

THE SUNDAY STAR, 24 OCTOBER 1993

Threats of nationalisation being used as blackmail

By POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE ANC still believes in nationalisation - only this time it's more a business strategy than a political policy.

That was the conclusion of bruised and battered negotiators this week after the Government, ANC, Vodacom and MTN resolved the cellular phone issue by agreeing to increase black and public sector shareholding and participation in the two consortiums.

The deal came after an ANC threat to nationalise the cellular phone industry.

This could be the shape of things to come in the new South Africa as the ANC, fresh from its triumph in the cellular phone dispute, is tempted to use nationalisation bogeyman tactic in other industries.

The ANC has already threatened to nationalise the highly profitably pharmaceutical industry because of its exorbitant prices for medicines.

Don't be surprised if black business and the public sector are soon offered shares by the big pharmaceuticals, business watchers say.

Touch-and-go

Negotiators emerging from the cellular phone deal told the Sunday Star that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's threat earlier in the week to nationalise the cellular consortiums when the ANC was in power, was taken very seriously indeed.

"It was touch-and-go," they agreed. In the end a deal was struck increasing black shareholding and ensuring black-run businesses would provide at least half the services in both consortiums.

After next year's elections, the ANC is likely to hold sway over government including parastatal shareholders Telkom (50 percent of Vodacom) and Transnet (20 percent of MTN). This means ANC government interests will score every time you insert your Vodacard.

The solution fits ANC policy of a mixed economy between the private and public sector, and of empowering blacks disadvantaged by apartheid.

But the Government accuses the ANC of blowing hot and cold on nationalisation to suit itself. This showed it was not a coherent political party and was open to influence by different factions, notably Cosatu.

"It makes the whole process of negotiation difficult and undermines the credibility of agreements reached," Government sources complained.

We'll fashion a new-style anti-apartheid civil service after April, warns Ramaphosa

■ **Early warning:** ANC leader says South Africa's civil service will be reshaped under a new government.

By TONI YOUNGUSBAND

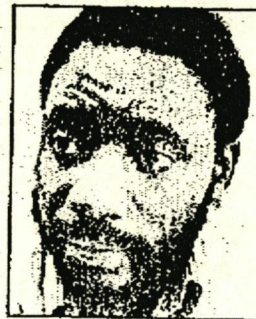
London - South Africa's civil service could expect significant reconstruction at high levels after next year's general election, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned yesterday.

However, this did not imply mass retrenchments of existing civil service staff.

"A new government should not want to see an increase in levels of unemployment. Dismissals will be avoided as much as possible," Ramaphosa said. "Rather, we want a change in direction. We want a civil service that will enhance the way in which the country is moving. We cannot continue to have a civil service that is still committed to apartheid," he said.

The ANC understood there was nervousness and insecurity about the future within the existing civil service and it sought to reassure them.

"A new government is responsible for addressing these insecurities, but in so doing will have to balance that with the expectations of our people. Our people have been locked out for



TOUGH TALK ...
ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Thabo Mbeki (right).



so long," Ramaphosa said.

He was in London yesterday to address a group of ANC trainees at a British civil service college.

Their six-week course is sponsored by the Overseas Development Administration and includes a two-week attachment period to a British government department.

Ramaphosa said the experience gained through this training would ensure that South Africa's new government was close to the people, sensitive to their needs and responsive to their expectations.

The training course is open to all political parties and members of the PAC and Inkatha have already participated.

"The experience that our people are gaining here will ensure that we emerge not only with a good civil service but with a good constitution," Ramaphosa said.

He thanked the British people for their commitment to the struggle against apartheid and for their continuing assistance during the transition to democracy.

The negotiation process, he said, was moving towards finality but there remained much work to be done.

"The negotiating process is currently facing a few difficulties in that a number of parties have walked out and formed themselves into the Freedom Alliance.

"This should correctly be called the Apartheid Alliance," Ramaphosa said the ANC remained committed to holding discussions with the alliance, but this did not mean the negotiating process would be delayed any further.

