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ON NEGOTIATION
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ON NEGOTIATION

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RECORDING HISTORY AS IT HAPPENS



BEELD, 26/07/93

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FOCUS ON NEGOTIATION is a press-clipping service of the Regional Research & Report Corporation. It gives you more than 10 South African newspapers in a nutshell focussing on events regarding South African negotiations.

FOCUS covers the entire spectrum of South African politics - from rightwing to leftwing. **FOCUS** takes pride in its independent editorial policy. In **FOCUS**, the facts, as recorded in the newspapers, speak for themselves.

One of the main aims of **FOCUS** is to be a comprehensive source on the topic of negotiation. To ensure that the information in **FOCUS** is easy to use, information is organised into nine categories, according to the most important actors in the political process.

Making it possible to catch up with events at a glance, each section starts with a short commentary, followed by a list of the most important **EVENTS** that took place in this month. The comments section interprets the main events and its relationship with the political scene as a whole.

FOCUS ON NEGOTIATION appears monthly from February to November (ten times a year).

FROM THE EDITOR

TO EDUCATE OR NOT TO EDUCATE

Since voter education became the buzz-word in South African politics, almost everyone who is anyone in communication has entered the field. But there is a danger that this could be to the detriment of the voter.

An example would be the recent attempt by the Independent Forum for Electoral Education, (IFEE) to restructure itself into a formal umbrella-body for co-ordinating all voter education in the country.

The IFEE was originally founded by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), and has about 30 member-organisations. The steering committee of the IFEE consists of, inter alia, the SACC, the SACBC, the Black Sash, the Matla Trust and the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

Although the IFEE's attempt to incorporate these organisations into a formal structure failed, it did demonstrate the immense interest that the concept of voter education has stimulated in South Africa.

Apart from the IFEE and its member organisations, there are numerous other employer organisations, business consultants, civil institutions and government bodies which are currently preparing material which they will market to the unsuspecting and, often illiterate, potential voter.

Although most voter education will concentrate on the logistical and technical aspects of how to vote, a number of organisations have taken it upon themselves to educate the masses on what democracy means, how it works and how it fits into what the "educators" perceive to be the new South African society.

It is naive to ignore the fact that many of these organisations may be inclined to colour the facts in order to promote their own political convictions.

So imagine tons and tons of voter education material raining down on millions of already confused voters, bombarding them with similar and, at times, conflicting messages. Furthermore, imagine all this accompanied by political rhetoric and promises, not to mention the not-so-subtle political intimidation.

What will we have? Massive voter confusion! Although it is every person's democratic right to speak out on these subjects, South Africa needs an impartial watchdog to protect the voter from exploitation.

The task of the Independent Electoral Commission is indeed growing more crucial and urgent by the day.

A DANGEROUS THREESOME

Events during the past few weeks point to developments which do not augur well for the negotiation process or the political settlement which will be reached.

Indications are that tension and dissent are manifesting on three crucial levels: first within the negotiation process itself, second within the ruling National Party (NP) and third within the ANC-alliance. These tendencies are reinforcing extremism to both left and right, threatening the durability of the political solution.

CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS ON REGIONALISM

The debate on regionalism, which subsequently also pointed to the issue of a constitutional model, resulted in the walk-out by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). IFP leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that his party would not return until crucial matters on this issue were satisfactorily cleared up, even at the risk of civil war.

In another development, the consequences of which might be equally serious, the Conservative Party (CP) also left the talks stating that it would not return until the self-determination of the Afrikaner volk had been guaranteed constitutionally in the form of a confederal state.

Before the CP action, AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche warned (during the invasion of the World Trade Centre) that if "space" was not created for the Afrikaner it would be regarded as a declaration of war. A few days later, the Orde Boere Volk, an extremist right-wing group, called on its members to prepare for war.

At the time CP spokesperson Dr Pieter Mulder said that, should the CP be forced to withdraw from negotiations in the next weeks, the focus of right-wing resistance would shift to the Afrikaner Volksfront, which, Mulder added, would then lead the struggle to force other parties to accept the right to self-determination.

The debate on regionalism and self-determination - and subsequently the decision on South Africa's future form of state - is crucial. It is a debate whose outcome could either enhance peace or trigger more violence. It should not, therefore, be rushed or forced.

Given these circumstances, it is evident that two steps should be taken to enhance the negotiation process.

- * It would be politically unwise to leave this decision for a constituent assembly. A simple majority vote on what constitutional model should be accepted would certainly lead to civil war. It is therefore crucial that a detailed decision be negotiated which will satisfy the largest parties. Certainly, parties with proven support of 1 - 2 million South Africans must be regarded as major role-players.
- * It would be easier to come to an agreement on a constitutional model if parties refrained from using terms like unitary, federal or confederal on account of their negative connotations. As there is wide consensus on regionalism, the process should rather begin with an agreement on regional boundaries and then proceed to consider the degree of autonomy each region would have vis a vis the central government. In line with this, it is possible that regions may differ from each other in terms of power relating to a central government.

In this case, regions negotiated by the AVF and IFP, who have a specific interest, might have the most autonomy. Other regions where the latter two groups have less interest, but are important for the NP/ANC (Western Cape/Border), might have less autonomy vis a vis a central government. In this way, all parties could be satisfied and a civil war, in which all would be losers, could be avoided.

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?

The second potential danger threatening the negotiation process is the persistent rumours and events which, taken all round, point to a serious crisis within the NP government. As a major negotiator and facilitator of the process, the wellbeing of the NP has a direct influence on that of the negotiation process.

A recent survey done by the Omnichek division of Research Surveys found that white support for the NP has shown a further decline, bringing the party's support to the lowest levels ever.

At the parliamentary level, there also seem to be major problems. According to IFP MP Mr Jurie Mentz at least 10 of his former colleagues in the NP are considering defecting to the IFP. Rumour has it that the NP would have experienced a major walk-out had it not been for the crackdown on the PAC.

Tom Langley, chief negotiator for the CP, said that a group of 25 NP MPs are considering abandoning the NP. In another report it was stated that an exodus of NP parliamentary caucus members is expected come nomination time for the election.

However, against this background, in which not only the NP but also the negotiation process itself are threatened, the chief information officer of the NP, Mr Piet Coetzer, said his party accepted that it was experiencing a drop in support, but was confident that, with an election, the NP would emerge as a real factor in a new government.

It is obvious that the NP is bargaining on its election campaign to restore lost confidence in the party. In this case, it is playing a dangerous game. This is a threat to the moderate middle ground from which a settlement must emerge and by whom it must be protected.

The NPs precarious position has to do with being forced to be both player and referee in the negotiation process. If it governs correctly, those actions are perceived as being in the NP's interest and when engaged in party-political matters it is seen as having a negative influence on governance.

GEARING UP FOR THE SECOND PHASE

The third potential danger is the African National Congress (ANC) alliance, which forms the other pillar of the negotiation process. However, in this case, the danger does not relate to the negotiation process itself, but to the durability of the political solution.

Although a workers' party does not as yet exist, the term may be used to describe a group of closely-aligned organisations sharing common political objectives. They are the socialist-orientated unions within the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) led by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Civic Associations. These organisations are linked by SACP membership and a commitment to a socialist or workers' type of government. Recent events and statements from these quarters indicate that, while still not in formal agreement, they are moving closer to each other.

During the recent NUMSA conference, the union stated that it would opt for nationalisation and consequently a socialist economic dispensation. But significantly it also committed itself to a break-away from the ANC after the election.

Tony Yengeni, a member of the SACP's central committee, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) as well as leader and secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape, said in a recent interview published in LEADERSHIP: "My view is that the ANC will inherit a weak economy and three to five years from now will not be able to deliver the goods. People will become alienated from the ANC and I don't think the SACP would want to be a part of being alienated from the masses".

LEADERSHIP also identified this trend, stating that on several occasions in the months prior to his (Chris Hani, SACP and MK leader) death, he stated he would not seek election to Parliament or a position in the Cabinet of an interim government. "I want the freedom to criticise from the outside", he told an interviewer; "to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressurise the new government into doing the right things".

The LEADERSHIP article further said: "This is a lucid indicator of SACP thinking on its probable direction beyond elections; conscious of the next government's likely inability to satisfy the aspirations of its supporters, the party is already unashamedly distancing itself from the ANC and building its future through the unions and the civic associations where its members hold key positions".

Unfortunately the only description for this tendency is the one which also fits the common denominator, namely the SACP and its two-phased strategy, national and social liberation. First national liberation through the election, the second a socialist economic reconstruction, as it has been called by, amongst others, SACP central committee member, Jeremy Cronin.

It is obvious that the real danger of socialism will be seen following the election, where the ability of the future government to "deliver the goods" has been tested and proven lacking, for no new government will be able to meaningfully address the socio-economic problems of the country in the short term.

BOTTOM LINE

The danger to the negotiation process and the durability of the political solution are hidden in the future constitutional model and economic dispensation. And on these issues there remains much to do.

Govt offers 2 plans for SA regions

CITIZEN, 07/07/93

THE government has proposed two possible scenarios for a new regional dispensation in South Africa: one with nine regions and the other with seven.

Revealing the government's proposals in Pretoria, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie indicated the government preferred its first scenario in which nine regions are demarcated.

Both models are based on the nine developmental economic regions, with some changes in the demarcation of borders.

In its preferred scenario, the government pro-

poses the following nine regions:

- Region 1: the Western Cape including the Boland, the West Coast, the Southern Cape and the Little Karoo;

- Region 2: the North Western Cape;

- Region 3: Eastern Cape excluding Ciskei and Transkei;

- Region 4: includes the majority of Ciskei and Transkei;

- Region 5: Western Transvaal including as much of Bophuthatswana as possible and including the Vryburg district;

- Region 6: KwaZulu/Natal area which includes the so-called Pongola fin-

ger, formerly forming part of the Eastern Transvaal development region.

- Region 7: Eastern Transvaal;

- Region 8: Northern Transvaal;

- Region 9: The PWV area, excluding Sasolburg, which will fall under region Five.

The government said the TBVC states could be accommodated in this delimitation with the Transkei and Ciskei being accommodated in the proposed Region Four, Bophuthatswana in Region Five and Venda in Region Eight.

Identified as one of the main problems in this del-

imitation, was that the ideal of a minimum number of regions was not achieved.

The government therefore provided a "Scenario B" of seven regions.

Mr Fourie said although the government preferred Scenario A, it "would not lose any sleep" if the Commission on Regions, State and Boundaries, to whom the proposals have been submitted, opted for its second option.

Scenario B differs from Scenario A only in that regions One and Two (the Western and North-western Cape) are combined to form one region and

the same principle is applied to regions Three and Four (the Eastern Cape and Kei area), reducing the total number of regions to seven.

Mr Fourie pointed out that Scenario A complied with the criteria laid down by the Commission, in that four of the proposed regions were more or less identical to the original development regions identified in the 1980s.

Region Eight was identical to development Region G (Northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, GaZankulu), while minor adjustments were made to the borders of development Regions E (Natal/KwaZulu), F (Eastern

Transvaal, KaNgwanetsi) and H (PWV, a section of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele) to form Regions Six, Seven and Nine.

Region Five is a merger of development region C (OFS and Qwa Qwa) and J (Western Transvaal and part of Bophuthatswana) and the Vryburg area.

Proposed Region Two is an adaptation of Region B, with the south-western border being moved towards the south, excluding Vryburg.

Development Region D was subdivided to form the proposed regions Three and Four and its north-easterly border was moved to the Natal border — Sana.

We must never again make same mistake: FW

DURBAN. — South Africa must never again make the mistakes of practising racial discrimination and injustice, State President De Klerk said in Durban on Saturday.

Addressing a National Party Youth Congress, Mr De Klerk said the government's past policies had led to injustice: "Never again must we make the same mistake."

He said the NP had since renewed itself and had shed everything which could not be morally justifiable. It was now a new party.

"There will never be discrimination on the basis of race in South Africa again," said Mr De Klerk to loud applause from an audience of about 500.

The African National Congress, he charged, had not parted with its wrongs. It was still in alliance with the South African Communist Party while it was aware of the destruction, poverty and pain this doctrine had

caused throughout the world.

He claimed a "handful" of Communists had wedged their way into the ANC's leadership in an attempt to become part of a future government without travelling the democratic route.

"The ANC still has to find the courage to rid itself of this albatross around its neck."

While the ANC aligned itself with the SACP, its stated rejection of Communism could not be trusted, said Mr De Klerk.

He also criticised the ANC's sanctions policy, and said this form of pressure may have served its purpose, but sanctions were now counter productive.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC had to break with the past and begin building a future for all the country's people. Sanctions had the opposite effect and were preventing much needed capital from flowing into the country.

The ANC and the Right-wing had to adapt to the realities facing South Africa: "There's no other way than the path of the NP. That is nation building and reconciliation."

Mr De Klerk called on political parties in South Africa to stop fighting each other. It did not help to denigrate one another, instead all parties should approach elections on a positive footing.

He said the NP had established itself as one of the leading role players in South African politics and was prepared to go to the polls.

On the future constitution, Mr De Klerk said this had to take into account the diversity of minorities in South Africa and had to be drawn up in a way which offered security to these groups.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa had a great future and had the potential to become one of the most prosperous countries in the world. —Sapa

ANC, govt tell Inkatha: enough is enough

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had "got the best deal they were likely to get" at negotiations and had to start compromising, government and ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They were responding to speeches by Buthelezi and Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill on Sunday in which they demanded that KwaZulu/Natal be regarded as a region and that it be allowed to draft and have accepted a regional constitution before national elections took place.

A senior government source said: "Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it. The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

Everyone had tried to meet them and their fears. "They must now shift and show some flexibility," he said.

The government source said Inkatha seemed intent on creating its own fiefdom with scant regard for the national interest.

Our political staff reports that in a fiery speech in Port Elizabeth last night Buthelezi vowed not to return to multiparty talks until he had been guaranteed a feder-

al system of government. To do so would be "political suicide," he said.

An ANC negotiator said: "Enough is enough. Why should they keep holding the whole of SA and the negotiating process to ransom? We have conceded so much and can not continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts."

He said the negotiating council had been studying a technical report which "at best allows for regional arrangements during the interim."

"But these have to be in line with the interim constitution and if we decide finally that regions can have asymmetrical constitutions, then these cannot be in conflict with the national constitution."

BUSINESS DAY,
13/07/93

Unrest will not lead to chaos - FW

VEREENIGING — Strong regional governments with original powers to ensure the decentralisation of power is one of the agreements being finalised at multiparty talks, President de Klerk said on Saturday.

Addressing the Vaal River Regiment at Vereeniging, De Klerk gave the assurance that the Government would not allow unrest to spill over into anarchy.

He said "great progress" had been made in laying the foundation for a democratic society. —

CITIZEN, 12/07/93

Black NP organiser 'happy' in the party

AFTER quitting Azapo and the Democratic Party (DP), Bongani Mngomezulu of Soweto says he has finally found his true political home in the National Party (NP).

Mngomezulu led a reluctant crowd in cheers of "Viva De Klerk, Viva Heita FW Heita!" before the NP leader's speech at the conference.

Mngomezulu, who is an NP organiser, was one of more than 100 black delegates at the NP Youth Conference in Durban at the weekend.

When NEW NATION asked him how he could join the NP after its long history of racism, Mngomezulu said: "The ANC's killings and necklacings are worse than what apartheid has done to us."

White and Indian delegates giggled in their seats and did not join in a toyi-toyi.

Despite his low profile position in the NP as an organiser, Mngomezulu said he was regarded as a community leader. He says he currently serves as secretary of the Dlamini branch of the Soweto Civic Association.

Mngomezulu added that he had earlier joined Azapo because he had no choice. "Azapo was strong in the area where I lived and I was intimidated. At the DP, I found out that they preached good policies but were racist and tribalist from the inside. I have found none of that in the NP."

NEW NATION,
16-30/07/93

STAR, 26/07/93

Roelf's past, present and future

LOUW: Where exactly do we stand with the negotiations?

MEYER: The last outstanding issues have to be finalised before we can prepare for an election. What will be discussed in the next few weeks is the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation for the structures for an election: the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Electoral Commission and the scrapping of discriminatory laws.

An enormous amount of work has been done since April 1, if you look at the reports of the various technical committees and the resolutions that have been accepted.

Q: Did the government compromise in a big way to get the process going? And are there specific instances where you gave way?

A: Each party negotiates to attain its goals, to achieve what it sees as in its own best interest. The government feels satisfied that it has achieved its goals. And I'm sure that other parties will say the same. The result is that negotiations have succeeded, negotiations are the victor, because you have a win-win situation.

Of course there are compromises. It does not necessarily mean there are concessions. It means that you present your views in a way that makes them acceptable to the other parties. This (attitude) also applies to the other participants.

Q: There were no real concessions from your side? Didn't you change your goals at all?

A: There were no substantial concessions in the past months' negotiations. Government made its concessions at the beginning of Codesa, on December 2 1991. We conceded then that the constitution-writing process in South Africa would consist of two phases — a transitional phase and a final phase. And in terms of that goal we were successful.

If you look at the Record of Understanding (of September 1992), it is an expression of that concession. And if you look at the constitutional resolutions that have been accepted in the past weeks, they are a confirmation of the Record of Understanding.

Q: But the fact that you had a Record of Understanding after the collapse of Codesa in itself implies that there must have been concessions which had to comply with the ANC's demands.

A: Not substantially. The Record of Understanding was a description of the process on which we had agreed earlier.

There was nothing substantially new in it. I think the ANC was satisfied because they got a well-defined formulation which they might have thought hadn't existed earlier.

Q: There are rumours that there are people in the NP caucus who are unhappy with the direction negotiations are taking. They say they are not informed, they don't know what's going on. Can we expect NP MPs to resign in the immediate future?

A: I don't know what is going on in other people's heads. But as the process unfolds there are a lot of guys who suffer a degree of uncertainty. That uncertainty, to my mind, will be replaced by certainty the moment the transitional constitution is accepted and the issues are addressed that cause uncertainty.

Q: Won't it just change the groundrules to such a degree that people will have no choice but to accept the new rules?

A: We started a new game on February 2 1990. The groundrules changed totally as from that day. It may be that some guys didn't initially realise it. The fact of the matter is that we are now in the final phase in the confirmation of those groundrules. I think it is a bit of both: people come to the conclusion that they do not have any other option, and others, who accept that there must be changes but were uncertain about the content of those agreements, can get certainty from the transitional constitution.

I am referring specifically to the constitutional principles that have been accepted. They have in themselves contributed significantly to cutting out uncertainty. I can judge from calls that I get, from people who say now they are satisfied. It is not possible to confirm things like that before they are in writing and before they have been negotiated and accepted.

I have heard that on more than one occasion

you have reported that the NP is on its way out. I radically disagree.

Q: I would have thought as the groundrules changed and the NP loses the power of the state, the power of patronage, it doesn't control state TV any more to create a favorable impression of itself — all these factors will contribute to weaken the NP. Professional politicians will find that they can pursue their careers better in a predominantly black party.

A: If you are going to project that image, it will give me great joy. You will be misleading our opponents. It will definitely not work like that. Politics has already normalised itself since the opening up of the NP's membership. Today the NP is, as far as contents are concerned, a fully integrated party. It is true that the leadership is primarily still white. But what we have to emphasise, is that leadership is about leadership in the final instance, not about the colour of the person's skin. The NP is in a good position to produce the leaders that the country will need and which people will ask for.

Q: For me the analogy is Namibia. If you look at how much groundwork was done by someone like Dirk Mudge ... And even so, Mudge did rather badly in the elections. When President De Klerk goes to Pietersburg, it is nothing more than the white, Pretoria-based NP that quickly goes to Pietersburg.

A: I will concede that: we do not yet have a bottom-up support base as far as the black community is concerned. That is common cause. It may be an impediment, but it is not decisive. The bottom-up support does exist in other communities — the coloured community, and there are indications that it exists in the Indian community.

Q: You do not have much time to solicit more support and to start organising before the elections.

A: Nine months is a long time in politics, a very long time. Many things can happen ... I can guarantee you your prediction is absolutely wrong.

Q: When I go to Nationalists in parliament, the portraits on the wall are those of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd ... They represent a history that I don't think is saleable.

A: I prefer paintings of animals on my walls. (Laughs)

Q: The rules of the game will change to such a degree that a basically white party like the NP won't be able to survive for much longer.

A: It says only one thing — that the NP will primarily not be a white party. Sure, the culture will have to change visibly. But the change of the logo has already borne fruit.

Q: But the core of the party are the old Nationalists, apartheid — that is the message that still comes through.

A: I don't say the logo is everything, but it is a contributing factor. Moving away from the *kruithoring* (Boer powder horn) is a step ahead.

Q: Is a compromise with Inkatha possible?

A: My view is that we stand with the resolutions that have been accepted. At the same time we believe Inkatha is a very important political player. They cannot be sidelined or ignored. Therefore maximum consensus is what we would like. I work from the premise that they — like all other parties — will put South Africa's interests first and therefore will go along with the process.

Q: What went wrong between the NP and Inkatha? It was accepted that you were natural alliance partners. Now it seems as if the NP is closer to the ANC.

A: As far as the process is concerned there is more agreement between what the government and the ANC stand for, namely the two-phase process. Inkatha disagrees. But if you look at the contents of the constitutional proposals, there is more agreement between us and Inkatha — the fact that there must be a constitution based on federal principles, for instance.

Q: So one can expect greater co-operation between the NP and the IFP after the changing of the political groundrules?

A: Yes, as far as our parties have shared views on a regional dispensation. There may then be more outward concord, also as far as economic policies are concerned. Alliance forming is not necessary before an election.

One should rather approach the elections on the basis of your own independent views. The outcome of the elections will determine to what extent parties will co-operate afterwards.

Q: What are you going to do about the rightwing? Are you going to go on appeasing them, as you did when they invaded the World Trade Centre?

A: I can't talk on behalf of the police. My responsibility as negotiator is, on behalf of the government, to spread the net as wide as possible to catch up as many parties as possible. I stay in discussion with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie on a bilateral level to see to what degree they will come into the process.

Q: Aren't these decisions taken at cabinet level?

A: Of course, yes, but I am not the spokesman on that subject. If you want someone to talk on the subject, you'll have to approach Hennis Kriel.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 7

Q: The next important step at the negotiations will be the introduction of the Transitional Executive Council. What will be the relationship between the TEC and the cabinet? What will be the powers and functions of the TEC?

A: That still has to be decided. But the core issue is that there must be political interaction between the line-function minister and the sub-council involved — an exchange of views and opinions on an ongoing basis. Exactly how it will happen, will have to be laid down in legislation. There must be a distinction between political influencing as opposed to the day-to-day management of departments. It is not possible for a body like the TEC to attend to the day-to-day management. My impression is that in 75 percent of cases the parties already agree on the powers of the TEC. The police is maybe the best example where there is substantial agreement between the various parties, according to the reports of the technical committees.

Q: Will the sub-councils and the ministers enjoy basically the same powers?

A: Not necessarily. The minister's powers are determined by legislation. One will always have to analyse these. It is an open question whether the sub-councils really want the responsibility of the ministers. I don't think they really want to accept all the nonsense that ministers have to stand father to.

Maybe it will be a good thing if we can make them co-responsible! It must be remembered, however, that right from day one the idea with the TEC was that it would be involved only with the levelling of the playing fields.

FROM PAGE 6 WEEKLY MAIL 16-22/07/93

Govt, Inkatha's constitutional aims similar, says Meyer

PRETORIA — The negotiations process received a boost yesterday when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week's bilateral meetings between the Inkatha Freedom Party and government had shown that the two parties shared the same views and objectives regarding SA's future constitutional arrangements.

Government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, Meyer told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt that there would be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court

ADRIAN HADLAND

would adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution could be amended through a special provision and that the constitution would be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Meyer said.

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, Meyer could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday".

This was denied by Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate, who said yesterday In-

katha would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties; in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

This week's discussions, which would continue at the weekend, were aimed at conveying to Inkatha the views of government on the contents and interpretations of those principles, "and to ensure they are being understood the same way we do".

The next important step in negotiations was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion — probably by the end of this month — by the technical committee, Meyer said. "The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

Remarks made recently by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning government's views on power-sharing and the way in which government had been conducting its negotiations were clearly part of Inkatha's election campaign, Meyer said. The remarks were far removed from the truth.

BUSINESS DAY, 16/07/93

The place of regions in the government of a new SA

The draft interim constitution contains a complicated mechanism for dividing powers between central and regional government

EACH region shall have a legislature consisting of members on regional party lists elected by proportional representation. There shall be one seat for each 50 000 votes cast in the region.

Each regional executive shall have 10 members elected by legislators by a system of proportional representation. The executive shall elect a regional premier who will determine the allocation of departments among executive members.

Once the extent of a region's powers and functions have been determined, and subject to as yet unspecified constitutional provisions regarding the transition, a region shall assume responsibility for all the administrative and executive institutions existing within it. The regional government shall, on the advice of the Commission on Regional Government, establish a single administration as soon as possible.

Commission on Regional Government

A Commission on Regional Government shall be appointed by the President within 30 days of the interim constitution coming into operation. Its objectives will be to advise the

national government and regional governments on the establishment and consolidation of regional administrative institutions and structures, and make recommendations to the national government regarding the extent of the legislative and executive competence of regions during the period of operation of the interim constitution.

The commission will consist of not fewer than 10 full-time members. Members shall perform their duties fairly and impartially. They may not hold any party political office.

The commission will also be charged with making recommendations on finalising regional boundaries; regional constitutions and their phasing in; the final delimitation of powers and functions between national and regional governments; fiscal arrangements between national and regional governments; and the powers and functions of local governments.

Powers and functions of regional governments

A region shall be entitled to powers in the areas of regional taxation, regional spending, local government, town planning, markets and pounds, traffic control, protection services,

local policing and law enforcement, housing, education, cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law, health services, welfare, agriculture, fish and game preservation, environmental affairs, tourism and recreation, public media, public works, roads, transport, racing and gambling and regional language policy.

The Cabinet shall, after consultation with the Commission on Regional Government, determine the extent of the legislative and executive competence of each region. This shall be determined after due consideration of the region's financial, administrative and infrastructural capability, with due regard to the constitutional principles.

A region shall be entitled to an equitable share of national revenue. The proposed Financial and Fiscal Commission shall make representations to the National Assembly on what represents equitable allocations taking into account the national interest, regional economic disparities and developmental needs.

A regional government shall be entitled to raise loans for capital expenditure with the consent of the Cabinet, but not for current expendi-

ture. It shall be competent to levy taxes and surcharges recommended by the commission and approved by the National Assembly. Approval shall not be unreasonably withheld. A regional government shall not be entitled to raise taxes detrimentally affecting intraregional commerce or the national mobility of goods, services, labour and capital.

Regional legislative powers

A law made by a regional government shall have effect only insofar as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament. However, the provisions of any regional law shall not be deemed repugnant unless its provisions are expressly or necessarily inconsistent with an Act. A regional legislature may recommend to Parliament the passing of any law (the

former) is not competent to make.

Regional constitutions

A regional legislature may, subject to the provisions of the interim national constitution, adopt a constitution for the region by a two-thirds majority. A regional constitution may not be inconsistent with the constitutional principles or with the terms of a new constitution. A regional constitution adopted before the adoption of a new constitution will require the approval of a two-thirds majority of the constitution-making body.

The body's chairman may refer the regional constitution to the Constitutional Court for an opinion on its conformity with the constitutional principles, after being petitioned by a third of the body's members.

Constitutional principles pertaining to regionalism

- ☐ Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels.
- ☐ At each level there shall be democratic representation.
- ☐ Each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers and functions that will enable each level to function effectively. The alloca-

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tion of powers between different levels of government shall be made on a basis which is conducive to financial viability at each level of government and to effective public administration, and which promotes national

unity, legitimate regional autonomy and cultural diversity.

□ The powers and functions of national and regional governments shall be defined in the constitution. Amendments to the constitution which alter regional powers, boundaries, functions or institutions shall, in addition to any other specified procedures, require the approval of a specified majority of the regional legislatures; alternatively, if there is such a chamber, a specified majority of a chamber of Parliament composed of regional representatives. If the amendment concerns specific regions only, the approval of the legislature of such regions will also be needed.

□ The powers and functions of the national and regional levels of government shall include exclusive and concurrent powers as well as the power to perform functions for other levels of government on an agency or delegation basis.

□ National and regional governments shall have fiscal powers and functions which will be defined in the constitution.

□ Each level of government shall have a constitutional right to an equitable share of revenue collected nationally so as to ensure that regions and local governments are able to provide basic services and execute the functions allocated to them in the constitution.

□ A Financial and Fiscal Commission representing, among other things, each of the regions, shall recommend equitable fiscal and financial allocations to the regional governments from revenue collected nationally, after taking into account the national interest, economic disparities between the regions as well as the population and developmental needs, administrative responsibilities and other legitimate interests of each of the regions.

□ The following criteria shall be applied in the allocation of powers to the national government and the regional governments:

The level at which most control can be exercised effectively over the quality and delivery of services, should be the level responsible and accountable for the quality and the delivery of the services.

The national government shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) so as to encroach upon the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of the region.

Where it is necessary for the maintenance of essential national stan-

dards, of economic unity or of national security or for the prevention of unreasonable action by one region which is prejudicial to another or the country as a whole, the constitution shall empower the national government to intervene through legislation or other steps as may be defined in the constitution.

The essential principles of the constitution, including the fundamental rights contained therein, shall apply to all organs of the state at all levels of government.

Where it is necessary for SA to speak with one voice or act as an entity — in particular in relation to other states — powers should be allocated to the national government.

Where uniformity across the nation is required for a particular function, the legislative power over that function should be allocated predominantly, if not wholly, to the national government.

Where minimum standards across the nation are required for the delivery of public services, the power to set such standards should be allocated to the national government.

Determining national economic policies, and the power to promote interregional commerce and protect the common market in respect of the mobility of goods, services, capital and labour, should be allocated to the national government.

Regional governments shall have powers, either exclusively or concurrently with the national government, among other things for the purposes of regional planning and development and the delivery of services, and in respect of aspects of government dealing with the specific socio-economic and cultural needs and the general well-being of the inhabitants of the region.

Where mutual co-operation is essential or desirable or where it is required to guarantee equality of opportunity or access to a government service, the powers should be allocated concurrently to the national and regional governments.

In the event of a dispute concerning the legislative powers allocated by the constitution concurrently to the national and regional governments which cannot be resolved by a court on a construction of the constitution, precedence shall be given to legislative powers of the national government.

The constitution shall specify how powers which are not specifically allocated in the constitution to the national or a regional government shall be dealt with as necessary ancillary powers pertaining to the powers and functions allocated either to the national or regional governments.

BUSINESS DAY, 27/07/93

Defining the legislature's form and functions

While critical areas remain unaddressed, future power structures begin to take shape

PARLIAMENT shall consist of a National Assembly and a Senate. The National Assembly shall consist of 400 members elected according to the system of proportional representation on both national and regional party lists. The assembly shall be presided over by a Speaker elected by its members.

The Senate shall be composed of 10 members from each region (referred to in the report as SPR — state, province or region). Those members will be elected by each regional legislature from among its number by proportional representation, at its first session after its election. Those members will vacate the regional legislatures and be replaced by candidates from their party lists. The President of the Senate will be elected by the senators.

All laws except those relating to finance, specified regional matters and amendments to the constitution will be defined as ordinary legislation. Ordinary legislation may be introduced by either the National Assembly or the Senate. It may be passed, in the first instance, by a majority of each House.

Should a Bill be passed by one House but rejected by the other, it shall be referred to a joint committee of members of all parties represented in Parliament. It would then be referred to a joint sitting of both Houses and passed by a majority of the total number of MPs.

Finance Bills — those appropriating revenue or imposing taxation — would be treated differently. They shall be introduced only in the

National Assembly after being considered by a joint committee of both Houses and, if required, by the Financial and Fiscal Commission.

The Senate may not amend any such Bills. If it rejects a financial Bill or fails to pass it within 30 days of it being passed by the National Assembly, it shall be reconsidered by the assembly and passed by a simple majority.

Bills concerning the exercise of regional powers and functions shall be approved by both Houses. A Bill affecting a particular region shall also be passed by a majority of senators representing that region.

Constitutional amendments (aside from the work of the constitution-making body) must be passed by a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of the two Houses. The constitutional principles annexed to the constitution may not be amended at all.

The National Assembly and the Senate, sitting in joint session, will form the constitution-making body which will draw up a final SA constitution. It will undertake a total revision of the interim constitution. It will be presided over by the President of the Senate, deputised by the Speaker of the National Assembly.

