire says that an ANC-majority government will be only part of the equation,â\200\234The white community will have the important expertise and credibility with

ly
unwise to ignore. And the civil service is mostly eurocentric.

â\200\234If you look at political power in the broad sense, those are much more powerful than the people who sit in the Cabinet who don't have election support. The source of power will be in Kempton Park.â\200\235

MUK

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LAST NIGHTâ\200\231S DRAMA: Gunman â\200\230tttad\s Mrs Mandela in city centre

Winnie in double
killing shoot-out

pistol. Both the bodyguard and the assassin were
I Killed. Security guards arrested a second man-
armed with the alleged murder weapon - knwn the
road. Police took charge and escorted Mandelato
safety. She was taken to her daughter Zinzi's home
| inBez Valley. Police say the motive for the aftack
| may have been robbery â\200\224 but politics kave not been

\

'Hku out,

| began blasting at her bod Â»gk rard. The incident
â\200\231 w[pened about 7.40 pmin Simmonds Street,
hetiveen Church aad Pritchard Streets. A police ;
spokesman said it was suspected that Mandela and i
hu unnamed bodyguard had stowed down because i
f the heavy traffic when the gunman rag up, opet ied
â\200\230 lhe driverâ\200\231s door of the Cressida and stacted liring.

WINNIE MANDELA narrowly escaped death
last night when & man armed with a 9mm pistot
sliot her bodyguacd in the centre of Joburg. The
gunsoan was killed. Mandela was taken o
safety by police. Mandela was sitting in the {â\200\230-â\200\230Hâ\200\224
senger seat of a white Cressida i the h(aw traftic

during the Johanuesburg Jamboree whena 2 28 -year-
oid hlack man wrenched open the door of the car and | Mandelaâ\200\231s bodyguaid fired bac
k â\200\224also with a 9mm

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1993

THE SUNSTAR, 21 NOVEMBER 1994

Use ballot,
not bullet

The issue:

The Freedom Alliance continues to
stonewall while the ANC wants to send
in the tanks.

We suggest:

The politicians exhaust every avenue,
but in the final resort they must enforce
elections.

ET another futile round of
talks between the Government
and the FA clouded the eupho-
ria of the week in which the
interim constitution was rati-
fied. The issue has now become one of
the utmost urgency.

Every day spent on haggling over
greater regional powers and boerestaat
dreams is another day in which free and
fair electioneering is prevented in Bop.
Ciskei and KwaZulu.

The Kempton Park negotiators tack-
led the problem by resolving to abolish
the homelands without thinking through
the minefield of legal and practical
issues that could enable the homelands
to hold out until April 27.

The consequences are obvious and
grave, as long as the three homelands
hold their positions, they can prevent
free electioneering over the next five
months.

They can even physically prevent
polling in their territories, making it dif-
ficult if not impossible for millions to
vote

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The prospect of holding supposedly
free and fair elections in which millions
are effectively disenfranchised is
unthinkable. But the ANC threat that
the tanks will roll in to enforce
democracy adds fuel to the fire.

The prospect of the new South Africa

being born through the barrel of a tan
cannon is equally ghastly.

Vigilance has to be avoided at a
costs to prevent the sort of bloody con-
frontation the world saw outside the
Russian Parliament.

Negotiators must explore every possible
solution. But if the FA homelands
impede electioneering, the TEC and the
Government will have to carry out their
duty to ensure free and fair elections
through the intelligent use of the security
forces.

As shown by Government intervention
after the 1980s Bop coup and more
recently in Lebowe, an appropriate
show of force can be entirely peaceful.
But - even then, it should be used only as
the last resort. :

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secret bï¬\201ï¬\202dâ\200\224-up of pre-â\200\230mah?ary :

%üï¬\202daa .krfovmÂ«z/ OJ! '13

R e .

CLAIRE
ROBERTSON
reports on the
night power
shifted
irrevocably from
South Africaâ\200\231s
white minority to
its black majority

T BEGAN terribly late

and took place in an
echoingq hypermarket of a
room. No hymns or anthems
marked its passing.

But at 14 minutes past mid-
night-on Thursday, Novemn-
ber 18, the-plenary session of
the negotiations council final-
ly killed off centuries of white
rule in South Africa.

The workmanlike constitu-
tion it adopted to replace
apartheidâ\200\231s rules had been
the subject of furious debate
only hours before,

As workmen at the World
Trade Centre recycled the
last Codesa nameplate into
plenary signs in the room â\200\224 a
vast, cold exhibition hall par-
titioned off with screens and
crowned withâ\200\231 a mezzanine
gallery â\200\224 exhausted negotia-
tors battled on in the negotia-
tions council chamber up-
stairs,

In characteristic fashion,
crucial decisions were taken
at the last moment and in
haste, with an apparent con-
cession here, a promise there,
a dab of the old Ramaphosa

and Roelf glue to hold it ail
together.

Hours after the session was due to have started, the African National Congress revealed to the council that it wanted voters {n South Africaâ\200\231s first non-racial elections to be presented with one ballot instead of two - one regional, one national.

