

The Star

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Spendthrift offspring

The Government is seeking new powers to bring errant homelands into line. It should exercise them judiciously and even-handedly.

THE extraordinary events in Lebowa have been a long time coming and no doubt foreshadow similar problems elsewhere. Of the six self-governing territories, only the books of KwaZulu and QwaQwa appear to reflect relatively healthy administrations.

It is of course true to observe that Hendrik Verwoerd and his apartheid architects gave birth to the unworkable and exorbitant homeland system, but the more pertinent question is how President de Klerk's Government hopes to handle the crumbling situation in Lebowa.

In contemplating further action against an increasingly petulant Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike and his big spenders, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie should bear in mind just who is bankrolling Lebowa — the South African taxpayer.

Hefty salary increases awarded to Lebowa civil servants — backdated for up to five years — are patently irresponsible given the state of the homeland's finances. Pretoria, belatedly in our view, is contemplating getting tough. The legislation tabled in Parliament giving the President powers to effectively take over the administration of an ailing homeland is a long overdue attempt to resolve an utterly unacceptable situation.

Significantly, it is not only the errant Lebowa administration that is targeted. The Government should also not hesitate to use its power against other wayward and spendthrift administrations. Too often it has gone soft on the illegitimate offspring of apartheid. We trust it will now use the full might of this legislation to call a speedy halt to a situation which the country simply cannot afford, in financial or any other terms.

Arm Scor post for MK man

■ BY BRONWYN WILKINSON

Ex-Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Yacoob Abba Omar has been appointed chief public relations manager for Armscor.

Abba Omar (32), who previously worked in the ANC's department of information and publicity and at the Technikon SA, will join Armscor on October 1.

He is to replace Johan Adler, who left the corporation in May.

He said he would like to retain his ANC membership although he was joining Armscor as an individual and not as an ANC representative.

Sources in Armscor said the posting was approved and negotiated "at the highest level" in the corporation and was in line with Armscor executive general manager Tielman de Waal's stated intention to make the corporation more "accountable, accessible and transparent".

Abba Omar said he was "excited by the challenge" that his new job presented, particularly since he would be the youngest-ever member of the Armscor management board.

He would make it his task to assist Armscor through the transition process to a point where the parastatal could set the paths for other areas of the manufacturing industry.

Goldstone and peace accord ction process

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arrived at the United Nations in New York for a meeting with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

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Government spokesman Dave Steward said Mr De Klerk and Mr Boutros-Ghali would discuss normalisation of South Africa-United Nations relations and the lifting of remaining sanctions.

This is expected to be trig-

gered by an announcement from African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in the General Assembly chamber today.

South African officials believe the General Assembly will meet next Friday to pass a resolution to lift sanctions in accordance with the announcement Mr Mandela makes today.



F W admits to 'success' of foreign pressure

PETER FABRICIUS

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — As ANC President Nelson Mandela prepared to signal the end of sanctions here today, President De Klerk acknowledged at the United Nations that international pressure had played a part in bringing about change in South Africa.

Replying to a question at the UN headquarters after an hour-long "constructive and friendly" meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Mr De Klerk said he was sure that international pressure "did have a marked effect on the internal debate".

However, he also said in reply to the same question that sanctions had distorted the economy and that South Africa would pay the price for a long time to come.

Mr De Klerk welcomed the passing of the TEC Bill yesterday and said it meant that "that the process has really become irreversible".

He said the positive reaction to the TEC Bill from the US government and others substantiated this view.

Observers believe that Mr De Klerk was trying to preempt Mr Mandela's speech and that the White House reaction coming today — instead of after Mr Mandela's highly publicised speech — had helped him do that.

Mr De Klerk welcomed the fact that "hopefully" Mr Mandela would make a "positive and constructive" speech to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid today and would "come aboard" with all those parties, including Inkatha, that said the time for sanctions was past.

He did not expect a "sudden, tremendous influx" of investment when sanctions went.

Violence had affected the confidence of investors, who were also waiting for a clearer message that their investments would be safe under a new government.

He welcomed signs that the ANC, which had supported failed economic policies, was now realising the need for free enterprise.

Archbishop defends communion for Mandela

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IN special circumstances non-Roman Catholics may receive holy communion, says Cape Town Roman Catholic Archbishop Lawrence Henry, who has been widely criticised for administering the sacrament to Nelson Mandela and Allan Boesak.

Pictures of the African National Congress president, who is a Methodist, taking communion have been widely published.

In a letter to the Southern Cross, the Catholic weekly newspaper, Archbishop Henry said Mr Mandela and Dr Boesak, a member of the NG Sendingkerk, had presented themselves for communion at St Mary of the Angels Church in Athlone during Mr Mandela's recent Western Cape tour.

"I have never in my over 30 years as a priest refused holy communion to any persons who presented themselves at the altar with dignity and sincerity."

The Vatican said that in general the Catholic Church per-

mitted access to its eucharist communion and to the sacraments of penance and anointing of the sick "only to those who share its oneness in faith, worship and ecclesial life".

In circumstances by way of exception and under certain conditions, "access to these sacraments may be permitted or even commended for Christians of other churches and ecclesial communities".

Southern Cross editor Bernard F Connor said in an editorial there was nothing wrong or unusual in giving commu-

nion to whoever came forward to receive.

At this solemn moment priests welcomed others as Christ did in good faith without making any attempt to judge their faith or morals.

Archbishop Henry said he had heard a moving and inspiring sermon preached in St Mary of the Angels during the service at which he gave communion to Mr Mandela.

The sermon was about the need for the basic Christian values of justice, compassion, reconciliation and peace



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

FLASHBACK: The picture which started the furore. Archbishop Lawrence Henry gives Holy Communion to Nelson Mandela.

Government seeks 'broadest agreement'

□ 'All views to be accommodated'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT negotiators are to intensify efforts to accommodate Inkatha and right-wing aspirations in the interim constitution, following parliament's overwhelming endorsement of the transition to a new order.

Intensive bilateral meetings are expected in the weeks ahead.

Parliamentary approval of the four Kempton Park Bills — the first legislation ever brought to parliament with the blessing of parties representing all South Africans — clears the way for negotiators to tackle the interim constitution, the last major hurdle before next year's election.

The target date for the completion of the interim constitution is the end of October, ahead of the next special session of parliament starting on November 8.

Shortly after MPs voted 211-36 to approve the far-reaching Transitional Executive Council Bill — with only the Conservative Party and IFP dissenting — Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said the government's chief aim now was to achieve the broadest possible agreement on the content of the interim constitution.

"We are going ahead on a full-time basis to negotiate with (the IFP and Afrikaner Volksfront) to ensure that."

Mr Meyer, who said he was "relieved" at the passing of the TEC Bill, said drawing the IFP and the Afrikaner Volksfront back into the talks was no longer a priority.

Seeking broad agreement on the contents of the constitution was now more important, and this could be achieved through bilateral meetings.

He said the government would press for "a maximum devolution of powers to the regional and local level", but would also work to "allow the broadest possible accommodation for the concept of self-determination".

If there were parties that did not accept the government's concept of self-determination, "we would go further and seek, with them, provisions in the constitution to accommodate their concept on the basis of a federal dispensation".

Contrary to expectations, the vote on the four Kempton Park Bills proceeded without event.

The CP registered its dissent immediately after the vote on the TEC Bill by declaring the legislation a revolutionary act of abdication, and walking out of parliament for the remainder of the session.

South Africa's Parliament Votes For a Black Role in Government

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Sept. 23 — After a rollicking debate in which white separatists denounced President F. W. de Klerk's chief negotiator as a "despicable traitor" to his race, the South African Parliament bowed to the inevitable today and approved a law giving blacks their first official say in the running of the country.

The legislation authorizes creation of a transitional executive council, including one representative each from all the major political parties and jurisdictions, to oversee Mr. de Klerk's Government in the months leading up to the first universal election next April.