The body will have to give effect to the unalterable constitutional principles annexed to the constitution. No new constitution will come into effect until the Constitutional Court (whose establishment is provided for) has certified that it conforms to those principles.

The new constitutional text shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the constitution-making body.

Should it fail to adopt a new text within two years of its election, but a new text is supported by a simple majority, the draft shall be referred to a panel of experts. The panel shall attempt to propose amendments acceptable to a two-thirds majority.

If this fails, a text may be approved by a simple majority. Once it has been certified by the Constitutional Court (and this requirement is inalienable) it shall be put to a referendum for approval by a 60% majority. If it is not approved, the President shall dissolve Parliament and a general election shall be held.

The newly elected constitution-making body shall, within a year, approve the new text by a simple majority.

The executive (Cabinet) shall be representative of parties occupying a specified, minimum percentage of seats in the National Assembly. No other aspects of the Cabinet composition are dealt with, nor are questions relating to the nature of the presidency.

The following are among the numerous issues not dealt with in the draft constitution, and awaiting clarity from negotiators or other technical committees:

□ Financial matters including existing state debt and liabilities, including the TBVC states; revenue funds; financial procedures; the auditor-general; the Reserve Bank (whose independence, the principles state, shall be guaranteed); and the establishment of the proposed Financial and Fiscal Commission;

□ The legal system, including the continuation of statutory and common law, TBVC laws and laws of self-governing territories, indigenous law, unification of provincial ordinances, the status of international law, independence and impartiality of the Commission for Administration and the security forces;

□ Regional matters, including the location of regional legislatures, regional decision-making processes, vacation and removal from office of national and regional legislators;

□ National symbols and languages;
□ Citizenship;
□ The franchise;
□ Seat of Parliament;
□ The nature of the presidency and the executive;
□ The courts;
□ Appointment of an ombudsman; and
□ Local government.

BUSINESS DAY, 27/07/93

Two-chamber Parliament

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION THAT was tabled at the Negotiating Council yesterday proposes a two-chamber Parliament with a National Assembly and a Senate. The National Assembly will consist of 400 members elected on the basis of proportional representation on national and regional party lists.

The Senate will be composed of 10 members from each state, province or region (known as SPRs because no agreement on the matter has been reached).

The various SPRs will elect their own members to the Senate. It is envisaged that each SPR would have its own legislature but finality or greater detail will be known perhaps later this week.

For the day to day running of the country, the National Assembly and Senate will pass laws, by two thirds majority of the total number of the members of both chambers — also known as Houses.

Joint Committee

A Bill passed by one House and rejected by another shall be referred to a joint committee that is made up of members of all parties represented in Parliament for proposed amendments, after which the Bill shall be referred to a joint sitting of both Houses by a decision by a majority of all the members of Parliament.

"All laws, except laws relating to finance, specified SPR matters, and amendment to the constitution, shall be considered to be ordinary legislation."

Finance Bills, those dealing with matters such as taxation, shall be introduced only in the National Assembly after a joint committee from both Houses and, if necessary, in terms of the constitution by the Financial and Fiscal Commission.

Clause 4 of this section gives more clarity: "If the National Assembly in any session (of Parliament) passes a Bill imposing taxation only or dealing with the appropriation of revenue or moneys and the Senate in the same session rejects or fails to pass it within thirty days after it had been passed by the National Assembly and may

thereafter be presented to the State President for his or her assent and shall as soon as it has been assented to by the State President become an Act of Parliament."

Laws that affect the powers and functions of the SPRs will have to be approved by the National Assembly and Senate and in the event that a particular SPR is affected a majority of the Senators of that SPR would have to pass such a law.

This interim constitution can only be amended by a two-thirds majority of the members of both Houses in a joint session. Changes to the constitution are, however, guided by the set of Constitutional Principles that have been agreed upon and that are being used as a yardstick for constitutional development.

The interim Parliament will also, as agreed to, serve as a constitution-making body or constituent assembly. Both Houses, sitting in joint session, will serve as a CMB.

The CMB will be responsible for the drafting of a totally new and final constitution for South Africa which will come into effect, presumably at the end of the tenure of the interim government of national unity.

Final constitution

The Constitutional Principles will serve as the guidelines for the final constitution. If a dispute arises in the interpretation of the constitutional principles the matter can be referred to the Constitutional Court which, in this instance will have the final say.

The most important task of the interim legislature will be the adoption of a new constitution, this is detailed as follows:

- A new constitution shall be adopted within two years of the start of the first interim parliament.

- A new constitution shall be approved by two thirds of all the members of Parliament — both Houses.

- If a new constitution is not adopted by a two-thirds majority, but a draft thereof is supported by a majority of its members, this draft will be referred to a panel of accepted independent constitutional experts that do not hold office in a political party and which is to be established by the CMB as advisors to the constitution-making process.

- If the panel fails to resubmit the draft to the CMB within 30 days and if the CMB fails to reach agreement by the agreed majority a simple majority will pass the constitution.

- In this event, the State President will, after the panel and constitutional court has passed the new constitution, refer the new constitution to a national referendum for final decision.

"The question put before the electorate in the referendum shall be acceptance or rejection of such draft constitutional text," the document explains.

SOWETAN, 27/07/93

■ OWN SPECIAL POWERS *The new*

Senate will have a wide range of duties:

- A sixty percent majority in the national referendum will decide the new constitution of South Africa.

- If all else fails, and the CMB has, within one year, not passed a new constitution, the State President will dissolve Parliament and call a general election.

A Cabinet will be drawn from the National Assembly and will be representative of the composition of this House.

A Constitutional Court will be established and the existing courts will continue to operate. There will also be the establishment of an independent Ombudsman and Human Rights Commission.

Chapter 9 of the interim constitution deals with the States Provinces or Regions. This section is vast and deals extensively with the powers duties and functions of the SPRs as well as its composition — even though no boundaries have been decided on.

There will, nevertheless, be a legislature for each SPR consisting of members elected through proportional representation. The number of the seats in these legislature will be determined by the number of votes cast in the SPR election by 50 000 the nearest approximation.

Each SPR will, on the basis of proportional representation, elect its own executive (Cabinet) from which a premier should be elected and establish an administration for the SPR.

While each SPR will have its own powers, functions and obligations the extent of these

● A constitutional court will be established and the existing courts will continue to operate. There will also be the establishment of an independent Ombudsman and Human Rights Commission

will, after consultation, be determined by the National Executive and promulgated by the State President in the *Government Gazette*.

Where the National Executive (Central or Federal Government) retains responsibility, the administration of the SPR will expedite this and manage the relevant area.

SOWETAN, 27/07/93

Strong regions

STRONG regional governments with original powers to ensure the decentralisation of power is one of the agreements being finalised at multiparty talks. State President FW de Klerk said on Saturday.

Addressing the Vaalrivier Regiment at Vereeniging, where he presented their unit colours, De Klerk gave the assurance that the Government would not allow unrest to spill over into anarchy.

SOWETAN, 26/07/93

'Debate suspended for two days

Bid to coax Inkatha, CP back to talks

NEGOTIATORS at the World Trade Centre yesterday made an impassioned plea to the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the CP to rejoin talks, and suspended debate on the draft constitution for two days to give those parties an opportunity to return.

This followed the official tabling of the draft yesterday afternoon. All parties expressed reservations about aspects of the draft, but most major parties said it provided a good basis for negotiation.

The negotiating council said that in order "to afford Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the CP an opportunity to participate in the debate and make their contribution" the debates on sufficient consensus, the draft constitution, confederalism and self-determination should be postponed until tomorrow afternoon.

"The council therefore urges the IFP/KwaZulu government and the CP delegations to return to the negotiating council and participate fully in the debates on these and all other issues," the unanimously accepted resolution read.

Bophuthatswana chief negotiator and planning committee chairman Rowan Cronjé said the planning committee was extending a "hand of friendship" to make the process as inclusive as possible.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the absence of the three parties was "of great concern to us and this resolution goes a long way towards us walking the extra mile, and we hope they respond positively". He said the three parties' concerns could not be addressed in the streets and in news conferences. The only real forum to deal with their problems was the

negotiating council.

NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers said: "We are affording them an opportunity to be serious about the future of the country and to stop threatening violence. Put the country first."

At a news conference after the council adjourned, Ramaphosa said: "We took the decision because they have a contribution to make and we hope they will see reason. If they do not return by Wednesday afternoon the negotiating council will have to consider afresh what to do. This process is too important for any party, including the

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelesi said last night the draft constitution eliminated the possibility of establishing federalism as advocated by Inkatha, Sapa reports. He said there were not enough powers recognised for the regions, while the need for constitutional autonomy for the regions was totally ignored.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said the document unveiled yesterday was not a constitution but a "constituent assembly document".

Our political staff reports from Durban that Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose said binding a National Assembly and Senate to drawing up a new constitution within two years was "sheer stupidity" and would allow the majority party to dictate its terms.

Inkatha preferred a "one phase" approach, however the draft's "two-phased" approach would not necessarily prevent Inkatha's return to talks. But sufficient consensus remained an obstacle.

Ramaphosa said the draft constitution was problematic for the ANC but it "can provide a solution for compromises and for reaching a settlement". The ANC's national working committee was still studying the document, and would respond more comprehensively later.

In a joint statement, government and the NP said it should be regarded as no more than a first draft to be used to facilitate negotiations. "The government is satisfied with the overall approach and with the fact that many of the features, as proposed by government, have been included. The proposals in respect of a new regional dispensation, however, do not meet all the requirements of government."

It said there should be more certainty about the federal aspects built into the draft, and that the autonomy of the regions should be strengthened.

DP negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew said the draft "provides a good basis

for further negotiation" but his party objected to the deadlock-breaking mechanism. If carried to its logical conclusion, it would result in a constitution being passed by a simple majority if agreement could not be reached within two years.

"The second major problem is the inadequate way in which the powers and functions of regions are provided for in this draft. Too much power and discretion is left in the hands of the national executive and the President to decide how, when and what regional powers will be allocated."

AVU leader Andries Beyers said he was disappointed as the draft did not provide for strong federal government and he would like to have seen the powers and functions of regions entrenched. However, he would remain in the talks to try to rectify these issues. He was very pleased with the constitutional principles.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports from Pretoria that Afrikaner Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald said the draft had set SA on a path of confrontation.

De Klerk: Govt will not allow anarchy

STRONG regional governments with original powers to ensure the decentralisation of power is one of the agreements being finalised at multi-party talks, State President De Klerk said on Saturday.

Addressing the Vaalrivier Regiment at Vereeniging, where he presented their unit colours, Mr De Klerk gave the assurance that the government would not allow unrest to spill over into anarchy.

He said "great progress" had been made in laying the foundation for a democratic society.

Among the agreements being finalised were that the transitional and the final constitution would be drawn up within the framework of constitutional principles to ensure the continuation of democratic government and the limitation of the power of any single institution through checks and balances.

In addition, during the first five years there would be a government of national unity in which all parties with significant support would participate, he said.

"If we are to succeed in this historic endeavour it is essential that those forces of common interest, common basic decency, mutual respect and

desire for peace and prosperity which bind us together should prevail over the centrifugal forces of violence, prejudice, envy and fear which are seeking to drive us apart.

"We cannot and dare not allow ourselves to become insensitive to the dreadful crimes and violence which evil men are using to promote their political objectives.

"We cannot stand idly by while people are slaughtered in cold blood

as has recently happened too often in our country. We cannot permit those filled with hate and passion to seize the initiative."

In this regard the SADF could play a crucial role as one of the anchors of society and part of the guarantee of the security and the future of most decent South Africans of all races, he said.

"The government is still in control of the country and will not allow unrest to spill over into anarchy.

"When I say this I say it with great responsibility, not threatening and not without taking into account the say of other parties during the transition period.

"However, the government still carries the final responsibility under the constitution. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 26/07/93

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ANC and the government, to hold it hostage." He added the parties would be able to see that the council had not ridden "roughshod over their concerns".

The CP said the draft constitution did not form the foundation for reaching a peaceful settlement and it would not return to talks. It also threatened that a new, different forum should be established.

However, it is understood the CP might return. When contacted by a Cosag ally yesterday it was amenable to participate in the debate on confederalism. Inkatha was not as amenable but parties believe it is just "playing hard to get" at this stage.

He said the proposals did not take into account the Volksfront bottom lines of self-determination for the different peoples of SA and an Afrikaner volkstaat, and an alternative had to be found. Unless it was, the Volksfront would be forced to embark upon a peaceful resistance campaign.

Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen had asked for a meeting of major political leaders who could "perhaps come to a reasonable alternative".

The PAC's Benny Alexander said he was happy that the draft constitution could be totally revised by the elected body and that the principles "were very democratic".

BUSINESS DAY, 27/07/93

FW phones Mandela on TEC

WASHINGTON. — State President De Klerk telephoned African National Congress president Nelson Mandela yesterday to "clear up" the "misunderstanding" regarding the implementation of the Transitional Executive Council which is blocking the lifting of remaining US sanctions against South Africa.

The TEC could be agreed upon and implemented even before Parliament started, Mr De Klerk said in Washington.

He telephoned Mr Mandela in New York after he had heard Mr Mandela saying on a

live television news programme that the ANC would recommend that remaining US sanctions be lifted only once Parliamentary legislation had been passed defining the powers of the TEC.

Emerging from a meeting with IMF managing director, Mr Michel Camdessus, in Washington, Mr De Klerk said that his government believed the TEC could be agreed upon and implemented even before Parliament restarted and that legislation could follow thereafter.

"On the basis of multi-party agreement, it is possible to get it going," he said.

"I had a telephonic discussion with Mr Mandela this morning about that after I heard him say that, and I think

we are clearing up that misunderstanding."

Mr De Klerk also announced on CNN television that South Africa qualified to draw \$850 million (R2 805 million) from a fund intended to assist countries which had lost money due to drought or floods.

Subject to certain technical requirements which had to be addressed, he was confident South Africa would receive this amount.

Mr Camdessus, accompanying Mr De Klerk to his car, said

that the sooner the IMF became involved in South Africa the better.

"I am, after having met President De Klerk, pretty reassured that we will be able very soon to have an arrangement in place with your country."

Mr De Klerk said he was glad to be reassured that the IMF would sup-

port South Africa "if we do the right things on our side and we are ready to do them."

He also met top World Bank officials, but not World Bank president Lewis Preston, who is said to have fallen ill.

Mr Mandela said on the CBS news programme that the ANC had shifted from its position that the multi-party forum's confirmation of April 27, 1994 as the election date should trigger the lifting of remaining sanctions.

He was, however, confident that today the multi-party forum meeting at Kempton Park "would confirm" April 27 as the date for elections.

Mr Mandela and State President De Klerk will jointly receive the Liberty Medal Award and 100 000 dollars (R330 000) in Philadelphia on Sunday at a

ceremony to be attended by President Bill Clinton.

Both South African leaders will meet Mr Clinton at the White House today.

Mr De Klerk has also been invited by former US President George Bush to pay him a visit on his way to Philadelphia. — Sapa.

Light shed on TEC and sub-councils

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Draft legislation for a transitional executive council (TEC) and six sub-councils with wide-ranging powers — which will govern the country in conjunction with the existing Parliament during the run-up to the first elections in April — was tabled in the Negotiating Council yesterday.

The TEC will cease to exist after the first Cabinet of an interim government has been appointed.

The fourth working draft of the Transitional Executive Council Bill provides for sub-councils on law and order, stability and security, defence, finance, foreign affairs, regional and local government, and the status of women.

The aims of the TEC are to create a climate for free political participation and for the holding of free and fair elections.

All groups taking part in the negotiation process will be entitled to be represented by one member on the body.

Participants will give a written undertaking to be bound by and to implement TEC decisions. However, if

a party refuses to nominate a member for the TEC or suspends its participation, it will remain bound by TEC decisions.

TEC members will be appointed by the State President on recommendation from the negotiating groups.

The sub-council on law and order will have a national inspectorate to investigate and monitor all police forces.

The sub-council will have access to any information or intelligence reports compiled by the police force in South Africa.

It can also request re-

ports to evaluate steps taken by the police to prevent political violence.

The sub-council can investigate and suspend any police officer undermining the TEC's aims.

A Minister of Law and Order will not be entitled to declare a state of emergency without consulting the sub-council.

The powers and functions of the sub-council on defence have not yet been formulated.

The sub-council on finance will ensure that government funds are not used to favour any political party.

It can investigate allegations of government corruption and inefficiency and make recommendations on preventing wasteful expenditure.

The sub-council will be consulted on the 1994/5 Budget.

The Transitional Executive Council Act will also apply to the self-governing territories.

Decisions will be made on the basis of consensus.

If total consensus cannot be achieved, but if a proposal is supported by 80 percent of the members, it will become a decision of the TEC.

Right tiny minority in SA, says De Klerk

MADRID. — State President De Klerk said yesterday that the extreme Right in his country represented a tiny minority which could not prevent the emergence of a new, post-apartheid democracy there.

Speaking during a brief stop-over in Spain before flying on for talks with President Bill Clinton in the United States, Mr De Klerk said nothing could stop the peace process in South Africa.

"Ninety-five percent of the population support the peace talks for the formation of a mul-

ti-racial government," Mr De Klerk told journalists at Madrid Airport.

"The majority of the armed forces and police also support the peace plan," he said.

Mr De Klerk's wife, Marike, is remaining in Spain for a brief private visit and did not fly on to the United States.

Before leaving for Spain, Mr De Klerk held talks in Vienna with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, President Thomas Klestil and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

Mr Vranitzky said Austria did not plan to

reimpose UN sanctions it has suspended for two successive years until next September, citing progress in South Africa's democratisation.

Mr De Klerk confirmed that elections enfranchising the Black majority will be held in April next year, provided that agreement could be reached on a new constitution.

He and African National Congress leader

Mr Nelson Mandela are due on July 4 to receive the Medal of Freedom from the US city of Philadelphia.

• Mr Mandela, arrived in Rabat, Moroc-

co, yesterday, the official news agency MAP said.

The agency gave no details about the purpose or duration of his surprise visit. He was greeted on arrival by Mr Ahmed Cherkaoui, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr Mandela attended a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Cairo, and was scheduled to travel afterwards to the United States.

It is the ANC President's second visit to Morocco since January last year when he conferred with King Hussein. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

CITIZEN, 02/07/93

CITIZEN, 01/07/93

'US has not abandoned De Klerk'

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — Reports in the London Sunday Times that the United States administration has abandoned President de Klerk and thrown its weight behind the ANC are being dismissed in the US.

The British report follows the separate meetings between US President Bill Clinton and De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela on Friday when Mandela apparently snubbed De Klerk by refusing to be photographed with him and Clinton.

Sources of the US administration, SA Government and ANC pooh-poohed the report yesterday.

US ambassador to South Africa Princeton Lyman, who is in America for the visits of the two South Africans attended both meetings and indicated that neither was consistent with the interpretation that De Klerk had been dropped.

He said both meetings had gone well: "The whole tone and substance of the meetings was to commend both men for the negotiation process and to support the process."

ANC sources also dismissed the report and said that nothing in Mandela's meeting with Clinton supported it.

They pointed out that the White House had wanted Clinton to be photographed with De Klerk and Mandela to reinforce its view that both were equally important to the process.

A Democratic Party White House would probably be naturally more inclined to be sympathetic to the ANC than the Government but would not show it, the sources said.

South African Government sources also dismissed the report and said that the meeting with Clinton had gone well.

Apart from the business side, the two leaders had swapped professional politicians' observations about the difficulties of elections, and the atmosphere had generally been good.

Commenting on a report in the South African Sunday Times that the White House had snubbed De Klerk's wife Marike — by ignoring her request to meet First Lady Hillary Clinton — Lyman said he did not know if there had been such a request.

It was possible it might have gone directly from De Klerk's office to the White House.

STAR, 05/07/93

Aanpassings nodig aan konsep-grondwet - FW

Korrespondent

BELANGRIKE aanpassings sal nog aan die voorgestelde konsep-oorgangsgrondwet gedoen moet word voordat dit die Regering tevrede sal stel.

Pres. F.W. de Klerk het gister ná samesprekings met mev. Angela King, hoof van die Verenigde Nasies se waarnemerspan in Suid-Afrika, op 'n informele nuuskonferensie gesê die Regering is bemoedig deur die feit dat verskeie aspekte wat hy bevorder het, in die konsepgrondwet opgeneem is.

"Ons het egter sekere voorbehoude. Daar is veral oor sterk streekregering nie ver genoeg gegaan nie en belangrike aanpassings is nog nodig," het hy gesê.

Gevra of hy verwag dat die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty na die onderhandelingsstafel gaan terugkeer, het pres. De Klerk gesê die Regering werk hard daaraan om die IVP gou terug te kry.

Hy glo dat daar binnekort genoegsame sekerheid oor sterk streekregering verkry sal word om die IVP terug te kry. "Ons glo die onderhandelings moet so inklusief moontlik wees en bestee alle energie daaraan om dit te verseker."

Pres. De Klerk het ook gereageer op 'n aankondiging van mnr. Thabo Mbeki van die ANC dat die oorblywende sanksies teen Suid-Afrika aanstaande maand opgehef kan word, en dat die ANC alles sal doen om die opheffing te bevorder.

Pres. De Klerk het gesê die ANC moes al lankal so 'n poging aangevend het, want die werklikheid van sanksies is dat die gewone burgers die prys daarvoor moet betaal.

Hy verwelkom dus enige positiewe stap om die oorblywende sanksies opgehef te kry.

BEELD, 28/07/93

Konsepgrondwet - NP-LP wys op sekere leemtes

Politieke Redaksie

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Die konsepgrondwet het leemtes oor burgerskap en die samestelling van die uitvoerende gesag, het dr. Frik van Heerden, die Nasionale Party se woordvoerder oor Staatkundige Ontwikkeling, gister gesê.

Dr. Van Heerden, wat ook die NP-LP vir Bloemfontein-Noord is, het gesê die konsepgrondwet moet met die voorgestelde Handves van Menseregte saamgelees word, wat eweneens onvolledig is. Dit maak sinryke kommentaar moeilik.

Dit lyk egter of die handves van menseregte in 'n sekere sin van die leemtes in die konsepgrondwet, soos die voorsiening vir die ekonomiese aktiwiteite van mense en eiendomsreg, ondervang.

Sy persoonlike siening is dat die konsepgrondwet se bepalings op grond waarvan die finale grondwet opgestel moet word, weer baie deeglik bekyk moet word.

Die grondwetlike beginsels waarop so 'n finale grondwet gebou sal wees, is syms insiens ook nie volledig nie. Daarop sal uitgebrei en verbeter moet word.

Op 1 Julie is dit by die Onderhandelingsraad in Kempton Park gestel dat die pakket beginsels nie 'n uitputtende lys is nie. Daarom glo hy dat 'n mens met vrug nog enkele byvoegings en herformulerings van beginsels kan ondersoek.

Die lys funksies wat aan streekregerings gegee is, lyk indrukwekkend. Die aanstelling van 'n Kommissie oor Streekregering in die finale grondwet is 'n goeie plan, maar hy dink die Onderhandelingsraad sal ook weer daarna moet kyk.

Hy dink die konsepgrondwet is 'n goeie basisdokument wat sekerlik deur die Onderhandelingsraad verfyn sal moet word, het dr. Van Heerden gesê.

BEELD, 27/07/93

SA's first black Nat gets his stamp of approval

HAVING traversed almost the entire political landscape — from the ANC, to the Liberal Party, to Inkatha and recently the NP — Daniel Makhanya finally has something to show for it.

This week Makhanya was capped as the first black person to be a member of the Natal Executive Committee (NEC) — thanks to his membership of the National Party.

Makhanya, who runs an industrial relations firm in Isipingo near Durban, was appointed to his new position by State President FW de Klerk and inducted this week by the Judge president of Natal, Justice Howards, in Maritzburg.

The 57-year-old Makhanya, who signed up for the NP in 1991, says his

appointment shows the NP's commitment to a future government comprising blacks and whites.

"This is putting their words into action. This is a challenge because I see myself as an ambassador of blacks in the province. These people (blacks) have been neglected for

years and now they are going to be attended to," he told City Press.

He said: "I think my visibility has come about because I understand the policies of the Nats and I am able to explain them to people in a way they will understand."

The Natal executive committee runs the province as an arm of the government operating at a regional level.

It provides a vast range of essential services to

Natalians and attempts to assist in the regional economy.

Makhanya, who has a business background, sees his role as an MEC as one of integrating blacks into the mainstream of business.

"It is a pity that blacks are not as aggressive on economics as they are in politics. I want to focus on economic upliftment."

At the time of going to press Makhanya had not been informed of what portfolio he would receive.

Makhanya cut his teeth in politics with the ANC Youth League in the '50s. He joined the Liberal Party in the '60s after the banning of the ANC.

In the '70s he threw in his lot with Inkatha and in the '90s became one of

the first blacks to switch to the NP.

He said: "I do not support the NP because of their past 45 years, but rather for their planned future changes. They have also admitted that they made mistakes. I also want a party that is experienced."

Makhanya says he has been fairly well received by Nats in Amanzimtoti.

CITY PRESS, 27/06/93

Uitvoerende gesag bepaal volgens partye se setels

BEPALINGS oor die uitvoerende gesag in 'n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling word nie in hierdie stadium in besonderhede in die konsep-oorgangsgrondwet uitgestippel nie.

In die konsep word net bepaal dat die uitvoerende gesag verteenwoordigend sal wees van politieke partye wat 'n bepaalde persentasie van die setels in die Nasionale Vergadering hou.

Oor die geregtelike gesag word in hierdie stadium net bepaal dat die nuwe grondwet voorsiening moet maak vir die voortsetting van die bestaande houe en die instelling van 'n Grondwetlike Hof.

Voorsiening moet ook gemaak word vir die aanstelling van 'n onpartydige en onafhanklike Ombudsman en 'n Menseregte-kommissie, lui die konsep.

BEELD, 27/07/93

Regering staan vir 'n sterk streekregering

Pres. F.W. de Klerk se versekering aan IVP-leier

Gallie van Rensburg

PRES. F.W. DE KLERK het mnr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leier van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP), in die naweek weer verseker dat die Regering vir 'n sterk streekregering staan en het die Regering se standpunt daarvoor in 'n kort brief aan mnr. Buthelezi oorgedra.

Hy het dit gedoen omdat daar misverstande is dat die Regering nie ook "werklik sterk staan vir streekregering" nie, het pres. De Klerk op Beeld en die Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit (RAU) se Jeugweek in Johannesburg gesê.

Hy het geantwoord op die vraag oor wat die Regering doen om te keer dat partye soos die IVP en die KP nie die onderhandelingsproses saboteer nie.

Pres. De Klerk het gesê dit kan net gekeer word deur verder met die partye te onderhandel. Die Regering het die afgelope drie weke drie keer met die IVP gepraat. 'n Dringende gesprek word ook vandag met die party gevoer. Hy het goeie hoop dat mense deur gesprekke byeengebring sal word.

Vroeër in sy toespraak het pres. De Klerk gesê hoewel die IVP die NP aan dieselfde kant as die ANC plaas, is dit nie waar nie. "Die ANC is ons belangrikste opponente."

"Ons en die IVP stem oorhoofs saam oor die grondwetlike toekoms van die land. Talle kleiner partye staan dieselfde voor."

"Die ANC en sy bondgenote speel steeds met idees wat tot ekonomiese rampspoed sal lei. Die NP - en die IVP, DP en andere - bied die enigste lewensvatbare ekonomiese beleid."

Die NP het totaal gebreek met apartheid. "Wanneer breek die ANC ook so totaal met Kommunisme?"

"Eers as die ANC dit gedoen het, kan Suid-Afrikaners dit oorweeg om die ANC ernstig op te neem as hy mooi beloftes maak en versekerings gee."

Die beste waarborg vir vrede en stabiliteit en die beste hoop op versoening en vooruitgang is 'n sterk, gematigde nie-rassige party wat sukses by die stembus behaal.

"Ek sien net een so 'n party, en dit is die NP."

Net die NP het waarlik uitgestyg bo seksionele belange. Dit is die enigste party wat werklik nie-rassig en nie streekgebonden is nie. 'n Versplintering van die gematigde stemkrag is in die kraal van radikale.

Oor geweld het pres. De Klerk gesê die NP se hande is skoon. "Kan die ANC, die KP en selfs die

IVP dieselfde sê? NP-lede vermoor nie ander mense nie en breek nie ander se private eiendom nie."

Die tema van die Jeugweek is die jeug se versoeningsrol. Mre praat mnr. Nelson Mandela, ANC-leier, Donderdag dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, KP-leier, en Vrydag genl. Constand Viljoen, leier van die Afrikaner-Volksfront.

BEELD, 27/07/93

SA 'needs a new kind of economy'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The social objective of any economic policy was to find employment for the ever-growing population and it was the job of unionists and well as business management to formulate the policy, Finance Minister Derek Keys said last night.

Delivering a candid address to the sixth annual labour law conference at the University of Natal in Durban last night, he admitted that the government had not yet found the solution. "It's our job together to find it," he said.

The current economic policy did not stand the test and SA needed a new kind of economy in which social objectives were paramount, he said.

However, the Normative Economic Model was the best on offer and it was based on standard free market principles which included reducing the size of the state bureaucracy.

The entrepreneurial class should be made to feel secure in the future South Africa in order to meet the expectations gap.

He said SA's economic problems were not unique and could not be entirely blamed on its apartheid legacy. The United States and Europe were also suffering from "jobless growth" and a spirit of "growing self-doubt", Keys said.

STAR, 16/07/93

Government must hold nation together

BECAUSE South Africa is a nation of many groups and cultures, the central government needs sufficient powers to hold the nation together and direct its economy through, among others, the equitable redistribution of resources.

This is the opinion of Professor Gavin Maasdorp, director of the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal in Durban.

Maasdorp makes a strong plea for regional delimitation on the basis of economic flows and not only short term political goals.

He says an elaborate federal structure with well-entrenched regional autonomy may not be conducive to economic development.

"Economic reconstruction in South Africa requires a strong central government with the power and competence to implement national development strategies, to engage in appropriate fiscal planning and to promote regulatory harmony."

Maasdorp lists the powers and economic functions which he sees as critical for the central government to retain:

- Monetary Policy — No country can have more than one monetary policy, and the KwaZulu proposal for a central bank for Natal/KwaZulu is absurd;

- Fiscal Policy — central government should maintain tax harmony throughout the country and provide assistance to poorer regions. It therefore needs to maintain national spending and taxation authority;

- Foreign Trade Policy — South Africa has a very open economy, and trade policy

becomes extremely important in order to maintain the country's competitiveness in world markets;

- Banks and financial institutions — South Africa has a nationally-integrated system of commercial banks and financial institutions,

and this needs to be retained;

- Transport and communications — these are extremely important for the country's international competitiveness, and key elements such as telecommunications policy should be retained with a clear demarcation of devolved powers to regions;

- Social Services — national standards in terms of education, health and pensions need to be maintained, and services should be reciprocated between regional bodies.

Maasdorp says the number of regions should be minimised, bearing in mind that the system is costly, especially if they are federal states.

"While these financial costs might be offset by sociopolitical benefits in a heterogeneous society, the general policy should be minimal government, and the policy of regionalism should be in line with this goal," he concludes.

SOUTH, 03/07/93

Foreign observers pleased

International observer missions in South Africa yesterday welcomed the Goldstone Commission's report on events at the World Trade Centre last month.

The missions commended the police for publicly destroying confiscated illegal firearms, calling on them to redouble their efforts to recover and destroy such weapons.

The missions supported the following recommendations of the commission:

- That the carrying or display of dangerous weapons, especially firearms, at public meetings

or demonstrations be made an offence, providing for severe penalties

- That legislation be tightened to provide stricter control over bodyguards allowed to carry weapons

- That the wearing at public gatherings or meetings of disguises or any form of face-covering be made an offence and severe penalties be provided.

The missions called on the Government to implement the commission's recommendations — Sapa

STAR, 19/07/93

Daar is geen alternatief vir federale opset in SA nie

DIE belangrikste vraag wat gestel moet word by die uitwerk van 'n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling vir Suid-Afrika, is of dit wat geskep word 'n kragtige "ontwikkelingsmasjien" is.

Binnelandse vrede is deel van die formule vir 'n geslaagde staatkundige bestel, maar dit is nie die enigste maatstaf nie, skryf prof. Taylor in *Development and Democracy*. "Relatiewe ekonomiese sukses is 'n seker manier om etniese vure te blus," sê hy.