"We hope that tomorrow they will bring forward new proposals that will pull us out of the current dead-

lock.

"If they do so we are prepared to give serious consideration to their needs," Ramaphosa said.

Meanwhile, at Limassol in Cyprus, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki told delegates at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) that he was sure the organisation understood South Africa's economic problems and wanted to see a stable country.

Thus he was confident that it would take a decision in principle to underwrite a negotiated settlement. "Otherwise," he said, "we will be in very serious trouble indeed in South Africa." But he admitted that he did not know what the Commonwealth's capacity would be to assist the new South Africa economically.

The 37 Commonwealth leaders attending this two-yearly Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) went into their customary weekend retreat at the coastal resort of Paphos yesterday.

They are expected to issue a statement responding to Mbeki's appeal and settling out more fully the position they have reached on South Africa.

Mbeki and the ANC's Mondli Maimang are attending CHOGM as guests of the rotating hosts, this time the Cyprus government.

WINNIE welcomes policemen who take an oath to serve their communities

'Time for war talk over'

■ Serving the people:

More than 500 members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union in the PWV region yesterday took an oath binding them to the communities they serve.

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

"WE WANT a policeman to be someone you can ask directions from, not someone to throw petrol bombs at," Winnie Mandela told black policemen and prison warders at a Popcru rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium yesterday.

She stood at attention in front of a mixed SAP/Umkhonto We

Sizwe/Apla platoon, saluted the men, and described the occasion, which was granted last minute permission by the police to proceed legally, as historic.

"In my wildest dreams I never thought I would stand here addressing the system," she said, and turned towards the policemen. "I'm sure that you also never thought that you'd attend a meeting addressed by some of us, unless you were on duty."

After the oath, Maxwell Nemadziyhanani, Pan Africanist Congress national organiser, said the day would come when not a single bullet from the Azanian People's Liberation Army would be directed against black policemen.

Mandela, chairman of the southern Transvaal region of the South African National Civic Organisation,

accepted a copy of an oath from Popcru president "General" Gregory Rockman. The oath binds the policemen to the communities they serve.

Popcru members recited the oath after Rockman, and pledged to serve all communities irrespective of colour, creed, race or religion in an unbiased and impartial manner.

Mandela acknowledged that both sides — the communities and the police — were brought together by realities of the struggle for freedom.

"You were rightfully isolated by the communities and your families and people hated you not as individuals, but for the system of apartheid you joined," she said.

By joining the police force, Mandela said, black policemen put themselves in a no-win situation. They were not trusted by their white counterparts, who saw them as

spies, nor by their communities, which regarded them as sell-outs.

Mandela observed that the two parties had been brought together by the violence which has hit the townships.

"That is why they've become useless to the SAP. The SAP is firing Popcru members because they're a stumbling block to Third Force activities," she said.

The SAP did not understand that there would be no peace until the entire police force enjoyed the support of the communities they served. "We are there to make sure that you enjoy that support. The time for war talk is over. The time for reconstruction and development is now," she said, declaring war on poverty.

That, Mandela warned, was not an indication that the communities were giving up the right to defend themselves.

ANC aims to make Nats look weak

■ **Nats weakening:** The ANC alliance programme of mass action is softening up the Nats in time for April 27.

By DAVID BREIER

PANIC bells are ringing in Government as they realise that on April 27 the once-mighty Nats could look like a pitiful and weak ex-Government unable to attract new voters or stand up to the ANC.

Late this week President de Klerk complained about what he said was a concerted strategy to undermine the Government before the elections.

But ANC sources are unsympathetic, saying the Nats could not expect to be allowed to use their power image based on 45 years of apartheid rule to benefit themselves in the elections.

Politicians across the spectrum say "insurrectionist" elements in the

ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance are using this softening-up strategy to weaken the NP's position. Their plan is that the Government must be made to keep on backing down on issues such as the petrol price and must be seen to lose control of the streets.