.One reason privately ad- |

vanced for this was that the ANC had discovered during voter-education drives that virgin voters assumed that

the second ballot would ask '

them to indicate their second choice â\200\224 and that 31 percent would choose the Pan Africanist Congress.

.The smaller parties, seeing regional votes as their only power base, naturally favoured two ballots â\200\224 but all at the World Trade Centre have their price. The trading began.

he Democratic Party had formed an unstructured alliance opposing the single ballot with several other small parties, including the Cape traditional leaders, who wanted some exemption from the Bill of rights; Amichand Rajbansi, whose motives are unclear; the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Afrikaner Volksunie, which genuinely wanted two ballots.

.The DP itself, lately awakened from its negotiations role as democracyâ\200\231s proof-reader, had discovered a more muscular liberalism and was insisting on a clean and transparent process for choosing the constitutional court. It would cease its embarrassing opposition to the ballots if it achieved this.

: The ANC picked them off

| ouie by one. To the Cape tradi-

tional leaders went 2 promise

| to revisit their cause; to Mr

Rajbansi went who knows
what, but he soon gave a
breathtakingly childish rea-
son for caving, and to the DP
went a better deal on the

i court,

-The AVU and PAC were
judged expendable for the

| ourposes of sufficient consen-

sus,/and an ANC/SA Govern.
nent package, including the
sallot ruling, was passed at
e last possible monment,
Â¥rapping up or fudging
several cruclal issues.

HE AVU was devas-

tated, having relied
n a regional vote for at least
fome seats in parliament,
ind its eloquent delegate,
Mrs Corlia Kruger, sounded
close to tears.

But the machinÃ© was un-
stoppable, particularly in the
tands of session chairman
Pravin Gordhan, who pre-
dded stoically | as relieved
â\200\230ecretaries cast off their
technical committees like so
mnany rows of plain and purl
ind a scratchy, sulky council
fidied up its notes. *

- It was now almost 11pm,
and the plenary session was
eight hours late, causing for-
mer dominee and admini-
stration head-Dr Theuns Eloff
0 mutter Reinhold Niebuhr's
sraye as he flew through the
corridors: â\200\234God, grant me ge-
â\200\234enity to accept the things I
cannot change â\200\224 I'll never
changethese peopleâ\200\235

- The halls had blossomed

~ith the bright robes of Afri- -

an observers; the building
Ras thronged with more

odyguards than delegates,
and more journalists than

ohth.

* Nelson Mandela took his |
seat after a stately round of |

tandshakes and a jostling of
carmneras. The present incum-
bent, State President de
Klerk, looked on, and shortly

1 1 0 0 o TR O

THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMEER 19

after 11pm the plenary began.

Some diplomats advised their governments that the deal had indeed been done and left early; the constitution was not a lovely thing, they agreed, but it can work, or be made to work.

UT those gripped by

this irritating curiosity from birth or out of a horrible fascination kept watch as South Africa's future was sealed in the dead of night.

On the stage was a black woman as slim and as righteous in her yellow turban as a young queen; there was a white woman, palely floral and decent,

There were men in suits an Indian man, curbing his quick mind to the slow de-

Pains during his address to reassure them that the constitution guaranteed rights that will not be taken away from you.

and Cabinet Minister Leon Wessels in turn begged the cluster of boycotting parties: We want you to be on board "

Africa was by marked the

As the clayses were put to

the session, Avy delegate Andries Pienaar launched into his bortmanteay objection in the manner of a prisoner of war reciting his rank and number: Ng Concession was made to our just and reasonable demands. .

_The unthappiness of the

and the absence of om Alliance parties

were mentioned time and again.

Mr Mandela had been at

National Party negotiator

The moment the new South

s gy Ui -

bate; a black man, hoarse and steady; a coloured man stretching out his words to capture a stilted ceremony; a sleek, silver, corporate Afrikaner,

Categorised by apartheid's filing system population groups numbers 00 to 05, to be exact, plus scores more digits for black people), they will always inhabit these racial slots in the minds of their countrymen,

But one by one they bestowed the vital word sufficient consent upon paper-work that seeks to recognise all their tribes but penalise none,

The consensus on each clause of the constitution was only sufficient, and not general, largely because of the objections of the PAC and to anything that smacks of power-sharing, chairperson and the AVU,

moment the Afrikaner's

name was officially added to the list of oppressed people in the world, said AV chief negotiator Gerdus Kruger, husband

band of more famous Corlia.

From oppressor to victim In a moment? Perhaps not but the chief protagonists of the two sides were engaged in

a sure shift of balance of power nonetheless.

For this formality before

what grows to be exceedingly bitchy elections, Mr de Klerk celebrated his personal if not political achievement with grace.

I bind myself and my par-
ly to the letter and the spirit
of the new constitution.

For old times' sake, the
session was treated to 3 last
malapropism from an ear-
nest Mr Rajbansi who ajmed at
the septics who had

doubted the process.

Co-chairman Judge Ismail
Mohamed launched into sz
moving and impassioned
closing address, but his audi-
ence was dog-tired.

Enough. A job had been
done, a workable set of docu-
ments had been adopted.