In die artikel onder die opskrif *Staatsfederalisme in 'n wêreldstelsel* ontleed prof. Taylor in die ontwikkeling van federale stelsels wêreldwyd en beskryf hy wat nodig is vir 'n suksesvolle federasie.

Hy sê hoewel state baie kenmerke geërf het van die vroeë moderne tyd-vak toe state hoofsaaklik "oorlogsmasjiene" was, het hulle in die huidige eeu al hoe meer "ontwikkelingsmasjiene" geword. "Dit wil sê state het verantwoordelik geword vir ekonomiese strategieë om hul plek binne die wêreld-ekonomie te ontwikkel. Hoewel ekonomiese beleid en ontwikkelingsbeplanning oor die algemeen beskou word as 'n outonome politieke proses van onderskeie state, weerspieël dit in werklikheid wêreldwye mededinging wat net so fel raak soos enige vorige politieke en militêre konflik."

Prof. Taylor sê alle state kyk basies in twee rigtings. Aan die een kant kyk hulle na buite na ander state en die res van die wêreld-ekonomie. Aan die ander kant kyk hulle na binne, na die gemeenskap wat hulle regeer. "Hulle is soos die standbeeld van die klassiese god Janus wat terselfdertyd in twee rigtings kyk." In die twintigste eeu is federalisme ontdek as die politieke reëling wat veral goed by die Janus-houding pas.

Prof. Taylor sê hoewel sekerheid en verdediging redes is waarom state 'n federale opsie kies, is die hoof oorweging die groter geleentheid in die wêreldmarkte wat deur groter federale eenhede gebied word.

In alle state is daar middelpuntvlietende en middelpuntsoekende kragte aan die werk. 'n Suksesvolle staat moet dié kragte só in toom hou dat eersgenoemde begunstig word. Maar middelpuntsoekende kragte kan nie eenvoudig laat vaar word nie; daar moet vir hulle binne die staat plek ingeruim word. Een ma-

nier om dit te doen, is deur middel van 'n federale struktuur waar middelpuntsoekende kragte in die staat geïntegreer word deur 'n sekere mate van gebiedsoutonomie te verleen.

Die sterkste middelpuntsoekende krag in die twintigste eeu is etniese en kulturele diversiteit in 'n staat, skryf prof. Taylor. Dit is die gevolg van die ideaal van 'n "nasie-staat" wat ná die Franse revolusie ontstaan het.

"Die basiese probleem was dat die nasie-staat waarna gestreef is, 'n mite was. Alle state is multi-nasionaal van aard en huisves 'n verskeidenheid etnisiteite en kulture."

Federalisme was 'n algemene manier om etniese belange te balanseer.

Prof. Taylor wys op 'n wesenlike gevaar van die skepping van al hoe

grondwetlike hervormings in die jare negentig is geen uitsondering nie; intendeel, dit dui op 'n noodsaaklike behoefte om gelyktydig binnewaarts en uitwaarts te kyk met die ontwerp van 'n nuwe staatsbestel," skryf prof. Taylor.

Suid-Afrika se "ekonomiese trajek in die wêreld-ekonomie is ten beste stagnerend." Hoewel dit ook in baie ander lande die geval is, sal die ekonomiese slappe nie vir altyd duur nie.

'n Groot en volgehoue ekonomiese opswaai kan in die volgende dekade verag word. Om daaruit voordeel te trek, sal Suid-Afrika 'n staat moet skep wat kan help om 'n geïntegreerde streek van kapitaal-opbou in Suid-Afrika te skep, sê prof. Taylor.

Die staat sal moet help om vir so 'n streek 'n nis in die wêreld-ekonomie te help identifiseer.

Die trek van elke nuwe politieke grens skep dus nuwe kulturele minderhede. Die val van die USSR en Joego-Slawië is 'n tragiese voorbeeld daarvan dat minderheidsprobleme nie verdwyn deur die trek van "ideale" kulturele grense nie. Nuwe minderhede wat "kunsmatig" geskep word, is die gevaarlikste van almal, sê prof. Taylor.

Die sukses van state in die verlede, asook die potensiaal van enige toekomstige staatsbestel, moet gemeet word aan die vermoë om sowel binnewaarts as uitwaarts te kyk, ooreenkomstig sukses in die wêreldmark en vrede tuis.

"Die geval van Suid-Afrika se meer etniese gebiede binne 'n staat. Hoewel kulturele groepe hul eie kerngebiede kan hê, soos in Indië, is hulle geografies ook baie vermeng.

"Suid-Afrika sal swem of sink saam met sy bure. Hy sal 'n simbiotiese verhouding moet ontwikkel sodat hy die voordeel sal hê dat hy in 'n opwaarts mobiele streek bestaan."

Net om op die semi-periferie van die wêreld-ekonomie te bly (prof. Taylor onderskei drie breë sones van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die wêreld: die kern, semi-periferie en periferie), sal Suid-Afrika na die wêreld deur sy streke moet kyk, sê hy. As dit nie gebeur nie, sal Suid-Afrika baie gou 'n periferie-staat word, maak nie saak hoe kragtig die volgende opswaai van die wêreld-ekonomie is nie.

As binnewaarts gekyk word, lyk dit of daar geen alternatief vir die een of ander federale opset is nie, sê hy. Enige bestel sal uitdrukking moet gee aan die kulturele diversiteit van die land.

"Die probleem is dat... wanneer 'n mens eers begin het op die pad van etniese/kulturele federale verteenwoordiging, dit wil lyk of daar nie 'n einde in sig is nie."

Prof. Taylor waarsku dat "die doel van aanvaarbare kulturele geografiese grense vir almal 'n hersenskim (is) wat slegs in 'n ramp kan eindig - etniese suiwering, word dit nou genoem".

Maar 'n versigtig ontwerpde federale opset kan daartoe bydrae om verdelings minder skerp te maak.

"Die veiligste pad vorentoe is waarskynlik om voorlopig die bestaande provinsiale grense te behou en vir die een of ander vorm van grondwetlike beskerming van minderhede voorsiening te maak.

"Om een van die gesigte van die Janus-staat reg te kry, sal nie genoeg wees nie. In die laaste instansie sal staat en streek beoordeel word ooreenkomstig hoe in die wêreld-ekonomie gevaar word.

"Dit beteken onderhandelings met die 'frontliniestate' is net so noodsaaklik en dringend soos hoe die onderskeie partye stoei om 'n plek binne die federale onderhandelinge.

"Watter nuwe Suid-Afrikaanse politieke instrumente ook al geskep word, dit sal die ekonomiese behoeftes moet weerspieël van 'n semi-periferale land wat redelik geïsoleer is in die wêreld-ekonomie. Die wêreldstelsel vergewe nie diegene wat hom verwaarloos nie!" skryf prof. Taylor.

BEELD, 14/07/93

Guidelines set for consensus in talks process

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus - the decision-making mechanism in the negotiations process - have been proposed to refute criticism by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The setting of the April election date and

drafting of an interim constitution has thrown the concerns about sufficient consensus into sharp relief.

Criticisms

The six Cosag parties at the negotiating table have been raising persistent criticisms about the decision-making process.

In fact, the IFP, Kwa-

defined in its report tabled in the Council yesterday, as follows: "In essence it means that the

Zulu Government and CP have cited this process as one of the prime reasons for their walking out of negotiations.

A meeting of the leaders of Cosag parties is on the cards to discuss the proposed guidelines before it comes up for debate on Monday in the Negotiating Council.

An ad hoc committee set up to draw guidelines for sufficient consensus,

resolution has sufficient support for the process to move forward."

Several factors influenced a decision to declare sufficient consensus, it said.

"When support is withheld in an evident effort merely to delay or obstruct progress, sufficient consensus to move forward may be declared in spite of such opposition," the report said.

The guidelines consists of three elements: An overall process for managing the Negotiating Council meetings, mechanisms for maximising consensus and timeframes for these mechanisms.

● Kaiser Nyatumba reports that Democratic

Party (DP) leader Zach de Beer said yesterday that his party was convinced that the "sufficient consensus" decision-making technique in negotiations was the right one. "By all means let it be reviewed if that is wanted, but we dare not move either to a demand for unanimity on all decisions or to a simple majoritarian procedure."

"Unless the spirit is one of give-and-take and common interest, the outlook for success and for an election next April will deteriorate sharply."

STAR, 21/07/93

Stripping emotion from Mboweni's reconstruction levy

IN A WEEK that the ANC should have been basking in the glory of its initiative to hammer out a foreign investment policy with business, it has instead been at the centre of a storm reminiscent of the early nationalisation debate, thanks to Tito Mboweni's proposed "reconstruction levy".

Tax experts have lost no time in pointing out that the ANC deputy economics head's suggestion boils down to a wealth tax and a levy on income tax. But Mboweni chose not to present his proposal in the language of the tax expert. He presented the idea in the emotive context of Nazism and war.

Post-war Germany, faced with near total destruction of its economy, decided on a system of burden-sharing or "Lastenausgleich". People who had been able to keep their properties in part or in full would contribute money to a "fund for the equalisation of burdens". All individuals and companies had to pay a levy amounting to half their 1948/49 assets into the fund. People could pay the amount as a lump sum or make quarterly payments for 30 years. Federal, regional and local governments also made contributions to this fund.

According to information provided by the German embassy, people stopped contributing to the fund in 1979, but disbursements will be completed only by the year 2030. By the late '80s the amount paid out in terms of the scheme was DM117.8bn, and the figure is expected to reach DM150bn in total. People who lost their means of making a living as a result of the war, or lost their property, or were displaced, benefited from the fund.

A second aspect of the post-war reconstruction of Germany was restitution, something which has not featured in Mboweni's references to the German approach. People who were persecuted for their opposition to Nazism, or on the grounds of race, creed or ideology had a claim to compensation. It takes the form of pensions, lump sums or loans. About DM92bn is expected to be paid out eventually on restitution.

Mboweni has not suggested that people persecuted for their opposition to apartheid should be compensated. His suggestion is therefore a somewhat modified version of the German post-war approach. He has emphasised the money should be spent on resolving "the socio-economic crisis" and for compensating people who lost property because of apartheid. It would be used partly to compensate current landowners when land is redistributed.

The suggestion resembles the German plan only in that there is a levy on fixed assets, but this is apparently pitched at 5% in Mboweni's proposal. In addition, he has suggested a 15%

tax on income. The concept of sharing the burden of the war's destruction is also not applicable; rather it is a question of sharing the burden of financing the backlogs that resulted from apartheid.

Why the need to drag in post-war Germany? Simply because it underlines the sense of crisis, of a nation destroyed. It plays on the guilt of those who benefited from apartheid, a system which many argue has similarities with Nazism.

It is not hard to feel sympathy for the sentiments underlying the proposal. The suggestion satisfies a sense of justice, and the need for a more equal distribution of wealth in SA. The country has one of the most skewed distributions in the world, not least because of apartheid. But while the policy measure would result in a more equal distribution of available wealth, what will its effect be on the creation of new wealth?

Economists and tax experts have argued that the reconstruction levy will destroy the country's ability to create new wealth. They also point out the practical problems of implementing the proposal (an aspect which Mboweni has also conceded).

Is the levy on gross or net assets, book or market value? Who does the valuation? What will happen to property values? Who should pay? How much will be raised? These questions have been dominating dinner table conversations for the past two weeks.

An arbitrageur, whose digestion has been affected by Mboweni's plans, has started devising strategies to avoid the tax. "If it's only applicable to individuals, then I'll register a company or close corporation to hold all my assets. And once they cotton on to that..."

The idea in its present form appears impractical, and the amounts mentioned high — a figure of R20bn to be raised has been bandied about. Those who argue that the measure will destroy the economy's ability to create new wealth are probably right. But the concept should not be discarded out of hand.

SA faces enormous demands for spending — in the Witwatersrand area alone, the World Bank has calculated that R6bn-R10bn will be needed to upgrade infrastructure. Sacob has put the total figure which would be needed immediately to eliminate social disparities at R40bn. Mboweni is right when he says: "The costs will be enormous."

How will this be financed? There will be finance from the World Bank and other foreign sources, while domestic government debt is also likely to increase. Finance Minister Derek Keys has said that compensation for land reforms will be financed through debt. Private finance will also contribute to overall social spending as more companies elect to invest funds in "socially desirable" investments.

But there are limits to what SA can afford without triggering a dom-

estic fiscal crisis or another foreign debt standstill. Increased redistribution through the tax system will be inevitable. The challenge is to pitch it at a level that is compatible with economic growth.

Redistribution could take a number of forms. New taxes could be levied at the local level to finance township infrastructure spending. The present RSC levies, which were introduced amid a hue and cry in 1987, are a form of redistribution.

The World Bank projects high increases in municipal rates and tariffs against a backdrop of massive local government capital spending. The bank also sees "windfall gains" from reforming the property tax system in the white local authorities.

Of major significance is the bank's suggestion of a surcharge on personal income tax (PIT) to finance local government capital spending: "The surcharge could be time-bound to represent a one-time transfer of wealth to finance the urban infrastructure backlog. It also could be leveraged so that the public investment programme could be undertaken in a relatively short period of time."

This idea is reminiscent of the approach to unification of East and West Germany. In 1992, West Germans who earned DM60 000 a year or more had to pay a 7% levy on their income tax for six months towards the costs of reunification. In terms of a solidarity pact signed in March, the German government plans to pitch the "solidarity levy" at 7.5% in 1995 to raise DM28bn, against a projected deficit of DM67.6bn.

Significantly, companies are not required to pay extra tax "because we know we cannot milk a cow unless we feed it", a German explains. Companies contribute in other ways through, for example, locating training programmes in the east and sourcing inputs from the area.

Mboweni — who, to his credit, advocates that the levy should not be racially based — should look further than post-war Germany for ideas on a reconstruction levy. Restricting it to a surcharge on income tax would be easier to administer. But he and his colleagues in the ANC's economic planning department should also provide more detail on overall macroeconomic policy so that South Africans will feel less threatened by some suggestions.

South Africans who are horrified at the thought of a "reconstruction levy" should think of the German "solidarity pact" before they give vent to their shock. Mboweni's idea, although impractical and punitive in its present form, is not a throwback to the dark ages of communism and nationalisation.

BUSINESS DAY

20/07/93

SACP 'no' to workers' party plan

By Paul Bell
Labour Correspondent

South African Communist Party Politburo member Jeremy Cronin has fired a warning shot across the bows of Cosatu-aligned trade unions flirting with the notion of forming a workers' party, and called on the federation to remain within the tripartite alliance.

Writing in the Weekly Mail, Cronin calls the notion "an understandable reaction to much of the present confusion and dissatisfaction" with the slow pace of change in the country, but it is "absolutely misguided".

The notion had been quietly gathering steam in Cosatu-aligned trade unions for some months and formally broke cover at the National Union of Metalworkers' congress earlier this month.

According to Cronin, such strategies played into the hands of the ANC's opponents. He cited a document written in 1987 by Niel Barnard, then head of the National Intelligence Service and director-general of the Department of Constitutional Development.

In the document, Barnard outlined a strategy to beat the ANC by unbanning it, then locking it into protracted negotiations while its support drained away. Cronin says the strategy has not succeeded but offers it as a caution.

Workers form party

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action maintains that the present negotiation process is futile and will not lead to a constituent assembly.

Wosa also feels next year's elections will be for a constitution-making body that will be heavily compromised by conditions set by the participants at the World Trade Centre.

Because of this, Wosa has resolved to form a mass workers party "to halt and reverse the wholesale compromise" at the WTC.

Wosa's chairman, Mr Neville Alexander, said in a statement in Johannesburg this week: "Instead of a major people's assembly deliberating on an open agenda which would permit the consideration of all the fundamental questions of South African life, the people will be called upon to vote for a constitution-making body whose agenda has essentially been predetermined by the unelected Kempton Park negotiators."

THE STAR, 26/07/93

SOWETAN, 16/07/93

focus on reconstruction

FIVE years after the first democratic election on April 27 1999, the majority of our people are still denied housing, land, jobs, electricity, health care and decent education, they will say that the vote has been worthless.

That it has totally failed to address the brutal effects of apartheid rule. We believe that this "low road" scenario is one which has to be avoided at all costs, if we are to emerge from the nightmare of apartheid into the daylight of a vibrant democracy which puts its people first.

The challenge of addressing apartheid's legacy should not be left to any one section of society, or even to a democratically elected government.

This massive task of reconstruction is not unlike the rebuilding of societies ravaged by the second world war; it requires the involvement and commitment of the whole society if it is to succeed.

We are proposing a Programme for Reconstruction and Development aimed at addressing in a planned, coherent and systematic way the enormous social and economic problems we have inherited from years of apartheid misrule.

Empty promises of jobs, housing, and so on which we are sure the Nationalist Party and their allies will make in the coming elections will not put food in our people's bellies or a roof over their heads.

We need programmes with clear time frames and targets, which spell out how we will provide housing over, say, the next five years, how we will create jobs, how we will create a national health system, and so on.

Five pillars

The Reconstruction Programme we are proposing rests on at least five major pillars:

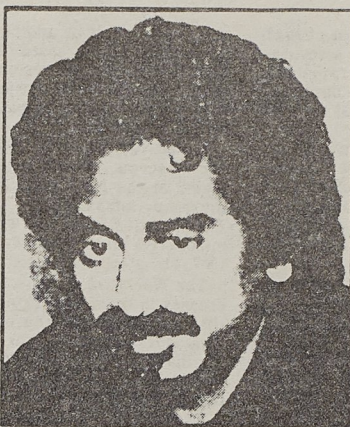
- Job creation through large-scale public works programmes which would both kick start the economy and extend social services to the previously excluded majority in the urban and rural areas.

Parallel to this, an urgent restructuring of our moribund industry aimed at creating sustainable jobs, and encouraging investment in productive activity. If our economy continues on the cheap labour path, combined with speculative investment in shares, glass buildings and export of capital we will only deepen our desperate crisis of structural unemployment, and remain trapped in an unbreakable cycle of poverty.

- Secondly, a programme to overhaul the entire education system, and develop a national training scheme that addresses the high levels of illiteracy, the low skill base, and the inefficiencies of the economy.

- Thirdly, the Reconstruction Programme will have to address the social poverty in which the majority of people live. National resources will have to be channelled away from the mili-

This is part one of the *Sowetan* series on reconstructing the economy in South Africa, written by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo:



Jay Naidoo ... Job creation important.

tary machine and wasteful bureaucracy, and into extending basic necessities such as housing, health care, electricity, water, and pensions to people in the rural and urban areas.

Further, a rural development and land reform programme will have to be implemented. These measures should be seen not only as a necessary programme of redistribution, but also as growth-generating activity which will change the shape of our economy, in that it will bring all our people into the mainstream of economic life.

Unleash energies

- To implement these programmes it will be necessary to advance and protect the rights of ordinary people to empower them to drive the reconstruction programme and to unleash their creative energies.

For example, the process of centralised bargaining and the participation of workers in industrial decision making is essential, if trade unions and employers are to effectively embark on the restructuring of our industries, job creation, and training.

Other sectors of civil society as well need to be empowered to participate in decisions which affect their lives. This grassroots democracy is a vital countervailing power to ensure that the new state becomes responsive and accountable to ordinary people, unlike the arrogant and corrupt state machinery we have to deal with

today.

- Lastly, there must be a democratic political solution, and effective and accountable government. If the democratically elected government is to be able to implement a programme of reconstruction and development, the majority party has to be able to implement its programme without interference from minority parties.

This implies a strong central government, as opposed to the "lame duck" government envisaged by the NP which would be unable to govern effectively.

This programme of reconstruction will be driven by forces in civil society, together with a new democratic state. Nevertheless, we believe that many of the processes necessary to implement the programme can be initiated now, albeit in a limited way, to prepare the ground, and to ensure that we begin to concretely address some of our people's most critical needs.

Many of Cosatu's current initiatives are precisely geared to meeting this objective.

National Manpower Commission

The restructuring of institutions such as the National Manpower Commission, the National Training Board, the setting up of the National Economic Forum, and issue-based negotiating forums such as the Housing Forum, as well as industry restructuring committees, has already begun.

In the medium term these will create the institutional framework within which the reconstruction programme can be negotiated and implemented.

In addition, job creation, housing and other programmes negotiated through these forums are aimed at delivering concrete results in the short term.

As we move through this transitional phase the obvious issue is what replaces the apartheid system and how to ensure that democracy means more than just a vote every five years.

The programme for reconstruction is our answer.

Through discussions with our allies and others in civil society we are trying to ensure that such a programme has broad based support and that it will underpin the process of political transition.

In forthcoming articles in this series I will explore in more details how different elements of the Reconstruction Programmes will be implemented.

Cosatu starts up election drive

COSATU is to launch its voter education drive tomorrow — exactly nine months before the proposed April 27 election date.

The federation adopted a motion to spearhead an election drive at its July executive committee meeting, but has yet to finalise details of the programme.

According to a Cosatu discussion document, unions would approach employers to grant "paid time off during working hours" for shop stewards to participate in the campaign and to educate workers in the technicalities of voting.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the federation was meeting the Consultative Business Movement and Saccola "to achieve coherence on the development and implementation of a programme".

He said after a national framework had been developed, individual employers would be approached to become involved in "workplace voter education" in consultation with shop stewards.

On the practical side, Cosatu has established a national elections political committee.

This is co-ordinated by Jesse Mai-

leke and consists of Jay Naidoo and his deputy Sam Shilowa, NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding and Food and Allied Workers' Union president Chris Dlamini.

In the document, Cosatu appealed to its affiliates to contribute funds to voter education in the form of "a once-off election fund". The federation would also raise funds from "international trade union partners".

It would also issue a "pamphlet popularising the election date and identifying challenges" as well as an information sheet for shop stewards and a voter education manual.

ANC campaign fund

A FUND worth £100 000 to help the ANC and Cosatu fight next April's elections was launched yesterday by Britain's Transport and General Workers' Union, which donated £20 000 and guaranteed the total.

BUSINESS DAY,
08/07/93

BUSINESS DAY,
26/07/93

SOWETAN, 14/07/93

Trade unions plot their course in a changed society

THE trade union movement will have to make considerable strategic adjustments in the forthcoming period of reconstruction, and selling these changes to rank-and-file members will not be easy.

National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) education officer and top Cosatu strategist Alec Erwin offered a range of insights on this theme at the weekend labour law conference at Durban's Natal University. This period of "new unionism", which was central to the transformation of society, would have to encompass a reconstruction programme, including a collective bargaining dimension, to protect membership and union objectives.

For Erwin, the most critical areas to be included in "a coherent policy package" should be:

- Achieving a macroeconomic balance by controlling inflation;
- Employment creation, which he described as "an absolute priority";
- Reintegration of SA into the world economy;
- Ensuring all players participated in the benefits of economic growth; and
- Political democracy.

Reconciling labour's interests with those of the broader SA society required all parties to recognise the need for industrial restructuring, based on a combination of macro- and microeconomic policy.

This, explained Erwin, was the basis for Numsa's three-year proposal submitted at this year's wage negotiations. The aim was to redress serious structural problems in the metal sector. "The bargaining process is changing, with unions proposing a programmatic approach in contrast to the previous year-on-year process," said Erwin.

He conceded there should be a direct relationship between wage increases and productivity gains: "Higher wages do imply higher productivity." But, he added, "we need to reorganise to get rid of existing inadequacies in production".

Management, through a process of interaction, participation and negotiation, should explore the most effective way of using human resources.

Wage flexibility had been accepted by the union movement, as evidenced in the recently signed agreement on labour-intensive production.

However, this "is different from accepting a cheap labour policy". Unions were averse to workers being

landed with the brunt of training and reorganisation costs by accepting low wages during those processes, Erwin said.

"Wages and restructuring are part of a macroeconomic policy. We will have to negotiate much wider issues and the context in which these negotiations take place. They will have to be much more detailed, sophisticated and pragmatic."

Comparative advantage was not based on wage rates, Erwin argued. Education, skills, training and other factors had to be taken into account in determining whether a country was competitive. Also, with world trading patterns changing rapidly, SA needed to study these changes and adjust accordingly.

The debate on levels of collective bargaining was crucial, Erwin believed. Over time, many different levels of bargaining had emerged and combinations had changed, he said. "In some sectors organised business and labour bargain at industry level; in others plant level is in the best interests of both parties. It is how these processes are integrated which is of fundamental importance. Existing agreements cannot be removed without conflict."

"Collective bargaining as a pillar of reconstruction is the only way forward. If collective bargaining structures are weakened it will be a recipe for disaster."

To Erwin, the major challenge for employers was to accept "co-determination" as the predominant management style.

The real challenge lay with the labour movement, which would have to "maintain, strengthen and develop traditional internal democracy", he said. With members' lack of formal education, it was incumbent on unions to develop their capacity rapidly to enable meaningful debate. Currently management came up with all the proposals and solutions, which rendered negotiations useless.

Erwin said the divide between union leadership and membership had grown. As leaders struck deals with employers and government, members were becoming more and more disenchanted with poor pay increases — their major concern at a time of rising prices and shrinking employment. Whether the union movement would be able to rise to this challenge and mobilise members behind its macroeconomic initiatives remained to be seen. If not, the sophisticated deals struck at leadership level would not stick.

Labour, said Erwin, had accepted that SA's economic woes were based on structural decline. "Re-entry into the world economy exacerbates our

vulnerability to world trends. With the long-term decline in primary product markets and substantial changes in manufactured products markets, SA, which has been isolated from international competition for decades, has to restructure industries to cope with new demands.

"SA is faced with introducing new work organisation and production methods which require higher skills levels and a generic understanding of processes, including technology, numeracy and communications."

During transition, unions' objectives remained the same, but labour had to accept that critical changes were taking place in industry. "To maintain and protect living standards at a time of high unemployment is a *cul de sac*. To retain these issues on the agenda when industries are under severe pressure is defensive and demoralising. And to assume employment patterns are fixed is a serious error."

All parties to the National Economic Forum agreed that economic growth and development had to be tackled at the macro level, and all contributors to the process needed to benefit from the outcome, despite the short-term hardships this would cause, Erwin said.

Erwin said Finance Minister Derek Keys appeared to have accepted the inadequacies of government's traditional "trickle down" approach to economic development. The forum had agreed that growth, democratisation and redistribution could not be separated. This, said Erwin, was the current arena of debate, but considerable progress had been made.

On the issue of increasing capital intensity as a result of labour militancy, Erwin argued wage levels were not the sole determinant of capital expenditure.

Work reorganisation, state subsidies, interest rates and other factors were also relevant, he said. However, he agreed this was a major challenge facing trade unions at a time of high and rising unemployment.

Erwin said one valuable lesson learnt through participation in tripartite forums was that compromise and agreement were possible. "The only way to resolve the problems inherent in a period of reconstruction is through negotiation, participation and democratisation. We must learn to respect each other's positions and reach a compromise."

'US must get ready to lift sanctions'

INDIANAPOLIS — ANC President Nelson Mandela has asked the United States to go on standby and be ready to lift remaining sanctions and start investing in South Africa as soon as he gives the all-clear.

He delivered the message at the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People at the weekend. It was the closest he has come to actually asking America to lift the vestiges of sanctions and begin investing in South Africa.

"We invite the business people to get ready to return. Those who have sanctions on their statute books and those institutions which correctly remain bound by sanction resolutions, should position themselves in such a way that they will be able to remove these restrictions as soon as the democratic movement of our country says that the time to end sanctions has come."

"In the near future, when the matter of the transitional arrangement leading to the holding of free and fair elections has been settled, we shall be calling on the people of the world to end economic sanctions."

"The moment was approaching when the ANC would have to address the burning question of feeding the millions who are hungry, clothing the millions that are naked, accommodating the millions that are homeless and creating jobs for the millions that are unemployed."

Congressional Black Caucus chairman Kweisi Mfume, said afterwards he hoped Mandela's message had gone out loud and clear.

Women's league suspends Winnie for disloyalty

THE ANC Women's League yesterday suspended Winnie Mandela from the organisation for a year.

The league's national executive committee said it had met to take stock of its PWV regional executive committee in the light of it not being properly constituted for the past year. While most members had "abided by the terms of the leadership like loyal cadres... a few throughout the period in question displayed defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the ANC, the league and the entire leadership of the movement".

The national executive committee suggested the activities and utterances of Mandela and four other members, who would also be suspended for a year, had cost the league dearly in financial and political terms.

THE STAR, 12/07/93

BUSINESS DAY, 19/07/93

BUSINESS DAY, 21/07/93

Textile union to support ANC election campaign

CAPE TOWN — The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) agreed at its national congress at the weekend to use its organisational resources on a once-off basis to support the ANC alliance in the forthcoming general elections.

However, this support would be conditional on trade union delegates being fairly represented on the election list and on the inclusion in the election platform of basic worker rights such as the right to belong to trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike.

Sactwu deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel said yesterday that support would also be conditional on certain principles being enshrined in the constitution and in legislation. Provision would have to be made for centralised bargaining and national provident funds in each industry and a system of tripartite decision-making between government, capital and labour.

The congress also called for the termination of Cosatu's political alliance with the ANC and SACP as soon as a new constitution for SA had been agreed upon at a constituent assembly. Patel said this decision was based on Sactwu's commitment to trade union independence and on its

LINDA ENSOR

view that the trade union movement should negotiate with government through tripartite institutions.

Delegates affirmed the right of workers to belong to and vote for the political party of their choice.

The union adopted an economic policy based on principles of co-determination between capital and labour and social equity for workers rather than nationalisation. The policy envisaged the continuation of strong tripartite institutions such as the national economic forum in a democratic SA. Emphasis was placed on self-regulation rather than state regulation.

A coherent development strategy for industry was proposed rather than "big bang" market deregulation, and detailed policy proposals for the clothing, textile and leather industries were adopted. These covered a growth and investment strategy, productivity, training, technology, tariffs, industrial relations and a programme for small and medium enterprise development.

Congress condemned the effort by many black businesses to secure advancement on the basis of past disabilities under apartheid while at the same time exploiting workers and undermining social standards.

Sactwu changed its name to reflect the whole of southern Africa, taking the view that the southern African economy had in practice become a single regional economy and that trade union organisation should mirror this. Trade unions should protect worker rights in all countries in the region.

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that Cosatu circulated an appeal to all affiliates late last week to contribute to its election campaign by paying a once-off levy to the federation.

Cosatu election co-ordinator Jesse Maluleke said this money would be used to fund Cosatu's proposed voter education campaign revolving around workplace training.

Maluleke said the federation would establish an election fund consisting of affiliate levies as well as foreign funding.

He suggested affiliates needed to "discuss how much they can contribute".

On the issue of releasing union leaders for election to political parties, Maluleke said Cosatu envisaged about 20 to 30 leaders being asked to stand for election.

However, no names had been put forward as selection would only take place in August during a special central executive council meeting.

More trouble for Thebe as staff protest

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

A SUBSIDIARY of the controversial Thebe Investment Corporation has retrenched staff — and the workers are now occupying their old offices at the African National Congress's Johannesburg headquarters in protest.

Movement Marketing Enterprises, which sells ANC products such as T-shirts, retrenched about 10 staffers in mid-May. They say they will not leave MME's former office until ANC leaders step in and get them their jobs back.

"We will be occupying the offices until the dispute is handled and we will be toying outside Shell House," they said this week.

This is the latest in a series of controversies involving the investment company, which has strong ANC links. ANC representative Ronnie Mamoea said the organisation did not know anything about the occupation but would investigate.

The retrenched MME staff members have taken their grievances to ANC president Nelson Mandela, vice-president Walter Sisulu, PWV chief Tokyo Sexwale and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and are meeting Sisulu today.

Thebe recently took over a controlling interest in MME from the ANC and implemented a retrenchment programme because the company was losing money. They also moved the administration of the company from the ANC headquarters at Shell House to Thebe's headquarters in central Johannesburg. All that remains at Shell House is the store where T-shirts and other ANC memorabilia is kept. Most of the office furniture and phones have been removed, but the retrenched staffers still come in every day.

They allege that fair retrenchment procedures have not been used. Instead, they charge that favourites have been kept on instead of the company applying the "last in, first out" principle, under which the last person employed is the first to be retrenched. They have, however, received standard retrenchment packages.

An MME representative this week confirmed that Thebe had closed down an early learning project called "Learning Channel" which had already set up a number of learning centres in townships. It has also closed its arts and crafts wing, though this project is still prominently touted in the organisation's glossy publicity document. The schemes still up and running are those which sell ANC memorabilia and a national hawk scheme.

Staff, who would not be identified because they still hold out hopes of being rehired, allege that they are the fall-guys of bad business decisions made by inept and overpaid directors.