The ritual cleared the way for Nelson Mandela to call for the lifting of the last economic sanctions against South Africa. He is expected to do so in a speech

Friday at the United Nations in New York.

Passage of the measure was never in doubt after negotiators from the major black and white political parties approved the draft on Sept. 7. Parliament is dominated by Mr. de Klerk's National Party, and functions these days as a glamorized notary public, rubber-stamping decisions made in the multi-party negotiating forum.

The legislation was approved 107 to 36 in the white House of Assembly, with no defections from Mr. de Klerk's party, and cleared the separate, largely powerless houses for Indians and mixed-race legislators without a dissenting vote. Blacks have no representation in Parliament.

'Path of Abdication'

Members of the white separatist Conservative Party seized the occasion for a frenzied lament of apartheid's demise. During four days of debate, the Conservatives howled in dismay at the presence of the Communist Party in the transitional authority, warned of civil war, and greeted Roelf Meyer, the chief Government negotiator, with shouts of "Traitor!"

"The Government has finally put its foot on the path of abdication," de-

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL

Black Government Role Approved in South Africa

Continued From Page A1

clared Ferdi Hartzenberg, the Conservative Party leader, after the vote.

Graver concerns about the transition stem from the persistent violence in several black townships, and from the continuing holdout of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha has so far refused to accept the planned election date of April 27 or to say whether it will take a seat on the transitional authority.

Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, has demanded that negotiators first agree to entrench the

World set to lift sanctions as TEC Bill passed

Doors open for new SA

BY PETER FABRICIUS
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

The passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill has accelerated the pace of South Africa's transition, opening the door to democracy and sending an invitation to the world to rehabilitate this long-isolated country.

US President Bill Clinton boosted confidence in South Africa's future with an upbeat statement from the White House last night, hailing the TEC Bill and promising new initiatives to help restore economic growth.

Warm words also came from the Commonwealth and the European Community.

President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela are both in the United States seeking to inspire an international community that has been growing doubtful about the chances for a stable transition here.

Mandela is expected to call for the lifting of all sanctions other than the arms embargo at a United Nations session in New York later today — bringing to an end a decades-long struggle between the ANC and Pretoria.

De Klerk, speaking earlier at UN headquarters after an hour-long "constructive" meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, welcomed the passing of the TEC Bill and said it meant "the process has really become irreversible".

De Klerk said "hopefully" Mandela would make a "posi-

NOW for the next and perhaps biggest negotiating hurdle, the interim constitution

tive" speech to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid.

As it piloted the TEC Bill through Parliament in Cape Town yesterday, the Government also extended an olive branch to wary rightwingers. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government was prepared to seek a form of self-determination for Afrikaners in a federal dispensation, and was negotiating with the Afrikaner Volksfront.

An overwhelming majority in Parliament voted in favour of the Bill, which will give

black South Africans a meaningful say in running the country for the first time.

The Conservative Party, which has vehemently rejected the Bill, reacted to the passing of the legislation by walking out of Parliament for the remainder of this session, which ends today.

The ANC welcomed the Bill as "a major victory for the forces of peace and democracy at the multiparty negotiations forum, and a severe defeat for the spoilers".

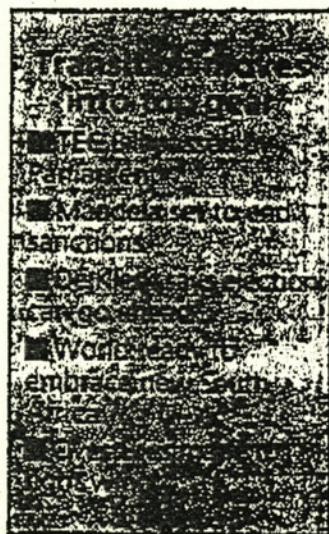
Right-wing predictions that National Party members were poised to vote against the TEC Bill were proved wrong when only the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party opposed it.

After the result had been announced in Parliament, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg rose on a point of order to say that the Government had begun the road to abdication. The 32 CP MPs in the chamber then filed out to sarcastic shouts of "hamba kahle" (go well) from members of other parties.

Earlier, Parliament had also voted in favour of the Independent Electoral Commission and Independent Media Commission Bills. The CP opposed both of these but the IFP supported them.

The TEC Bill now goes "on ice" as negotiators tackle the single biggest hurdle to a new dispensation — the interim constitution.

The Bill will become effective



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Doors open for new South Africa

◀ From Page 1

tive once a plenary session of the multiparty negotiations process has approved the interim constitution.

The legislation makes provision for a multiparty body to monitor the actions of the Government, homeland authorities and political parties during the election campaign. It is designed to ensure that no party is given an unfair advantage.

In his White House statement Clinton said: "Working with Congress we plan soon to move ahead on measures to engage the resources of the American private sector and the international financial and donor community to assist South Africa."

The passing of the Bill also brought an almost immediate announcement by Canada that it would lift sanctions today.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said it had cleared the way for all Commonwealth governments to hasten the process of lifting sanctions.

At his press conference De Klerk expressed confidence that the first democratic election would go ahead as planned. He said the developments were encouraging but warned against unrealistic expectations of immediate and dramatic investment in South Africa.

Violence had affected the confidence of investors who were also waiting for a clearer message that their investments would be safe in future.

De Klerk did not fear a white exodus but acknowledged that emigration was increasing. But the mood would change, he said, when Parliament passed the interim constitution later this year and people realised it would create a federal state in which the rule of law would hold sway.

He expressed confidence that the IFP would "in one way or another" become part of the agreements reached.

World set to lift sanctions as TEC Bill passed

Doors open for new SA

BY PETER FABRICIUS
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

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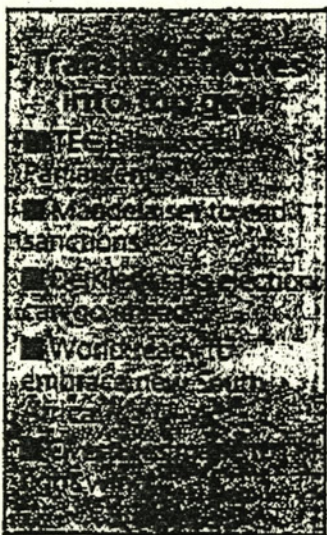
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Vote brings democracy step closer

By Alec Russell in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA moved a step closer to democracy and the end of white-minority rule yesterday when the outgoing white-dominated parliament overwhelmingly endorsed legislation for a multi-racial transitional council.

In a joint sitting, the three houses — white, mixed-race, and Indian — backed by 211 votes to 36 the draft Bill for the Transitional Executive Council which was drawn up and approved at the multi-

party democracy talks two weeks ago.

The council, designed to "level the political playing field" in the countdown to next April's election, will give non-whites their first say in South Africa's decision-making processes for three centuries.

Yesterday's decision was effectively a rubber-stamp. Before the council can

become operational it needs the approval of political leaders and agreement also has to be reached on the draft of an interim constitution.

However, the vote removes one of the last barriers to apartheid being declared truly dead, and clears the way for Nelson Mandela to urge the United Nations today to lift remaining sanctions. The only dis-

senters were from the far-Right Conservative Party and the mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, which are insisting on regional autonomy and that the final constitution is drawn up before the elections.

The Conservative leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said his party would never be subject to the provisions of the council and said the chance of a peaceful solution was being destroyed.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH - LONDON
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20 years of embargoes aimed against apartheid set to fall away

Lift last sanctions on South Africa, Mandela to tell UN

By Francis Harris at the United Nations and Alec Russell in Johannesburg

NELSON MANDELA, African National Congress leader, is expected to tell the United Nations in New York today that it is time to end the remaining trade and financial sanctions against South Africa.