This would turn the Nats into an unappealing prospect for new voters, especially for coloured and Indian voters as well as some blacks seeking a strong counter to the ANC.

De Klerk complained about the attempt to undermine the Government before the elections.

He said it had been the "accepted position" that the Government would continue to govern South Africa until it

transferred power to a duly constituted Government of National Unity after the proposed elections.

"There are, at the moment, concerted efforts across the spectrum to undermine this position and to establish a de facto interim government by trying to limit the Government's ability to take effective day-to-day administrative decisions," he said.

DP spokesman Tony Leon said members of the ANC alliance were aiming to create conditions on the ground which would show the Government had lost control and it was better for first-time voters "to throw in their lot with those who can exercise control".

COSATU CAMPAIGN ISSUES:

Cosatu objects to a provision in the proposed Bill of Rights allowing employers to lock out striking workers. It also opposes tenure for civil servants, especially whites. And the federation objects to the Freedom Alliance, a possible referendum and to regional powers.

Some ANC members have expressed doubt about the wisdom of the mass action campaign now getting under-way. ANC finance spokesman Trevor Manuel said the planned Cosatu strike on November 15 would undermine investor confidence.

Cosatu forms the nucleus of mass action planned over the next few weeks. Observers have noted that Cosatu appeared to have decided first to flex its muscles and then looked for the reasons. So far it has given five reasons for its campaign.

In addition Cosatu is the driving force behind mass action due to begin tomorrow against the petrol price despite the Government's decision to cut the price by 2c a litre.

The fuel-related action is due to blockade petrol depots, oil companies and Government offices and could bring cities to a standstill. It begins in the Eastern Cape and will roll around the country, reaching the Transvaal on November 8.

Mokaba dials M for money

■ **Capitalist road:** A share of the action in a probably lucrative business is coveted by the ANC Youth League.

By **BRENDAN SEERY,**
VICTOR DLAMINI AND
TONI YOUNGHUSBAND

FIREBRAND ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba wants to buy into the lucrative cellular phone business.

Mokaba disclosed to the Sunday Star that he wants the ANC Youth League to acquire a share in the equity of the two cellular phone licences, to give the league "financial independence" from the ANC after the April 27 election.

"We want to get in at the equity side, because that is where the decisions — about the technology to be used, and so on — are made."

Mokaba said he envisaged that any money for a Youth League "buy in" to the industry, would come from the ANC.

His remarks come in the wake of this week's agreement between the ANC, Cosatu, and the two cellu-



MONEY-SPINNER
... youth leader Peter Mokaba.

lar phone licencees, Vodacom and Mobile Telephone Network (MTN).

The agreement provides that Vodacom and MTN increase the equity held by black business, and commit themselves to involving at least 50 percent of black business people as

"service providers".

In return, the ANC, Cosatu and the Posts and Telecommunications workers' union would recognise the validity of the cellular phone licences issued to MTN and Vodacom.

And, despite this week's agreement, ANC information technology chief Andile Ngcaba indicated that the organisation is considering a "backdoor nationalisation" of Vodacom. He told the Sunday Star the ANC wanted parastatal Telkom's shareholding in the consortium increased to a controlling 51 percent. Telkom has not yet been privatised and control over it would be exercised by a future government.

ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said it was a "distortion" to describe the organisation's attitude on cellular phones as nationalisation. However, he said the ANC was concerned that the public sector maintained a majority shareholding in any cellular phone operations.

Ramaphosa said the ANC felt that telephones, like water and electricity services, were a "national asset" and should therefore operate for the benefit of all South Africans.

He also disclosed that the ANC's investment company, Thebe Investments, had dropped its cellular phone bid.

JOHANNESBURG MARATHON

Fun day at the zoo with start and finish of the Marathon today.

Stalls, videos and animal shows. Entrance **FREE**.

Jan Smuts Avenue, Parktown.