Thebe's managing director Vusi Khanyile recently sought legal advice on how to retrench MME's managing director Willie Ramashoba. Ramashoba was earning R17 500 a month but failed to put the company on a profitable footing.

A retrenched staff member said "Ramashoba employed new people at exorbitant salaries but they were not qualified".

Sources call the links between the ANC and Thebe "umbilical" although Thebe is trying hard to distance itself from the ANC.

Khanyile this week said MME was "refocusing and repositioning". He said he had met retrenched employees involved in the Learning Channel project and approved their plans to re-launch the project as a non-governmental organisation.

He had agreed that they could use the Shell House offices which MME leases from the ANC to start the new project.

WEEKLY MAIL,
02 - 08/07/93

BUSINESS DAY, 21/07/93

Call for national worker summit

By FAROUK CHOTHIA: Durban

FLEXING its muscle, the trade union movement in Natal this week called for a national worker summit to discuss strategies to ensure that worker rights are entrenched in a future Bill of Rights and constitution.

This comes against the backdrop of growing fears in the labour movement in the province that worker interests are not only being ignored at the World Trade Centre, but that politicians may also introduce legislation which threatens worker rights.

The Regional Worker Summit, the first of its kind in the country, was attended by about 200 delegates from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the independent unions.

Cosatu head office has been reluctant to call a national worker summit. With Cosatu's Chris Dlamini and Nactu's Cunningham Ngukwana present at their regional summit, Natal leaders hope that their initiative will now win support at head office.

The delegates resolved that their head offices should join hands to convene a national worker summit within three months — before a constitution and a Bill of Rights are finalised at the World Trade Centre.

"There are indications that worker rights are being attacked (at the multi-party negotiating forum). On the issue of centralised bargaining, for example, they want to deregulate it," said Rohan Persad, co-ordinator of

Cosatu's Economic and Development Initiative in southern and northern Natal.

A representative of the independent unions, Kessie Moodley of the National Union of Leatherworkers, said the summit noted that in other African countries liberation movements "eroded" worker rights once they assumed power. He said the negotiation process, and the proposed Bill of Rights, was dominated by debate around regionalism and federalism and addressing minority fears. Worker rights have been placed on the backburner.

"The longer we take to set up a national worker summit and to adopt a workers' charter, the more critical it will become for workers," he said.

Warning that time was running out, Moodley added, "The boat hasn't left the shore yet. We can throw a life raft out to get on board."

Persad said the workers' summit had to address other "unanswered questions" as well, including whether trade union leaders can be allowed to take positions in a new government.

"There is a lot of uneasiness about this, particularly given the history of Africa. We need clarity on the issue," added Persad.

The workers' summit should also look at formulating a national economic restructuring programme in order to ensure there is unity when challenging business and government.

WEEKLY MAIL, 09 - 15/07/93

Mandela-eis oor 14-jariges doodgebore - Jordan

Gallie van Rensburg

TWEE lede van die ANC se nasionale uitvoerende komitee het nou al die oproep van mnr. Nelson Mandela dat veertienjariges moet stem, in die openbaar afgemaak.

Die eis is doodgebore (a dead duck), het dr. Pallo Jordan, die ANC se inligtingshoof, eergisteraand oor die TV-program *Agenda* gesê.

Mnr. Thabo Mbeki, die ANC se direkteur van buitelandse sake, het dieselfde aand in Welkom gesê dit bly ANC-beleid dat stemreg eers op agttien jaar verky kan word.

Dit is spesifieke beleid en dit is ook so aan mnr. Mandela oorgedra. Mnr. Mandela se persoonlike standpunt is egter dat veertienjariges moet stem, het hy gesê.

Toe mnr. Mandela die oproep vir die eerste keer einde Mei gedoen het,

het politieke partye deur die bank kritiek daarop gehad.

Die ANC se nasionale werkkomitee het daarna gesê agttien jaar moet die derdomspersk wees vir stemreg en die ANC se jeugliga wil hê sies die ouderdomspersk wees.

Mandela het sy oproep onlangs herhaal, maar toe gesê hy gaan veg vir stemreg vir veertienjariges in die eerste verkiesing na April 1993.

BEELD, 22/07/93

Ties with tri-partite alliance – unions differ

TWO of Cosatu's biggest affiliates, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) could be heading for a showdown at the federation's special national congress in September.

This is when Cosatu is expected to define its position in relation to the ANC-led tri-partite alliance in the run up to the April 27, 1994 elections and in the post-election period.

Numsa decided at its fourth national congress at the weekend that it would recommend to Cosatu that it severs its ties with the ANC in the post election period and look at the formation of a Working Class Party.

This is the direct opposite of the NUM position, which proposes a continuation of the alliance in the post-election period.

"Once an interim government of national unity is in place, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC, and should rather deal with it through forums such as the National Economic Forum and the National Manpower

Commission," Numsa resolved at the weekend congress.

Numsa's resolution also goes further to suggest that Cosatu should begin to look at strengthening and uniting the working class inside and outside the factories and in urban and rural areas.

"We should do this by looking at new forms of organisation that will unify the working class organisations and parties to take forward a programme to implement socialism. This could take the form of a Working Class Party," the union says in its resolution.

Opposition

It is not clear from the resolution whether such a party would be formed in opposition to the South African Communist Party, historically seen as a Party of the working class.

Although not clear, what seems to be suggested is a move to unify marginal parties on the left such as the Workers Organisation of South Africa, the New

Unity Movement as well as groupings such as the Marxist Workers Tendency.

Proposals for the unification of the left were first floated at Cosatu's policy conference last year. Suggestions that a conference of the left be convened, however, failed to take off.

The NUM envisages that its solidarity pact with the ANC-led alliance provide the basis of a Reconstruction Programme, through which the legacy of apartheid can be addressed.

Delegates to the union's three-day Central Committee meeting in Pretoria, early this year, also decided that the reconstruction accord should ensure that workers' rights as embodied in the Workers' Charter be "protected and guaranteed by an ANC government".

Numsa also resolved that it would persuade people to vote for the alliance on the basis that the alliance offers policies which will satisfy the "needs of all our people for basic goods and services and for non-racial democracy and peace".

With elections on the horizon, bound to get off to

a feverish start within weeks, there is a growing urgency within Cosatu and its affiliates to finalise an election manifesto.

In a manifesto debated at Numsa's congress at the weekend, areas such as the government service and spending, the public sector, services for the country's people as well as poverty and unemployment are targeted for specific attention.

In the area of service, Numsa's proposal for an election manifesto commits the ANC to a housing programme that will provide at least one million units by 1999 and a further 1.5-million units by the year 2004.

It also commits the government to rebuilding the national health service (NHS) and initiate moves to reverse the trend towards private medicine.

"The cost of this service will be paid for by means of a National Health Insurance.

"The unemployed, the young and elderly will obtain full health benefits without cost," Numsa's manifesto says.

NEW NATION, 09 - 15/07/93

To arms, Winnie urges mourners

Own Correspondent

Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Benny Alexander and SA National Council of Civics Organisation executive member Winnie Mandela yesterday called on Vaal Triangle people to "take up arms" to defend themselves.

Speaking to about 1500 mourners at the funeral of 11 victims of attacks in Sebokeng, Alexander said: "It is not wrong for us to arm and defend ourselves. Violence is part of the regime's low-intensity war against the residents."

"One of the most amazing things about this violence is the silence being shown by the Western countries. We have noted their hypocrisy," he said.

Alexander said attacks on residents of Vaal Triangle townships had once again highlighted "the need for joint con-

trol of the security forces".

He said residents should avoid avenging attacks by "killing the innocent" and expressed disappointment at the low turnout at the funeral.

When Mandela addressed the people, she led them in the war song: *Isibamo sa la bafana si nkhombeza eAngola* (These fellows' machine guns remind me of Angola).

She warned that if democratic elections were not held by April it "would be a very sorry day for South Africa".

She said Sanco agreed with the PAC when it came to the defence of the people.

"Arm yourselves," she said to a roar of approval.

Mandela also criticised the US for giving the Liberty Award jointly to President de Klerk and her estranged husband, Nelson Mandela.

THE STAR, 12/07/93

ANC sets up branch in squatter camp

Staff Reporter

An ANC branch was launched in the Zevenfontein squatter settlement north of Johannesburg yesterday.

About 500 enthusiastic supporters gathered at a local dusty football field for the launch.

The community is at the centre of a legal wrangle between authorities trying to decide its fate.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) has decided to relocate the set-

tlement in Diepsloot, north-west of Johannesburg.

However, the move has been delayed by the Diepsloot Residents' and Landowners' Association which has taken legal action to stop the relocation.

Meanwhile, the Chartwell North Action Group has also sought legal help to evict Zevenfontein residents from the present site.

The TPA is manning entrances to the settlement to ensure that no additional shacks are built.

THE STAR, 12/07/93

Urban blacks favour Slovo

SACP chairman Joe Slovo has emerged as the second most popular political leader among metropolitan blacks in the latest Markinor Gallup poll.

Survey results released yesterday show that Slovo's support was nearly doubled from 15 percent in May last year to 27 per cent in the latest poll, which was conducted among 800 whites and 1 000 blacks during April and May.

"It seems that for metropolitan blacks, the gap left by Chris Hani has, at least for the time being, been filled by Joe Slovo," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's support as first choice among blacks increased from 65 to 70 percent. Significantly, white support for the ANC leader increased from 1 percent in May 1992 to 3 percent in the current survey.

The latest results also show that President de Klerk's support among white respondents is down from 70 percent last May to 46 percent.

Support for Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained constant at 4 percent among blacks and 25 percent among whites. — Sapa.

THE STAR, 16/07/93

Free political say for farm workers

THE ANC Youth League has resolved to call on farmers to create a climate of free political activity to allow political organisations to organise farm workers.

The resolution was adopted during the ANCYL regional conference at Mawhelereng on Sunday and was outlined during yesterday's Press briefing by spokesman Mr Charles Sekoati.

Sekoati said while the regional ANC leadership had lost political command in the region, farmers and chiefs were organising black people for "historically reactionary parties" such as the National Party. "It has come to our realisation that farmers are gambling with the lives of our people working on the farms. There is no free political activity on the farms."

The ANCYL also resolved that local chiefs should stop organising for political parties as they were supposed to be above party politics. The warning followed the role traditional leaders played during the National Party's rally in Pietersburg on June 19 this year.

Gwala urges people to carry arms

PIETERMARITZBURG. — ANC Natal Midlands chairman and hardliner Harry Gwala yesterday urged people to defend themselves and to carry firearms, even if unlicensed.

Mr Gwala told mourners attending the funeral of 10 victims of violence at Ezakheni,

near Ladysmith, that MK was not solely responsible for people's defence.

He claimed the massacre in the township's E-Section two weeks ago was part of a nationwide campaign of destabilisation. — Sapa

PRETORIA NEWS, 19/07/93

SOWETAN, 15/07/93

Mandela lets slip the gentle mask of reconciliation

BUSINESS DAY,
13/07/93

LAST May, Namibian President Sam Nujoma visited Washington with a substantial delegation, and became the first African leader to pay an official call on President Bill Clinton. It was widely judged to have been a successful trip. An important reason was that Nujoma had taken care to include in his party members of the opposition. Washington's Africanists were treated to a rare, and convincing, display of reconciliation in action. People were impressed.

Many had hoped for a similar display when ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk came to collect their freedom medals earlier this month. The hope was perhaps excessive. Namibians have long since passed through the sound barrier of their first election and have come to terms with the radically different dynamics that lie on the other side. In SA it is still April 1989, Namibia time.

Nonetheless, there was something distinctly unnerving about Mandela's demeanour here. Far more was expected of him than ever was of Nujoma and his colleagues at the equivalent period, and he himself had done much to raise those expectations. His pre-trip interview with *Fortune* magazine, for example, evidenced a degree of statesmanship, and an openness to pragmatic compromise, that rose far above partisan conflict. "Let us build a new SA," he said, "where there will be peace and mutual confidence among population groups. ... We are saying let bygones be bygones."

This was not the Mandela who toured the US for the past fortnight. The Mandela Americans have seen has appeared less concerned with constructing a new and successful democracy than with raw power and its acquisition.

To be sure, this has thrilled those who the ANC sees as its natural American constituency (and who in turn see Mandela as some kind of perfect saviour). And it would not be altogether unnatural if he has felt tempted (with or without a little prodding from communications director Pallo Jordan) to play to the groundlings.

But these are the people least in need of mobilising (except perhaps when it comes to lifting state and local sanctions, something for which Mandela was decidedly not asking). The more important target audience, by far, were those to whom Mandela seemed to be addressing himself in the *Fortune* interview: the investors, bankers and other decision makers still in need of convincing that SA is not going to be another Angola but rather a bigger and better Namibia.

Everyone recognises that Mandela has a right to despise De Klerk and the NP, but his international stature, and the world's hopes for his country, rest in large measure on the fact that he has chosen instead to be magnanimous.

However, his performance over the past fortnight has been such as to cast doubt on whether he has really made that choice.

It is entirely understandable that he did not wish to use his joint appearances with De Klerk to grant him absolution. In power terms, that might have levelled the field a little too much, and would not have played well back home among those who already sniff betrayal.

But surely, and however much some of his hosts were pressing for photo opportunities to serve their own agendas, his purpose could have been fully served simply by his maintaining a proper and dignified distance.

There was nothing wrong in turning down an invitation to appear with De Klerk at the National Press Club, but the White House should have been notified well in advance that a joint session in the Rose Garden was not on and that Clinton's meetings with the two leaders should be scheduled, if not on separate days, then certainly not back to back. For that opened the way for what the Press, starved of more solid fare, was bound to interpret as a snub.

Which, it now seems clear, is precisely what Mandela and his advisers intended: they were out to humiliate De Klerk and to remind the world who really was in charge. An important question is whether this is what the world wants to hear as it ponders its next moves towards SA.

Of course, De Klerk got his licks in too, but he did so more subtly. His effort to position himself as the champion of American constitutional values and principles was well executed. (Mandela quite shrewdly countered by quoting Frederick Douglass on the constitution's lacunae in his medal acceptance speech.) More provocative was De Klerk's use of the IMF. By dangleing the possibility of SA getting a \$850m loan before Christmas, he was casting the sanctions-fixated ANC as irresponsible spoilers who put party before country.

Mandela's response — essentially to say that De Klerk and his government had no business talking to the international financial institutions, for this was the ANC's prerogative — was disproportionate, as if he had been caught off guard and was lashing back.

But in retrospect it appears to have been more than a one-off counterattack and rather part of a concerted strategy to revile and belittle an electoral opponent.

Now that an election date has been all but set in stone, Mandela seems to

have taken off the gloves. De Klerk, he has been saying at almost every opportunity, is "illegitimate", "totally irrelevant", and dishonest (the SABC board affair being an example), to boot. Nor has he limited his venom to the President. The Friday before the Philadelphia award, he had a savage go at Mangosuthu Buthelezi, too, declaring him in effect a traitor to his race. The Inkatha leader, he told an audience that had come to hear him speak on freedom of the Press, wanted "to be ruled by whites".

Mandela may feel that such rhetoric is good for raising funds, but there is clearly more to it than that. Indeed it is difficult not to conclude that, having obtained an election date, the ANC leader has decided there is no real need for further compromise or conciliation: the overriding objective must be simply to rally the troops, fill the campaign coffers (with the help of foreign donors lulled into the cosy belief they are financing non-partisan voter education), and go all out for the biggest margin of victory possible so as to minimise the role of other players in the promised government of national unity afterwards.

That, at any rate, is the logic of how Mandela has been comporting himself over here. Perhaps, when he returns home, he will return to earth also and recognise that the election will be worthless if all it succeeds in doing is further sundering an already divided country.

Shortly after the collapse of Codesa II last year, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa briefed the executives of several trade unions on what had happened. He mentioned that some of his colleagues had been comparing notes with Swapo. The Namibian comrades said they were glad they had not won enough votes to ram through their own constitution because it was essential that opposition forces had a sense of authorship, too.

The fruits of that wisdom were on display when Nujoma came to town last May. Will they be on display again if President Mandela comes back here a year hence?

Mandela call for peace corps

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has proposed that an armed youth peace corps be established to be deployed in unrest areas.

Speaking yesterday on his 75th birthday at an ANC youth rally in Soweto, Mr Mandela

said the peace corps should comprise youths of all political persuasions.

Members should be trained and armed, and patrol unrest areas. It would be the duty of the government to pay salaries to members of such a corps.

The ANC leader said it was only a proposal and youths would have to decide for themselves whether they wanted to form such a peace force.

Mr Mandela repeated a recent call for youths to be disciplined and warned against criminal behaviour. — Sapa.

'Poised between hope and ruin'

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa believes South Africa stands today at the crossroads between hope and ruin. Only a new offensive against violence will be enough to safeguard the "spectacular" political gains made in multi-party talks.

He says there are strong reasons for believing the election could be threatened by unprecedented violence — but that if this can be prevented, the installation of the transitional executive council will trigger a wave of optimism among all South Africans.

This next step in the transition — the halfway mark — would cause "a new atmosphere to blow through the whole social fabric", he said.

In an interview in which he assessed the state of the nation, Ramaphosa also said a new government would make a crackdown on crime one of its highest priorities, and that there were reasons for all South Africans to be hopeful about a better future, irrespective of their beliefs or social positions.

He said the time had come for party-political differences to be set aside in the national interest.

Ramaphosa was optimistic that a political settlement could be reached next month. He also proposed multiparty peace-keeping structures, to be put in place this year.

He spoke about the resistance to the transition of the Concerned South Africans Group, saying everything possible had to be done to make Cosag part of the settlement.

All "reasonable concerns" would be addressed seriously, he said.

SEE FULL STORY

ON P26

THE STAR, 19/07/93

CITIZEN, 19/07/93

ANC & ALLIANCE - FOCUS

'Kill the boer' coolly received at ANC launch

POTCHESTROOM. — Stern silence greeted the African National Congress Youth League's controversial "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant yesterday afternoon at the launch of two ANC branches in the Coloured and Indian communities in Potchestroom.

About 275 ANC members from Mohadin and Promosa townships did not respond when local Youth League leader, Mr. Itumeleng Mosala began the chant.

ANC national executive committee member and former Rivonia trialist Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, urged students to

attend school under all circumstances so that the country did not produce semi-literate leaders.

Referring to his experiences on Robben Island, he said he worked eight hours a day with a pick and shovel, but was able to study after work.

"(ANC) President Nelson Mandela made all leaders study in prison after an eight-hour working day so that they could serve the people better on their release."

Mr. Kathrada, speaking on the 30th anniversary of his arrest for ANC underground work in 1963, and on Mr. Mandela's 75th birthday, said: "The big-

gest and best birthday present for Nelson Mandela would be to make him the first president of a new and non-racial South Africa."

A crucial time lay ahead, he said, and elections in April would decide the country's future.

He implored the Coloured and Indian communities to get off the fence and throw their weight behind the ANC.

"Elections mean hard work, discipline and unity. There must be no intimidation of people. We must not force people, but must convince them by reasonable arguments to vote for the ANC." — Sapa.

CITIZEN 19/07/93

Dissent in ANC ranks

ANC Southern Free State regional leaders said in Bloemfontein yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago. — Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.

SOWETAN,
21/07/93

Don't leave country, Mandela asks whites

By Helen Grange

ANC leader Nelson Mandela used his colourful 75th birthday party on Saturday night at the Carlton hotel to allay white fears and instil investment confidence.

The party, which raised more than R600 000 by selling seats at R500 each and an after-dinner auction of French wine and 10 "Nelson Mandela commemorative gold coins", was a spectacular, musical occasion attended by businessmen, politicians and diplomats.

Mandela, in a speech clearly directed at quelling white anxiety about the future, told the 720 guests: "I am appealing to whites not to desert us ... not to leave South Africa at this critical moment."

"The world is with us. If we have confidence in

ourselves, in our country, in our future, we are bound to succeed in all our efforts because the goodwill for South Africa is so strong, you can cut it with a knife," he said.

Mandela said the United States was developing "a number of initiatives" and aid of not less than "\$300m" had been provided for in recent draft legislation.

US finance minister Ron Brown was also planning to visit South Africa to see what the US could do to help attract investment, he said.

Mandela said the ANC stood for regular elections and proportional representation. He pledged: "I will use all my strength to bring about peace, democracy and justice for all in our country."

The ANC would agree to lifting sanctions, pos-

sibly before the end of August, he said.

Mandela, clearly enjoying the traditional African entertainment provided by Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Si-bongile Khumalo among others, was accompanied by his grand-niece Rachel Mthirara. Next to him sat veteran politician Helen Suzman and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki kept guests laughing with references to himself as US comedian Bill Cosby and a quip directed at ANC Youth League Peter Mokaba before the young firebrand took the podium: "We had to go through his script beforehand."

Mokaba took the opportunity to make Mandela honorary life president of the ANC Youth League.

THE STAR, 19/07/93

ANC 'sal KP en IVP deel van proses probeer hou'

Politieke Redaksie

KAAPSTAD. — Ondanks al die "provokasie" deur die Konserwatiewe Party en die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty, sal die ANC hulle probeer intrek by die grondwetlike onderhandelingsproses, het mnr. Carl Niehaus, amp-telike woordvoerder van die ANC, gister gesê.

Mnr. Niehaus het op 'n ANC-vergadering in Mitchellsplein verwys na die KP se onttrekking aan die veelparty-onderhandelinge en die dreigemente van hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leier van die IVP, om 'n alternatiewe onderhandelings- 'orum te stig.

Die ANC sal die KP en IVP deel

van die onderhandelingsproses probeer hou, "want ons wil 'n demokratiese regering kry". Maar die ANC sal hom nie laat stuit op sy pad nie. "Die trein loop," het hy gesê.

Die ANC "gee aan die Regering kennis": hy sal nie toelaat dat verreges die land "omverwerp" deur dat die Regering nie beheer oor die Polisie wil uitoefen nie.

Dr. Allan Boesak, Wes-Kaaplandse leier van die ANC, het op dieselfde vergadering gesê hy wil aan mnr. Buthelezi sê: of hy gaan sit in 'n hoek en suig 'n fopspeen, of hy word groot en gedra hom soos iemand wat waardig is om aan die onderhandelinge deel te neem.

● Mnr. Danie Schutte, Minister van Binnelandse Sake en NP-voorsit-

ter in Natal, het sy steun uitgespreek vir die IVP se aandrang dat Natal/KwaZulu sy eie grondwet moet kry.

Hy het Saterdag op 'n NP-kongres op plaaslike regering in Pietermaritzburg gesê Natal/KwaZulu moet sy eie grondwet kry wat erkenning aan die Zoeloe-koning en die Zoeloe-koninkryk gee. Hoe gouer so 'n grondwet ontwerp word, des te beter. Dit sal stabiliteit bring.

Die IVP se voorgestelde grondwet maak net voorsiening vir die erkenning van tradisionele en kulturele strukture. "Dit is nie goed genoeg nie. Die Zoeloe-koning-en-koninkryk is so belangrik dat hy spesifieke erkenning en magte in 'n grondwet vir Natal/KwaZulu moet kry."

BEELD, 19/07/93

MK in a difficult position

Incorporating MK into the SADF is a necessary but not easily accomplished task, reports GARNER THOMSON from London

INTEGRATING the military wing of the ANC into the South African Defence Force may be a political imperative on the road to democracy, but it will be far from easy, Jane's Defence Weekly warns this week.

The influential military journal foresees few problems in incorporating the armed forces of the four "independent states", largely because they share the same organisation, training and administration as the SADF.

"Umkhonto we Sizwe's position is less straightforward, chiefly as a result of it not being a regular army in any form," it adds.

"Unlike Swapo and the guerillas who fought the Rhodesian forces, MK was never able to conduct actual guerilla operations. It largely concentrated on the urban

'armed propaganda' style of insurgency. Its training and organisation were optimised for this role, and its personnel generally lack experience of anything else."

This, says the journal, puts MK in a difficult position regarding the SADF and the armies of the "independent states".

"It is a totally different force with no real similarity to a regular defence force. It has few elements that can readily or usefully be incorporated into South African forces. Much of its training is hardly relevant to regular armed forces and most is based on Soviet doctrine, of little relevance in Western-orientated armed forces such as the SADF. Few of its personnel have experience relevant to serving in regular armed forces." — Foreign Service.

PRETORIA NEWS, 23/07/93

ANC challenges King

THE ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and has bluntly called on the king "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

In what amounts to an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC southern Natal spokesman Mr. Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's King's Park Stadium, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected for their deeds," Makhaye said.

He said the ANC was "shocked" by Zwelithini's manipulation, which the IFP had done "in all its military intelligence-sponsored rallies".

According to Makhaye, the IFP had called the King's Park Stadium rally in the guise of a Zulu "imbizo" because it was acutely aware of its lack of support among "patriotic Zulus".

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini told the gathering that there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Annihilation of KwaZulu

Addressing an estimated 30 000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to "protest at the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu".

Makhaye said Sunday's rally would go down in history "as the day on which Zulu pride was desecrated and stabbed in the belly".

"The great Zulu kings like Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo must be turning in their graves, for if they were alive today they would be at the forefront of those demanding an immediate date for elections."

SOWETAN 13/07/93

CONTINUE ON P 24

State President De Klerk and **Nelson Mandela** jointly received the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in the US.

The **NP** criticised **Nelson Mandela's** rude style and remarks made in the **US** as damaging to his stature and showing his inability to function as a South African leader and not merely a party-political leader.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (**Numsa**) called on **Cosatu** to discontinue its alliance with the **ANC** after the election and to establish a workers' party that might challenge the **ANC**. **Saccawu** and **Sactwu** soon followed suit.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk of the **NP** said the warmongering of **Toni Yengeni** of the **ANC**, showed that there is a faction in the **ANC** that should more probably belong to the **PAC**.

The **ANC** held out a hand of friendship to the **Afrikaners**, inviting them to join the **ANC** in the search for true democracy.

Beeld called on all **South African leaders** for the cessation of damaging politicking and a start to the building of a government of **national unity**.

Regional leaders of the **IFP** and **ANC** agreed to meet for bilateral talks in a bid to end the violence in the East Rand townships.

The **AVF** asked for time to consult with the "Afrikaner-Boerevolk" before deciding on the **borders** for a new South Africa.

King Goodwill Zwelethini said the Zulu-nation now requires an unconditional guarantee from **President De Klerk** that he will not be part of any scheme aimed at dissolving the kingdom of KwaZulu.

Olaus van Zyl said the **NP** might decide to finalise its list of candidates for the new parliament only after the election.

Peter Mokaba of the **ANCYL** said in a TV talk show that the **ANC** regards **negotiations** as part of the struggle to wrest power from the "illegitimate" government.

President De Klerk said the **NP** must secure a **constitution** granting full democratic rights to all South Africans.

Thebe Investment Corporation, the main multi-million rand business wing of the **ANC** hierarchy, was reported to be in financial trouble.

At the **NP's** federal youth congress **President De Klerk** said the **communists** have secured **key posts** in the **ANC** structures and the **ANC** should rid itself from this albatross around its neck.

Nelson Mandela had a highly successful fund-raising tour in the **US** where he concentrated on black church leaders and Hollywood glitterati.

The **Goldstone Commission** recommended that public authorities and the **SAP** should not in future rely on assurances as to the conduct of **AWB** members, after their invasion of the World Trade Centre.

Nelson Mandela told a **youth gathering** that they must get an education as the **ANC** wants to appoint them to prominent positions, not because they are black but because they are qualified.

A **Markinor** poll showed that **Nelson Mandela's** support among whites and urban blacks has increased - probably due to his conduct after the Hani assassination. The poll also showed that 52% blacks and 56% whites believe that all races are positive about the future.

Large companies have indicated that they will not be giving **financial support** to any **political party** but will be willing to donate towards **voter education**.

Contralesa said that if **redistribution** of State land does not meet the needs of disadvantaged people, private land should be expropriated.

Thabo Mbeki disclosed that **sanctions** will be lifted in August.

The white right wing **Iron, Steel and Allied Workers Union** called Tito Mboweni's proposal for a **reconstruction levy** "racist" and warned that it "may lead to unrest and violence in the labour field".

An **HSRC survey** showed that endemic violence could distort **elections** and spark a violent backlash.

The first draft of the **Interim Constitution** received a mixed reaction.

Sacob assessed the cost of wiping out black-white inequalities in a **post-apartheid** society at R40 billion.

Allan Boesak urged schoolchildren to chant "**De Klerk is a skelm**".

Prof. **Hermann Giliomee** of UCT said the **ANC** gives the impression in its election campaign that it wants to go it alone in a **future government**, only co-opting some NP and IFP figures, rather than sharing power with these parties.

The entire executive of the **ANC's Western Transvaal** regional branch was fired after allegations of corruption.

Azasm started its **campaign** to drive away **white teachers** from black schools.

President De Klerk said it was his highest priority to force **violence levels** lower.

Cosatu formally launched its **voter education** campaign for workers, intending to extend it to families, the unemployed, domestics and farmworkers.

Gilbert Sineke of the PAC stated that unlicensed guns should be handed to **Apla**. The **NP** called this "arrogant and audacious".

American historian **Dr. Samuel Huntington** said military generals in South Africa have to be cultivated and non-violence must become the rallying cry.

The **ANCWL** extended the suspension of **Winnie Mandela** and four others because of "disloyalty", for another year.

Markinor found that **Joe Slovo** is now the second most popular leader among urban blacks, after Nelson Mandela.

The **government** announced a multi-million rand plan in a bid to curb the spiralling **violence**.

Army general **Georg Meiring** was appointed chief of the **SADF** in succession to General Kat Liebenberg.

Chief Buthelezi said it was futile for his party to return to the talks now that **Cyril Ramaphosa** and **Nelson Mandela** had stated that the process will continue without the IFP.

An **ANC branch** was launched without incident at the **University of Pretoria**.

President **Lucas Mangope** warned that his government will "ensure" that all public- and private-sector employees who are **ANC** members are dismissed.

FROM P21

SA's regional diversity is now recognised to be such that few argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively on centralised control. Regionalism has become the political buzzword among almost all political parties.

What is striking about political shifts on the regional tier is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned different parties' regional visions have become. This rapidly derived consensus appears to be linked to the perceived urgent political need to reincorporate the homelands into SA. A further point is the perception that at least a rudimentary level of institutional capacity and development competence lies in homeland and provincial bureaucracies.

One of the primary problems in the regional debate has been the conflation of regional issues with ethnicity and development issues. These inter-relationships were, of course, deliberately emphasised during the period of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Suspicion on the part of many opponents of the NP government, that regional-federalism would mean the perpetuation of the homeland divisions and "ethnic regionalism", has been considerable.

However, the NP's recent proposals do not have a strong ethnic format. In practice, there are few proposed regions which would have a clear ethno-linguistic identity. The principal exceptions are:

- The western Cape where Afrikaans is spoken by a clear majority;
- The Transkei/Border/eastern Cape region where Xhosa is dominant; and
- Natal, where Zulu is the obviously dominant language.

These three regions survive in basic form irrespective of the various border configurations envisaged by the ANC and NP. In the rest of SA, ethno-linguistic diversity makes it difficult to distinguish a clear majority identity in any one of them, although an Afrikaans/Tswana alliance in the NP's north-west region is possible.

One of the implicit assumptions of those critical of a regional-federal constitutional framework has been that such a framework would exacerbate SA's high levels of regional

Regionalism poses no threat to an ANC govt's hegemony

inequality in development. Samir Amin, writing in the socialist journal *Work In Progress*, has suggested that federalism seems to be part of Western capitalist strategy to divide the solidarity of the working classes, to believe that under regional-federalism much of the decision-making and financial responsibilities will be transferred from the central level to the "states" or "provinces".

In that case, even if no geographic area with a white majority can be drawn into existence, there will be "rich" and "poor" states. This division will enable the minimal concessions that are required to align a new black political bourgeoisie with the continuation of the system.

The association between race, region, and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident. As early as 1970, Prof Denis Fair of Wits University observed that areas of greatest prosperity were those with the highest percentage of black working class. In addition, SA's ethnic complexity has now been so thoroughly scrambled by urbanisation that it is hard to find a link between ethnicity, race, and regional income inequality.

Nevertheless, regional income inequalities remain (see report below).

In terms of political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns — the western Cape, the northern Cape/northwest region and Natal.

The ANC's prospects appear weakest in the western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54% of potential voters supported the NP and only 15% the ANC. In the northern Cape/northwest it would appear that ANC support is stronger but not sufficient for an outright majority. The NP and its allies could dominate regional government there.

In Natal, ANC support is estimated by the HSRC at only 21% and here, if the HSRC figures are correct, an Inkatha/NP combination could muster a majority of votes.