Outside, the dawn chorus

was starting. Cars huddled !
beneath trees too young to

provide much shade from the

lady o =

sun. _
Ramaphosa who, as.
the ANC's chief negotiator,
had finessed, bullied, cajoled
and laughed his way to this
moment for two years, stood
in the shadows above the halli
am very tired, oh, very
len he cranked out ong
last soundbite for the nig&t.
But it's a good package We
got a good deal.

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HOW could a responsible leader like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi leave the country in the most crucial week of negotiations?

It is unacceptable that a man whose demands for federal powers have generally been met should just up and off because he didn't get precisely what he wanted.

He got health, police, housing, education and agriculture, plus the power to tax locally. He just keeps shifting the goalposts.

Meanwhile, he and his

Many concessions, but Buthelezi shifts goalposts

Volkstaat pals are punting civil war. Such behaviour is just not on. â\200\224 J NORVAL, Kievehill Park

DO BLINKERED racists and the uninformed ought to be impressed by Mr Buthelezi's frantic dash to

the UN and the US to rescue this country, in the name of democracy, from the impending disaster of a

non-federalist, ANC-dominated dictatorship.

It was Harold Wilson

who once said

one week is a long time

On his return, the good chief must have discovered, to his chagrin, that his two-week absence was almost the end of an era.

Not less than 20 laws, found to be undemocratic and repressive in the KwaZulu legislature, will have to be consigned to the apartheid garbage-heap.

This knight in shining armour must find his lance. But, cultural accoutrement somewhat blunted by this little . . . er, inconvenience. Bhanpersad Mahabir, Durban

THE SUNDAY 21 NOVEMBER 1992

PR

E. the people of South

Africa, have wrought a

miracle. We have achieved

what few people
anywhere in the world thought we
could do. We have freed ourselves,
and made a democracy, and we
have done so without war or
revolution,

The interim constitution is not

perfect. No constitution is perfect.
And our constitution needs
still to be infused with the spirit of
democracy. We need to learn
to gain the habits of free men and
women, which we have lost. We
have work to do, and wounds to
heal, and problems to solve: our
greatest labours lie ahead of us,
not behind.

Yet the people of this nascent
democracy can pause now to
reflect on how far we have come.
In four short years, from the
doomed and angry tyranny of
apartheid to the total onslaught,
from the isolation and deepening poverty
inflicted on us by three decades of
President Botha's simplistic
militarism, from the swelling disorders
in the streets and townships,
the bombs in the coffee bars,
the torn and broken bodies in
the streets, and from the racial
Armageddon to which, in 1983, we
were hurtling

Courage

Great honour is due to the men
and women who led us out of that
fatal trap. The greatest honour,
surely, is due to President de
Klerk for having the wisdom to
recognise that his people were
embarked on a course that would
end in annihilation, and for having
the moral courage to surrender
power. That it did not come easily
to him stems from the fact that
he clung, to the very end, to the
illusion of power-sharing and
then, in a bare display of character
and realism, he surrendered to
the inevitable, and

He saved his language, and
his people, and perhaps â\200\224 though
nothing is certain â\200\224 spared his
country unending misery

Great honour is due, too, to Mr
Nelson Mandela, who perceived
in prison that the strategies of
violence and revolution, though
they must have succeeded in the
end, would reduce the country to
a wasteland, like Mozambique or
Angola. His decision to move
from armed struggle to negotia-
tion not only spared his people but
shortened the path to liberation.

Labour

Honour is due to Mr Cyril
Ramaphosa and Mr Reelf Meyer.
The two men who held the process
together and, by their uncom-
mitting labour, overcame the many
obstacles to the agreement
reached this week. It is due also
to Mr J. F. S. Slovo, whose cunningly
crafted offer of a government of
national unity unlocked the
process, and to those backroom
public servants like Fanie van der
Merwe, and Mac Maharaj, and
the ever-amiable Theys Eloff,
whose drive and determination
and courage carried negotiations
forward.

Honour is due to many others,
too many to mention. who
"drafted solutions, or redefined

AT /
G O L T o ;0

OPINION >

The miracle of
a freed nation

problems, or broke deadlocks, or
= like the under-represented
Democratic Party â\200\224 offered the
currency of democracy to negoti-
ators who, all too often, were
unfamiliar with it. Primitive
ideas of power-sharing, and paper
guarantees, and tricky sub-
terfuges - illusory protections
usually put forward by the
conservatives of the Nationalist
cabinet â\200\224 gradually fell away.
Only one important remnant of
racist thinking survives, in the

reservation of 30 percent of local government seats for minorities, That political dinosaur will disappear in time, but meanwhile it will remain as a target of pressure, and an embarrassment to whites who accept South Africa as a rich mosaic of language, culture, race and religion, where every individual should have equal status in B%.

Challenges

To pay homage in this fashion to the negotiators and the political leaders is itself proper. but it does obscure a greater triumph most South Africans, black and white, have conquered their own deepest aspiration to make this political settlement possible. Blacks have, by and large, shown an astonishing willingness to forgive generations of humiliation and brutal treatment, and to accept the challenges of reconciliation; whites, by and large, have overcome a deep and atavistic fear, have accepted the challenges of democracy. Both communities have displayed an extraordinary tough-mindedness, amid terrible violence, in resisting appeals to the blood, and have gone faithfully about their business for four years while their leaders talked, and talked and talked.