His call will herald an end to 20 years of interrupted world trade with South Africa and allow the world community to acknowledge formally the demise of apartheid and approach of free elections next year.

The most important remaining sanctions are those which bar loans from the International Monetary Fund. But the UN has also maintained a series of measures, including a mandatory arms embargo and a voluntary ban on oil and financial dealings. It was not clear last night whether Mr Mandela would also call for an end to the arms embargo.

Britain and many of South Africa's other major trading partners have already lifted most sanctions. But British arms suppliers are known to be keen to resume trade.

The American government and many US state legislatures still maintain financial sanctions, which are expected now to be lifted.

The move could also allow South Africa to resume its seat in the UN General Assembly, from which it was barred in 1974.

Since the lifting of the ban on the ANC in 1990, Mr Mandela has been able to beguile and cajole both the international community and the South African government with the possibility that he would shortly call for the lifting of sanctions.

This summer, with an almost monotonous regularity, the ANC leadership has hinted at a different date for making its call, and then changed its mind.

In July, diplomatic sources were convinced that Mr Mandela would make the appeal in the presence of President Clinton when he and President de Klerk received the Liberty Medal in Washington. But relations between the two South African leaders soured, progress slowed on the political settlement, and the moment passed.

If, as expected, Mr Mandela changes the ANC stance today, he will tacitly concede that South Africa has broken free of the apartheid mould and is eligible to be welcomed back to the international community.

Amid the dramas of last year and this spring, Mr Mandela would never have considered calling for an end to sanctions, thereby conferring a form of approval and even legitimacy on Mr de Klerk, before the ANC had a stake in power.

Since the multi-party talks reopened in April, the ANC and the government have been working virtually in tandem, both motivated by the need for a settlement to avoid further defections to the extremes of their respective constituencies.

So today, Mr Mandela is likely to embrace pragmatism, for he and Mr de Klerk are clearly in search of the same end: a democratic multi-racial election and a new South Africa.

Fight goes on though battle has been won

South Africa wants UN sanctions to end, but the anti-apartheid industry will take longer to die. Francis Harris reports from the United Nations

ON the 33rd floor of the United Nations skyscraper in New York, the calm of the pleasant suite housing the organisation's Centre Against Apartheid is disturbed only by the gentle rustle of newspapers turning in the hands of bored staff.

Phones are silent, and Mr Johan Nordenfelt, the UN official overseeing the struggle against apartheid, is not receiving visitors.

It is not hard to see why. South Africa has not applied apartheid for more than two years, and Mr Nordenfelt's office is under-employed.

No-one knows quite how much the UN is spending in the fight against a dead system, or how many staff it employs to assist an already victorious movement, but it is thought to be considerable.

The office is little more than a sentimentally-maintained museum to the UN's glory days.

The centre has at least 20 staff, and the UN's anti-apartheid radio unit, which produces material for radio stations, has another 13. Other parts of the UN system also contribute.

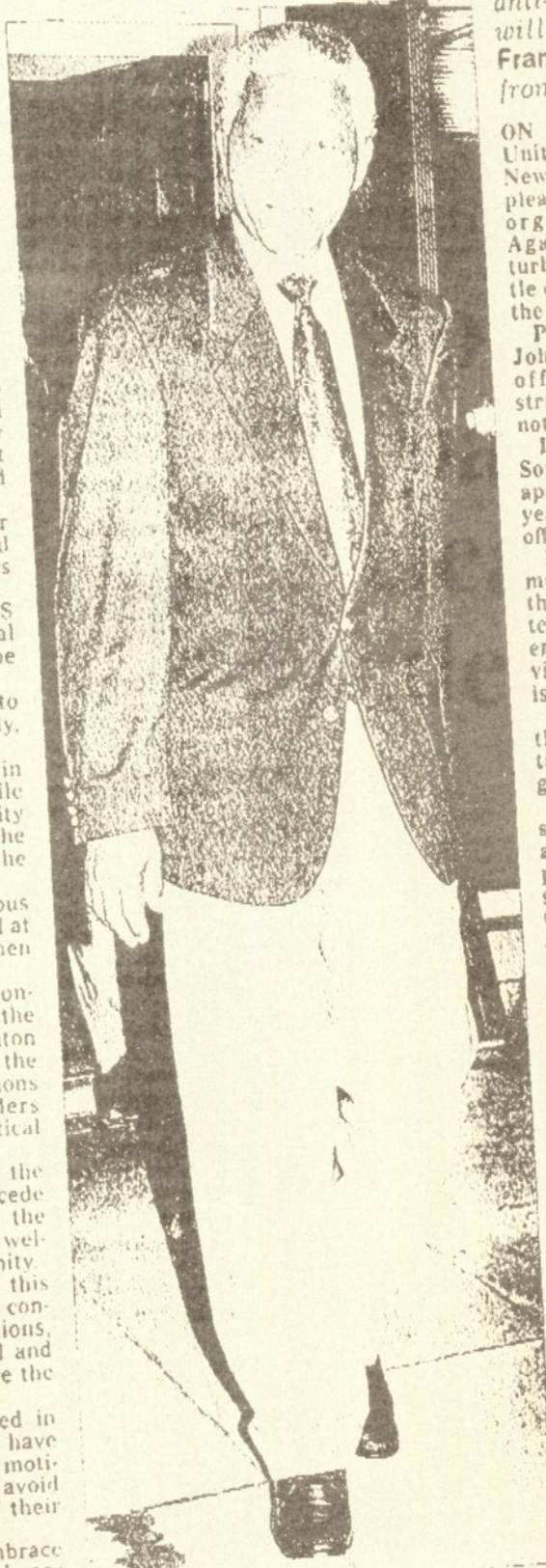
Aware of the silliness of continuing to struggle against a defeated system, Ms Cynthia Henry, the radio unit's director, said: "The shop could be closed."

"There is a financial crisis and there may be people who will describe our work as dead and buried."

But as diplomats point out, getting the Third World-dominated General Assembly to change anything is extremely difficult.

Together, blacks and whites in South Africa may be able to persuade the UN General Assembly to lift sanctions. But getting the warriors of the South African struggle off the world payroll will prove harder.

"Sometimes you sense the UN is so slow to adapt it may become a living museum for the political issues of the late 20th century, long after they've been solved," one diplomat said.



Mr Mandela in London yesterday on his way to the UN. Picture: Russell Chisby

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24/9/93

President de Klerk. But in the townships the search for peace is becoming desperate

BY MICHAEL HAMELYN AND JAMES BONE

SOUTH Africa took an important step towards democracy yesterday when parliament passed legislation giving blacks their first taste of political power.

President de Klerk, in New York to meet business leaders before the expected lifting of sanctions, yesterday became the first South African head of state to visit United Nations headquarters in two decades. He had talks there with Boutros Boutros Ghali, the secretary-general.

Commenting on the passing of the bill setting up a transitional executive council to oversee the run-up to next April's first all-race elections, Mr de Klerk described yesterday as a "historic day" for South Africa. "This marks clearly another turning point, another milestone in the process [of achieving democracy], and I have no doubt that we can now confidently say that the process has really and finally become irreversible," he said.

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, who is also in New York, is expected to call for the lifting of all the remaining non-military sanctions against South Africa when he addresses the UN committee against apartheid today.

The South African parliament yesterday also passed two other bills dealing with next year's elections. They were the independent media commission bill, which aims

to prevent unfair use of government-owned newspapers and the broadcasting media during the election campaign, and the independent electoral commission bill.

The transitional council bill was approved despite the objections of the right-wing Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Ferdi Hartzenberg, the Conservative leader, said the legislation was a constitutional revolution that would transfer power to the ANC-Communist Party alliance. He said Afrikaners would never subject themselves to its provisions.

Immediately the Speaker announced the result — the bill was passed by 211 votes to 36 in a joint sitting of the three houses of the parliament — Mr Hartzenberg said that the government had finally put its foot on the path of abdication. He then asked that his party be excused from the rest of the session, which ends today, and led his MPs from the chamber.