In all other regions the ANC is likely to dominate the regional tier. Fairly high levels of devolution of powers of revenue-raising and regional responsibility for spending, therefore, need not threaten the ANC's dominance of the national economy. The ANC would almost certainly retain control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, and would likely also control important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

So, even if the pattern of events in the western Cape or Natal should not be to the liking of the ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options. It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural, trading and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong "disciplinary" influence upon any regional "rebelliousness" in Natal and/or the western Cape.

In contrast, carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies designed by possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition. For example, if the ANC attempted strong redistributive measures, through the political centre and through its control over several regions, it might be possible for more market-oriented or conservative taxation policies in Natal or the western Cape to attract to those regions greater local and international investment.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional-federalism unless it is likely to lose the political centre. The NP's recent conversion

to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor — the ANC. That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of a historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the perception that strong regional government can coincide with ethnic balkanisation and a political coalition-building strategy based upon the maximisation of the divisiveness of ethnicity.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur. Fiscal transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities under almost any boundary scenario.

Moreover, it will be necessary to decide how significant regional divisions really are to the reconstruction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents. These are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move away from political coalition building and servicing of constituencies, and move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenge of urban and rural reconstruction.

BUSINESS DAY,
08/07/93

ANC proposes eight regions for elections

THE African National Congress has proposed a new regional dispensation of eight regions for elections in its proposals submitted yesterday to the multi-party commission on the Demarcation of Regions.

The eight regions proposed are:

- The Western Cape which will include as its northern and eastern boundaries the magisterial districts of Namakwa, Kenhardt, Prieska, Hopetown, Philipstown, Colesberg, Noupoot.

Richmond, Murraysburg, Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, Uniondale and Knysna;

- The Northern Cape including the western districts of Bophuthatswana and the Western Transvaal including the rest of Bophuthatswana not within the Orange Free State or PWV regions;

- The OFS including Qwa Qwa and the Thabane district of Bophuthatswana following 1910 boundaries;

- The Eastern Cape

and Border including Ciskei and Transkei and East Griqualand following 1910 boundaries;

- Natal including KwaZulu;

- The Eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane;

- The Northern Transvaal including Lebowa, GaZankulu and Venda;

- The PWV region including KwaNdebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele districts of Bophuthatswana. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 07/07/93

No direct funding for ANC

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC will not be receiving corporate donations raised by the SA Free Election Fund, a spokesman for the fund said.

The fund, which hopes to raise at least \$10m in corporate donations for voter education and related projects, has registered with the Internal Revenue Service as an apolitical charity so that donations will be tax deductible.

To maintain that status, spokesman David Andelman of the PR firm Burson-Marsteller — who is serving the fund on a pro bono basis, and also to avoid having to register as a foreign agent — said the SA Free Election Fund had to ensure that it was not officially associated with the ANC, and could not raise money directly for it.

The fund is being run by Kennedy clansman Theodore Sorenson from his New

York law firm, and its board includes retired former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, former World Bank president Robert McNamara and former UN ambassador Andrew Young.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has left it unclear whether he is seeking money for the ANC or for non-partisan voter education. After meeting US President Bill Clinton last Friday, he said he had raised "the question of assistance from the US government to ensure the victory of democracy".

Asked on Saturday whether this meant direct funding for the ANC, he said: "We cannot ask the US government to support any single political party. What we are interested in is resources to conduct voter education campaigns."

BUSINESS DAY, 07/07/93

Business joins ANC in bid to lure investors

THE ANC has invited SA business to join forces with it in hammering out a strategy for foreign investment — a move aimed at presenting a united front to US investors later this year.

The ANC initiated discussions with business at a conference in Johannesburg yesterday which was attended by major corporations, institutional investors, banks and stockbrokers, including Anglo American, Sanlam, Old Mutual and Absa.

ANC economics head Trevor Manuel said: "We must work together to show SA is a tradeable and marketable product. The ANC invites everyone interested to join in the process over the next couple of weeks."

He endorsed a suggestion by a working group at the conference to form a representative steering committee as a matter of urgency to establish "a platform to market SA as an investment destination".

The urgency arose because a series of conferences spotlighting SA as a trade and investment partner for the US will be held from September in the US and Cape Town. Manuel said the contact with US businessmen presented "a window of opportunity" which SA should utilise by being prepared and demonstrating a united front.

Yesterday's conference took place against a backdrop of political stalemate, which Manuel said was delaying the ANC's call for a lifting of sanctions. A foreign investment strategy would be implemented only after a lifting of sanctions.

Former Perm MD Bob Tucker, reporting back for the working group that proposed forming a committee, said the priority would be to define the range of

GRETA STEYN

investments that could be promoted as a joint effort between the ANC and business.

"The platform for investment should define the range where we all agree to go out and market SA. It should exclude extreme positions on the left and right." An example of extreme left, he said, would be investments that were aimed only at social upliftment without providing a return to the investor. It would be up to the committee to set benchmarks, leaving a range where business and the ANC could work together in partnership to promote investments. However, there should be no policy to stop South Africans from marketing investments outside the defined range.

The foreign investment platform would also take up economic policies that affected foreign investment with policymakers.

Manuel emphasised that "social investments" and commercial investments should not be two separate categories. However, it was not ANC policy to prevent foreign investments that might not meet certain social criteria.

Suggestions were put forward by stockbrokers Simpson McKie, the LOA's independent development unit and consultants Alexander Forbes. It was also noted that an interest rate fund in the same stable as the equity-based Community Growth Fund would be started up by Old Mutual. Other issues that were discussed included currency risk and the role of the financial rand as deterrents to investment, the need for government guarantees and the profile of SA's institutional borrowers.

BUSINESS DAY, 21/07/93

ANC to show 'most Zulus want elections, united SA'

DURBAN — The ANC is to host a major rally in Natal in September to show that the majority of Zulus support a united SA as well as April elections.

The ANC said this was a direct challenge to the Inkatha Freedom Party and its claims that most Zulus wanted a federal Natal state.

ANC regional chairman Jeff Radebe said at an ANC peace summit in Durban yesterday that the rally, at a date yet to be decided, would draw thousands of Zulus from throughout Natal who would endorse next year's election date and the demand for a united SA.

"ANC southern Natal is ready to contest free and fair elections. We are prepared to govern. We are determined to move forward towards freedom and to overcome whatever obstacles anti-democrats put in our way."

He said King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Nelson Mandela would be invited to address the rally.

ANC southern Natal secretary S'bu Ndebele said Inkatha was mixing the issues of the Zulu kingdom with the KwaZulu "bantustan" for political gain. The kingdom would always be a powerful part of SA while the homeland, an apartheid creation, had to be dismantled.

However, while the ANC was ready to campaign for elections, regional organiser Bheki Cele, complaining that some chiefs were full-time Inkatha organisers, said political activity was not free in rural Natal.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela would discuss this with the king. "Chiefs must be above politics," he said. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, 26/07/93

Mandela seeks R5-m in UK

LONDON. — ANC president Nelson Mandela issued a personal appeal to Britons yesterday to donate £1 million (R5 million) to help his African National Congress contest South Africa's first all-race elections next April.

"Right now we have an urgent problem — we do not have enough money to fight this election," Mr Mandela said in a full-page appeal published in the Guardian newspaper.

"You can help our struggle today by telling me that we can count on your support," he said in his appeal. "I am asking you, right now, to support the campaign."

A London-based ANC spokesman said the British campaign, called Votes for Freedom, was part of a wider fund-raising effort launched by Mr Mandela in the United States. The ANC hoped to raise more than \$40 million (R132 million).

The ANC office would assess the response to yesterday's appeal before planning further newspaper advertisements or other fund-raising activities.

"We've had quite a number of phone calls so far, so there's certainly a lot of interest," he said.

Mr Mandela said he wanted financial support to help train volunteers, equip regional offices and establish a

communications network.

The National Party had huge funding advantages over the ANC.

"The National Party are a minority, but they have the money. These people have access to enormous wealth and still control the machinery of government in South Africa," said Mr Mandela.

"If you really want democracy for South Africa — and many have suffered and died for that dream — then do not be lulled into a false sense of security. The result of this election is by no means a foregone conclusion."

The ANC's grassroots "must now learn, instantly, a whole new language — the grammar and syntax of democracy".

Mr Mandela wrote that millions would be needed to open 94 offices, train 210 000 election volunteers, purchase bicycles and motorbikes, establish phone-and-facsimile networks, and direct constituency research in preparation for the April election. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

BEELD, 23/07/93



Só sien die Sowetan van 20 Julie die huidige stand van sake by die onderhandelingsstafel.

ANC 'NOT AGAINST ZULU KING'

But KwaZulu must go

THE African National Congress was not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom, but was fighting to dismantle all apartheid-created structures, including KwaZulu and its Legislative Assembly, the ANC's three Natal regions said yesterday.

"The Zulu kingdom, like all others, will thrive under a democratic South Africa."

The statement comes after accusations levelled at the ANC and the government by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi that attempts were being made to "annihilate" KwaZulu and marginalise the Zulu nation at the multi-party negotiations.

Political sources said yesterday the Zulu king's future position was assured in terms of agreements already reached in the negotiations, and further discussions would be held to eliminate misunderstandings.

Both the government and the Democratic Party said there was a clear difference between the KwaZulu Government, which was set up under apartheid legislation, and the historic Zulu kingdom, which was a non-geographic reality.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said the government was still en-

gaged in bilateral talks with the IFP and KwaZulu Government on a number of issues, including negotiations and the constitutional future.

The matters raised by King Zwelithini at his public meeting last weekend would be on the agenda.

"The ANC cannot be accused of trying to dismantle the Zulu kingdom. Democracy will restore their dignity and will end their manipulation by apartheid," said Natal ANC spokesman, Dumisani Makhaye.

"Zulus have always been part of South Africa and the struggle for national liberation. No force on earth will succeed, in trying to isolate and quarantine any section of South Africans."

The ANC again accused Inkatha of manipulating the Zulu monarch by calling rallies in the name of King Zwelithini. Sunday's rally was announced as an "Imbizo", a Zulu gathering called by the king. It was, however, first publicised by Chief Buthelezi in his capacity as KwaZulu Chief Minister.

"The IFP, knowing its lack of support among patriotic Zulu-speaking South Africans, decided to call the rally in the name of His Majesty. It decided to con the people by calling its rally a Zulu Imbizo."

Mr Makhaye charged that the IFP's vigorous

opposition to elections for a constituent assembly was an admission that it was an insignificant political minority.

"The ANC cannot be blamed for this. It is its chequered history and its continued collusion with the most reactionary sections of the White establishment that must be blamed."

While recognising the king's right to be briefed on negotiations, Mr Makhaye said the king's subjects were not only found in Inkatha. Members of several other organisations were Zulus.

"Why were these political organisations not afforded a chance to brief His Majesty so that the king may have a balanced view?" he asked.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, chairman of the Democratic Party's Natal executive, said the Zulu king's position was guaranteed and there was no attempt to dismantle his kingdom.

The KwaZulu Government was set up under a major piece of apartheid legislation, namely, the Self-Governing States Constitution Act.

If KwaZulu became part of the proposed new Natal/KwaZulu region, with its own constitution, it was obvious that the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration would disappear.

Workers' Party: Jumping the gun?

There are increasing calls for Cosatu to split from its alliance partners and for the establishment of a Workers Party.

By FERAL HAJFAJEE

SAM SHILOWA summed up the perception of political negotiations among his constituents when he joked at a press briefing "I must leave now; I've got to get to the World Trade Centre to sell out the workers".

While the Congress of South African Trade Unions' assistant general secretary meant it as a broadside to critics of Cosatu's direction, it is a view which is leading to growing calls for the establishment of a Workers' Party.

Such a party would contest elections and take up working-class interests at a governmental level. The idea is coming not only from socialist organisations like the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) now, but from elements of Cosatu's major affiliates.

Unions are calling for the splitting up of the African National Congress/South African Communist Party/Cosatu alliance after elections. Some are saying this should be followed by the establishment of a Workers' Party.

The view took the labour movement by surprise when it came from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) — the country's biggest trade union — which called for the formation of a working class party and for Cosatu to convene a conference on socialism.

Numsa believes that the SACP should join a Workers' Party along with other leftist organisations.

At its Easter conference, Wosa announced that it would lobby for a Mass Workers' Party. The call from both Wosa and Numsa has generated much publicity because, says a senior member, "it's an idea whose time has come".

"Only an independent Mass Workers' Party can halt and reverse the wholesale compromises of the interests of the working class by negotiators at the World Trade Centre," said Wosa chairman Neville Alexander in a statement.

Wosa and other organisations on the left will use the election campaign to popularise the Workers' Party concept.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin says: "The call for a Workers' Party is an understandable reaction, but it is the wrong one. There is confusion and demoralisation at negotiations which

have dragged on for three years. Working-class formations and workers need to assert themselves more."

But this needs to be done "inside the movement ... or the ANC will be handed over to non-working class currents". The ANC has always had a working-class bias, he says and this "should percolate throughout the ANC".

If Cosatu should break with the ANC, it would become an economic and corporatist entity, added Cronin.

Duncan Innes, publisher of the *Innes Labour Brief*, says the trade union movement faces two options on the cusp of elections. It can either lobby for a Workers' Party or push for a reconstruction accord to extract commitments for a socio-economic programme from a future ANC government in return for votes.

Innes says the latter "is the more appropriate response. The ANC needs to be given an opportunity to see if they can deliver. To form a Workers' Party now is to jump the gun."

The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union's weekend congress resolved that the alliance should split after elections for a constituent assembly and a new constitution is drawn up.

It did not go on to call for a Workers' Party, but sees the future of labour lying with tripartite negotiating structures.

Elements in the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) are likely to push for the formation of a Workers' Party too.

A recent discussion document written by the national education officer of the TGWU was vociferous in its criticism of Cosatu's political direction, especially its proposed reconstruction accord with the ANC, SACP and others. While the education officer was disciplined for writing the paper as a union position paper, it has been supported from some branches in the union.

And at its weekend congress, Saccawu's Wits branch will propose a resolution saying that Cosatu should not dictate whom workers in the federation should vote for.

But Cosatu's National Union of Mineworkers is a more solid supporter of the alliance in general and of the SACP in particular. It is not likely to support calls for a Workers' Party. The federation's Food and Allied Workers' Union also "pledged its support for the principles and objectives of the SACP" at its congress earlier this month.

Cosatu launches voter drive

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU's voter education drive launched yesterday would be aimed at training 30 000 shop stewards and members in electoral procedure "to ensure workers participate in the first democratic elections".

In a "non-partisan" training drive, Cosatu would work with "accredited agencies" to run programmes in factories during production time, Cosatu elections co-ordinator Jesse Maluleke said.

To date, several employers had granted time off and facilities for this purpose, Maluleke said.

He said a rally was planned in Cape Town this weekend to launch the campaign in that region.

Maluleke said it was imperative that employers consulted with workers on voter education and did not unilaterally implement their choice of programme.

BUSINESS DAY, 28/07/93

WEEKLY MAIL, 23 - 29/07/93

Regering probeer IVP hou by gesprek

Politieke Redaksie

KAAPSTAD. - Indringende gesprekke word tussen die Regering en die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) en KwaZulu-regering gevoer om die IVP en KwaZulu weer by die veelparty-onderhandelingsstafel te kry.

Gesprekke waarby mnr. Roelf Meyer, Minister van Staatskondige Ontwikkeling en hoofonderhandelaar van die Regering, betrokke is, is in die laaste tyd gevoer en nog gesprekke word vir vandeeweek beplan.

Die gesprekke word gevoer te midde van onversetlike uitsprake van hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leier van die IVP. Mnr. Buthelezi het Maandagaand nog in Port Elizabeth gesê die IVP sal nie na die veelparty-onderhandelinge terugkeer nie voordat hy die waarborg het dat daar 'n

federale bestel in Suid-Afrika sal kom.

Hy het ook die IVP se standpunt herhaal dat dié party geensins sal aanvaar dat 'n grondwetgewende vergadering wat in dié klimaat van geweld en intimidasie verkies is, oor sy streek se grense en magte besluit nie.

Die IVP het onlangs by die Onderhandelingsforum uitgespuit protes teen die besluit oor 'n verkiesingsdatum. Die IVP wil hê 'n datum moet eers bepaal word nadat 'n nuwe grondwet opgestel is.

'n Woordvoerder van die Regering het gesê al dié probleme is op die sakelys vir gesprekke. Daar word gehoop om reeds einde vandeeweek 'n gesamentlike verklaring oor die sake te kan uitreik.

Die woordvoerder het daarop gewys dat die grondwetlike beginsels wat die Onderhandelingsforum 'n

tyd gelede aanvaar het, grootliks die probleme wat mnr. Buthelezi het, ondervang.

In die beginsels word byvoorbeeld voorsiening gemaak vir sterk streek-regering en die outonomie van streke. 'n Ander beginsel wat aanvaar is, is dat 'n toekomstige staatsvorm op federale beginsels gegrond moet word.

Oor of die Regering sonder die IVP en die KwaZulu-regering sal voortgaan as hulle nie wil skietgee nie, het die woordvoerder gesê die Regering se standpunt was nog altyd dat onderhandelinge 'n konsensuspoging moet wees en dat daar die maksimum-aanvaarding moet wees.

"Ons oorweeg nie eens die moontlikheid om sonder hulle voort te gaan nie. Hulle móet eenvoudig aan boord bly, en die Regering sal sy bes doen om dit te verseker," het die woordvoerder gesê.

BEELD. 14/07/93

Inkatha Freedom Party

The Zulu king picks up the IFP spear

'Let us fight,' roared the crowd at Sunday's imbizo. 'I'll tell you when,' said the king, throwing his weight behind the IFP's threats of violence and secession. By FAROUK CHOTHIA

N Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's four-and-a-half-page speech at Sunday's imbizo (meeting of the Zulu nation) in Durban, the word "peace" was not mentioned once.

Instead, Zwelithini made veiled threats of violence and sparked concern that the slaughter in the townships could reach new heights, jeopardising the April 27 elections.

After the king had whipped up the emotions of the 60 000-strong crowd with warnings that kwaZulu faced the threat of annihilation, spear-wielding men rose from their seats to roar: "Let us fight."

Clad in a suit and wearing mirror shades, Zwelithini replied: "No, not now. I'll tell you when."

The rally underlined that the Inkatha Freedom Party intends to use Zwelithini to buttress its demand for an IFP-style federal constitution. If the African National Congress and National Party resist, the monarch could spearhead IFP calls for the secession of Natal/kwaZulu.

The Zulu kingdom Zwelithini is anxious to safeguard comprises the kwaZulu homeland and Natal province, according to IFP negotiator Walter Felgate. The boundaries of the kingdom were carved out in the last century in various wars with the British colonists.

How are the ANC and the NP threatening the kingdom's future? In two ways, Felgate says: by planning to repeal legislation which established the kwaZulu homeland, and by incorporating it into South Africa before a new constitution is drafted.

"We say no to that. KwaZulu must find a permanent place in a new South Africa. The sovereignty of kwaZulu is

there. We must exercise its authenticity."

The argument, and the mobilisation of the king in its support, involves more than a little sleight of hand. Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan holds that the IFP has deliberately blurred the definition between the homeland and the kingdom.

"The kingdom of the Zulus is not, and has never been, one and the same structure as the kwaZulu government," Jordaan argues. "The kingdom was there long before these structures were introduced."

He adds that the multi-party negotiating forum has "guaranteed Zwelithini a future at both national and regional level" by agreeing that "the institutions, status and the role of indigenous law shall be recognised and protected in the new constitution".

Zwelithini's weekend speech had more to do with the elections than with any threat to the Zulu monarchy. IFP sources confirmed that Zulu nationalism would be the focal point of their election campaign, and Zwelithini a key player in this regard.

In the election, the sources said, the IFP would rally Zulu support by arguing that the ANC and the NP had "cheated" Zulus at the negotiating table. They therefore needed to throw

their weight behind the IFP.

Zwelithini, who has greater popular appeal than IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would be a vote winner.

In his speech, Zwelithini said that "loyalty to kwaZulu is the very first requirement in the demonstration of Zuluness". Anyone who tries to annihilate kwaZulu "commits treachery to the nation".

This assertion is pregnant with threat: "In Zulu history, the penalty for treachery is death. Zwelithini is, in a way, justifying the killing of ANC supporters," comments ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande.

Sociologist Gerhard Mare adds that Buthelezi has "two strings to his bow": a dual strategy pitched at both Zulus and other Natalians. "Buthelezi says Zulu people must define their own future and, within that strategy, the king is the lynchpin."

"The second string is the region, which is an amalgamation of seven million people. Buthelezi says the region is under threat and asks people whether they want to be under Pretoria's control again. He does that through the IFP (not through Zwelithini's *izimbizo*) and it appeals to whites, Indians and coloureds."

Nzimande believes Buthelezi is not only using Zwelithini to extract concessions at the negotiating table and to win votes, but is "putting into place all the elements of secession".

"If he loses the election, he will demand the secession of the Zulu kingdom. For that he will need no democratic validation — and he will do it through Zwelithini. Political territory will have to be given to him on the plate. Those who oppose it will be traitors, and killings would be justified."

Although the IFP intends returning to the negotiating table, there are doubts about whether it will allow the April elections to go ahead.

Felgate, who is known to wield enormous personal influence over Buthelezi, says the IFP rejects and will not take part in an election for a constituent assembly. The party is

adamant that the constitution has to be finalised at the negotiating forum.

Wams Felgate: "If there is a deadlock in the negotiation process, we could expect increased violence. There won't be an election without us. There can't be an election without half of the electorate."

The IFP could muster the support of the white rightwing — and at the same time give impetus to a secessionist movement, he adds.

In addition to his alliance with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) in the Cosag group, Buthelezi is forging links with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). Days after rightwingers assaulted IFP negotiator Faith Geza at an AVF protest march at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi met generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald in Ulundi. He described their "man-to-man" discussions as "highly therapeutic".

Rightwing political analyst Wim Booysse sees the white rightwing and the IFP as natural allies: "Documents are circulating saying that the white right needs a partner. The concept is growing that the rightwing is not a whites-only thing."

Nzimande remarks that there is "a very interesting coincidence" between the regional proposals of the AVU and Inkatha's call for a Zulu kingdom. "The AVU refers to the whole province as kwaZulu, not as Natal/kwaZulu. We may see Buthelezi demanding a Zulu *volkstaat* with help from the right."

Mare foresees a lengthy spell of violence in Natal/kwaZulu and believes the threat comes from both the IFP and ANC. "There are certain rules around democracy," he says. "You must accept that you might lose. In this region, neither Inkatha nor the ANC accept that they are in the minority. This is the only part of the country where this is the case."

WEEKLY MAIL,
16-22/07/93

Inkatha are not the spoilers

Violence will be inevitable if the government and the ANC go ahead with plans to hold the country's first democratic elections on April 27 next year. That is the view of Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate, (right) who spoke to *face the Nation* this week. Felgate says Inkatha are not spoilers, but that the party is determined that there should be a federal constitution for South Africa and that a constituent assembly should not draft the country's constitution. He also says there is no Third Force and that Inkatha would be prepared to serve under an ANC-dominated government if there was a "proper constitution" in place.

How does Inkatha see the negotiations process?

The negotiations have made rapid strides this year and we are now faced with the real issues. Up until the current negotiations started, there was a lot of skirmishing and jockeying for positions on the part of different parties. Now we are face to face with realities and the difficulties we face in this country - issues which we cannot avoid any longer.

But why has Inkatha not been in agreement with most of the important issues at the negotiations - you seem to be stalling progress?

We are grossly dissatisfied with how important issues have been dealt with at the negotiations process. We do not like the way other parties are forcing agreements on us. The ANC wants to project an image that there is consensus on a unitary state. But, there is no substantial support for a unitary state. Sufficient consensus has been declared by the chairman of the Negotiating Council and the negotiating forum on the issue. But we challenge that.

There is not sufficient consensus. If you look at the whole process of decision-making, we have moved away from head counts. When the Negotiating Council approved the date for elections there were only 15 people who voted yes - eight voted no and three abstained. Eleven out of 26 did not approve of the date. Can you call that substantial consensus? That is manipulation which we cannot tolerate and which we reject.

Let us look at the matter very clearly. The government and the ANC are standing in one block. The people who support them in electoral terms are unimportant. Parties like the South African Communist Party and Labour Party, for example, have got no members. All these organisations make a lot of noise at the negotiations but do not have any substantial support from voters. Only parties such as the IFP, ANC, Conservative Party and the government have substantial support.

Inkatha and other parties which form the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) have been accused of being spoilers. What is your reaction to this?

That is totally untrue. We are not spoilers. We are exercising our democratic right. People have the

right to walk out of the negotiating chamber. President Robert Mugabe exercised that right before he went to Lancaster House in England. Great leaders in the world have done that before. When the IFP exercises that right we are called spoilers. We are not spoilers. That is our democratic right.

Why does Inkatha seem to be afraid of the concept of democracy?

We do not fear democracy. We are the only party which is saying let's have an election, a new government with an agreed constitution, before the end of 1994. We refuse to have a

five-year transitional period. We have waited for three hundred years for a new government and the right to vote. We are not going to wait for another five years. We want an election tomorrow and a new government the next day. The IFP has campaigned for the holding of elections long before the ANC called for them. We are not going to be put off and involved in some kind of useless power sharing for five years.

But why then does Inkatha oppose the holding of elections next year?

We oppose the elections because we still have no constitution. We don't know who we will be voting for. We refuse to have the constituent assembly draft and determine what the constitution will be in future.

This has never happened anywhere in the world except for India and Namibia. Why then should we be forced to do something which has not been done anywhere else in the world. A constituent assembly should never be allowed to write the constitution.

Will Inkatha participate in the government of national unity?

No - it is a farce. We want the who's who in the country to be sorted out first. We want to go to the polls tomorrow so that South Africans can know who is who in the politics of this country.

April 27 is an election for a constituent assembly and is not designed for a new South Africa. The government and the ANC will never hold a satisfactory election for a constituent assembly in the next 10 years. South Africans will never allow that to happen.

What type of constitution does Inkatha want?

We want a constitution which establishes a constitutional state. We want each clause in the constitution to be justiciable. We want a constitution which makes provision for a Bill of Rights and a constitutional court to test whether something is constitutional or not. We want maximum devolution of power so that regions in the country will have their own constitutions and internal safeguards. A federal constitution is what we want. The ANC and the government are trying to dictate the political process and are making a farce of the talks.

Why is Inkatha negotiating with the government and the ANC when they are dictating the process and are in collusion on major issues?

We have a historic duty to fight what they are doing inside the negotiation process and outside. We are committed to negotiations and to bringing the people of South Africa into the negotiations process.

Why are you threatening to unleash two million Inkatha supporters to stop the coming elections?

I never said I would do that. What I did say is that when negotiations

break down we can anticipate the escalation of unrest and violence. I have warned against it - not invited it. We in the IFP reject violence.

The violence which has flared up in the country is attributed to those who are opposed to elections. Your comment?

It is pure political propaganda on the part of the ANC to say that violence which takes place in Thokoza and in parts of Natal is violence against the election date. Thokoza and the East Rand are areas where Winnie Mandela and Harry Gwala dominate. The recent violence was the beginning of ethnic cleansing against the Zulus. People who spoke Zulu were attacked only because they spoke the language. It has nothing to do with the elections. It is a reaction to the successful meeting Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela held. We must normalise relations between the ANC

and the IFP if we are going to have a successful democracy in the country.

The polls show Inkatha's support is confined to Natal. How do you expect to fare in an election?

I do not believe what the polls say. They have proved to be unreliable and are not a good measure of testing people's opinions about how they will vote. You

need to look at the experience of the United States of America and Britain. Prime Minister John Major won the elections when the polls said he was going to lose. That is why the IFP wants elections to be held as soon as possible. We are convinced that we will show our strength at the polls.

By the time we have a constitution that is acceptable to everybody the whole of South Africa will see for themselves the strength of the IFP. There will be a total realignment of political forces in the country. One of the reasons the ANC and the government want to rush to the elections is that they are afraid of the realignment that is taking place.

The IFP is going to emerge as a strong political party when the whole realignment ends. After the first elections, only parties which have deep roots among blacks are going to survive. The Democratic Party, National Party, and all the other white parties are going to be marginalised by the elections. We will end up with the ANC and the IFP, which will be the two dominant parties in the new democracy. They will take turns in becoming the opposition in the next parliament.

But would Inkatha be prepared to serve under an ANC-dominated government?

We will - but we are saying let's have a proper constitution first. Democracy is not about grabbing power forever but providing people with what they want and giving other parties a chance when one party fails in its duty. If the elections are fair we will be ready

to serve under the ANC. We will, however, not do that under a constituent assembly. I have told Cyril Ramaphosa privately and in public that the IFP will never accept the constituent assembly.

What is the cause of rising tensions within the Inkatha leadership? Are there divisions between yourself and Dr Frank Mdlalose and Dr Ben Magubane?

There are no tensions or divisions within the IFP. We all speak with one voice. To say that there are divisions is mischievous and typical of the kind of divide and rule tactics employed by our enemy. We are one negotiating team.

Inkatha and the ANC have consistently denied responsibility for the violence taking place. Do you think there is a Third Force behind the violence?

No. The ANC is trying to drum-up the notion of the Third Force as a smokescreen. The ANC has a private army which the IFP does not have. We are suffering from the

consequences of the ANC's private army. The IFP has a death list of people who have been targeted for assassination and those who have been killed. More than a thousand of our people have been assassinated. I do not think that there is Third Force involved.

A Third Force must have roots in some section of society. It cannot be a bunch of criminals. Even the Mafia's actions have some social roots. There is no such thing as a Third Force. There are elements in the ANC who are fomenting violence. There are social and economic causes. There are a multitude of forces.

Why can't Inkatha distance itself from the Afrikaner Volksfront and Cosag?

When there was apartheid, the IFP had the guts to speak to the government. We do not believe that you need to cut contact with anybody who engages in things you do not like. The IFP will talk to whoever is prepared to talk with it. That is what negotiations are about. We will even talk to the devil if he is prepared to do so. Negotiations are not about excluding people, but including everybody.

NEW NATION, 16-30/07/93

IFP won't return to Trade Centre debates

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has indicated it will not be back at the World Trade Centre on Monday when the negotiating council resumes its business.

Mr Walter Felgate, one of the IFP delegation, said his party would return to negotiations only when the technical committee tables its draft constitution.

It is not clear when the technical committee's draft constitution will be tabled.

Attempts yesterday to resolve constitutional differences between the government and the IFP

KwaZulu Government appeared to have been partially successful.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer described yesterday's meeting between the government and the IFP/KwaZulu Government delegation as constructive and said the concerns articulated by the IFP and KwaZulu Government recently had been addressed.

He said it was clear from the discussions the IFP, the KwaZulu Government and the South

African Government shared the same views and objectives as far as a future constitution was concerned.

"We agree that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, that it should be the supreme law of the land, and that it should provide for a constitutional state. Fundamental rights should be adjudicated over by a constitutional court, regional legislatures and regional government should be elected, and there should

be special provision for amendments to the constitution.

"These goals are essentially the same between us and for that reason it is hard to understand why the IFP and the KwaZulu Government should differ from what we believe has already been adopted in the negotiation process."

Mr Meyer said the discussion had been geared towards conveying the government's viewpoints on, and interpretation of, the constitutional principles adopted by the negotiating council at the beginning of July.

He said he had also conveyed the importance of the next step at negotiations which would be to judge the draft constitution once it had been drawn up by the technical committee.

"The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft constitution."

Mr Meyer dismissed as "electioneering" recent comments made by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the African National Congress and the National Party were colluding at negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi said on Wednesday that the government had sold out its constituency in colluding with the ANC on a constitutional settlement so that a few government members could retain senior positions in a transitional government.

"It is clear that his remarks on power sharing and the manner in which the government is negotiating is so far removed from the truth it does not even require a response," said Mr Meyer. —Sapa.

No MK in peacekeeping force – IFP

By Helen Grange

Debate is heating up around the joint peacekeeping force to be established to oversee elections, with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) voicing strong opposition to the inclusion of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the force.

Recommendations have been made to the World Trade Centre negotiations technical committee on violence that a peacekeeping force should be established to maintain internal stability in the run-up to the elections, according to Democratic Party MP Robin Carlisle.

It would include members of the SAP, MK, Apla, homeland armies and even the AWB's Wenkommando — and would be under joint control or control by the transitional council.

However, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said at the weekend that although the IFP agreed that suitable structures

need to be set up to oversee the elections, the party had "big problems" with MK.

"MK members would not be able to meet the criteria of a peacekeeping force without it being disbanded," she said.

Carlisle said the peacekeep-

ing force had been broadly discussed and the idea was that it would be implemented over a period of time, starting from a small unit acting as official monitors, but growing to a bigger, more powerful force.

"I would say that not less than 10 000 peacekeeping soldiers would be needed ultimately, and they would have to have the same powers as the SAP. They would need to be adequately equipped and have different, identifiable uniforms."

Parties to the negotiations feel the peacekeeping force should be established as soon as possible to allow them time to grow into an integrated unit

with shared values, according to reports.

The SAP and SADF, it has been agreed, will continue to perform its normal duties.

Carlisle stressed that the idea of a youth corps, based on the concept of a United Nations peacekeeping force, was also being discussed but this was an entirely different concept.

The Joint Enrichment Programme — a church sponsored project focusing on youth marginalisation — is currently involved in a number of township youth programmes and would have a key role to play in the formation of the youth corps.

STAR, 20/07/93

CITIZEN, 16/07/93

IFP offers 'deal'

INKATHA says it is prepared to consider a two-phase transition process, as proposed by the government and the African National Congress and their supporters, if the form of state is agreed to in advance and the new constitution contains six specific elements.

The Inkatha Freedom Party position is spelt out

in a confidential briefing document on the "current phase of the negotiation process", of which Sapa obtained a copy yesterday.

It was reliably learnt that copies were given to the government during the latest round of bilaterals between the two parties.

The IFP, along with the KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party,

have suspended their participation in multi-party democracy talks in protest at what it calls the bullying tactics of the government and the ANC and their allies.

The IFP says in the four-page document that it had no option but to leave the talks to protest at disastrous turns of events in negotiations.

"We had warned and warned again that we

would never be able to agree to a course of events in which there would be elections for a constituent assembly which would become an interim legislature and the country's constitution-making body.

"We also warned and warned again that while we advocated a hard straight run to democracy and an election under a finalised constitution to be

held no later than September 1994, we adamantly refused to set an election date before we had even negotiated a new democratic constitution."

The IFP says it does not accept the recent ruling in the 26-party process that there was sufficient consensus on the setting of the April 27 election date, plus on a resolution on the constitution-making process, despite the objections of the six-member Concerned South Africans Group (CO-

SAG) at talks.

"How could there be sufficient consensus when the parties and administrations which reject the proposals account for a very considerable proportion of the future electorate," the IFP asks in the document.

"We said that we could think of proceeding along the lines of a two-phase process if the issue of the form of state was agreed to in advance, and the next constitution would have the following elements:

- "It would establish a constitutional state;
- "It would have in it

a complete Bill of Rights;

- "It would make provision for a constitutional court to protect the clauses of the constitution which will all be justiciable;

- "It would make provision for (regions) which would each have their own constitution;

- "It would lay down procedures to bring about constitutional change by the approval of the changes by special majorities, including special majorities in (regional) legislatures without which no changes could be made to (regional) constitutions. — Sapa.

Consensus a spanner in works

Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council is continuing without the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party, but a problem is looming over the decision-making mechanism in constitutional talks.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at the World Trade Centre yesterday clearly indicated their unhappiness about sufficient consensus rulings whereby decisions are taken.

Despite the withdrawal of the three parties from negotiations, the other three Cosag parties — Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — continue to take part in the NC.

Cosag members yesterday denied that there was a split or differences over negotiations tactics because of the continued participation by some of its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing for some time, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference which stated that

the party would refuse to re-enter negotiations until sufficient consensus included the IFP's concurrence.

Several delegates at the World Trade Centre interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto right in constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP and KwaZulu Government decision to walk out was based on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP was doing a disservice to its members by not participating in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country. Their withdrawal will not shape the future", he said.

Ramaphosa noted that the IFP had agreed to sufficient consensus as a decision-making process.

"There is no reason why legislation should be delayed because some parties feel they cannot agree. We have used sufficient consensus effectively and where sufficient consensus included them (the IFP), they have not expressed unhappiness. That's hypocritical," Ramaphosa said.

Another round of talks between the Government and the IFP is scheduled for this afternoon.

Top Natal Nat defects to Inkatha

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has not yet considered offering a senior post to Natal provincial executive committee member Peter Miller, who yesterday quit his job and the NP to join Inkatha.

His decision ended widespread speculation that he would resign after losing the important portfolios of roads and hospitals in an executive committee reshuffle this month. There was speculation that his Inkatha links were a factor in his demotion.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said it was "too soon to tell" whether Miller would receive a high-ranking post.

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he had been aware of Miller's divided loyalties for some time. Bartlett questioned how Miller could justify his change of allegiance as Inkatha and the NP had "basically the same objectives".

Miller, 51, has had a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as a provincial council member and seven as an appointed MEC.

Natal Administrator Con Botha said Miller had been a powerful figure in Natal politics and he regretted his decision.

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said Miller's resignation indicated growing tension and confusion within the NP, and he predicted more defections.

DP spokesman Mike Ellis said Miller had been "the only MEC of any real merit. He was the only one who fought constantly for Natal."

BUSINESS DAY, 21/07/93

CITIZEN, 20/07/93

Buthlezi denies seeking talks veto

WINDHOEK — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied yesterday that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus".

He told a news conference that Inkatha's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of 24 negotiating teams voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, and Inkatha teams had been instructed to talk to government, the

ANC, PAC and CP

Asked about the viability of the alternative negotiation forum he mentioned recently, Buthelezi said this was an option with no defined structures yet.

He said principles of federalism and pluralism were inviolable and should be thrashed out at the multiparty forum. It was legitimate for a region to express its federal demands, as unitary central government could not be imposed on a community and region that did not want that government as their own.

A new constitution should be drawn up before elections, with clear provision for full representation in a future government for all elements of society. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, 23/07/93

STAR, 20/07/93

Die IVP dreig met sy eie private leër

DURBAN. - Die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) het gister gewaarsku dat hy 'n private leër sal vorm as die moorde op sy ondersteuners aanhou.

Die Ministerie van Wet en Orde het onmiddellik hierop gereageer en gesê dit sal nie help om die geweld te bekamp nie.

"Ek hoop die konflik sal nie dié vlak bereik wat dit nodig sal maak vir die IVP om sy eie private leër in die lewe te roep nie," het die IVP se nasionale voorsitter, dr. Frank Mdlalose, in 'n verklaring gesê.

Die IVP beweer dat 350 van sy leiers die afgelope paar jaar ver-

moor is.

Kapt. Craig Kotze, woordvoerder van die Ministerie van Wet en Orde, het in reaksie hierop gesê die IVP en ANC moet eerder stappe doen om politieke verdraagsaamheid op voetsoolvlak te vestig.

"Die skepping van nóg 'n private leër sal niks bydra tot die beëindiging van geweld nie, maar sal waarskynlik lei tot 'n toename van die konflik," het hy in 'n verklaring gesê.

"Om die geweld te beëindig, moet 'n politieke ooreenkoms tussen die ANC en die IVP bereik

word. Dié partye moet ook op grondvlak vredes- en dissiplinêre strukture instel om hul ondersteuners te beheer en 'n kultuur van politieke verdraagsaamheid te skep."

Die IVP het reeds herhaaldelik 'n oproep gedoen dat die ANC se gewapende vleuel, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ontbind word. Die party beweer dat MK-kaders in Natal ontplooi is.

Minstens agtduisend mense is sedert 1990 in politieke geweld dood. Volgens die Polisie vind die geweld meestal plaas tussen ANC-en die IVP-ondersteuners. - (Sapa).

BEELD, 21/07/93

Zulus are angry-king

By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

KING GOODWILL Zwelithini yesterday said Zulus were angry about moves at the multiparty talks to set an election date without securing KwaZulu's future. Addressing about 50 000 Zulus who had converged on the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg, Zwelithini said KwaZulu's fate would not be decided without the input of the Zulus.

Security was tight but several shots were fired in the air as thousands of singing and dancing men and women left the stadium. No injuries were reported. Earlier, buses from as far afield as Natal brought crowds to hear Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speak.

IFP security guards, the Witwatersrand Peace Secretariat, European Community Observer Mission and the SAP monitored the proceedings as huge crowds arrived at the stadium.

As the impis arrived, wielding spears and an assortment of weapons, they chanted Zulu war songs while others danced.

There were loud chants of "Bayethe" as Zwelithini and Buthelezi and their entourage entered the stadium.

But there was an apparent lack of enthusiasm from the large crowd when speeches began. Many seemingly did not understand the purpose of the meeting and its speeches and left early.

Zwelithini said KwaZulu's political future

would be determined by Zulus and not by anybody else.

He accused the Government and the African National Congress of trying to rob the Zulu "nation" of its identity.

"Only we can say how we would wish to shape our future," Zwelithini said.

The recent spate of attacks against Zulus, particularly on the East Rand, could justifiably be called the beginning of "ethnic cleansing", the Zulu king said.

"What makes the ethnic cleansing concept so hideous, is our knowledge of the fact that once it starts there are no boundaries for its ending," he said, likening it to Hitler's genocide of Jews in Germany.

"We say that no KwaZulu boundary, no KwaZulu power and no KwaZulu structure will be changed except by moves that we as Zulus make," Zwelithini said.

"We will decide how we are to go forward into the new South Africa and only then will we decide what kind of a new South Africa we are prepared to enter."

He said he needed "absolute assurances" that the present leadership of the ANC would renounce all intentions to rob the Zulu people of their right to shape their own destiny.

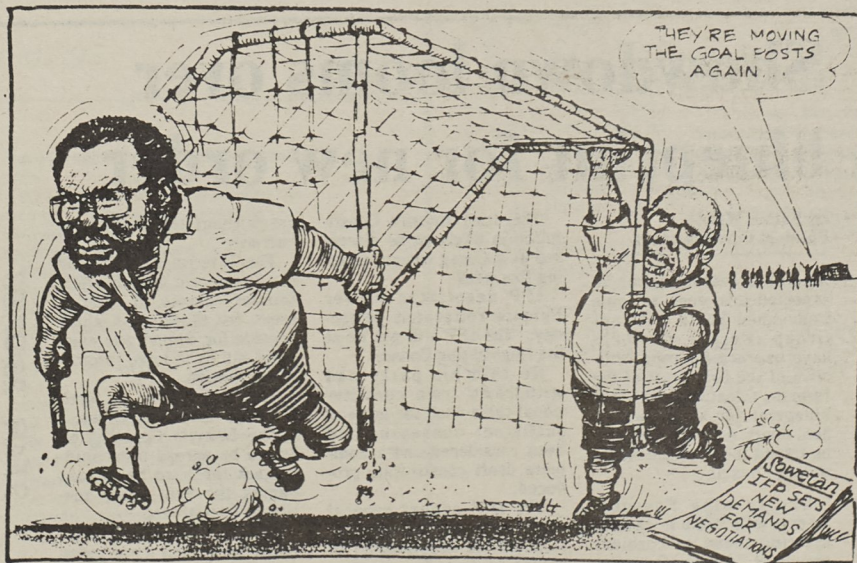
"This is not a question of party politics," he added.

Buthelezi said federalism was the only option for the country. He said the ANC and the Government were conniving to obliterate KwaZulu.

SOWETAN, 26/07/93



BEELD, 22/07/93



SOWETAN, 27/07/93

History denies far right's claim to a volkstaat

THE legitimacy of the claim by certain Afrikaner organisations to a right to a separate and independent volkstaat in SA must be judged in the light of historical events.

In terms of the Treaty of Vereeniging of 1902, the Afrikaner republics of Transvaal and Transorangje (now Orange Free State) became British Crown colonies. Four years later, when the Liberal Party elected to power in Britain, self-government was granted to both these colonies on the same basis as that enjoyed in Natal and the Cape Colony.

In the general elections which were then held in the two new self-governing British dominions, Gen Louis Botha, former commandant-general of the Boer forces, and A Fischer (a leading Afrikaner), became prime minister, respectively, of the Transvaal and the Free State. In the following year, John X Merriman, leader of the South African Party, which consisted largely of members of the Afrikaner Bond, became prime minister of the Cape Colony. Only four years after the conclusion of the war, Afrikaners were in political control of three of the four British colonies.

The following year a memorandum was circulated among the colonies by the British High Commissioner, suggesting that they should unite in a self-governing union under the

British Crown. The suggestion was greeted enthusiastically by the three colonies in which Afrikaners predominated.

They saw that, in addition to economic and other advantages resulting from union, it would eliminate interference in their affairs by the British government. Natal's hesitation was overcome largely because in the previous year a serious uprising (the Bambata rebellion) of a Zulu tribe had to be subdued by force. The people of Natal felt that union would add to their security in any further trouble with the Zulus.

A National Convention of delegates from the four colonies was appointed to draft a constitution for the Union. It was chaired by Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, with 30 delegates appointed from the four colonies, the majority of them Afrikaners.

The National Convention concluded its deliberations in February 1909. The only serious differences of opinion among delegates concerned two points, both related to voting rights. These were settled by the majority Afrikaner vote which resulted in the franchise in urban constituencies being weighted against the voters, mainly English-speaking, living there, and the denial of all franchise rights to coloureds and Africans except in the Cape Colony where the

ROBERT BOWEN

government refused to retract the limited voting rights enjoyed by these groups. As is well known, these rights were later abolished by Nationalist governments.

The proposed constitution was accepted by the voters of Natal in a referendum and approved by the parliaments of the other three colonies. The British government approved the draft without amendment. In announcing this in the House of Commons the Prime Minister stated the concern of the House at the exclusion of the coloureds and Africans from the franchise and added the hope that "sooner or later, but rather sooner than later" they would be given voting rights.

Thus the new Union of SA was created at the freely expressed wish of the four Crown colonies, the large majority of whom were Afrikaners whose wishes were conceded on every point of difference. The Boers had truly emerged as the effective winners of the Boer War.

When the Union of SA was established 83 years ago, the Afrikaners of those days surrendered their former nationality and became South Africans. Their decision was freely and

voluntarily made and is binding on their descendants. The word "Afrikaner" ceased to have a meaning other than to indicate the home language of an Afrikaans-speaking

South African "English" has a similar connotation.

It needs no emphasis to say that the present situation is directly and solely attributable to the apartheid policies followed by successive NP governments. There was still time, even as late as 40 years ago, to have saved the country from the political turmoil and violence that is now devastating the land. The goodwill of the black population was still there.

Those Afrikaners who are now claiming the right to establish a volkstaat have no legal or moral right to demand that a part of this country be set aside for them as an escape from a situation for which they alone are responsible. The country as a whole belongs to the Afrikaners, the coloureds, the Indians, the other whites and those immigrants who have acquired SA citizenship.

Many thousands of Afrikaners recognise this and acknowledge the need for change and the total elimination in the proposed volkstaat. The volkstaat concept will be resolutely opposed by the international community. There is no escape for the Afrikaners of the far right. Instead of running away they should now make amends for their past misdeeds.

Bowen is a retired former magistrate and Native Commissioner.

BUSINESS DAY, 15/07/93

CP's 'retaliatory action' threat

THE Conservative Party yesterday warned the time for "offensive defence and retaliatory action" was fast approaching and there would be no peace without freedom for the Afrikaner people.

CP law and order spokesman Schalk Pienaar said the government had failed to maintain law

and order and this function would have to be taken over by threatened communities.

"The time for necessary offensive defence and retaliatory action is fast approaching," he said in a statement released in Pretoria.

He accused the African National Congress, South

African Communist Party alliance of having a double agenda involving both negotiations and violence, aimed at a power takeover.

"The ANC/SACP's programme of violence, murder, mutilation and intimidation against political opponents such as the Inkatha Freedom Par-

ty, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the CP has taken on radical dimensions," he alleged.

The government had capitulated to all the ANC's demands and only the Concerned South Africans Group stood in the way of the NP and the ANC, Mr Pienaar said. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 14/07/93

Showdown looms over blueprint for new order

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A political showdown can be expected this week as some Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members have expressed strong criticism of the first draft of the Interim Constitution — the blueprint for a post-apartheid South Africa which will be tabled today in the Negotiating Council.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will hold a caucus meeting today to consider the draft Interim Constitution. It is also to meet the Government again this week in a new round of talks.

The draft Interim Constitution is likely to be discussed at a Cosag caucus meeting this week.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate reiterated yesterday: "The IFP will not be at the Negotiating Council."

He said his party had withdrawn from constitutional talks until the issue of sufficient consensus had been considered and a complete draft constitution produced.

The IFP annual general conference last weekend instructed its negotiators "to refuse to re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consen-

sus without the IFP's concurrence".

The Interim Constitution can be enacted after the September session of Parliament, but those parts which provide for democratic elections will be in force through proclamation.

The rest will be in force after the April 27 elections.

The Interim Constitution has to be agreed to by mid-August for it to be passed during the September session of Parliament.

The document is strictly embargoed until 2 pm today and The Star will provide detailed coverage of it in its late afternoon edition today and all editions tomorrow.

STAR, 26/07/93

No point to talks — CP

PRETORIA — The CP will return to the multiparty negotiating council only if Afrikaner self-determination is unequivocally accepted, said CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday.

The CP pulled out of democracy talks on Monday, saying the draft interim constitution was "hostile to Afrikaner interests".

Reacting yesterday to what he said was an invitation to the CP and other parties to participate in the debate on constitutional affairs, he said there was no point in the CP returning as the problems raised by the CP and its partners in Cosag had not received "acceptable attention".

These included the CP's disagreement with the council's interpretation of sufficient consensus.

Hartzenberg said the CP was also unhappy an election date had been set before thorough action on ending the violence, the form of state, transitional executive councils, and the two-phased system in which a transitional constitution would be accepted by the negotiating council and a final one by the constitution-making council. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, 28/07/93

COSAG denies split

THE Concerned South Africans Group denied yesterday there was a split in its ranks after three COSAG members — the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu Government, and the Conservative Party — remained out of the multi-party talks and three stayed in.

"There is no split in COSAG," Mr Rowan Cronje, of Bophuthatswana, and one of the COSAG parties remaining in talks, told a joint COSAG Press conference at a Kempton Park hotel after a three-hour meeting.

The other two COSAG parties still in negotiations are Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU).

There was only a difference in strategy, COSAG members insisted.

COSAG was united, however, in their main grievance, which was the way in which "sufficient consensus" was being used in negotiations in spite of COSAG opposition.

The ratification of the April 27 election date was a major case in point, according to COSAG.

CP chief negotiator Tom Langley, accused the government and the African National Congress and their allies of making a "mockery" of sufficient consensus.

"Unless it is dealt with

satisfactorily, there is no point in continuing with the process," he warned.

"Sufficient consensus is not only a set of rules, but it must be applied with a degree of wisdom," IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said in an interview.

He accused the government and ANC and their allies of operating "like a cabal which is trying to dominate and steamroll the process".

"Ultimately the process must be halted to bring with it all the major players."

Mr Cronje said "some other parties will have to consider their positions" if the issue of sufficient consensus was not addressed adequately.

He stressed that yesterday's non-participation did not necessarily mean a permanent walk-out.

Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the AVU indicated they would for the moment only debate issues in the 26-party Negotiating Council which concerned them.

The council reconvened at the World Trade Centre yesterday after a two-week recess, and began with debate on a draft independent broadcasting bill drawn up by a technical group of experts.

The three COSAG members still participating stated they would not debate constitutional issues until they had studied the full text of the draft constitution.

IFP negotiator, and the

party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said COSAG had information which indicated that the complete draft constitution would not be ready tomorrow morning as expected, but that only "tit-bits" would be presented for discussion.

"That won't be helpful," he said. "We want the whole constitution."

COSAG also wanted the future form of state and violence "addressed adequately at this stage" by multi-party negotiators.

The CP reiterated that it would want to see what the draft constitution said about self-determination and its demand for a separate Afrikaner state before deciding on what course of action to follow.

The COSAG meeting was followed by one between the IFP and the Pan Africanist Congress, led by PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

He told a Press conference afterwards that PAC president Clarence Makwetu had mandated the PAC's negotiators to hold a bilateral meeting with the IFP to find out first hand what their reasons were for suspending their participation in talks.

The PAC delegation would now take the IFP answer back to the PAC leader, who would instruct them on their next move.

The PAC would raise the IFP's objections in the Negotiating Council for discussion.

"They (COSAG) want a veto," South African Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo charged.

"There is no way we can proceed on that basis. The point is we've got a fully constituted process and we are going to go ahead and take decisions," he said.

Chief government negotiator, and Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, warned after the day's proceedings that the absence of the COSAG parties was to their own detriment.

Non-constitutional issues were being discussed which affected particularly the IFP and KwaZulu government, and he appealed to them to return to the negotiating table.

A Pan Africanist Congress negotiator said after the bilateral meeting between the IFP that they, too, were concerned in the way which sufficient consensus had been ruled.

"It has become a numbers game," PAC negotiator Mark Shinner said afterwards, referring to the practice of counting votes which emerged in the last session at Kempton Park.

The PAC wanted sufficient consensus based on "a variety of ideas".

The Negotiating Council went ahead without the three COSAG members and discussed technical reports and draft legislation concerning an independent media commission, independent broadcasting Bill and independent telecommunications authority.

CP INVITES NAT MPs FOR TALKS

By Brian Stuart

IN a surprise move, the Conservative Party has invited a group of National Party MPs, said to number at least 25, to "come and talk to us about the future".

The invitation was made by Mr Tom Langley, chief CP negotiator, when he spoke at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting at Tzaneen, last night, along with AVF leader, General Constand Viljoen.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP leader, confirmed in an interview that he supported the open invitation to Nationalist MPs to set aside any preconceptions they had about the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront and to discuss the future.

"The fights we have had are a thing of the past. What we need to discuss now is the future, and what we can do about it," said Dr Hartzenberg.

Mr Langley told the Tzaneen meeting that there was a large group of National Party members of the House of Assembly who had serious misgivings about the tendencies that were developing in the country.

"I have it on good authority that the group numbers at least 25 MPs. I know they wish to walk out of the National Party, and are considering what steps they should take about the future," Mr Langley told The Citizen in an interview.

"They have been advised by a political expert to leave in a block."

"I want to invite them to get in touch with the CP about their political future. It is time we discussed these things."

Mr Langley said the group of dissenting MPs were obviously not "Leftist". Like many others, they were concerned at what was taking place in South Africa and at the direction in which the ANC and NP were taking the country.

"I know they are thinking of making a move and that they are looking for other political accommodation. I say they need look no further than the CP."

NP members had been

conditioned to regard the CP as enemies. He was not asking them to walk blindly from one political party to another, but to make contact and to talk to the CP with "eyes open".

Referring to the negotiation process, Mr Langley said the CP had joined the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) when it was formed on the initiative of KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi had been given an undertaking that the Codesa agreements would be reviewed in a new negotiation process.

"They caught us all for fools. There was no intention of reviewing Codesa. If it were not for the insistence of the COSAG people, it would also have been called Codesa."

"All they want us there for is to give credibility to what had been agreed bilaterally between the government and the ANC."

"All that is happening is that the government and the ANC are completely in cahoots — they have joined forces."

Mr Langley said that not a single proposal of any substance from the COSAG group had been allowed to alter the course that was adopted.

This applied, for example, to the COSAG insistence on giving priority to curbing violence, and to its objections to setting a date to elect a government for a state whose form had not been decided.

"All these views of COSAG were high-handedly swept off the table and ignored. The chairman merely ruled there was sufficient consensus, ignoring the COSAG opposing votes."

"I don't see any future for these talks."

"As a matter of fact, I think they are going to grind to a standstill very shortly."

CITIZEN, 20/07/93

AVF en ANC 'kan geweld saam keer'

DURBAN. — Die bedreiging van regse geweld en die daaropvolgende ontwrigting van die grondwetlike onderhandelinge kan voorkom word deur bilaterale ontmoetings tussen die AVF en die ANC, het prof. Braam Viljoen, broer van die AVF-leier genl. Constand Viljoen, gister gesê.

Prof. Viljoen, 'n voormalige teoloog en bestuurder van die Noord-Transvaalse Vredeskomitee, het op 'n vergadering in Durban gesê dat

regse geweld ernstig opgeneem moet word.

Hy het voorspel dat die AVF in die toekoms die meeste blanke sal verteenwoordig en dat dit onderhandelinge nadelig gaan beïnvloed.

Volgens prof. Viljoen het die regses meer steun as net die konserwatiewe Afrikaners en is daar 'n neiging na blanke "teenreaksie".

Die regses staan met die rug teen die muur en "as hulle nie erkenning kry nie, kan ons ernstige probleme verwag, wat geweld insluit", het prof. Viljoen gesê.

Hy het gesê hy glo nie die AVF gaan sy volkstaat-plan aan die onderhandelars in Kempton Park verkoop kry nie, maar sal moontlik 'n mate van toestemming in onderhandelinge met die ANC kry. — (Sapa).

BEELD, 22/07/93

CITIZEN, 14/07/93

'Team' that can capsize boat

Patrick Laurence reflects on a potentially powerful alliance between old foes

THE withdrawal from the negotiating process of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party has serious — even ominous — implications for the chances of a peaceful settlement.

Their withdrawal coincides with the entry of a new phrase into South Africa's political vocabulary: civil war.

Given the assumption that the negotiations should be as inclusive as possible, the withdrawal of either of these parties would be a blow to the quest for a viable settlement.

The apparently synchronised withdrawal of the two parties — their announcements suspending participation in negotiations came within hours of one another — is doubly dangerous. It brings together as prospective foes of the settlement two potentially formidable forces: Zulu traditionalists and Afrikaner nationalists.

Either on its own could make it awkward for South Africa's envisaged transitional government of national unity after next year's scheduled election on April 27: together they possess the latent capacity to disrupt the election

and/or to challenge the infant government.

The most immediate questions posed by their withdrawal can be defined crisply. What conditions have the parties set for returning to the negotiating table and can they be met?

The IFP has set a condition which will be difficult to fulfil: it has demanded the power to veto any decisions taken at the negotiating table, or — to put it differently — that the notion of "sufficient consensus" be broadened to include the consent of the IFP and not merely that of the African National Congress and the De Klerk administration.

The CP's prerequisite is that the 104-member Negotiating Council must give "unequivocal recognition to the Afrikaner's right to self-determination", implying that Afrikaners — defined to exclude Afrikaans-speaking coloureds — should have their own territory with its own constitution.

So far, however, the Afrikaner volkstaat idea has received little or no support in the Negotiating Council, although, in a possibly significant development, CP leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg is now talk-

ing about the volkstaat being a component in a federal rather than a confederal system.

The chances of the Negotiating Council accommodating the IFP and CP demands are, on the face of it, minimal. Thus, unless the two dissenting parties modify or retract their preconditions — "eat humble pie", to quote IFP leader Magosuthu Buthelezi — the supposition must be that their withdrawal will be permanent.

The next question follows logically: how strong are the IFP and CP, singly, and in combination?

The IFP has lost a lot of ground in recent years, particularly since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and subsequent disclosures that the De Klerk administration had secretly funded two IFP rallies — in November 1989 and March 1990 — and that taxpayers' money had been covertly funnelled into the IFP-linked trade union, Uwusa, for five years.

But it would be a mistake to dismiss the IFP as irrelevant, as a mere nuisance, a political mosquito which will not last longer than the night.

Buthelezi has shown himself to be a resilient and resourceful

leader over the years. At present he is causing immense anxiety in De Klerk's ruling National Party by tirelessly and successfully wooing whites. His success in broadening his support base by recruiting whites must not be taken as evidence that his support in the Zulu community has shrunk to negligible proportions.

The jibe that Buthelezi now has more white than black supporters may gratify anti-IFP prejudice; it should not, however, be utilised as a marker in trying to assess the IFP's strength among the Zulus.

Those who are wont to dismiss Buthelezi and the IFP should consider the IFP's undoubted success in retaining the loyalty of most Zulu migrant workers in townships around Johannesburg. Some of Buthelezi's most fanatical supporters are the men who live in squalid township hostels which, as the ANC complains, have become IFP fortresses.

The alliance that he has forged with King Goodwill Zwelithini is another factor that should not be discounted lightly: the Zulu king is revered by many Zulus as the symbol of Zulu nationhood; his presence at Buthelezi's side and

public endorsement of Buthelezi's political views is a powerful factor in the Zulu political equation.

While it is true that Buthelezi and Zwelithini were once rivals and that Zwelithini was accused in the 1970s of attempting to establish opposition parties to the IFP, they have been working in tandem for a decade now. Their partnership appears to be both potent and durable. The ANC is palpably anxious to sever the bond between the two men but has been singularly unsuccessful so far.

The CP is part of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AV). The CP's strength is that it can legitimately claim to represent more Afrikaners than De Klerk's NP. The AV has boasted that its actual or potential supporters include 500 000 men who have had military training. The AV's chairman, Constand Viljoen, is a popular former SADF chief.

Like the IFP, the AV-CP axis is eroding the NP's power basis in the white community. That, of course, gives its withdrawal from the negotiating process, in which the NP is perceived to be colluding with the ANC, a sharp political edge.

But the hard question remains:

would the AV-CP alliance, with its sympathisers in the security forces, offer military resistance if the demand for an Afrikaner state is ignored and a transitional government of national unity is established without its approval?

Arguing that decades of privilege and relative prosperity have made Afrikaners, like whites generally, unlikely candidates for military revolt, the Centre for Policy Studies states: "... the right-wing threat, even from disgruntled security personnel, will probably be eminently containable unless the Right can forge an alliance with a significant black force".

Buthelezi's IFP could, if it is not accommodated in the negotiating process, fulfil just that role.

The Centre for Policy Studies cautions against over-estimating the IFP's power but adds nevertheless "... the risks of pressing ahead without it are real since, stripped of alternatives, it may believe that it has little choice but to disrupt". □

"The Long Journey: South Africa's quest for a negotiated settlement. Edited by Steven Friedman. Published by Ravan Press."

Viljoen 'war talk' slammed

GOVERNMENT and the ANC yesterday criticised Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's "war talk".

"Gen Viljoen and right-wing leaders are playing dangerous games with the future of our country," warned ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said, "Gen Viljoen is again encouraging people to take warlike actions."

They were reacting to a speech by Viljoen in Pietersburg on Tuesday.

The Volksfront leader, quoted in Beeld newspaper, said the potential for conflict was so high that a bloodbath was unavoidable if government did not listen to demands of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag). He reiterated his call to Afrikaners to arm themselves and to form pressure groups.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and Kwa-Zulu government, as well as the CP, all in Cosag, have suspended their participation in negotiations. They accuse government and the ANC and their supporters at the talks of ignoring Cosag opposition on issues such as the April 27 election date and of forcing through decisions.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei delegations were reportedly also considering suspending their participation at the talks. A summit of Cosag leaders is understood to be in the pipeline. A Cosag source expected "an important announcement".

Inkatha delegates at the party's annual conference at the weekend gave its leadership the go-ahead to start a breakaway negotiations forum if it deemed it the only political option left open.

Inkatha warned on Tuesday it would form its own "private army" if killings against its officials, which the party said numbered more than 350, continued.

Viljoen reiterated right-wing demands for a separate independent state, and said Afrikaners would not serve under a black communist government.

Ramaphosa accused Viljoen of "stoking the fires of violence with his talk about civil war and bloodshed".

"The majority of South Africans will not stand by and allow the likes of Gen Viljoen to ride roughshod over them. We don't want to talk war but we are ready for them," Ramaphosa said.

He appealed to the right wing to come to Kempton Park "and put their view".

Schoeman added: "Each and every party has objectives it wants to achieve. The time to establish whether their goals have been achieved is when the constitution has been finalised. We believe that by being present when issues are debated we can ensure that we get what we want. The only way to solve problems is to talk to each other." — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY,
22/07/93

STAR, 21/07/93

Gen Viljoen refuses to back down

ROBERT BRAND, Political Reporter

AFRIKANER Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen has refused to back down from his call on Afrikaner people to arm themselves and reiterated that his organisation would turn to armed action unless its demands are met.

But he added he still believed in a negotiated settlement and said there was "a very great possibility of finding each other in the negotiation process".

Gen Viljoen was speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, following strong criticism by the government and the ANC of his "warlike" remarks in a speech in Pietersburg on Tuesday.

"I won't back off one yard from what I have said," Gen Viljoen said, adding that his Pietersburg speech did not differ from other speeches he had made in the past two months.

He claimed his remarks had been broadcast out of context by the SABC for propaganda purposes, to "strengthen the hand of the pro-negotiations people in the cabinet".

"The defence of my people is a matter I have discussed at all my meetings in the past two months. People are entitled to defend themselves.