Goodwill

This extraordinary display of courage, of tough moral fibre, holds out hope for the future. It has certainly impressed, even awed, the rest of the world, whose new view of South Africa and its people was expressed this week in a burst of international goodwill and a flurry of investment. Already, political sanity has unlocked economic opportunity, Both peace and prosperity beckon.

Not that it will be easy. Along with hope there is enormous understandable doubt; along with courage, there is rising panic; in the general rejoicing, there are pockets of fierce resistance that must be handled with patience and care. But nothing can prevent the session of Parliament that, beginning next week, will write its own epitaph: nothing can avert it. Transitional Executive

Council) that takes office on
Decemer 1, nothing ean dersil
the one-person onesvote elaectionz
an Apnil 27

The liLeration of South Africa
15 sccomplished. The rest iy up to
us, the peodple of South Africa,

THE EDITOR

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By EDYTH BULBRING

IN the early hours of Thursday morning, a nondescript man carrying two briefcases walked towards the exit of the World Trade Centre.

"Why are you leaving Fanie? There are problems to be solved," said the ANC's Jacob Zuma.

"They are all solved. I am leaving the new ones to you," the man replied with

| a smile.

| ment's constitution

The man was Fanie van der Grinten, the government adviser and one of four men credited with holding together the negotiations that saw the endorsement of a democratic constitution.

The first two are ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and his government counterpart Roelf Meyer, who made the deal. The others are Mr van der Merwe and the ANC's Mac Maharaj, who were always there to fix things and smooth the way for their bosses.

People like to think that during the process a great friendship was born between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer, allowing a political settlement to be

der Merwe,

reached. This is not the case.

Both men were driven to broker the best deal for their principals and, having been thrown together, they simply got on with the job.

The ingredients that helped them complete their task was the trust and respect forged on talks that led to last year's Record of Understanding, which in turn paved the way for multi-party talks.

Although they clashed bitterly, the two men emerged with a healthy respect for one another. Later they began to trust each other's integrity and commitment to finding a settlement.

The two became sensitive to each other's own battles within their respective organisations. For Mr Meyer it was the backbiting from members in the cabinet. For Mr Ramaphosa it was criticism from ANC

DEEF IN
DISCUSSION
so during
years of
negotiation.
the NP's
Rosl Meyers
and the ANC's
Cyril
Ramaphosa
grow to trust
and respect
each other's
talents
Picture:

. DAVID
SANDISON

radicals that he was getting
too close to the enemy and
compromising their strug-

e.

At first both men would
express delight over the
internal political battles

experienced by their negotiating opponents, Later, the glee changed to concern. They knew that when one of them had problems, the process had problems.

But friendship between these two men is years away if ever. With the elections looming, they will fight each other ruthlessly to ensure victory for their respective parties.

Mr Maharaj and Mr van der Merwe had a different relationship. Some day they looked at each other from across the room and recognised similar qualities.

Both are shrewd and, when necessary, ruthless in achieving their objectives.

Together they sought ways out of seemingly

Lasting bonds forged in the heat of negotiations

impossible deadlocks with patient determination and never lost their cool.

They always appeared optimistic and echoed each other that talking and more talking would provide the solution, z

In addition they complimented each other. Mr Maharaj would see a solution, while Mr van der Merwe would identify the necessary instruments to achieve

the goal, 5
While both men will

never completely trust the other, they have a healthy respect for each other's skills. y

The day after the plenary session, when Mr Mahara telephoned the World Trade Centre to find out how preparations for the Transitional Executive Council were progressing, the message from Mr van der Merwe was 'I won't make any decisions without you,

SOUTH AFRICA\200\231S NEW DEAL

B

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

| SHORTLY after supper on Wednesday this week, Democratic Party stalwart Colin Eggin rose in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre and announced that what he was skout to do made him feel

unclean,

His candid confession
was the closing sequence in
a chain of events driven by
four men,

The first was Justice
Minister Kobie Coetsee â\200\224
a small man on his way out
of the high league armed
with a proposal that was
altogether fool-clever for
his own good.

Next, Western Cape
advocate Dullah Omar,
who recognised a deal that,
although shabby, was too
good for the ANC to let
pass,

Third, the DP's young
and pugilistic Tony Leon,
who spotted a popular fight
that was bound to put him-
self and the sagging DP on
the front pages.

Finally, DP leader Zach
de Beer, an amenable old-
style politician who is fair
game for a canny operator,

Horsetrad;
and his

The drama began to un-
fold on Thursday afternoon
last week when Mr Leon
was leaked the govern-
ment-ANC deal on the
appointment of Constitu-
tional Court judges,

It raised the spectre of a
politically-packed court
entrusted with the guar-
dianship of the constitution
and the Bill of Rights.

Surprisingly, Mr Coetsee
was the author of this pro-
posal that so clearly
favoured the ANC. Mr
Omar eagerly accepted the
offer and they shook on the

deal,

Why did Mr Coetsee
make the offer?