In the townships on the eastern Witwatersrand the death toll continues to rise, provoking increasingly desperate calls for peace and the launch of a national peace-pledge signature campaign. The organisers of the signature crusade, the National Peace Campaign, which organised the national day of peace at the beginning of the month, now plan a gathering of the country's leaders at which the peace petitions will be presented. The leaders will be from other spheres, including the political.

The organisers say the leaders will be asked to discuss a common strategy for peace. They will include President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the chief minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha.

"To associate themselves with this event, we are calling on all South Africans to switch off their lights and light a candle for peace," said Jayendra Naidoo, a trade union leader who acts as the convenor of the peace campaign. Its officials expect to gather at least seven million signatures. "This is an awareness campaign," Mr Naidoo said.



De Klerk: will be asked to discuss peace plan

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THE TIMES FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 24 1993

South Africa parliament clears way to democracy

INDEPENDENT

LONDON

24/9/93

Arrangements for run-up to next year's polls give ANC first taste of state power

SA bill gives blacks a say

JOHN CARLIN in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S white-dominated parliament passed a bill yesterday curtailing its own sovereignty and granting the disenfranchised black majority a legal say over affairs of state for the first time since European settlers arrived in the Cape in 1652.

The bill allows for the establishment of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC) whose function will be to work hand in hand with F.W. de Klerk's government in the run-up to democratic elections scheduled for 27 April next year. The bill, condemned by the vastly outnumbered parliamentary right wing, will formally provide Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) with the first taste of state power since the movement was founded in 1912.

The passing of the bill was the signal the ANC president awaited before calling on the international community to call off remaining trade and financial sanctions. This Mr Mandela is expected to do today in a speech before the United Nations in New York.

Though the parliament, based in Cape Town, debated

the bill fiercely for three days before yesterday's vote, the result (211 to 36) was never in any doubt. From the moment the multi-party Negotiating Council (the unofficial alternative parliament) finished drafting the TEC legislation two weeks ago it was certain the parliament would provide the required rubber stamp.

The ruling National Party's majority was substantially boosted by the support of the liberal Democratic Party. The Conservative Party (CP), which demands a separate Afrikaner state, and white MPs who recently defected to Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, voted against. Both the CP and Inkatha walked out of the Negotiating Council in July when the April election date was approved by two-thirds of the 26 parties then present.

The CP, ordered out of the chamber on Wednesday for unruliness, walked out in protest yesterday after the votes were counted. The party's leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, declared that "the Afrikaner

volk", would interpret the passing of the TEC bill as a declaration of war.

Inkatha has not gone quite so far but, amid continuing bloodshed in the black townships, Chief Buthelezi has repeatedly been saying that if the elections go ahead without his blessing South Africa faces a civil war.

Precisely because of the real threat the combined black and white right wing pose to the democratic transition, the government and the ANC — the dominant parties at the Negotiating Council — have agreed that the TEC will not become fully functional until agreement has been reached on an interim, pre-electoral constitution.

Their hope is that before such a constitution is ratified by law (as expected) in November, an agreement might have been reached with either the CP or Inkatha, or both. The government and Inkatha are due to hold bilateral talks next week in an effort to lure back Chief Buthelezi into the democratic fold.

Government insiders believe if Mr de Klerk and his ministers succeed in dividing Inkatha from its white allies, the chances of a relatively peaceful election will rise substantially. It is considered highly unlikely in government circles that the far right, in which a number of retired generals play a leading role, will be persuaded to take part in all-race elections within a unitary South African state.

The TEC is anathema to them, not least because it will have effective control over a proposed multi-party peace-keeping force to watch over the elections. The new force will include the government's security forces as well as members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation).

In theory, as Mr de Klerk has told his fearful white constituency, the TEC will be an advisory body. But in practice he will not be in a position to ignore "the advice" the TEC proffers. According to the rules laid down in yesterday's bill, the government will implement any decision reached within the TEC by a 75 per cent majority.

Homeland plan for SA whites

ANC in secret talks with Afrikaner right

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE AFRICAN National Congress and South African rightwing extremists are believed to be preparing to announce a constitutional deal which would recognise demands for an Afrikaner "homeland" in return for Afrikaner undertakings not to opt for armed struggle.

The deal comes after secret talks between the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and the head of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), General Constand Viljoen. The deal would represent a breakthrough in the search for a peaceful settlement.

News of the secret talks emerged yesterday as the Cape Town parliament agreed by an overwhelming majority measures to give blacks their first taste of executive power.

Thirty-six Conservative Party MPs walked out after parliament approved, by 211 votes to 36, legislation for a transitional executive council to oversee government in the run-up to elections scheduled for April 27. But despite previous warnings by the Conservatives that the creation of such a council would amount to a declaration of war, the vote was without serious incident.

But the events in parliament have been overshadowed by news of the negotiations between Mr Mandela and Gen Viljoen, the former head of the South African Defence Force (SADF) who leads the AVF — an umbrella organisation launched in May which repre-



sents most rightwing political groupings in the country and whose leadership includes 15 retired generals.

The deal, if confirmed and maintained, is likely to prove extremely controversial. It would probably prompt a split in rightwing ranks that would help defuse the threat of an Afrikaner rebellion. It would also make the April 27 election date more feasible, and add pressure to the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to return to the talks.

On the ANC's side, the deal would amount to tacit recognition of the inevitability of a devolution of central government powers to ethnically-based regional states.

The secret negotiations between Mr Mandela and Gen Viljoen are disclosed by the Chris-

tian Science Monitor today. Their Johannesburg correspondent, John Battersby, reports that the initial meeting took place six weeks ago and has been followed by talks leading to the deal.

The substance of the agreement is that the AVF will participate in the April election in return for an undertaking that "their demand for a semi-autonomous Afrikaner homeland is acknowledged in an interim constitution". The report quotes a senior AVF official as saying an announcement about the secret talks would be made "in a day or so".

It says the Conservative Party — the largest single grouping in the AVF — and the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) remained outside the negotiations because of their opposition to talks with the ANC.

The Volksfront published a map in July showing the boundaries of its proposed *Volkstaat*. It is based on parliamentary constituencies held by the Conservative Party, covering large tracts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, with a strip of territory giving access to the sea at the east coast port of Richard's Bay.

This white state, embracing about 16 per cent of South Africa's territory, would exclude — but surround — a so-called metropolitan area, including Johannesburg and the heavily industrialised gold fields belt.

Since his emergence from retirement earlier this year, Gen Viljoen — commended by the military as South Africa's Rommel — has proved surprisingly moderate in his rhetoric, though he has warned of the dangers of rebellion if Afrikaner demands are not addressed.

Mr Mandela's initiative is likely to be resented by black militants, who will see it as a compromise with extremism. But the ANC leader has repeatedly warned of the dangers of confrontation with the right.

w/mail 24-30 Sept '93

No such thing as a free lunch, says ANC

The ANC has adopted a code of conduct on financial interests which puts the organisation far ahead of its rivals in promoting openness and accountability.

Iden Wetherell reports

THE African National Congress has broken crucial new ground by adopting a code of conduct which will require disclosure of financial interests by members of its national executive committee, election candidates and employees.

Among other things, the code provides for the creation of a committee to which all financial interests must be declared, a register documenting such interests, the reporting of directorships offered to office-holders and control over gifts and payments of more than R100.

More controversially, it also clamps down on organised factions and tendencies in the movement, which it says cannot be tolerated.

The code, a copy of which is in the possession of the *Mail & Guardian*, was approved by the NEC at a meeting last month. It puts the ANC far ahead of rival parties in establishing clear, ethical guidelines and promoting openness and accountability. This followed preliminary discussions in February on a draft code, described by the NEC as "long overdue".