Gwala re-elected as ANC Natal chairman

Maritzburg — Harry Gwala was yesterday re-elected chairman of the African National Congress' Natal Midlands region.

This could mean he may have to resign as an elected National Executive Committee member, as holding both positions is not allowed in terms of the ANC's constitution.

Earlier yesterday the ANC Midlands regional conference was reprimanded by president Nelson Mandela for electing Gwala to the position of chairman last year.

Mandela told delegates they had contravened official ANC policy and requested them to abide by the movement's constitution and act as disciplined members of the organisation.

Gwala later told delegates he would rather resign from the NEC

than rescind his regional leadership position.

He explained that he preferred working at the grassroots level, particularly in Natal, where a war was raging, and where he could best serve his constituency.

It was not clear yesterday whether Gwala would resign from the top 50-member ANC leadership structure.

However, as a regional chairman Gwala would be appointed to the NEC as an ex-officio member anyway, ANC officials explained.

Gwala's newly elected deputy is Midlands traditional leader Chief Zibuse Mlaba, while Sifiso Nkabinde retained his position as secretary.

John Jefferey was elected deputy secretary, while Zweli Mkhize was elected treasurer. — Sapa.



PALACE COUP? . . . Holomisa and Mandela.

No secession, warns Mandela

By BRIAN KING

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected the idea of KwaZulu seceding from South Africa.

Responding to IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to secede if KwaZulu was not given a federal option, Mandela said: "The people of South Africa and the peo-

ple of KwaZulu will decide that."

Meanwhile, Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa yesterday urged the ANC delegates to be prepared for a "palace coup" surrounding President de Klerk.

Holomisa said that should National Party caucus members defect to the CP or IFP and De Klerk was forced to resign before the April 27 election, the ANC would have to have a plan of action.

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Times

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business

ANC: All parties with significant support should participate meaningfully in the interim government of national unity, but the majority should be able to rule effectively. A deputy president from the second most popular party could boost reconciliation.

GOVERNMENT: Originally supported consensus decision-making in cabinet, but this could be adapted to loaded majorities and a significant role for a deputy president coming from a different party to the president.

DP: There should be no rigid decision-making method in cabinet, but a prime minister should be appointed to ensure the accountability of cabinet to Parliament.

PAC: The ruling party should appoint the executive, which should be accountable to Parliament. There should be no forced coalition in the executive.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE: No official view on this.

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

THERE seems to be widespread support among parties at talks for a separate constitutional court, but the judiciary is at odds with this.

ANC: Supports the technical committee recommendation of a constitutional court separate from the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

GOVERNMENT: Has not finalised its position on this matter.

DP: Should be the highest court on constitutional matters, but cases should pass through ordinary courts until they reach appeal level. Could be a semi-autonomous part of Appellate Division or independent.

PAC: Should be set up for the sole purpose of looking into human rights violations in society and should not

interfere with the work of the constituent assembly.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE: Should be a separate court, but not independent of the Appellate Division. Judges should not take office as political appointments.

DEADLOCK

IT HAS been proposed that if the constituent assembly cannot agree on a final constitution by a two-thirds majority within two years of the first election, deadlock-breaking mechanisms should come into effect. This entails a number of complicated procedures but essentially the constitution approved by a simple majority of members of the constituent assembly will be put to a referendum. If it does not receive the support of 60 percent of the voters, the constituent assembly will be dissolved and new elections held. A simple majority of those elected will approve a constitution.

ANC: Insists that a final constitution is adopted within fixed time frames but is flexible about the mechanisms to achieve this. In particular, the organisation appears to have distanced itself from the idea that, in the final event, the

constitution can be approved by a simple majority.

GOVERNMENT: Also flexible on the mechanisms to be employed but its bottom line is that it will not accept the idea of a constitution being approved by a simple majority. Supports the idea of 60 percent approval in a referendum should it be necessary.

DP: There should never be less than a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly or a referendum. If such a majority cannot be attained on a clause, the version in the interim constitution should remain in force.