Mr Coetsee said he wanted to avoid public hearings or investigations that would impair the dignity of judges after all the ANC had originally proposed that Parliament decide on

the list of Judges.

He added that the deal was in its initial stages, He leaked the document to the DP to bolster a game plan that would lead to a final settlement that was satisfactory to the NP.

Others say Mr Coetsee mistakenly believed the fine print in the constitution would enable the NP to nominate the majority of Constitutional Court judges. Realising he had seriously miscalculated, he leaked the document to the DP in the hope that the party would be able to undo his blunder,

The days that followed saw a hysterical public outcry. The principle of having a Constitutional Court above reproach was correctly identified by Mr

as one of the close to the heart of the legal profession

and a white constituency already nervous about the impending handover of power,

Mr de Beer met President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela neither of whom

needed bad publicity on the eve of the finalisation of talks.

There were endless talks between Mr Leon, Mr Cost. See and Mr Omar. There was an outcry by the legal fraternity, the public and the newspapers. was certainly not, as one ANC negotiator tried to dismiss it, a storm in a teacup.

Mr Coetsee vacillated
from being defensive {o
apologetic, o hostile, lo un.
cooperalive. But, by Wed-
nesday, following a ghat.
tering editoria} the
usually supportive Cape
National Party moyth-

ng x
gh drama

piece Die Burger, he was a
DErvous map.

That night, as the pres-
sure mounted, Mr Gmar
and Mr Coeisee were ready
fo make a new geal Just
before Supper, if wag
struck.

Crudely put, it meant the
majority of Constitutlona;
Court members would be
appoinied from a list of
bpominees drawn o by &
reconstifuted Judicgl Ser-
vices Commision. The
president and the cabinet
would no longer pe in a
position o appoint their
political favourities o the
court,

But, while this was going
on, the negotiating councl
was debating whether voi-
ers should be allowed to
elect their regional repre-
Sentatives on g separate
ballot,

The DP ang other

smaller parties favoured a
two-vote system,

The ANC and the gOv-
ernment, which had setfleg
on one ballot as part of Â»
trade-off in another deaj.
stood together. They neegd.
ed the DP o break the
deadlock to 8et sufficient |
COnsensyg,

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AS Mr Leon left his {5 |
lateral talks, having ges. f
tled â\200\224 byt for one Issye â\200\224 |

the new procedure for the
Appointment of Judges M
de Beer was collared by
ANC secretary-general
Cyril Ramaphosa, :

The deal offered to Mr
de Beer: The ANC will give
You your demand on 5 Con-
stitutional Court just you give
in to a single ballot in elec-
tions,

Mr de Beer was not in-
formed the ANC was ready
to concede to Mr Leon's
demands on a Constitution-
al Court and, just their des-
peration to finalise the set-
tlement, were wavering on
the single ballot issue. He
assented.

The DP leader had been
truly surprised at the
fact Mr Eglin felt unclear
when he rose to tell the
council his party had re-
sorted to horse-trading on the
matter of principle.

THE SUNDAY 21 NOVEMBER 19

South Africa's come at
long, long way since '90

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's transformation
from an internationally despised pariah
to a full partner in the global community,
can be traced to February 2
1996, when President FW de Klerk
unbanned all unlawful organisations
including the ANC,
SACP and PAC
~~ This path South Africa irrevocably
on the road to normality,
- These are among the events that
+ followed:

SPORT: For the first time in decades,
the future for South African
sportsmen and women looked
brighter as they started playing international
sport and were readmitted to
the 1992 Olympics. International
rugby, cricket and soccer tours followed.

PENSIONS: Apartheid dealt a
cruel blow to the poorest of the poor,
with black old-age pensioners and recipients
of disability and maintenance
payouts receiving about a third of the
amount paid to whites.

Coloureds and Indians
about two-thirds,

Since 1990 that disparity has narrowed,
and from last month pensioners
of all races received an equal
payout of R370.

AIR LINKS: South Africa now has
direct air links with many countries
and major cities in the rest of
the world.

Most major airlines have air routes
to South Africa. There are, for
instance, four weekly flights from Johannesburg
to New York and SAA
flies weekly from Cape Town to Miami.
There are also routes to the Far
East. Most major airline operators
have opened offices in major South
African centres.

FINANCE: During the run-up to
negotiations at Kempton Park, doors
to international finance remained

received

closed to South Africa, which still des-

perately needs capital inflow,

Final confirmation of the \$350-million (B2 550-million) drought-related IMF facility awaits the installation of the interim government of national unity which is now only months away.

INVESTMENT: Foreign investors who have divested from South Africa are about to return. This week in Cape Town a conference, organized by the CEO Institute from New York, was held primarily to give more than 230 potential investors from the US, Europe and Japan a better insight into opportunities in South Africa.

INFLATION: Consumer inflation rose in 1981 to a high of 168 percent and then later in that year it began to decline. Now there is relief in sight.

Inflation has slipped to 2 year-on-year rate to the end of September of 9,1 percent and the experts believe it could fall to seven percent by next March.