There has been criticism both within and outside the ANC, that office-holders are accepting gifts, directorships and other perks as new relationships are established with the business sector. Kader Asmal, NEC member and professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, claimed the code represented "the first initiative of its kind undertaken anywhere in the world by a political organisation".

The ANC code states that "most democracies have enlightened and transparent rules concerning the disclosure of pecuniary interests and material benefits of leading officials".

The guidelines are intended "to combat perceptions concerning possible conflicts of interests", it continues. "Such disclosure is healthy for our movement and will strengthen our position when we advocate such an approach for members of our democratic national parliament in the near future".

The NEC proposes to establish a "committee on the declaration of financial interests" which will maintain a "register of financial interests". One section requires that every member of the NEC, regional executive committees, candidates for local, regional and national elections, and employees of the ANC "shall make a general disclosure of financial interests which shall be entered in the register". This will cover "the name of employer or whether self-employed, salary or income, real property interests, pensions, directorships and consultancies and personal economic interests — that is, ownership or interest

in stocks, shares, bonds, or any business".

In addition, the code requires that if any office-holder, candidate for election or employee is offered a directorship of any company in future, "such an invitation shall be reported to the committee which will recommend whether or not the acceptance of such a directorship is in the best interests of the organisation".

"The obligation to report," states the code, "arises regardless of whether the directorship is paid or unpaid or whether it is a state, parastatal or private company."

Another section of the code requires any office-holder, candidate for election or employee who is offered a gift over the value of R100 to immediately report it to the committee on financial interests, which will then recommend whether such a gift is appropriate.

Similarly, "any payment received in cash or kind above R100 for services rendered as a representative of the ANC shall be reported to the committee and handed over to the organisation", the code states. This does not include payment for travel and accommodation expenses incurred and paid for by the individual.

The code stipulates that once the initial register of interests is drawn up, it will be updated within three months by the committee on financial interests, and thereafter every six months. In the case of election candidates, the register will be reviewed once the candidates have been chosen.

In addition to the disclosure clauses, the code provides guidance on discipline and the use of ANC property. Members, officials and employees are not to make "unauthorised use of the organisation's property for personal advantage".

No doubt informed by past factionalism in the ANC, the code states that "no democratic movement can tolerate the existence of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within its structures or ranks. Members must utilise existing avenues for changes in policy and must refrain from publishing/distributing any material without authorisation which purports to be the view of any such grouping."

"The best interests of the movement are served by members respecting the need for debate within and not outside the movement," the code insists.

Officials are required to be accessible to members, communications must be replied to "as speedily as possible", and "such officials shall not abuse their office or employment by using their position to obtain material, sexual or other undue advantages from members or others".

While the code is binding on ANC members, no mention is made of members' spouses and relatives. Asked for comment, Asmal said the code should not be "unnecessarily complex". Other paradigms had been considered and "more complex and far-reaching procedures may have to be adopted in the case of members of parliament, cabinet ministers and civil servants," he said.

By
**PHILLIP VAN
NIEKERK**



Nelson Mandela is South Africa's true statesman: Dignified, courteous and able to cut through bitterness and conflict to find the human note

The day PW poured the tea

EARLY one recent Sunday morning a black taxi driver cruising lower Houghton was flagged down by a tall, grey-haired gentleman. It was only after the man had taken his seat that the driver realised he was giving a ride to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's attorney, Ismael Ayob, who had been dispatched to chauffeur him to town, had got stuck behind a fun run through the northern suburbs. Ayob arrived, panic-stricken and five minutes late to find Mandela gone. Hot-footing it down to the offices, he found the boss having a pleasant chat and a cup of tea with the New Zealand rugby team.

Mandela had promised to meet them there at 8.30am. He did not want to be late. He paid the driver, reaching into his pocket for a R5 note to cover the fare for himself and two bodyguards.

That Mandela has an obsession with time is not surprising. After 27 and a half years of enforced idleness Mandela emerged from jail with the sands of his own life running out and little time left to make peace in South Africa.

I spent the day with Mandela last Friday. It did not start out well. A 7am interview with ITN at Lanseria Airport started a half hour late because of confusion over where it was to take place. Mandela was testy. The interview was snuff. At 8am Mandela rose to catch his plane.

Lateness, he said later, is a sign of disrespect for others. But it's more than that. Punctuality is basic to Mandela's personality, as is courteousness.

He is the quintessential Georgian gentleman, the freedom fighter with impeccable manners. Mandela stands up whenever someone approaches to shake his hand. He once held up a session of the United Nations general assembly because as dignitaries stopped by to greet him, he felt compelled to rise for every one.

Mandela's flight was to Pietersburg, for the inauguration of the new Turfloop principal Professor Njabulo Ndebele. Once in the air, he relaxed, and opened up the newspaper.

A few minutes later, he pecked out. "You know I met the AWB last week," he said, flashing a boyish grin.

He described the meeting, in a Beaufort West hotel. The local Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leadership had requested it. Rightwing demonstrators were outside, protesting against Mandela's presence, threatening to come to blows with his ANC followers.

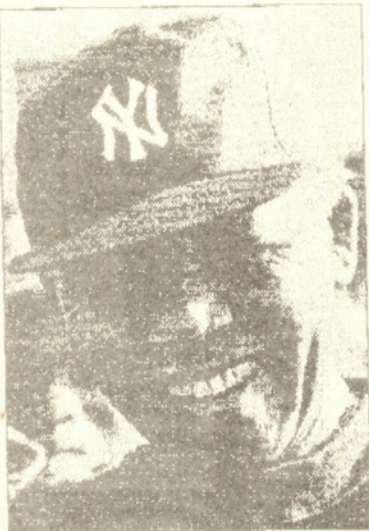
Mandela ordered the AWB commander and his sidekick, a member of the Ystergaarde, be disarmed at the door by ANC security. "They came in," said Mandela. "I said sit down. They refused. I told them to sit down a second time." They sat down.

Mandela asked them to say why they had come. The AWB commander said he had a warning for Mandela. "I want to warn you: if anyone touches a hair on the head of any of my people, we'll retaliate."

Mandela said he responded by pointing out that the ANC was the biggest political organisation in South Africa, and that it had fought and won the battle against apartheid. "You don't have to come here and warn us. You don't even have the capacity to carry your warnings out," he told them.

He softened as the meeting concluded. He complimented the AWB captain for coming to speak to the ANC. "This is the way we ought to do things in South Africa," he said.

The rest of Beaufort West — including the National Party councillors and the ANC — found Mandela's friendliness to the AWB puzzling.



Nelson Mandela PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

zing. He said he had explained again the importance of listening to all views.

The story encapsulates the Mandela approach. This is a man who would be courteous to Adolf Hitler if he ran into him.

He takes pride in inverting the relationship of Baasskap, the kaffir getting the better of the racist.

One of Mandela's greatest contributions to change in South Africa has been to challenge the way people relate to one another. Who could deny that the most important relationship in this country has been between Mandela and President FW de Klerk?

On the plane, he dwelt at length on the moments of betrayal in the relationship, moments when Mandela felt personally affronted by De Klerk.

One was after the signing of the Record of Understanding. De Klerk had called for both leaders to stop their public slugfest. Two days later, at the Cape congress of the NP, he launched a particularly vitriolic attack on Mandela.

The other was what Mandela regarded as a De Klerk double-cross over the makeup of the SABC board. The state president had promised to consult Mandela if he were to demand any changes in the board. Then he made the changes without saying anything. It was this more than anything that led to the acrimonious exchanges in the United States in July. Mandela himself had urged De Klerk to join him in the US, emphasising the need for the two men to speak with one South African voice.

De Klerk has always used one excuse. Dating back to the first meeting between the two men, when Mandela was still a prisoner, he has said he has to tread softly with the rightwing in the cabinet. It is a claim that Mandela generously accepts.