"How can the ANC claim that I should refrain from violence if they are the biggest perpetrators of violence? How can the government blame me for wanting to defend my people?"

He said his Pietersburg speech, in which he called on people to arm themselves for self-defence purposes and organise politically to pressurise

Constand Viljoen and his bulldog in the backyard
— comment page 8

the negotiating process, had been intended to alert people to the great potential for conflict in the country.

Among the realities he had highlighted, he said, was the fact that "we have to go for a negotiated settlement now".

"I'm prepared to negotiate with anyone as long as it will further my cause. We are really looking for peace. But there cannot be peace without the Afrikaner nation," Gen Viljoen said.

He said the AVF eyed the negotiating process with suspicion, as it was heavily weighted against the members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

However, the AVF would submit concrete proposals — including maps, but not including proposals on final boundaries of the proposed Afrikaner state — to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer "before the end of the month".

Mr Meyer had promised to submit these proposals on the AVF's behalf to the negotiating forum, even though the deadline for regional proposals had already expired, he said.

He said the AVF would consult with other Cosag members before deciding whether to rejoin the negotiating forum.

"But if, through this uneven process, we are forced to accept defeat when we have not been defeated, we will go back to armed action, and I will be there. We're not beaten; we're not defeated."

PRETORIA NEWS, 23/07/93

Boshoff: Violence may be looked at

ORANIA. — The Afrikaner Vryheidstigting said many Afrikaners felt that all doors for a "volkstaat" have been closed.

"If Afrikaners became involved in the increasing violence, each will have to do so according to his own conscience," the chairman of the "Burgerraad" of AVSTIG, Professor Carel Boshoff, said on Saturday.

He said after a meeting of the council at Orania that circumstances could change so much that the council would have to consider violence, which was condemned, in great detail.

"It was also decided at the meeting to promote Orania intensively among businessmen, industrialists and farmers," said the report. — Sapa.

Row looms today over interim constitution which pleases no one

A MAJOR row over regional powers, particularly KwaZulu's demand for autonomy, is likely to be unleashed when the first draft of the interim constitution is published today.

The proposed constitution will be debated at the negotiating forum today after the parties have had five days to study the draft, drawn up by a technical committee.

Indications are that all main political parties have problems with the draft and that three of them — Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the CP — are to boycott today's debate.

The negotiators have set themselves a deadline of three weeks to agree on the interim constitution so that it can be submitted to Parliament in September. But with three big players refusing to return to negotiations, this could be difficult.

The ANC and the extended Cabinet held separate caucuses at the end of last week and at the weekend to discuss the draft. Inkatha and KwaZulu are meeting today to evaluate it.

A ruling by the negotiators prohibits public discussion of the draft before tomorrow afternoon, but some parties' reactions to it have lifted the veil slightly.

It appears that the technical committee has fallen short of drafting a compromise document that accommodate the major players' minimum demands. They appear to have pulled back from "in principle" agreements of their previous reports, which went much further towards meeting all parties' positions.

The ANC's national working committee had problems with the issues of regional constitutions and the structure of the constituent assembly. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said regional governments would be given strong exclusive powers and powers concurrent with those of central government. This should largely meet Inkatha's demands.

However, Ministers who attended a boss-beraad last week felt the constitution did not go far enough to address Inkatha's demands on regional government or the demands made by the CP.

A senior Cosag member said: "I just do not think it is good enough at this stage. It really does not accommodate the demands on regionalism that we were expecting. Negotiators are going to have to do something to ensure that other parties do not leave and join the other three by staying outside the process permanently."

Inkatha's second major objection is the issue of "sufficient consensus" which in effect allows government and the ANC to approve matters in the negotiating council, despite other parties' objections.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday his party would not return to the negotiating council

"until the instructions to the technical committee to draft a constitution have been revised and the whole question of sufficient consensus has been resolved to our satisfaction".

He said the technical committee's instructions had not reflected the gains and agreements made in discussions with government. There was nothing to discuss on the issue and "the situation just has to be corrected otherwise we will stay out".

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday it was a "pity that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were not going to be at the talks". He said the other negotiators could not be expected to look after Inkatha's interests. If Inkatha wanted to influence the constitution and the process it had to be part of it.

Yesterday the KwaZulu government placed a full-page advertisement in a Sunday newspaper outlining its objections to the way negotiations had been conducted and restating its rejection of a unitary state and an elected constituent assembly.

It appeared that the draft failed to meet KwaZulu's demand for guarantees that a central government not be able to interfere with regional governments.

President F W de Klerk said in Vereeniging on Saturday that strong regional government with original authority to ensure the decentralisation of power was one of the major areas being addressed by the constitution.

He said great progress had also been made in laying the foundation for a democratic society. This included finalising agreements that the transitional and final constitution be drawn up within the framework of constitutional principles to ensure the continuation of democratic government and the limitation through checks and balances of the power of any single institution.

In addition, during the first five years there would be a government of national unity in which all parties with significant support would take part, he said.

BUSINESS DAY,
26/07/93

AVF vasbeslote om voort te gaan met referendum

Politieke Redaksie

KAAPSTAD. — Die Afrikaner-Volksfront (AVF) is vasbeslote om met of sonder die Regering se hulp voort te gaan met sy planne vir 'n referendum onder Afrikaners oor 'n volkstaat, het mnr. Jurg Prinsloo, voorsitter van die AVF se staatkundige komitee, gister gesê.

Die AVF hoop om vandeeweeke al finaal te besluit oor die meganismes vir so 'n peiling.

Mnr. Prinsloo is om kommentaar genader oor die AVF se planne nadat mnr. Danie Schutte, die Minister van Binnelandse Sake, gesê het die Regering sal nie die AVF kan help met so 'n meningspeiling nie. Geen wetgewing bestaan om so iets te magtig nie. Daar is net wetgewing vir die hou van landwyse referendums en verkiesings.

"Dit is maar 'n ou pap verskoninkie daardie. Die staat het belastingbetalers se geld wat hy vir referendums en meningspeilings kan gebruik. Agentskappe is al aangestel om oor alerhande sake namens die Regering

ondersoek te doen. Lede van die AVF het net so hard aan die belasting betaal," het mnr. Prinsloo gesê.

Die Regering het al miljoene bestee aan beeldbou en bevordering van vrede. Die Regering is dit ook aan die Afrikanervolk verskuldig om hom, ter wille van vrede, 'n kans te gee om hom oor sy staatkundige toekoms uit te spreek.

As die Regering weier om geld en sy masjinerie vir so 'n peiling beskikbaar te stel, sal die AVF self 'n plan maak.

"Ons versamel besonderhede en is vol moed dat ons dié week al uitsluitend sal bereik oor die verskillende meganismes om die Afrikaner se wil te toets," het mnr. Prinsloo gesê.

Oor hoe die AVF vir die doel van so 'n peiling gaan bepaal wie Afrikaners is, het mnr. Prinsloo gesê die staat het gewens wat dit aansienlik makliker sou maak. Daarom het die AVF die Regering se hulp gevra. Sensusyfers, hoewel reeds effens verouderd, kan gebruik word, en uit gegevens wat uit 'n peiling verkry word, kan 'n mens ook aflei met wie jy te doen het, het mnr. Prinsloo gesê.

CITIZEN, 12/07/93

BEELD, 13/07/93

Right-wingers welcome ANC stand on Afrikaners

PRETORIA — Right-wing organisations yesterday welcomed what was perceived as a more tolerant approach to Afrikaner self-determination by the ANC, but warned that it was still to be proven that it was not mere semantics.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a news conference on Tuesday on his return from the US that the ANC was willing to concede to certain Afrikaner demands for self-determination in a new SA.

However the organisation was not in favour of ethnic states.

Mandela said Afrikaners who wanted self-determination should demand one of the new regions where they could "organise as is necessary".

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday Mandela's speech came closer to Volksunie policy than when they had met earlier this

year.

He said that up to now the ANC had opposed any Afrikaner reorganisation in a future dispensation.

The Volksunie's proposed map of regions called for two areas where Afrikaans-speaking people could dominate — one in the northwestern Cape and another in the Transvaal with Pretoria at the centre.

The Volksunie accepted that its members would have to share citizenship in these areas with people of other political persuasions and was willing to gain political power through democratic means in these regions.

Beyers said all people living in the area would have the same citizenship and that such an Afrikaner-dominated area would subscribe to the constitution and human rights code of the federal republic.

Afrikaner Volksfront director-general Tienie Groenewald said Mandela's speech gave the impression

that there was greater acceptance of the Afrikaner's right to self-determination within the ANC.

He said it was clear that the ANC and government had bowed under Volksfront pressure and realised that the Afrikaner would not cede his right to self-determination.

However, he suspected Mandela's speech could have been mere semantics aimed at keeping Afrikaners "off his back". It was clear the ANC would not accept a sovereign Afrikaner state.

Negotiators at the multi-party talks would decide in the next few days about the powers of regional and central governments of the future dispensation. It would be clear from this whether Mandela's speech was mere election politics or an honest approach to the Afrikaner.

CP general secretary Lem Theron said yesterday his party was "rather sceptical" about the speech and "this kind of soft-soaping" did not impress the CP.

Volksfront claims police membership

HUNDREDS of police officers and defence force members had discarded their political neutrality and joined the Afrikaner Volksfront, a high-ranking source within the movement claimed yesterday.

He said "whole police and defence force units" had signed up with the Volksfront, an umbrella body for right-wing organisations.

The Volksfront had finalised its plans for a passive resistance campaign which came closer to initiation "every time our plans are wiped off the negotiations table", the source said.

He could not confirm whether security force members would participate in the campaign.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said policemen who expressed a political allegiance to any party would be expelled from the force, as it was illegal for its members to belong to any political organisation.

"The police force will defend its professionalism at any cost," Kotze said.

He said 60% of the police force was black and if white policemen

DIRK VAN EEDEN

were allowed to join the Volksfront, nothing could stop black policemen from joining organisations such as Apla.

SA Defence Force spokesman Col Les Weyer said permanent force members were not allowed to take active part in politics and were restricted to voting and attending political meetings in civilian clothes.

A military expert said he doubted whether the Volksfront claims were true as Volksfront director Gen Constand Viljoen had not been a member of the defence force for 10 years, and he doubted whether Viljoen's following within the force was as big as he had claimed.

The Volksfront source said a first phase in the passive resistance campaign would be against new local government structures. Local "mobilisation committees" had been established and were ready to elect their own structures. The "local governments in exile" would continue to collect taxes and "run municipalities".

BUSINESS DAY, 15/07/93

BUSINESS DAY, 28/07/93

CP backs Viljoen

THE government's reaction to Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's recent statements was based on both ignorance and a disregard for the basic right of the volk to prepare themselves for self protection. Conservative Party deputy leader, Dr Willie Snyman, said yesterday.

Dr Snyman, CP spokesman on defence, voiced support for Gen Viljoen, whose "war talk" at a public meeting in Pietersburg on Tuesday drew sharp criticism from the government. African National Congress and Democratic Party.

Dr Snyman said: "Gen Viljoen did not encourage people to gather illegal weapons or to join illegal organisations. On the contrary, he called on the

1 200 people present to join the legal security structures in the country.

"On the other hand ANC leader Nelson Mandela has repeatedly called on the ANC youth to join Umkhonto we Sizwe and thus to become part of a revolutionary organisation with illegal weapons.

"This boils down to a revolutionary declaration of war against our volk."

"If the government then neglects its duty to call up peace-loving citizens of this country to prepare themselves, it is the duty of the Afrikaner Volksfront to act and call our people to readiness against the violent struggle that is continuously being waged against them."

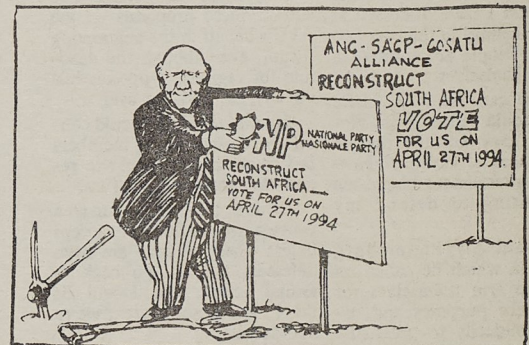
Dr Snyman said Afrikaners would not allow themselves to be threatened by terrorists or the government.

"Under these circumstances, negotiations become a farce, which boils down to capitulation to an ANC Communist alliance, for which legitimacy is being sought (at the multi-party negotiations) in Kempton Park."

On Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer's statement that the Volksfront had no reason to call people to arms, since the government had already undertaken to consider an Afrikaner state, the Boerestaat Party yesterday said if this was true, the government should have looked at the situation more than a year ago.

The leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said his organisation had informed all the delegates at Codesa of the Boer demand for the return of the former Boer Republics.

CITIZEN, 23/07/93



SOWETAN, 23/07/93



STAR, 20/07/93

PAC hits back at Right

By Sizakele Kooma

PAN Africanist Congress vice president Mr Johnson Mlambo led about 20 members of his organisation into the World Trade Centre yesterday in protest against the invasion by rightwingers last Friday.

The PAC had earlier cancelled a planned demonstration by its members at the centre, avoiding confrontation

with the security forces who had set up heavy reinforcements in and around the premises.

"We wanted to show our deep concern and anger at what happened on Friday but the Government thought there was going to be an Apla invasion.

"We scaled down the numbers of protesters because we did not want our voice to be ground in the blood of our own people," Mlambo said.

He said the PAC wanted the security forces to end their double standards and demanded that talks be moved to a neutral venue. The venue, he said, would be provided by the international community who would also chair the talks.

Asked if the PAC would pull out should the talks not be moved to a neutral venue, Mlambo said the PAC was evaluating the process and its position.

SOWETAN, 01/07/93

Azasm se dreigement 'is rassisties'

Mike van der Merwe.
Onderwysverslaggewer

AS die Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) dink hy kan die een dag blanke onderwysers van swart skole weggaga, maar hulle weer terugverwelkom wanneer hy agterkom hoeveel hy sommige van hul nodig het, wag 'n onaangename verrassing op hom, sê mnr. Ken Andrew, die Demokratiese Party se onderwyswoordvoerder.

Die probleme in die swart onderwys is reusagtig en ingewikkeld en dreigemente wat baie van die probleme sal vergroot, is nie nodig nie, het hy gesê.

Mnr. Andrew het gister kommentaar gelever op Azasm se aankondiging verlede week dat hy pogings om

blanke onderwysers uit swart skole te verwyder van Maandag, 26 Julie, gaan verskerp. Hy voel die blanke onderwysers het in baie gevalle afdankingspakkette gekry en doen nou die werk van swart onderwysers wat werkloos is.

Mnr. Kgomo Modisele, adjunk-president van Azasm, het gister gesê sy organisasie gaan in Oos-Kaapland begin met sy projek om blanke onderwysers uit swart skole te "verwyder".

Azasm kan egter nie nou al sê in watter ander gebiede hy beplan om dit ook te doen nie, want dan sal die Polisie moontlik 'n stokkie voor die planne steek, het hy gesê.

Mnr. Modisele sê hulle gaan die blanke onderwysers streek vir streek uit die swart skole verwyder

totdat daar oor die hele land heen geen blanke onderwysers oor is nie.

"Ons het dit goed beplan en sal die onderwysers só verwyder dat daar geen ontwrigting is nie. Die onderwysers sal nie met geweld verwyder word nie, maar waar die Polisie inmeng, kan probleme verwag word," het mnr. Modisele gesê.

Mnr. Andrew sê in die verklaring realisme, selfondersoek en 'n bereidwilligheid om die onderwysforum toe te laat om 'n positiewe bydrae te maak tot die onderwysituasie is eerder nou nodig.

Azasm se dreigement aan blanke onderwysers is volgens hom onverantwoordelik en rassisties. Elke gekwalifiseerde, gemotiveerde onderwyser met ondervinding wat beskikbaar is, is nou nodig, het hy gesê.

BEELD, 13/07/93

Swart koerant is 'n nuwe alternatief

BLOEMFONTEIN. - Groot maatskappye moet geld gee vir koerante vir die onderdrukte, het mnr. Benny Alexander, sekretaris-generaal van die PAC, in die naweek in Bloemfontein by die bekendstelling van die swart koerant The Eagle gesê.

Dié koerant gaan in die Vrystaat, Vaaldriehoek, Kimberley en op Warrenton, Sterkspruit en Aliwal-Noord versprei word.

Mnr. Alexander het gesê die nuwe koerant moet 'n "alternatief vir die alternatiewe pers wees", want selfs laasgenoemde het ook nou partypolitieke bande.

'n Behoefte bestaan in Suid-Afrika aan 'n onafhanklike swart pers wat waarlik oor swartnense verslag doen.

Volgens genl.-maj. Bantu Holomisa, militêre leier van Transkei, is daar te min ondersoekende joernalistiek. "Vreeslike dinge gebeur in ons land. Sonder die toewyding van joernaliste om die waarheid te ontbloot en sinistere magte te ontmasker, bestaan daar min hoop op oplossings."

Hy het voorts gesê persvryheid behels die beskerming van burgervryhede teen die uitbuiting van mense met diktatoriale neigings.

"Die volgehoute ontbloting van magsmisbruik en wanadministrasie moet die onverdeelde aandag van die media kry sodat die gierigheid van mense in invloedryke posisies nie bo regverdigheid en moraliteit gestel word nie."

Mnr. Johnny Maseko, redakteur van The Eagle, het gesê die koms van sy koerant is meer as net regstellende optrede. Hy wil ook help met ontwikkelingsprogramme en om stabiliteit in swart woonbuurte te bring.

BEELD, 19/07/93

PAC joins Cosag in objecting to 'sufficient consensus' mechanism

MULTIPARTY negotiations hit a new snag yesterday when the PAC joined Cosag members in insisting that decisions should not be taken without their concurrence.

Negotiations began without most of the members of the Cosag group who met in a nearby hotel to discuss Inkatha's demand that it would not return to talks without a veto right over decisions.

Members of the group, with the exception of Inkatha and the CP, which has also withdrawn, returned in the afternoon saying they would also have to reconsider their positions if the method of making decisions was not changed.

Inkatha members also held discussions with the PAC, after which the PAC declared its support for Inkatha's decision, taken at its annual conference, that no decision could be valid without its assent.

However, the negotiating council's discussions continued despite Cosag's absence after it was established that a quorum of at least 17 members was present.

The council decided against discussing the absence of Inkatha and the CP, which has cleared its World Trade Centre office, after members were informed that there had been no formal indication of the parties' withdrawal or their reasons.

Meanwhile, it emerged yesterday that Inkatha was not ruling out the concept of a two-phase approach to the transition, in which an interim constitution would be drawn up by negotiators and a final version by an elected constituent assembly.

Despite previous objections to a constituent assembly, a confidential Inkatha document presented to negotiators recently stated that Inkatha would be prepared

to consider a two-phase approach, but it also listed certain conditions.

Five conditions have already been agreed to by all major parties, but negotiators feel the remaining two might be difficult to reach consensus on. They relate to the special majorities required for changing regional constitutions and the concept of "shared sovereignty" between central and regional governments.

The document shows Inkatha's frustration with the process, saying the negotiations hold "no prospect whatsoever of establishing a federal future for SA".

The negotiating forum yesterday considered the reports of the technical committee on the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media committee, which were broadly agreed to. Amendments were suggested and the committee will present final drafts of proposed legislation before the month-end.

After returning to the meeting, AVU negotiator Moolman Mentz called for a review of the "sufficient consensus" mechanism in terms of which decisions were taken.

The mechanism does not require a numerical majority but rather stipulates that a decision will be deemed to have been made if the process can continue despite objections from some parties.

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said the ad hoc committee set up to discuss the question of sufficient consensus would meet today to finalise its proposals.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said the committee would have to

take into account a "new reality".

This was that there were effectively three groups taking part in negotiations - the Cosag group, the government group and the ANC group. The sufficient consensus requirement ought not to be satisfied without the concurrence of any one of these groups, because any solutions that were found would not be lasting.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille agreed with Cronje's objections, saying that some groups felt they were taking part in talks simply as "voting cattle".

Gordhan, chairman of the discussion group on sufficient consensus, argued in favour of the existing formulation, saying it gave the process enough flexibility to come to a decision on a broad variety of different issues. However he was confident that agreement on a new formulation could be found which would not affect the flexibility, but which could "modify the application" of the formulation.

But these agreements would not be possible unless changes were made to ensure that none of the parties engaged in filibustering, he said.

PAC to hold report-back

PAN Africanist Congress chief negotiator Patricia de Lille and general secretary Benny Alexander will on Saturday address a meeting of the central Transvaal region on developments at negotiations. The region announced yesterday that the meeting would be held at the Rethabile Hall in Mamelodi East, Pretoria, from 2pm.

BUSINESS DAY, 20/07/93

SOWETAN,
21/07/93

Algerians consider SA links

A four-member Algerian delegation is in Pretoria to forge political relations with the Government, ANC and the PAC.

After arriving on Sunday, the delegation met Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Renier Schoeman on Monday. Members were due to meet the ANC today and the PAC tomorrow.

A permanent presence here is an objective. — Pretoria Bureau.

THE STAR, 22/07/93

Benny on 'consensus'

THE Pan Africanist Congress believes the Government and the African National Congress enjoy an advantage at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park because of the concept of "sufficient consensus".

Speaking at a report-back meeting attended by about 100 supporters in Mamelodi, Pretoria, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander on Saturday accused participants at the negotiations of endorsing either Government or ANC proposals.

"I want to tell you that the ANC and the regime are winning at the negotiat-

ing table because of this thing called 'sufficient consensus'," he said.

Alexander said the PAC wanted a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution while others wanted the "elite" to be responsible, with the people only consulted later.

Alexander said his organisation had no problems with joint control of the SADF but insisted that Apla could not be included as it was not funded by taxpayers money. He said regional structures were out of question because the PAC believed in an undivided, unitary South Africa. — Sapa.

THE STAR, 26/07/93

Apla 'officials' make contradictory claims over Cape Town killings

THE question of who was responsible for Sunday's slaying of 12 Cape Town churchgoers and the wounding of 56 others was unclear last night as the Azanian People's Liberation Army first distanced Apla from the killings, then accepted responsibility.

In addition, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, while visiting the wounded in Cape Town hospitals, said a group calling itself "The People's Cause" had claimed responsibility. But the police had not heard of such a group.

After visiting Groote Schuur Hospital, President F W de Klerk called for a special meeting of the national peace accord.

"If any parties at (constitutional) talks are directly linked to acts like this, the moment of truth has arrived. They cannot be part of the search for a negotiated solution while involved in killing."

A man claiming to be Apla's Western Cape regional commander telephoned Sapa last night and claimed responsibility for the attack. Another man, who named himself "Ropa Honda, a western Cape commander", also called Sapa. He said the killings were in revenge for violence on the East Rand and Natal, and were part of the "widespread offensive against the settler regime and its security forces".

Earlier, Apla information officer Johnny Majosi said from Dar es Salaam that reports from Apla field commanders in SA indicated the PAC's armed wing had nei-

ther planned nor participated in the attack.

SAP Western Cape violent crimes unit head Col Leonard Knipe said similarities were being investigated between the church attack and previous attacks in East London and King William's Town.

He said five black men in para-military olive green uniforms had attacked the church and escaped in a '70s model light green Mercedes-Benz.

Yesterday Kriel laid a bouquet of red roses in the devastated St James Church, and said a team of 50 policemen had been assigned to the case, including top-ranking anti-terrorist and intelligence-related officers. The R250 000 reward was the biggest that police could offer.

Kriel said measures would be stepped up to prevent similar attacks and police would be gearing up their intelligence gathering to be in a position to find out when such attacks were being planned.

Multiparty negotiators at the World Trade Centre condemned the "senseless and barbaric" attack and said they were concerned that such acts of violence seemed to be repeatedly occurring on the eve of vital new developments in the negotiating process. In a unanimous resolution, they rededicated themselves "to resist this and all other attempts to disrupt negotiations, demoralise ordinary South Africans and sink our country into chaos and internecine violence".

BUSINESS DAY, 27/07/93

PAC eyes 'unproductive land'

DURBAN — Apla would not have to resort to force to gain land for black people if unproductive elderly white farmers occupying vast tracts of land vacated them, said PAC Transkei central region vice-chairman Gilbert Sineke at a weekend homeland rally, Sapa reports.

In a speech, Sineke said PAC president Clarence Makwetu would be requested to advise elderly farmers to "move so that this land is made available to the African people without the use of force by Apla".

He said Apla members had found unproductive white farmers occupying vast tracts of land.

This was disturbing and was an issue Makwetu should take up in his proposed meeting with white farmers, said Sineke.

He went on to criticise multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre, charging they would not bring true democracy.

"We do not believe the parties presently represented at the World Trade Centre are willing to put pressure on the regime to accept democratic rule in the country."

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports the PAC yesterday expressed its support for a National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) resolution to dissolve Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and SACP after next year's election.

The PAC said in a statement it had always advocated autonomy of the labour movement "as a matter of policy".

The PAC said it was no secret that workers' aspirations would never be accommodated in the constitution being drawn up by multiparty negotiators.

The PAC strongly supported Numsa's stand on nationalisation.

"Under the racist regime, the SA economy has been the most socialist for the benefit of the minority whites," the statement said.

On the same issue, NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Numsa's call for nationalisation clearly showed a rift developing between the alliance partners. "This is a clear indication that the struggle for the soul of the ANC has begun."

"At a time when the ANC endeavours to project itself as an organisation moving to the centre of the political and economic spectrum, this decision is hardly good news," he said in a statement.

BUSINESS DAY, 06/07/93

PAC stel voorwaardes oor deelname

BUTTERWORTH. — Die Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) het in die naweek gesê hy sal slegs aan aanstaande jaar se verkiesing deelneem "as dit gaan om 'n grondwetgewende vergadering wat 'n nuwe grondwet vir 'n nuwe staat moet opstel".

Die PAC sal nie aan die verkiesing deelneem as dit gaan oor 'n oorgangsregering of 'n grondwet nie, het mnr. Waters Toboti, hoofwoordvoerder van die organisasie, aan Sapa gesê.

"As dit is waaroor 27 April se verkiesing gaan, kan die PAC beslis nie deelneem nie. Ons sal nie deelneem aan verkiesings wat op bedrieglike veronderstellings berus nie," het hy gesê.

BEELD, 05/07/93

Azapo council meets

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its second national council from August 14 to 16 in Durban.

Announcing this, Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkademeng said the council would focus on the coming elections, the Biko Week campaign from September 6 to 12, violence and the education crisis.

Nkademeng said delegates were expected to pay a R120 registration fee.

SOWETAN, 27/07/93

Alleged Apla four face robbery charges

Court Reporter

Four alleged Apla members appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of robbery and attempted murder.

Themba Sishange (32), Wandile Washington Genu (23), Futhi Dalizulu (26) and Emmanuel Tsotseti (20), all of Katlehong, are being held in connection with the attempted robbery of an I&J warehouse on the East Rand.

Sishange, Tsotseti and Sishange's brother, Joseph (30), also appeared in court yesterday in connection with the ille-

gal possession of an AK-47 rifle and ammunition. Both cases were postponed to July 22. Joseph Sishange is out on bail.

● A group of 46 PAC supporters yesterday appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in connection with an illegal demonstration the day after the country-wide swoop on the organisation.

The supporters allegedly picketed without permission outside the PAC offices in Johannesburg on May 26. The case was postponed to July 16.

About 100 policemen were yesterday deployed at the court to deal with any possible disturbance.

THE STAR, 01/07/93

Caller claims APLA attacked policemen and warder

By Hugo Hagen

A MAN claiming to be from the Azanian People's Liberation Army last night claimed responsibility for two separate attacks on the South African Police and the killing of a prison warder, and claimed that more attacks could be expected in the PWV area "very soon".

In a telephone call to The Citizen last night, a man, claiming to be the national high commander

of APLA in South Africa, who called himself Carl Zimbiri, gave details of the two incidents and reasons why it took place.

He also disclosed that APLA units were "holding our horses" and were "awaiting big orders from Dar es Salaam" to escalate "attacks on our selected targets".

Zimbiri said his unit, consisting of himself and three APLA cadres, had finished a surveillance and assessment mission to

attack the Brixton base of the Johannesburg Flying Squad, and two of his men were then sent back to Soweto to steal a car for their getaway.

They chose the car of the warder, who resisted when his men tried to overpower him. In the scuffle he was shot in the back of his neck by one of his men, and died.

"Although that warder died, he had in fact indirectly saved the lives of several policemen at the

time, because I then called off the attack (on the Flying Squad) for the time being," Zimbiri said.

He said he was also informed yesterday by one of his field commanders in Cape Town, with the nickname of "Kapok", that an attack on policemen at Kayelitsha police station was only partly successful.

"Kapok had two trainees with him who had never been out on a mission, and when they be-

gan shooting at the police van, something went wrong and their inaccurate shooting only wounded some (of the policemen).

"Once again, the lives of policemen were saved by some unfortunate happening," he said.

In the attack described by Zimbiri, three policemen were wounded in the head and chests when they came under automatic gunfire as they were being transported from the police station on Tuesday night.

Several targets were indicated but not named.

Zimbiri said one was "a military base where satisfactory surveillance had been completed" and which would be attacked by a full APLA battalion.

"Several police stations around the country would be attacked and destroyed, not just one or two."

He said APLA will also target civilians, "mainly settlers but some people of other colours might also come under fire", although APLA only attacked White targets and did not "attack Black people".

CITIZEN, 01/07/93

Vacate farms: APLA to aged

DURBAN. — The Azanian Peoples Liberation Army would not have to resort to force to gain land for Black people if unproductive elderly White farmers occupying vast tracts of land vacated them, according to Transkei central region Pan Africanist Congress vice-chairman Gilbert Sineke at a weekend homeland rally.

Mr Sineke said PAC president Clarence Makwetu would be requested to advise elderly farmers to "move to old age homes so that this land is made available to the African people without the use of force by

APLA".

He said APLA members had found lonely, unproductive White farmers occupying vast tracts of land.

This was disturbing and was an issue Mr Makwetu should take up in his proposed meeting with White farmers, said Mr Sineke.

"The PAC is fighting for the return of the land and we are happy to learn that White farmers are leaving their farms because of APLA, a move which will facilitate land distribution in our country," he added.

He went on to criticise multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre, charging they would not bring true democracy to the coun-

try.

"We do not believe the parties presently represented at the World Trade Centre are willing to put pressure on the regime to accept democratic rule in the country."

He said that the PAC was taking part in negotiations "to get all the secrets that are planned to frustrate true democracy in this country and to report to our people on the nature and extent of political conspiracies that are taking place at these talks".

Democracy meant the government of Africans by Africans for Africans and the PAC remained committed to the total overthrow of the "White settler regime". — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 06/07/93

APLA calls for peace talks

By Kevin Flynn

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, last night "ordered" the PAC branches in Katlehong and Tokoza on the East Rand to meet with the ANC and IFP branches to stop the violence which has claimed 44 lives in the past three days.

A man calling himself Carl Zimbiri, commander of APLA in South Africa, told The Citizen in a call last night that if the violence in Tokoza and Katlehong was not stopped, APLA would "intervene with an iron fist and strike very hard at the perpetrators".

The source of the violence was "the settlers" who had used Black people to spark off the violence by simply playing them up against each other.

An APLA High Command meeting had been held in Bloemfontein yesterday, where it had been resolved to instruct the local PAC branch to meet with the ANC and IFP.

"We appeal to the ANC and IFP to co-operate, but we are ordering the PAC to carry out this instruction. We will

be checking the progress," said Mr Zimbiri.

APLA had sent intelligence officials into the townships to sum up the situation yesterday.

APLA had no cadres in the two townships, and could not intervene itself to stop the violence, as the fighting was "reactionary".

Mr Zimbiri was sure that the PAC would not hesitate to obey the order, as it came from the army.

Asked about any Right-wing threats, Mr Zimbiri said the arrest of Right-wingers following the occupation of the World Trade Centre was a camouflage and meant nothing.

"Don't get me wrong, the Right-wing has a lot of support in the Defence Force and the police, but they are coming where we want them to be," Mr Zimbiri said.

CITIZEN, 06/07/93

Vote at 16: ANC Azanian youth

THE African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and the Azanian National Youth Unity, the youth wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, want the voting age to be reduced to 16.

The two organisations held a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday which was followed by a joint news conference.

ANCYL publicity secretary Mr Parks Mankahlana said "that although they had agreed on a vot-

ing age limit of 16, the league was bound by an ANC decision that the voting age should be 18.