SANCTIONS: Because of apartheid the world orchestrated an elaborate system of foreign pressure through economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa. But now sanctions barriers are falling all over the world.

More than 40 of the estimated 180 sanctions measures imposed by states, cities, universities or at national level in the US have been repealed or suspended. The US House of Representatives lifted all remaining economic sanctions against South

Africa on Friday, AT

The European Community and Commonwealth have lifted virtually all their sanctions measures against South Africa. Only the arms embargo remains.

ARTS: The lifting of the cultural boycott has allowed international performers such as Dr Alban, Paul Simon, Crowded House and LaToya

Jackson to play here,

With the ending of the British actors' union Equity ban on the sale of British radio and television programmes to South Africa recently, TV programmes like Mr Beay are already being broadcast, and other shows are probably on the way,

VIOLENCE AND CORRUPTION:

Mr de Klerk has identified the most important problems facing the country as the weak economy; corruption and malpractice; crime and violence and constitutional negotiations,

The economy is picking up fast and negotiations are succeeding,

but there still is no end to spiralling violence which has claimed thousands of lives. Rampant corruption, some dating back to the mid-30s, continues to be unearthed by various commissions and the Office for Serious Economic Offences.

TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT: The De Klerk era also sounded the death-knell to the ethnic-based tricameral parliament - the brain-child of P W

The tricameral Parliament extended token representation to coloureds and Indians in the House of Representatives (coloureds) and House of Delegates (Indians) but excluded the black majority.

The tricameral Parliament and its white "Bantustan" and sponsor, the House of Assembly will cease to exist when Parliament rises by the middle of December, although all 333 will remain in office until April

DIGNITY: The majority of South Africans of colour may say that the De Klerk era, more than anything else, helped to restore their basic human dignity by outlawing institutionalised racial prejudice and ensuring freedom of association and freedom of movement.

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THE SUNTIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1903

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FW DE
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;DURING the referendum
*Isst year, President F W de
Kierk listed 16 principles
. Which he satd the Nationa!
Party would demand be
â\200\2303ither incorporated or
addressed In the new con-
sutution, Thiz 18 how he
â\200\230fared on each point
Â® The maintenance of
â\200\234standards â\200\224 What the gev.
ermment had in mind wag
-that residents of & particu-
Tar suburd would be al.
lowed to come together
-and eleet a neighboushood
counctl. This coureil would
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.that rexidenta In the suburbh
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lot been achieved although
the consttution does allow
3 council, If It feels it Iy
nevessary, to delegats
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that South Africa shal
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as the Natjional Party ini-
ually insisted. But the Bl
of Rights does protect
property sighty snd the
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fer. (Half 8 mark)

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tector and Auditor-General
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â\200\234stitution stipulates that the
sNstiona!l Defence Force
sehall refrain from {urther-
â\200\234dng or prefudicing party
Â© rpolitical interests,
- Â» @ Mazimum develption
"t power = Provincees have
no exÂ¢lusive powers and
"will only de allowed to
raise taves with the con-
" gent of the national Parlia-
ment Mr de Klerk has
falled o deliver on thiy
Issue. (No mark)
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powers of the State Prasi.
dent â\200\224 The National Party
wanted & collective presi-
deney consisting of the
Tesders of the three largest
partics In the National Ay~

art of scoring top
marks on bottom lines

MIKE ROBERTSON reports on the performances of
President de Klerk and SACP chief Joe Slovo in regard
to what they said were their bottom lines at the talks

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NEGOTIATIONS
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tha presidency would ro-
tate annually. South Africa
wiil have a single president
with two deputics who do
not have vÃ©to rights. But
provisions such a3 the Bil]
of Rights will ensure that

the powerz of the new
presidant are not g3 sweep-
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aow holds. (N9 mark)

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NEGOTIATIONS
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WRITING in the journal
African Communist last
year. Mr Jos Slove ilsted
the ANC's bottom lincs in
negotiations gnd tuggaated
izsues o which lt coyld
compromise. This {3 how
he fared on gach peint:

@ ANC members must
#ccept that the immediate
outcome of negotiations
=il be less than perfect â\200\224
True, although perhaps not
in the sense that Mr Slove
mesnt it

@ Compromises made
by the ANC must net per-
manently block & futyre
gdvapce {o mon.racial
democratic rule in its full
connotation â\200\224 Enforced
power-sharing provisions
i the constitutlon are tam.
porary.

& The {Insi constitution
must b adopted by 8
demacratically elected
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~ Achieved,

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ing body must represent all
inhabitants of South Afri-
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state, Inciuding the now
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homeisnds,

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the sovereignty of the con

stitution-making body
must be generous! constitution.
Constitutional principles which the
key actors agree should be
binding 200224 The constitution
containing such a set of prin-
ciples,

20 Effective structures
must be put in place to en-
sure free and fair elections
200224 An Independent Electoral-
and Commission has already
been approved by Parliament.
ment to perform this job,

20 Acceptable time
frames must be provided
for the whole process as
well as acceptable deadlock-
breaking mechanisms
= An election date was set
several months ago. The
government of national
unity will last for five
years, If the final constitu-
tion is not approved within
two years after the April 27
election, deadlock-break-
ing mechanisms will imple-
ment in the adoption of a con-
stitution by a majority of
80 percent will come into
play.