Nelson Mandela is the quintessential Georgian gentleman, the freedom fighter with impeccable manners

And there remains a sense of a bond with De Klerk. "I respect him," says Mandela. "He is smart ... I still see him as a man of integrity."

Mandela's great skill is his ability to communicate directly to people. Given a prepared speech, he appears wooden and ponderous. Walking among his admirers, shaking hands and joking, he is hugely effective.

"There's something about this man that turns grown men into blithering idiots," whispers a man on my right.

A leading academic at the university, a learned man with a wall of degrees, reaches out his hand, and, almost tripping over his feet, introduces his wife.

Mandela does not disappoint. "Now I've seen your wife, I've seen the reason why you are so successful," and everyone smiles. This is Mandela's nineteenth visit to the university but the excitement, the response to the Mandela magic, is still enormous.

It is an African occasion. The melancholic brass of the Zion Christian Church; the joy of the choir, and then the pulsating energy of the Jonas Gwangwa jazz group which has the entire campus on its feet and jiving, provided over by a broadly beaming Mandela in the chancellor's chair.

On the plane back, he tells how impressed he was by two graduation ceremonies, one in each China — the People's Republic and the Republic. Clearly impressed by the Chinese, he mentioned the writing of one revolutionary who accompanied Mao on the long march, and what it taught him about the meaning of Confucianism, and the Chinese philosophy of self-cultivation.

But no, it was not this that had taught him the value of self-discipline.

"In prison you learn the value of self-discipline. You stand outside yourself, and see your weaknesses."

He told of a family who rented him a room in Soweto in the early 1950s, before he was a lawyer, before he was anybody. They fed him a pork dinner every Sunday, free of charge. Down through the long years in prison, he said, he used to reflect upon how ungrateful he had been.

Though Mandela has now revealed that contacts between the ANC and the government began in 1986, it was his tea party with then President FW Botha in 1989 that was the watershed, certainly in the public imagination.

On the plane ride back from Pietersburg, Mandela described how tense he had been that day, how he had been warned by church leaders that this was a man who did not negotiate with blacks. He was even forced to have his blood tested the day before in case something happened to him.

He was going to meet the ogre.

And then, with security and intelligence chiefs in attendance, Mandela walked in. All he remembers seeing was the hand, outstretched in greeting.

"It was one of the best meetings I have ever had," he said.

He attempted to contact Botha once more, in George in 1991. Nothing formal, just a talk between men. Because of a miscommunication the two never had the follow-up tea party.

It is in Mandela's account of his meeting with Botha that his true greatness is revealed: an ability to cut through our long history of bitterness and conflict and find the human note that is common to all.

"The thing that impressed me," said Mandela, remembering with relish — and even affection — that moment with Botha, "was that he poured the tea."

W/mail
24-30
Sept 1993

No official war, but people are dying on the East Rand

Amid Thokoza's seemingly unending carnage, the ANC and Inkatha inspected their troops.
Stephen Laufer reports

WHAT is the difference between Bosnia and the East Rand? The answer, in a week in which more people have died there than at Sharpeville, is simple: in Bosnia, the war has been officially declared.

Like the Balkans, the war here is punctuated by peace talks, promises, summit meetings and high-minded declarations. As in Bosnia, everyone regularly abhors the violence. All sides explain why they, under attack from the other side, have a moral right to defend themselves and their communities.

And like the Serbs, who claim to represent a greater good, the local security forces cannot escape being part of the conflict. On a merry-go-round of undermanned indifference, incompetence, gang-bro attitudes and fear for their own safety, many are surprised they are mistrusted, despised, targeted.

But on the ground, things are as simple in Thokoza and Kallahong as in Bosnia. People are dying. Every day. Mostly in twos and threes. Civilians. Ordinary people going about their business.

When the toll becomes noticeable -- because of a particularly atrocious attack, or two attacks, like those which cost 24 taxi commuters their lives this Tuesday -- the generals arrive to strengthen the resolve of their troops.

But this is not the Balkans. It is South Africa, which, in another universe called parliament, is fashioning a treacherously sweet transition incorporating all corners. Which is why the generals talk to their people in code.

"We are just here to see what has happened," Uinkhoriso wešwe chief Joe Modise told a small, angry crowd in Thokoza on Wednesday, "and to protest that the SADF has failed you."

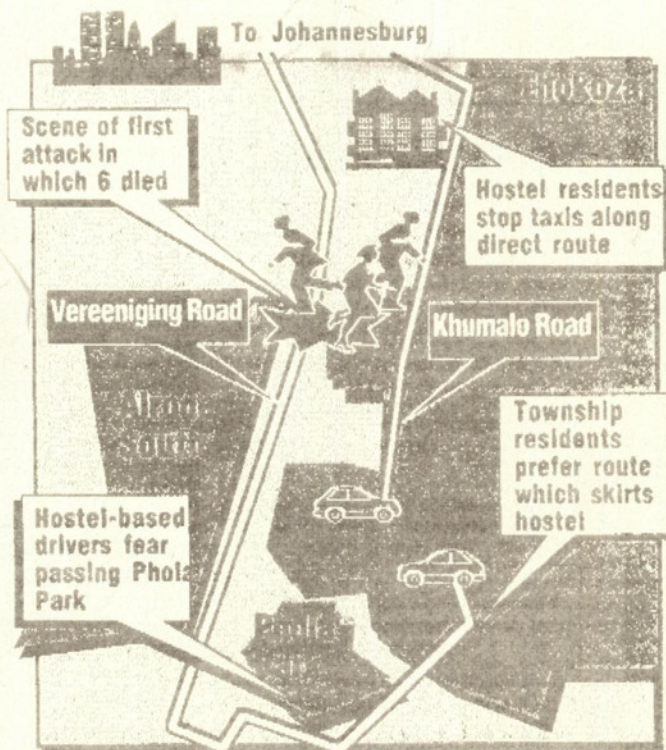
Asked why the African National Congress' army command had turned out, and not the politicians, Modise's chief of staff Siphile Nyanda points to Albertina Sisulu and other stalwarts of the organisation's social welfare department and Women's League.

Neither Nyanda nor Ronnie Kasrils nor Robert McBride want to talk about operational issues. As Nyanda says, they "are here to make an assessment". MK, after all, is not running a war here.

"We are not involved," insists Kasrils. "The local communities are under attack, they are organising their defence themselves."

But at his stadium meeting, Modise can see that people are hurting. Under pressure from the crowd to go beyond fact-finding, the MK chief lifts the veil, slipping from deep cover into semi-legible code.

He promises his audience -- men of all ages with home-made weapons, children and women in hand-me-down frocks -- that "we will find ways of defending ourselves and come back to talk to you about how to do so".



There are only two routes out of Thokoza, and each is dangerous to either township residents or hostel dwellers

Then, making clear that this is an army matter and not for public consumption when war has not been officially declared, he adds "we'll do that when the TV is not here".

Later, on a drive past endless barricades, Modise inspects charred houses. McBride mounts a car's running board and peers long and hard through binoculars. "They're not carrying weapons," he says, referring to a group of men in the middle distance. This street is just two blocks down from Khumalo Road and the Inkatha-held hostel.

Whatever the spark which ignites it, each battle here is about taking territory, holding ground.

It is a war without Bosnia's artillery or armour (despite claims to the contrary, it seems the police and army use theirs to defend themselves), but with enough hardware to keep the chess game going.

In the ANC-held sections, every lamp post and every transformer box has been freshly painted black, gold and green. There is good reason for each side to feel the need for taking and holding territory. Trust is good, control is better.

Which is why the peace is so fragile.

Take the current round of killing: there are only two routes out of Thokoza/Kallahong, one up Khumalo Road, past the Inkatha-held hostel, the other via Phola Park, an ANC stronghold.