PAC: A two-thirds majority should be required to entrench a clause. If such a majority is not possible on a particular issue, no constitutional provision on the matter should be drafted. No referendum should be held to break a constituent assembly deadlock.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE: Does not support the idea of the constituent assembly drafting a final constitution and therefore a deadlock-breaking mechanism is not an issue for the alliance. It believes a final constitution should be decided through multi-party consensus and a two-thirds majority should be required to amend it.

ONLY SIX MONTHS to go before crucial poll, yet negotiators drag their feet

Election peace force exists only on paper

■ **Get a move on:** With six months to polling day, little has been done to set up a National Peacekeeping Force and other election structures.

NEARLY three months ago a Goldstone Commission panel urged "there is literally not a moment to waste" in setting up a joint peacekeeping force in time for the elections.

With only six months to go to polling day on April 27, nothing physically has been done to set up the proposed multiparty National Peacekeeping Force (NPF) to prevent election violence.

The 10 000-strong NPF is to include members of the SADF, SAP, as well as the ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and other para-military forces in equal proportions, to create a neutral politically acceptable peacekeeping force in the run-up to elections.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill passed last month makes provision for it, but the NPF at present exists on paper only.

Transitional mechanisms are only due to be put into effect once the full package of deals negotiated at the World Trade Centre is agreed on - supposedly next month.

The time delay also applies to other transitional bodies, including the TEC itself, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority. Parties are only now in the process of nominating their representatives on the TEC.

This means that, even if all goes smoothly over the next few weeks, the entire transitional mechanism will have only five months to carry out its tough mandate of levelling the playing fields for elections.

And with the Christmas off-season intervening, it has in effect four productive months at the most to do the job.

Work on setting up the crucial NPF can only begin later next month and, according to military sources, it will take at least two to three months to organise, recruit and train, giving the NPF barely two months of existence until elections - hardly enough time to mould a new combined force of former enemies.

With politicians working to their own relaxed timetable, the SA Police has in the meantime gone ahead and set up its own new force de-

DAVID
Breier

POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT



signed to prevent intimidation during the elections.

This week the SAP announced a new Unrest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit for this purpose.

Security sources said the setting up of this unit was a reminder to politicians to get on with the job of countering violence in the elections.

SAP spokesman Ruben Bloomberg said the police had made proposals for the NPF but had no feedback yet. He said the NPF's main function would be deal with "hotspots" during the election.

He, like Das Herbst of the Ministry of Defence, said it was up to the politicians to decide when to set up the NPF. "It's not in our hands," Herbst said.

Herbst said the SADF was geared to begin work to supply the logistics, but he said it was already late, as he estimated the NPF could only be set up by mid-February.

The NPF faces even more headaches as the Inkatha Freedom Party and other members of the Freedom Alliance (FA) have snubbed participation in any transitional structures so far.

IFP-controlled KwaZulu operates the KwaZulu Police and the IFP recently set up its own "private army" which could qualify to serve on the NPF.

But unless the FA reaches a settlement, the NPF could find its hands full countering IFP and KwaZulu forces during the election campaign.

In addition, the PAC and its armed wing Apla are also sabotting the transitional structures, adding to the NPF's problems. Apla has threatened to shoot at MK members on the NPF.

With the NPF and other transitional structures set to have such a short lifespan before elections, questions are being asked whether it has been worth the while to go through such an elaborate exercise to "level the playing fields" for elections for such a short period.

Some political observers believe the real motive for setting up the NPF is not to use it as an effective peacekeeping force but to neutralise unemployed and potentially dangerous members of MK and other private armies during the election campaign by occupying their energies in the NPF.

And the Government is said to favour a very short life and limited power for the TEC as the Nats want their own power image as "the Government" to survive as close as possible to the election as a vote-catching ploy.

The TEC and other transitional structures, with such a short lifespan, will have to depend on Government departments to help them out. The Government could end up playing a far greater role in the elections than the ANC had bargained for.