Mr Mankahlana said ANCYL was however holding discussions with the ANC to lower the voting age limit to 16.

The two youth organisations also called for the election of a Constituent Assembly that would draft and adopt a new constitution for the country. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 23/07/93



THE STAR, 28/07/93

Strange bedfellows miss negotiating point

ATTEMPTS by the Inkatha Freedom Party, its Concerned South Africans Group allies and its new strange bedfellow, the PAC, to devise a clear, legalistic definition of "sufficient consensus" are hardly surprising. But, like the ANC's ill-fated attempts at Codesa last year to pin down the precise vote in a constituent assembly required to approve a new constitution, it misses the point about the essence of constitutional and many other types of negotiations.

When the ANC proposed at Codesa that a constituent assembly be permitted to approve a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, it did so in the belief that it would be able to garner sufficient votes from an alliance of ANC-leaning parties to push through a constitution reasonably acceptable to it. The NP, which wanted a 75% majority, had estimated that at that threshold it would be able — with assistance from other anti-ANC parties — to block any unacceptable constitutional proposal.

Inkatha, then as now, knowing it can expect to win no more than 10% of the national vote, was and is opposed to the very idea of a constituent assembly where it would not be able to block any deal. That figure rises, perhaps, to around 18% for Cosag as a whole. But Inkatha cannot reasonably demand (just to be safe) a 95% constituent assembly majority. And that explains why it has demanded an effective veto right at

multiparty talks.

Given the nature of politics, none of this naked self-interest is either surprising or especially contemptible. It is, however, rather unsophisticated — and costly in terms of the delays it has caused in reaching a settlement.

In making these demands, all three have been putting the cart before the horse. And this is why: a constitution sets out society's "rules of the (political) game". Those rules include procedures for passing legislation and even amending that constitution. However, certainly in SA's circumstances, trying to precede constitutional negotiations by attempting to lay out in full detail a set of rules for devising the rules of the game is a wasteful exercise.

SA's new constitution, when it is eventually finalised, will reflect a complex interplay — and a delicate balance — of the interests of the various parties.

Ideally, SA's future constitution should accommodate all parties. The greater the extent to which it does so, the more stable will be our society. Therefore — as the ANC has now accepted by agreeing that comprehensive constitutional principles be determined at multiparty negotiations — the idea of a two-thirds majority or anything like it is inappropriate.

However, total consensus at any cost is also not the answer. Unless they fundamentally moderate their

own positions, it is unlikely the demands of either the PAC or the AWB/CP alliance can be accommodated. While there would probably be security costs attached to excluding them, they will be manageable.

Inkatha is a different story. It would, as Mangosuthu Buthelezi has intimated and as the pattern of violence demonstrates, have the ability to destabilise those areas where its support is concentrated — mostly Natal and the East Rand. The ANC and NP blocs would do well to continue bending over backwards to accommodate Inkatha.

Even so, Inkatha cannot expect its main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, to give it an unrestricted veto right for two important reasons.

The first has to do with the relative urgency with which the three approach negotiations. The ANC is in a hurry to finalise a settlement simply because it remains without any formal constitutional power. It also sees the country it wishes to rule collapsing around it. The NP, too, is looking for a rapid settlement. It believes the country cannot continue in its present limbo. Easing the transition for the NP is that it has negotiated a (so far imprecisely defined) share of power in a post-election interim government.

Inkatha, however, is in no such hurry. While it currently rules over a territory, opinion polls show there is no guarantee that it will retain power in Natal/KwaZulu in an elec-

tion. For this reason, the status quo may be preferable to life under a post-apartheid constitution. It certainly means Inkatha has a rational motive in seeking the best possible settlement terms. And it has little or no incentive to be hasty in seeking that most favourable settlement.

This is why ANC sources have tentatively suggested a clearly defined time frame would have to accompany any formula that gives the Cosag bloc anything like a veto. This, once again, is an attempt to devise a formula that would reflect the complex balance of forces. It should really not be necessary.

More important is for Inkatha to become more aware of its Achilles' heel. These weaknesses include its limited support base and — perhaps more importantly — the KwaZulu government's reliance on central state funds for survival. The "separate negotiations" (and, implicitly, secession) proposed by Inkatha are a pipe dream too, because Natal remains one of the country's poorest regions and will continue to depend on transfers from central government long into the future.

The ANC, by downgrading the status of a constituent assembly, and the NP in gradually diluting its power-sharing formula, have both made fundamental concessions because the power realities have demanded it. Inkatha's resistance to compromise of any sort suggests parts of its leadership are oblivious to these realities.

BUSINESS DAY, 27/07/93

No plan to ban APLA, says govt

THERE was no plan to ban either the Pan Africanist Congress or its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), following the St James Church attack, government sources said yesterday.

State President De Klerk and other senior government representatives have confirmed that they are committed to the negotiation process, which at present includes the presence of the PAC.

Negotiation sources said yesterday that if it was found that the PAC was responsible for planning and ordering murder or other crimes, it would have to answer to the world community, to the South African public and

to the Negotiating Council.

There was no proof that APLA was responsible for the horror attack on worshippers Sunday evening, although everything possible would be done to uncover those responsible for this and other attacks on innocent people.

Speaking after visiting survivors of the attack, State President De Klerk said the event should not undermine the peace efforts or the moves to reach agreements in negotiation.

"If this is politically inspired, and it seems to be, although there is no clear indication as yet, then we must know that those who perpetrate these deeds want us to be unnerved by this.

"They want us to stall and stop the process of negotiation."

Mr De Klerk added: "There is only one alternative for this country, and that is to work towards a just and equitable new dispensation."

"This government, and the government of national unity following it, will have to continue to deal with the few — I believe they are few — and vociferous minorities who work against the interests of the overwhelming majority of all people."

A senior government spokesman said it was clear from Mr De Klerk's consistent statements that the government would see the negotiation process through, and would not be side-tracked by

events, even as tragic as the St James Church attack.

The government has also stated its full support for the police in actions aimed at curbing the violence. A number of new measures were announced yesterday.

Government sources said negotiations were at a delicate stage, and poised on the edge of agreement. It was absurd to suggest actions such as banning, which could bring the negotiation process "crashing to a halt", with unthinkable consequences for the whole country.

"This seems to be exactly what the perpetrators want — to cause a panic reaction, to scuttle the negotiation process and to end hopes for peace," a government negotiator said.

'APLA chief' Zimbiri believed to be dead

Citizen Reporter

THE real Carl Zimbiri, who since early last year has repeatedly telephoned the media as the "internal commander" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) to claim responsibility for a series of attacks, is believed to be dead.

According to The Citizen's information, Mr Zimbiri died about six months ago.

An informant, who met him, was certain that the man who died was Mr Zimbiri.

Since then, however, calls from a Carl Zimbiri to the media claiming that APLA was responsible for attacks, have continued.

Police and others believe that the continuation of the use of Zimbiri's name, indicates that it is an alias that has been used by a number of different people.

Asked yesterday whether they had any evi-

dence that Carl Zimbiri was still alive. Chief of the SAP's Public Relations Division, Major General Leon Melet, said: "We have no record that such a person has ever existed. Carl Zimbiri could be several people using that name."

"We don't have any evidence that he is alive. He may never have been alive in the first place."

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said: "We believe Carl Zimbiri was a propaganda front used by the Pan Africanist Congress/APLA. It could have involved several people."

When The Citizen yesterday asked the Pan Africanist Congress whether they had any evidence that Carl Zimbiri was still alive, a spokesman said: "We don't know these people (APLA cadres). They are handled by the people in Dar es Salaam."

CITIZEN, 28/07/93

CITIZEN, 28/07/93

focus on PAC

'NO, we are not in favour of power-sharing and if we get some kind of majority in the constituent assembly, we will say to hell with whatever they agreed to in the negotiations."

This is the language of tough-talking Patricia de Lille. And as usual she means business.

In her office in Cape Town she is at once the aggressive politician, while also showing her often overlooked "nice" interpersonal style. Either way she talks straight: "We will write the constitution the way our people want it."

She feels strongly about grassroots input: "I can shout and talk about things, but we must reinforce what I am doing inside the World Trade Centre by talking to the people directly; the people I claim to represent there."

As a result the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will start off a nationwide tour at the end of this month with a rally at the Athlone Stadium. The venue is an indication that the PAC wants to draw in the "so-called coloured people".

Now the mother of 18-year-old Alistair, the wife of bus driver Edmund and living in Mitchell's Plain, De Lille says she could never accept being "classified coloured".

"The PAC was the first organisation that showed me an African, which showed I belong."

African location

One of seven children of an Afrikaans-speaking, PAC-supporting schoolmaster in Beaufort West, she spent her first decade in a "African location", until the family had to move to a coloured township due to the Group Areas Act.

Now 42, De Lille recounts tales of working for the PAC underground in the '70s, hiding information, among other places, under a cupboard in the room a policeman rented from her mother.

She ascended the ranks of the PAC during the '80s through the trade union movement — first as a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union and later as vice-president of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Before the unbanning in 1990 she was instrumental in unifying the Africanists Movement as the PAC's counterpart to the UDF.

She sees herself first and foremost as a Capetonian and she has vowed that she will spend the months before the election right there, spearheading the Western Cape campaign with publicity secretary Barney Desai.

"The Western Cape is politically more aggressive, co-ordinated and organised than the rest of the country," De Lille says.

"Our growth here is phenomenal, especially among the African youth. In Cape Town alone,

An interview with the frank, tough-talking **Mrs Patricia de Lille**, secretary for relief and aid of the Pan Africanist Congress, which was published in the Cape Town weekly *South*:



After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the number of African people being killed dropped. People will see us in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a nonracial South Africa emerge

we now have 52 branches."

But she concedes that membership among the "so-called coloured people", is lacking. Could that be due to the perception that the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are involved in killing and violence?

Identity crisis

"They (the coloured people) have an identity crisis. We will tell them that they are Africans and not coloureds. From that perspective they will be in a better position to understand our vision."

"We say there are two types of violence. The PAC is not involved in black-on-black violence. If you are, you are seen as a major political player. But if you kill whites, you are terrorists."

"After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the number of African people being killed dropped. People will see us

in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a nonracial South Africa emerge," De Lille says.

"It harps on the violence in the election campaigns, because they are the very parties responsible for the violence."

In the actual election campaign the PAC will go big on the land issue and education.

"I foresee the election being fought more on issues than on political parties," De Lille says. "We will have national issues and won't fight the Western Cape as a separate entity."

Forced removals

In the Western Cape the PAC will focus on the forced removals from places such as District Six, Claremont and Kenilworth.

"I feel the land issue in Cape Town should be addressed immediately after the election. There is a lot of state-owned land and the PAC will tell people we will provide back-up for development of the land."

"We are also going to talk to white farmers and tell them they can't farm by day and become vigilante *skietkommandos* by night."

De Lille's own inroads into the "coloured vote" have been mainly through her work for the PAC. After the unbanning she became foreign affairs secretary but last year she became secretary for relief and aid. Although working at national level, she spends a lot of time on community work in Elsie's River, Uitsig and Ravensmead.

"My profile is that of the PAC but people must make up their own minds about starting branches," she says.

"You do not ask people their party before giving them water. I say you cannot take dead people to vote for you."

She is also involved in other developmental projects, such as the South African Drought Relief Task Force and vaccination programmes for all.

And she has NO political ambitions.

"After the election the expectation for socio-economic upliftment will be even higher than the need. I want to continue working in a non-governmental relief capacity."

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



DP is only party people can trust, says Zach

BLOEMFONTEIN.

— The Democratic Party was the only party that had never been accused of involvement in violence, except perhaps as victims, nor had it ever been accused of stealing the people's money, Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, told the DP Youth at their national congress outside Bloemfontein yesterday.

Dr De Beer said that trust was going to be vital in the months ahead. In the midst of accusations by political parties against other parties there had to be a party that the people could trust.

One of the reasons why the police seemed to have such difficulty in apprehending criminals was that they had lost the trust of the people. Nowhere in the world could the police operate unless they had the trust of the people.

This had been lost in South Africa, because of all the years that the police had had to enforce the apartheid laws.

Dr De Beer said that it was important to change the attitude of the security forces so that they could become the "friends of the people" as they were in other parts of the world.

Dr De Beer said it was plain that security could only be achieved when there was a government representative of all the people and when that government controlled the security forces that were also representative of all the people.

He said that while there were members of all race groups in the security forces, these forces did not succeed to prevent crime and violence in South Africa because they did not belong to a united nation.

Dr De Beer said that most Whites did not trust

the ANC and most Blacks did not trust the National Party.

But these were big groupings, with many followers, which would have to be in a government of national unity.

It was vital for the DP to see that the ANC and NP were not alone in that government.

There was a huge need for confidence to be restored in South Africa, so that people again believed in the country, so that money and skills came into South Africa and did not leave it.

None of this could be done until there was pol-

governed as the DP wanted it, as the other parties did not yet understand what made a person a democrat.

• The DP Youth would become more confident, outspoken and courageous in its stand for its beliefs, Democratic Party national chairman Colin Douglas said in his closing address.

Mr Douglas said that the DP had played a facilitative role, been the "nice guys" bringing others together, but it now faced an election in which the values it believed in could only be protected by the Democratic Party. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 05/07/93

itical stability. This meant a government of national unity, which would only be held together if there was a strong party of the centre between the ANC and NP.

Dr De Beer said that there was now a large measure of agreement among the negotiators as to how the new South Africa would look.

The principles that had been agreed for the new constitution were broadly what the DP had stood for since its origins in the Progressive Party in 1959.

It would not be enough, however, that South Africa should be

Move on teachers is inciting: DP

CAPE TOWN. — The Azanian Students' Movement's warning to White teachers to leave township schools or be forced out was inciting, irresponsible and racist, Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said in a statement South Africa needed every available qualified, motivated and experienced teacher.

"If Azasem thinks it can chase teachers away one day and then welcome them back when it discovers how much it needs some of them, it is in for a nasty shock."

Mr Andrew, who is also a member of the DP's education group, said the problems of Black education were enormous and complex and threats would only exacerbate these problems. — Sapa.

CITIZEN, 13/07/93

DP opposes funding disclosure

THE DP objected yesterday to a clause on foreign funding in the second draft document on the Independent Electoral Commission, whose task it will be to ensure free and fair elections.

Multiparty negotiators at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park debated a 33-page draft document on the electoral commission.

The DP objected to a clause stipulating that all parties should be obliged to disclose the source of campaign donations exceeding R10 000.

DP MP Ken Andrew, backed by the Afrikaner Volksunie, said the clause was unenforceable and encouraged dishonesty.

The clause, furthermore, favoured foreign donations, which could be more easily concealed than local ones.

There was a need, he conceded, to prevent state funds going into party coffers,

but this would be concealed anyway if it was done.

The problem of intimidation also arose in this instance.

"The donor backing a party unlikely to win the election jeopardises its future under a new government," he said.

The SACP's Joe Slovo argued that a version of the clause was part of the constitution of nearly every Western democracy.

Slovo was backed by Luwellyn Landers of the Labour Party, who acknowledged that there could be problems with implementing the clause.

Andrew was supported by Volksunie delegate Moolman Mentz MP, who agreed that the disclosure mechanism was unenforceable.

Andrew said he had yet to find in one of the country's referred to by Slovo that the disclosure clause worked. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, 21/07/93

PAC se plan om bejaarde wit boere te verdryf, walg die DP

WILDA FOURIE.
Landbouerslagger

DIE PAC is met sy "rassistiese en gewelddadige" veldtog om bejaarde blanke boere van hul plase te verdryf, besig om die vlamme van 'n rasse-oorlog aan te blaas wat hierdie land gaan vernietig, het die Demokratiese Party (DP) gister gesê.

Mnr. E.K. Moorcroft, die DP se woordvoerder oor landbou, het in 'n verklaring die PAC se sogenaamde suksesvolle terreurveldtog "met walging" veroordeel.

"Só 'n veldtog is nie net rassisties en gewelddadig nie, maar ook heeltemal onverdedigbaar. Daar is verskeie opsies beskikbaar om grond te bekom. Die DP dring daarop aan dat grond deur die regsproes verkry word, eerder as deur die loop van 'n geweer.

"Die PAC se uitsprake is soos musiek in die ore van regse groepe wat jouk om die moorde op blanke boere te wreek. Die PAC is besig om die vlamme van 'n rasse-oorlog aan te

blaas wat hierdie land gaan vernietig," het mnr. Moorcroft gesê.

Die DP het ook 'n beroep gedoen op alle partye wat ondertekenaars van die Nasionale Vredesakkoord is en aan die veelparty-onderhandelinge deelneem, om die PAC se growwe oortreding van die akkoord en van alle aanvaarbare en ordentlike menslike gedrag te veroordeel.

Dr. Pieter Gous, president van die Vrystaatse Landbou-Unie (VLU), het in 'n verklaring gesê die Regering moet kennis neem van die "ontsettende bitterheid op grondvlak teenoor die uitmoor en vertrapping van blankes wat veral op die platteland aan die gang is".

Dr. Gous het gesê die moord en aanval Saterdag op Wesselsbron was 'n doelbewuste rasmoord en politiek gemotiveerd.

"Gepubliseerde bevindings van Markinor toon dat 10 persent van stedelike swartes glo die moorduitsprake van Apla en Umkhonto we Sizwe moet uitgevoer word. Meer as 40 persent van die swartes ondersteun egter nie hierdie gedagte."

BEELD, 07/07/93

DP wants no deadline for new constitution

Political Correspondent

A PROPOSAL that the elected constitution-making body should meet until it achieves 70 percent approval, without a deadline for a new constitution, has been made by the Democratic Party in its submission to the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues.

Mr Douglas Gibson, who, with Mr Tony Leon, drew up the proposals, said the so-called transitional constitution should remain in force until the constitution-making body (CMB) had completed its task.

However, there should be no deadline or sunset clause. The CMB should continue to debate and

seek consensus until it could obtain sufficient support.

This would prevent any party or group from deliberately trying to wreck the process by vetoing constitutional proposals when a deadline for consensus was reached.

Obviously, if the first CMB did not reach agreement, then at the next general election the political parties would have to explain their stand on the issues involved.

Mr Gibson said the DP did not expect that this would happen. But it did believe that until consensus was reached on a permanent new constitution, the so-called transitional constitution should remain in place and be binding.

ding.

The DP also proposed that the election of the president should require a majority of 50 percent plus one at a joint sitting of both houses of Parliament.

All parties with five percent or more support in a national assembly should be invited to join a 20-member Cabinet, but would not be compelled to take part. The President would appoint a Prime Minister from the ranks on the Cabinet.

It proposed that there should be a maximum of 10 Deputy Ministers. While Ministers would have to be drawn from Parliament, Deputy Ministers could be appointed from outside.

CITIZEN, 14/07/93

DP unveils its interim constitution proposals

THE DP has proposed an interim constitution providing for an elected President with limited powers, a Prime Minister and a 20-member multiparty Cabinet to run the country by consensus.

DP negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew, unveiling the proposals yesterday, said his party believed the next constitution should not be regarded as temporary and thus had to be comprehensive.

The DP proposes a two-chamber parliament with the President elected by a simple majority at a joint sitting of both Houses.

The President will appoint the Cabinet members from the elected MPs. Each party with more than 5% of the vote will be entitled to proportionate Cabinet representation, and the President will have to accept party leaders' nominations. The President will appoint a Cabinet member as Prime Minister.

If no consensus can be reached in the Cabinet, decisions will be taken on a two-thirds majority basis, giving effective multiparty control over line management functions.

The DP proposes that all Ministers be individually accountable to the President and parliament for the administration of their Ministries, and collectively accountable for the administration of the Cabinet.

The President will be obliged to fire any Minister if the lower House resolves by a majority that it has no confidence in him.

The President will be commander-in-chief of the defence force, shape foreign policy and appoint ambassadors subject to the confirmation of the upper House, which approves all senior public servant appointments; negotiate

BILLY FADDOCK

treaties; declare states of emergency; call referendums; and commute criminal sentences or grant pardons.

The DP proposes a lower House or national assembly of 400 members, elected on the basis of proportional representation. All parties with more than 1% of the vote will be represented in the House. Three hundred of the members will be elected from regional party lists and 100 from national lists.

Each voter will have two ballot papers. One will be counted twice — for the national list and the regional list — while the second will elect the regional legislature.

The upper House or senate will be elected by separate electoral colleges for each region. Each region will have a minimum of four senators and a maximum of nine.

The constitutional principles negotiated at the multiparty forum must be absolutely binding on the elected body. Other constitutional matters must be amended by at least a 70% majority of the national assembly.

Amendments to the powers, duties, functions and boundaries of the regions require a majority of 70% of both Houses, sitting separately, plus a 75% majority in the regional legislatures affected.

Amendments to the Bill of Rights require a 75% majority in both Houses, and the same majority from 75% of the regional legislatures.

Regional legislatures should systematically assume the powers, duties and functions assigned by the constitution to regions and finalise their own regional constitutions.

BUSINESS DAY, 14/07/93

DP takes up ANC's challenge on support

CAPE TOWN. — The Democratic Party accepted an African National Congress challenge to debate which party had the most support in the Elsies River area on the Cape Flats, DP Western Cape regional chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said yesterday.

His statement follows attempts by ANC hecklers to disrupt a DP election meeting in the Coloured housing estate on Monday, and an ensuing row between the parties.

Mr Walsh said he had already invited ANC regional chairman Dr Allan

Boesak to a meeting to make arrangements for the debate, which should be televised to broaden its audience.

This would hopefully cause the "full glare of publicity to inhibit those bent on disruptive, destructive and violent activities".

"The ANC have now ably demonstrated their ability to break up and disrupt DP meetings through displays of thuggery and hooliganism."

"Neither the ANC's behaviour at Elsies River, nor their subsequent public statements, will contribute to the holding of free and fair elections in this region, and confirms the perception of their predisposition to violence."

The DP rejected an ANC claim that Elsies River was known to be a strong ANC area, he said.

BEELD, 22/07/93

DP se voorstelle gemik teen misbruik van mag

Politieke Redaksie

DIE Demokratiese Party se grondwetlike voorstelle vir 'n tussentydse periode is daarop gemik om te verseker dat die eerste grondwet al "verteenwoordiging, aanspreeklikheid, praktiese haalbaarheid en remme en teenwigte teen die misbruik van mag" verseker.

Die DP het sy voorstelle gister by die tegniese komitee oor grondwetlike sake ingedien. Van die sleutel-aspekte sluit in:

- 'n Nasionale vergadering (volksraad) met 'n laer huis van vierhonderd lede wat op die grondslag van proporsionele verteenwoordiging verkies word. Die afsnypunt moet 1 persent wees.

Driehonderd lede moet van streeklyste verkies word en honderd van nasionale lyste;

- 'n Senaat. Elke streek moet deur 'n minimum van vier en 'n maksimum van sewe senatore verteenwoordig word, gegrond op die aantal stemme wat in 'n streek uitgebring is;

- Grondwetgewing en -wysiging. Enige wysiging van die magte, pligte, funksies en grense van die streek moet goedgekeur word deur 'n meerderheid van die lede van die nasionale vergadering en van die senaat, wat afsonderlik sit, asook deur 'n meerderheid van driekwart van die streekregerings;

- Die president moet verkies word in 'n gesamentlike sitting van albei huise op die grondslag

van 'n eliminerende stemmery waarin 'n meerderheid van 50 persent plus een bepalend sal wees;

- Die kabinet moet uit twintig lede bestaan en saamgestel word op die grondslag van proporsionele verteenwoordiging uit alle partye wat steun van minstens 5 persent in die nasionale vergadering geniet. Indien geen konsensus oor 'n bepaalde kwessie bereik kan word nie, moet 'n meerderheid van twee derdes voldoende vir 'n beslissing wees; en

- Die eerste streekregerings moet op dieselfde dag as die nasionale vergadering verkies word. Elke streekregering moet dieselfde aantal lede hê as die aantal lede van die nasionale vergadering wat van die partylys van daardie streek gekies is, maar geen streekregering moet minder as 25 en meer as 75 lede hê nie. Streekregerings sal outomaties die magte, pligte en funksies aanvaar wat die grondwet aan streke toevertrou. Hulle moet ook hul eie streekgrondwette self opstel en afrond.

BEELD, 14/07/93

DP slams ANC land use plan

Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — The latest ANC plan proposing hunting and cattle farming in South Africa's national parks verges on stupidity, Democratic Party environment spokesman Rupert Lorimer said yesterday.

The plan revived the viewpoint — mooted by ANC agriculture spokesman Derek Hanekom and quashed by his organisation earlier this year — that grazing for cattle could be made available in the Kruger National Park, he said.

The ANC's latest plan quotes Mr Hanekom and another ANC member, Louis Liebenberg, as saying national parks should be considered for cattle grazing and hunting.

"I agree that all forms of land usage need to be reviewed, giving special consideration to benefits to local communities. But if these gentlemen were more knowledgeable about the benefits of conservation and ecotourism, the options put forward would be totally rejected."

PRETORIA NEWS, 16/07/93

Nóg private leërs sal geweld vererger, sê die DP

Francois Lötter

DIE skepping van nog private leërs in Suid-Afrika sal die geweld, wat nou endemies geword het, vererger eerder as om dit te ontloot.

Die enigste manier om die spiraal van geweld te breek, is om daarop aan te dring dat alle leiers hulself nie net tot die Nasionale Vredesverdrag verbind nie, maar verseker dat hul

lede en ondersteuners nie betrokke is by gewelddadige aksies nie.

Só het die Demokratiese Party gereageer op die uitlating van dr. Frank Mdlalose, die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) se nasionale voor-sitter, dat die IVP dalk 'n private leër moet stig om sy lede te beskerm.

Dr. Mdlalose het gereageer op die moord op 19 Julie naby Germiston op sewe Zoeloes wat van die IVP se kongres in Ulundi teruggekeer het.

Mnr. Lester Fuchs, 'n DP-woordvoerder oor wet en orde, het gister gesê politieke teenstanders moet die DP se voorbeeld volg om vrede in die land te verseker.

"Tot nou was mnre. (Nelson) Mandela, (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi en pres. (F.W.) de Klerk meer geneig om die skuld vir die geweld op hulle teenstanders te pak eerder as om sterk aksie te neem teen hul eie lede en ondersteuners."

BEELD, 22/07/93

New SA will be good for all, says DP MP

By Cheryl Hunter

A small crowd gathered in Yeoville's Rocky street yesterday to hear their MP, Douglas Gibson of the DP, give his first "street speech".

Gibson told the onlookers to "get on with the business of living because the new South

Africa is going to be good for all of us".

He assured his small audience that South Africa needed a party like the DP because it "has never been involved in corruption and has never supported the NP".

"We will act as watchdogs because some of the

other parties consist of autocrats who don't care about ordinary people."

Gibson criticised Nelson Mandela for wanting to lower the voting age.

The crowd was speckled with DP supporters, but most in the audience condemned the party's free-market policy and democracy in general.

Keswa Macdonald said: "We have to address the disparity between the rich and poor. The DP offers no solutions to this problem."

Gibson said the future lay in the hands of SA citizens. "If the people want peace, there will be peace," he said.

STAR, 26/07/93

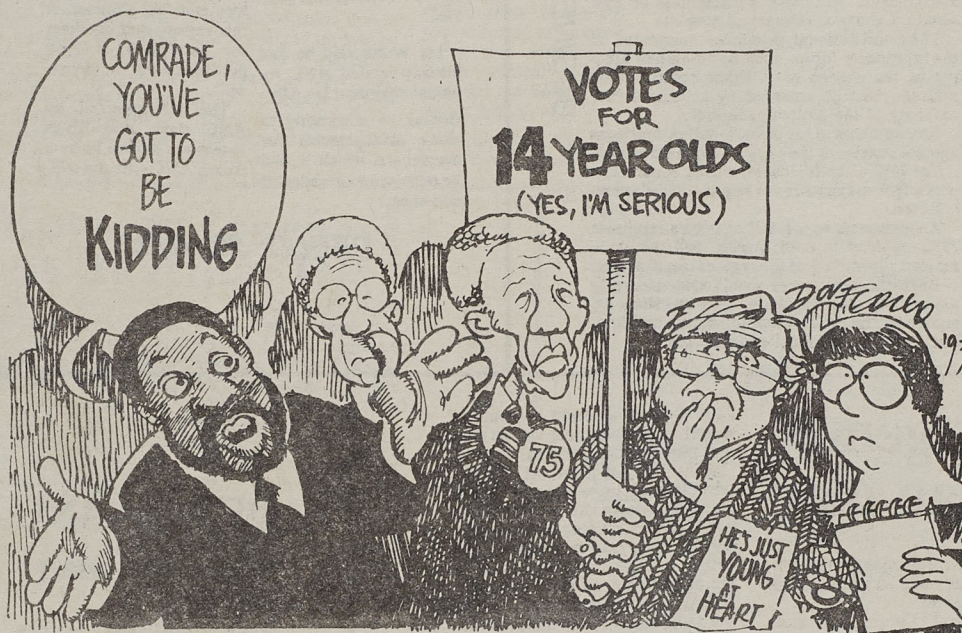
DP names regions

THE DEMOCRATIC Party yesterday recommended that South Africa be demarcated into nine regions for the first nonracial proportional representation election.

The proposal was submitted to the Commission on the Demarcation-Delimitation of Regions appointed by the negotiating council at the multiparty negotiations.

The regions in the DP's proposal are Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Keiland, Free State, Natal, Kalarari, Transvaal, Bushveld and Witwatersrand. — Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

SOWETAN, 06/07/93



STAR, 21/07/93

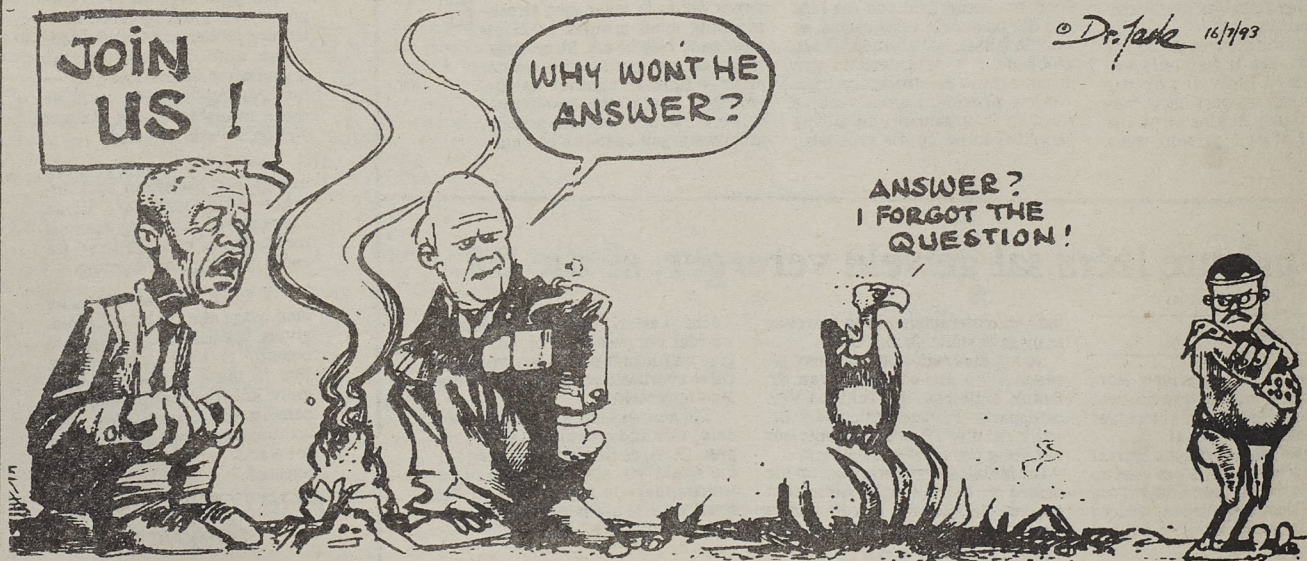
Rocky road ahead

THE coming years will be tough for business, says Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Addressing a Business Conference for Active Change in Johannesburg, he said: "For the sake of the workers, managers, shareholders and the country, it is vital that our businesses survive, make profits and pay tax." The changing political climate would create numerous strains and anxieties but nothing must be allowed to interfere with the efficient, cost effective and profitable management of business.

De Beer called for increased representation of blacks in management positions of companies, but placing people on positions they could not handle should be avoided. "Where appropriate, this should be done by management in concert with trade unions," he said. Urban Foundation chairman Mr Mike Rosholt said business should forge mutually acceptable links with all of South Africa's communities.

SOWETAN, 01/07/93



PRETORIA NEWS, 16/07/93