20 The tricameral Par-
liament and its executive
arm must be autonomous.
It will be dissolved upon the elec-
tion of the constitution-
making body 200224 This will
happen.

20 ANC negotiators must
be allowed to make quanti-
tative compromises on
matters such as whether
elections should take place
in nine months or six
months 200224 They were al-
lowed 5 days and in fact

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Â® The ANC must reject
& minority veto of any sort
i the constitution.making
process â\200\224 No provision is

made In the cogstitution
for Â\$ minority vets.

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coropulsory powef-sharingâ\200\231
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the constitution. A sunset
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alors must not by able to
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must aiew a new govern.
ment lo redress racially
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= The Bill of Rightd alictcs
2 future governmpent to
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tion

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in the cabinet shoud be on
the basis of propgrional
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procedurss for the pabinet
that would not pParayze il
functionlng = Achibved. g

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cate thet a3 part off 3 new i
government it would sup-
icrâ\200\230. a Â\$ensrll amngaty -
t has done so.

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exiling civil servipe 4p. |
cleding SAP and BADFY
contracts and penspons â\200\224 |
It has dane 30 and iXa con-
stitution makas prÃ©visten
for this

Reports add uwĩ¬\201"gi¬\20lex

THE SUN.TIMES 21 NOVEMBER 1993

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high cost of aparthei

By BRIAN POTTINGER
and CLRAIRE ROBERTSON
THLY lved like kings amid & wastsland,

Tre whitc beneficlaries of the oid apart.
beitsystem â\200\224 public servagis, conlractiors
andiriends â\200\224 consamed taxpayersâ\200\231 money
andspawged 8 whole class of peity bareag.
cras chiselling money azd perks.

Mow, rather iike an epdless wo2p drama,
twopew reports reveal the never-paver
lanÂ¢ createĩ¬\201y the National Party.

Tie Oelof de Meyer Inquiry {nto the
Lebvwa bomeland paints & picture of
sdministrative collapse, possible larceny
and wspectad fraud in ihe heyday of apart.
beidin the mid-80s, Miillions of lands wepe
migpent, stolen or simply lost.

Tle inquiry revesis s pyrawmid of, at
wors, corruption agd, at best, irvegularity,
Whits stood at the apex,

In1388 Terald Enginesring, owned by o
Mr itreicher, was grasted g confrgct for
bulldng reservoirs and laytnd(pipes.

Tle work was 10 shoddily dope that the
coatact was terminsted Three years iat-
Â¢, lwowaver, Terald was swarded the
sxchisive coniract to butid ail the dams i
Lebiwa,

One of Terald's former employees, & Mr
Marm, testified that the CCompAany some-
Hme paid up to H25000 & month tp
emfoyess in the Lebowa government â\200\224
aitlough the employees denled this.

Tien there iz the casge of the uhilging My
S Gvan Zyl of the Lebowa Departmuent of
Woks,

U 1989 the departmaest called for
teqeers for the Gakgapsoe and Manweng
testag ground. The departinent reeom-
xeded the lowest tender submaitted by
M G Maboyr Electrical Contractors. Be-
cave the tender was oot signed i was
awirded to D R Ratladi. The nearest other
competitor was BLB Elsctrical.

Yt Ratiadi told the comeission that Mr
VAR 2Â¢] bad stked him to fender. He bad
toldMr var Zyl he was got {n a position to
do tie work, but Mr van Zyl advised b o
tenier anywsy. Mr Ratlad! wop the tepder

poâ\200\224 e â\200\224 e b

but when he could not find a sub-contractor
to do the work, Mr van Zyl came to his
rescue with a white sub-contractor.

When the work was done, M van Zyl
told Mr Racladi to invoice the department
and later arrived with a cheque for R1821p
made out to Mr Racladi. Mr Van Zyl asked
him to cash it - and took the cash,

Only later did it emerge who got the
contract - 200\224 MG Maboya Electrical Con-
tractors which, on investigation, proved to
be the business of a Mr D Bronkborst. He
420 owned B&B Electronics] when put him
in the fortunate position of having two out
of three tenders before the board.

In the Pargson report on Kwandebele,
meanwhile, open rivalry that stands out
among the scores detailed, involves cop-
fracts granted to the brother-in-law of 8
Tender Board member - 200\224 and to the mem-
ber's own private Johannesburg firm,

Mr J Morgan was a KTB member and
last year; he was also 2 partner & the firm
Professional Project Services,

In January 1981, PP5 was awarded a
contract for the design, supply, construc-
tion and supervision of a A2 4000 room
project to build 164 4000 rooms,

No tender Procedure had been followed.

Although it had undertaken to charge
R21 000 for the design, supply, construction
and supervision of the classrooms. and
although the Kwandebale Department of
Works undertook to oversee the work, PP5
billed on the costs.

An extra R75000 was charged for site
supervision and design, and another
R30000 for 200\234 travelling costs,

The report found that some were built in
the wrong villages, and some not yet at 200\224
but cheques were 200\234 "signed."