Khumalo Road has been a no-go area for several weeks, because taxi passengers have been forced into the hostel or had to pay a toll. Other drivers, who live in and serve the hostels, are afraid of the Phola Park route. They've been shot at often enough.

A meeting last month between the drivers and township and Phola Park residents agreed a ceasefire on the slip road past the squatter camp. The route has been in daily use, and calm has prevailed. But unrest has been growing among the hostel drivers.

They want taxi traffic to use Khumalo Road again. It's not clear why -- perhaps because Inkatha is pressing them to break the siege of the other hostels, cut off from food and work since the sabotage of the KwaZulu rail line. The break has affected 40 000 commuters, who cannot use the trains or pass through ANC-held areas to "their" taxis. But perhaps it is just a commercial issue: taxi association against taxi association. Payments on a vehicle are high, and if you're not getting enough fares, your minibus could be repossessed.

Whatever the background, on Tuesday morning six more died in a hail of bullets just after their taxi left the Phola Park slip road. In the evening, a shooting which the police say has all the hallmarks of a revenge attack. Eighteen dead.

Suzanne Vos, of Inkatha, says on Wednesday: "I'd be lying if I said I knew what had happened yesterday." She has arranged an Inkatha delegation to tour the hostels, their group as nicely balanced between the welfare and the war departments as the ANC's. There is the bluff and grandfatherly Frank Mdilose and the urbane Vos herself, their genuine concern for the besieged hostel dwellers coloured only slightly by the vocabulary of the elections campaign trail -- and of the Balkans war.

"The hostel dwellers have no water and are dependent on relief aid. The hostels resemble Bosnian ethnic cleansing camps."

But others too, are on inspection: Inkatha Youth Brigade supremo Themba Khoza and Thokoza eminence grise Gertrude Mzizi, neither of them renowned as doves.

It's not Bosnia, so no one can admit they are involved in a war. Yes, they are its victims. No, they are not conducting operations themselves, those come from the other side.

But there are front lines. There are disciplined units. There are the dead.

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Gqozo's officers rebel

Andrew Trench: East London

A GROUP of senior officers in the Ciskei Defence Force this week launched a scathing public attack on embattled homeland leader Oupa Gqozo, threatening rebellion.

The attack is contained in a document outlining serious grievances which was handed to the Eastern Cape News Agency by senior officers who claimed to speak on behalf of all Ciskei troops.

This comes at a critical moment for the brigadier. It comes from the heart of his dwindling support base in the homeland military, which helped him to power in his March 1990 coup.

Among the grievances raised is the issue of white officers in the homeland military. The officers warn their white colleagues: "We wish to clarify this: Leave Ciskei now or floods of blood will come."

The officers talk of soldiers becoming "enemies" of their families, saying they are rejected by their kin while Gqozo is protected.

They question Gqozo's need for bodyguards — said to number over 30.

They claim soldiers have been asked to join Gqozo's political party, the African Democratic Movement.

Did Gqozo ever think of "those who are unemployed because of you?" the officers ask. By contrast, they say, the homeland ruler has free accommodation, "eats free, and is given a new car free".

Contradicting Gqozo's declaration that Ciskei won't participate in elections on April 27, the document says: "People of Ciskei we are going

to the elections, we are with you."

The officers say a meeting of all Ciskei troops will be held next Wednesday at Bisho's Industrial Hall. It is there that they plan to throw down the gauntlet to Gqozo.

"And if you (Gqozo) give problems you will lie on your stomach on the ground then go to jail."

"Do you see where a blessingless leader ends?" they ask, adding: "You are lucky because others ended up in a grave, but you will end up in jail."

The rebels urge Ciskei cabinet ministers and commanders to join the opposition to Gqozo.

The homeland ruler was recently found criminally liable for the cold-blooded shooting of dissident Charles Sebe, and is almost certain to face charges in his own courts as a result.

The document also coincides with signs that Gqozo intends resisting Ciskei's reincorporation, and with it the almost certain end of his political career. Gqozo has vowed not to allow elections in Ciskei, his representatives have opposed the creation of the Transitional Executive Council, and he recently decreed new draconian security legislation.

In June, four homeland officers were arrested. They had reportedly planned to oust Gqozo on Soweto Day. Ciskei denied a coup attempt was planned and said the officers had been detained in terms of the military discipline code.

However, the four — who included an army chaplain close to Gqozo — reportedly listed grievances which echoed those outlined by the rebel officers this week.

w/mail 24 - 30 Sept '93

In pursuit of diplomacy X

Ferial Haffajee

ITS going to be a real test of diplomatic skills: aspirant diplomats from the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party thrown together for a 10-week course in Europe.

Tomorrow 25 aspirant diplomats drawn from the ANC, the IFP, non-political organisations and universities will jet off to England and Europe where they will be trained in protocol, statesmanship and discretion. Most of the group are ANC members, while two or three are IFP members.

Their trip is being sponsored by the European Community and the British government and is being co-ordinated by the British Council in South Africa.

Their training will last 10 weeks, with eight weeks' study at Birmingham University's Department of Political Science and International Studies. They will spend the rest of the time in Belgium, Germany and France and will visit the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Council of Europe and the European Community in Brussels.

According to the British Council, the course aims to "introduce the group to the practical skills required for the successful pursuit of diplomacy and brief them on major issues of contemporary international affairs".

Course members were nominated by their organisations, while the British Council did the final selection.

During the final selection, the diplomats-in-waiting traded ideas with representatives of the IFP, the Department of Foreign Affairs and various other international relations institutions.

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weekly mail

24-30 Sept 1993

TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Symbolic crossing of the Rubicon

The passage through parliament this week of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill had far more to do with symbolism than substance.

Details of the historic measure were agreed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre nearly three weeks ago and simply sent to the legislature for formal approval. No amendments were possible without the consent of the negotiators and the chances of the Bill being voted down were minimal.

Nevertheless, the measure was, as described by Democratic Party negotiator and MP Colin Eglin, "the most significant piece of legislation to be put to parliament in the 83 years of its existence." While Eglin's view was implicitly backed by spokesmen of all other major parties in parliament, not all supported the Bill.

Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg led a bitter fight against the measure, which he said amounted to a declaration of war. He said its approval was the real crossing of the Rubicon by the Nationalists.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC-aligned MP David Dalling also regarded the Bill as the point of no return.

"The TEC will provide visible proof that the process of constitutional reform has become irreversible," said Meyer, while Dalling said the Bill "marks clearly the crossing of a point of no return."

Inkatha's Jurie Mentz said he could not support a measure that had been agreed after his party had been "driven out" of the negotiations at Kempton Park. He said Inkatha's views on the TEC would be spelt out this weekend at Shaka Day celebrations and by the party's central committee, which is due to meet on October 2.

In a related move in Johannesburg this week, the Pan Africanist Congress announced it would not participate in the TEC or in elections if they were aimed at establishing an interim government.

In essence, the Bill provides for the leveling of the political playing fields in the pre-election phase. This includes processes to help develop a democratic culture and reduce violence. More important, it removes absolute political power from white hands for the first time since 1910 and gives all participating parties and organisations joint responsibility for decision-making.

However, it does not constitute a *de jure* interim government, though in practice it is

unlikely any major decision will be taken by the existing Cabinet without TEC approval.

Eglin, a key architect of the legislation, believes it will contribute significantly to reducing the threat of instability during the "danger-laden months" of election campaigning and the transition to a new constitutional order. He says the Bill is part of a fundamental and "very real" process unfolding in SA. "It is not window dressing. It is not a game played with mirrors in the corridors of power. It is a process that involves the very real transfer of political power from a privileged racial minority to the people of SA as a whole."

These implications were not lost on the CP, whose members argued bitterly against the measure, warning repeatedly that it meant a handover of power to the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

In rejecting CP claims, National Party chief negotiator and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers said the TEC was a compromise won by government in the face of initial demands for an interim administration to take power during the transition.

"The TEC does not constitute a government next to the existing government. The current government remains the legitimate and sovereign one of the country until such

his tough attitude backfires.

Possibly the biggest risk is that Pretoria could, ultimately, simply cancel KwaZulu's self-governing status if the party remains intransigent. It's hard to believe that Buthelezi would then consider the military option (against the might of the SADF), though some of his lieutenants have warned that a civil war could be unleashed in the event of the April 27 general election going ahead. Mass action is another option that has been raised by Inkatha, which potentially could undermine an election being held in Natal if not elsewhere.

Reincorporating KwaZulu into SA would, observes Natal University political scientist Ian Phillips, be much simpler than in the case of the independent TBVC homelands because of bilateral treaties which established the latter.

Centre for African Studies director Eugene Nyati maintains that KwaZulu and all the homelands should already have been reincorporated. "President FW de Klerk hasn't lifted a finger against Inkatha, but that's not because he can't; it's because he simply doesn't have the political will. In fact, some people believe he has over-indulged Buthelezi and given Inkatha the courage to continue pushing its luck."

Another reason for government's inaction, says Nyati, is that there is division in the Cabinet over where the Nats' best interests lie. "There are still some Cabinet members who believe a grand alliance between the Nats, Inkatha and the homeland leaders could factor the ANC out of power."

However, the political implications of reincorporation would be harder to handle than the legal niceties, even if reincorporation is the last resort against Buthelezi.

For all that, reincorporation would appear to be a risk that Buthelezi doesn't want to take. For this reason it would seem likely that his movement will participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), though Inkatha MPs gave mixed signals on this question on the first day of parliament's debate on the TEC.

Phillips believes one option Buthelezi might pursue would be to allow the KwaZulu government to return to the multiparty talks, but to keep Inkatha out. "In that way he will have a foot in the TEC while, as Inkatha leader, still be able to keep what he thinks is the moral high ground."

Another route, suggests Theo Venter of Potchefstroom's Institute for Future Studies, could be for Inkatha's interests to be conveyed to the TEC via bilateral meetings between the party and government.

The other big puzzle is whether Buthelezi will lead his party into the April 27 election.



time as an election takes place and a new government takes over."

However, according to De Villiers, the Bill meant government was willing to place limited restrictions on its power during the pre-election period to ensure a free and fair process. "Government accepts the reality that there are areas in which decisions should only be taken after appropriate consultation with the interested parties on the basis of co-responsibility."

INKATHA

Weighing the options

There's no telling how far Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will go in pursuit of his goals. But he risks losing a great deal if

Inkatha believe a constitution should be agreed before elections rather than leaving the drafting to an elected constituent assembly.

Though Buthelezi has said that the decision on participation will be made by party members at a special congress, it seems improbable that Inkatha will boycott the poll because to do so would probably sideline it during the crucial constitution-making phase.

Complete abstention from the transition process, including the poll, would, says Venter, be tantamount to Buthelezi's taking the Savimbi option. "And that would be in total contrast to the three fundamentals which Buthelezi says he stands for: democracy, free enterprise and federalism. Opting out would destroy any chance of achieving these. In all probability, his hard-ball game now is simply a means of squeezing out every possible concession before rejoining the process."

But there could be more to the Inkatha strategy than winning concessions at Kempton Park. It could also be about consolidating his Natal/KwaZulu power base in the run-up to the election.

Phillips believes Inkatha realises that, in order to achieve its political ambitions, it is essential to hang on to its KwaZulu seat. "Inkatha intends contesting the election and it is manoeuvring to gain greater control over the election process in Natal than it would otherwise have if it were fettered by full participation in TEC structures. That, I think, is Buthelezi's gamble."

One route Phillips feels the party might take is to try to have a combination of the KwaZulu government and the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority installed as the region's transitional executive.

"KwaZulu has a majority in the authority so that would install Buthelezi as a transitional authority in charge of the election

process. Under those circumstances the Independent Election Commission might not have a look in," he explains.

Nyati, however, believes that Inkatha's options depend less on strategies hatched in Ulundi than on whether government can make its mind up about where to draw the line against Inkatha. "Government and the ANC have bent over backwards to accommodate the party and it is difficult to see what other concessions can be given without debasing and undermining the integrity of the negotiating process," he says.

Though De Klerk failed in his marathon meeting with Buthelezi last week to convince the Inkatha boss to rejoin multiparty talks, the good news was their commitment to continue with bilateral discussions and set up two committees — one on violence, the other to explore "reasons for the current impasse in the negotiations."

INTERIM CONSTITUTION

Backing for regionalism

The Inkatha-led Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is not the only one with doubts about the constitutional framework emerging at the negotiations. Sections of the business community are also edgy. Durban Regional Chamber of Business says it is shocked by the second draft of the constitution and claims that the proposals could threaten democracy if they are not modified.

Chamber president John Dickson says he knows other drafts supersede the second but the problem areas have not been addressed.

Topping the chamber's concerns is the proposed post-election deadlock-breaking mechanism, which will effectively allow the constitutional architects to sidestep the two-thirds majority safety net if negotiations become bogged down in a constituent assembly, and enable them to approve a final constitution by a simple majority.

However, the chamber is also concerned that the constitution-making process is being bulldozed through too quickly with a new draft emerging about once in every 10 days. And, in the interests of haste, democratic principles are being tossed, unnoticed, out of the window.

A third worry for the chamber is that only trivial concessions have been made to the concept of federalism.

The business community, says Dickson, generally favours a maximum devolution of power to the regions with central government retaining residual power. "This is not what is proposed in the second or subsequent drafts. Much of the power is being retained in the centre with, at best, concurrent legislative competencies at regional level. If passed in its present form, the constitution will only allocate certain minor powers, such as town planning, markets, road traffic and casinos, exclusively to the regions."

The bottom line, he adds, is that if such proposals go through they will severely ham-

per economic development and confidence, and are therefore unacceptable.

While the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) has been asked to champion the Durban chamber's cause, it seems much less alarmed, except over the question of the deadlock-breaking mechanism.

Sacob parliamentary liaison director Peter Duminy concedes that the politicians are preoccupied with achieving political compromises. However, he maintains they are paying attention and responding to the concerns of organised business. He also stresses that Sacob's influence is limited to what is necessary to get the economy going on a sustained basis.

"Overall we are encouraged by the response. The negotiators have, for example, established an expert panel to examine what we consider to be the extremely important issue of regional fiscal and financial powers.

"Given the pressure at Kempton Park, there has been quite an effort to take all relevant factors into account.

"Few would disagree that a more thorough constitution drafting job could be done with more time. However, it is such a bag of nettles that, without a deadline, the chances are that nothing would be achieved. The deadline, though not inflexible, has kept minds focused."

In all, Sacob has made about 15 submissions to the negotiators and Duminy says it has placed on record its preference for federal principles.

Its cause will be strengthened by notice of government's intention — aimed at luring Inkatha back to the talks — to push, during the next three weeks of debate on the interim constitution at Kempton Park, for a strong federal system that would be immune to change by an elected body.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer has also rejected the idea of a simple majority being able to adopt a new constitution, and will be looking to beef up the composition and functioning of the proposed constitutional court.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Strains at the helm

The DP moved quickly this week to paper over serious cracks caused by a growing dispute over who should lead the party into the coming election campaign.

Yeoville MP and newly elected southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon — who has been punted by his supporters as a successor to Zach de Beer — told parliament that he is not a contender and plans to propose De Beer as leader at the DP's national congress in Cape Town next month.

He said he believes De Beer is best qualified to "lead the charge" for the principles for which the DP stands.

"It is those fundamental principles which bind and unite and which will lead us into the elections next April. I am quite prepared to

Buthelezi ... brinkmanship for maximum concessions