. At least 18 of those that were construc-
ed were in an appalling state,

In September 1990 tenders were invited
for the supply of 200 prefabricated toilets,
The second most expensive was that of
Hata-Butle Homes, which has a Kwam-
banga address, among others, (giving it
favoured status by a local firms) and which

gave at its tender address
that of Mr HRK Wilsey of
Pretoria - 200\224 Mr Morgan's
brother-in-law,

Hata-Butle did not win
the tender - 200\224 not at Nipst,

The Department of Education wrote to the chairman of the Tender Board recommending that it go to the lowest tenderer, Ballantine, for 68 000,

The owner of this firm was crossed out in pencil, that of Hetn-Buttle substituted, and the amount changed to R95 600, Hata-Bytles was duly awarded the contract

But there is no record of the tenders reaching their destinations. Education complained, and 8 letters bearing the name of a Mr I, Mkwabapala arrived with CxXcyes.

Then a letter from Mr Mkwabazile crossed the order, quoting the old tender number. and the exorbitant R12 000 as well as the original R99000 were paid Mr Mkwabazile for his involvement, He is Mr Morgan's partner in PPS

The actual supplier of the
| totters remembered some of
| them being signed for by

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My Mandela, my ?â\200\230va}\\'gm COTICEn 157 __

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People's 2003 Forum in the PV this week.

The dates and venues will be appearing in your local press, IR MANDELA ADDRESSES & FORUAY
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Join the People's Forum.

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The rules have changed

ZACH DE BEER argues that it is the belief that individuals count that sets liberals apart from their would-be imitators

A COUPLE of weeks ago, Xen Owen, on these pages, posed the question: 'When everyone's a liberal, what is liberalism?' It is an important question, and it needs debate.

Before 1990, only white people had worthwhile political rights. Most white politicians accepted that as the rule of the game, and played accordingly. Most black politicians were engaged in the struggle, aimed at smashing the system

System players didn't like liberalism because they thought it subversive. Struggle players didn't like it because it wasn't sufficiently revolutionary in its methods. It was quite lonely to be a liberal,

Now all that has changed. The decision to extend the franchise to all South Africans has produced new rules for a new game. All politicians must now aim for support from all voters, or at least a very broad cross-section in each case. Everybody is now in the system, because it is a new and much better system.

The new rules make it desirable, even from a party political point of view, to follow a democratic policy. Those who didn't have democratic policies have hastened to adopt them.

The Nats now favour uni-

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versal franchise, a bill of rights, the rule of law and even federalism. The ANC has moved from its former socialist position to a sort of pro-private sector view, and whereas they used to insist on strong, centralised government, they have now accepted proposals which are clear-

ly federal in character,

* though they still don't go far enough.

Much can be clarified by focusing on the central values of liberalism, and then observing the political actors carefully, to test their behaviour rather than their protestations.

Liberals tend to place human dignity at the top of their list of values. Put that as a direct question to the parties, and both the Nats and the ANC will say they, too, value human dignity. But can it be said the Umtata raid served the cause of human dignity?

Is the idea of a 14-year-old franchise determinedly repeated by Mr Mandela really consistent with human dignity?

When members of the DP are stoned by ANC youngsters at Orange Farm, or when the AWB breaks up an ANC meeting at Middelburg, does this make one think in terms of liberalism?

What about the connection between political liberalism and economic free enter-

prise? Peter Berger of Boston says, based upon extensive empirical research, that one never finds democracy in the absence of free markets, and that in those few cases where a free market economy co-exists with undemocratic government, the tendency is for democracy to develop.

The fact is that freedom encompasses the economic as well as the physical sphere. An unfree economy can only be managed by an illiberal government, and a free economy will soon undermine authoritarianism.

Yet, one wonders, is there danger in too purist a devotion to the idea of economic freedom? However persuasive the evidence may seem that minimal government promotes growth and even

redistribution of wealth, or
that the market can and will
provide even such goods as
health and education, is it the
right thing, in today's South
Africa, simply to sit back and
wait for investment, growth
and entrepreneurship to
solve all problems?

For our part, we are sure
that government has to be
pro-active. There has been
grave injustice in the unequal
provision of services to the
different race groups in South
Africa, and it is absolutely
necessary that government
be seen to act in order to
redress the injustice.

— the Democratic Party.

No doubt, liberarians
will say that, if government
did nothing, the demand
services would quite easily
generate supply through
market. That may perhaps!

passion. !

White South Africans,
in the old days were too often
complacent and insensitive,
are learning all kinds of [ne-
cessary and painful lessons.
Black South Africans, who
may have been inclined to be-
lieve that the good life was
there for the taking, now see
what a long road we must
travel to achieve it

Together, we must work to
unite a divided country and to
enrich a poor one, This will be
best done through individual
dignity, liberty, equality, free
markets and compassion

We must resist both [the
temptation to slide to the left
into big government and
bureaucracy or to the right
into unfeeling doctrinaire
authoritarianism. Liberalism
is the belief, practised as well
as preached, that individual
people count,

O Dr de Beer is leader of

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