This could be why the Government is in no great hurry to set up the TEC, but accepts the elections will be on April 27.

As time catches up with negotiators and so much remains to be done, there appears to be no weakening of their will to retreat from April 27. ANC leader Nelson Mandela is adamant about the date and the Government agrees.

But the Freedom Alliance, which is engaged in bilateral talks with both, thinks it can delay the elections. President FW de Klerk believes a referendum will put the alliance in its place. Mandela believes if talks with the alliance do not work, the elections should simply go ahead without them.

“According to military sources it will take at least two to three months to organise, recruit and train the NPF, giving it barely two months of existence until elections - hardly enough time to mould a new combined force of former enemies.”

Times 24/10/93

Whose birthright?

INTERVIEWED on television this week, ANC leader Nelson Mandela made distinctly "pro-choice" noises on the subject of abortion.

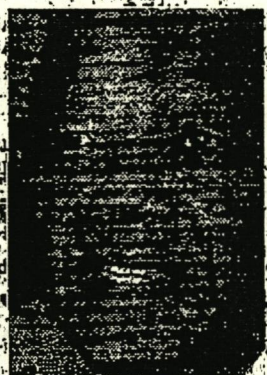
Women, he said, had the right to make decisions on issues which affected them but added that a new government would decide policy on the issue.

As that is the intention, one has to ask why his negotiators accepted a clause in the "bill of rights" section of the constitution which states that "every person shall have the right to life".

In his comments on behalf of the judiciary on this clause, Chief Justice Mick Corbett pointed out that the unqualified manner in which it was worded would outlaw abortion.

He said: "... it is part of our law that the foetus is entitled to the protection of life. An unqualified protection of life will rule out abortion even in those cases which are now by law, lawful."

But the Chief Justice is correct: the ANC can hold all the deliberations it wants on the subject of abortion, but the only policy it will be able to make law is one that outlaws abortion. Anything else will be thrown out by the courts because it will contravene the "Bill of Rights".



Bartlett push for federalism

TOO much central government would "ride roughshod over the feelings of various peoples", Natal National Party leader George Bartlett told a multi-racial meeting of NP supporters on Saturday.

Addressing over 100 NP youth members at a provincial congress in Hibberdene on Natal's south coast, Bartlett gazed over his supporters and said "it's quite clear the NP has changed significantly".

Bartlett and fellow NP leader Danie Schutte made a brief appearance at the youth congress where they were heralded with unlikely chants of "viva" from smiling youths wearing "I love FW" stickers. Bartlett gave a strong punt for federalism, saying "we want our own constitution for Natal-KwaZulu... this must accommodate us whether we are Zulus, Indians, or whites". — Sapa.

Natal Witness 25/10/93

Strong medicine

Fresh from its triumph in the cellular phone row, the ANC will find it hard to resist making a meal of its latest bogeyman tactic: nationalisation.

It was after it threatened to nationalise the cellular phone industry that the government, ANC, Vodacom and MTN struck a deal agreeing to increased black and public sector shareholding and participation in the two consortiums.

The ANC has also threatened to nationalise the highly profitable pharmaceutical industry because of its exorbitant medicine prices. Don't be surprised if black business and the public sector are soon offered shares by the big pharmaceuticals. Nothing like a spoonful of nationalisation to make the deal go down.

Sunday Times
24/10/93

Buthlezi fires back at Mandela

AN angry Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday accused African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela of generating anarchy in the KwaZulu region one day and the next day turning to the people with "facile gestures of peace".

Addressing a gathering at Mada-deni in northern Natal, he said this was hypocrisy and was recognised as such by the ANC in the region.

"The president of the ANC seems to be an expert in talking out of both sides of his mouth when he talks peace in one breath and in the next vilifies us by calling us all sorts of vile names."

"We have never answered him in kind in the interests of peace and reconciliation. Some of you may have seen him on TV during his vis-

its abroad and even last Thursday night," Buthelezi said.

He said his message to Mandela was: "You cannot one day recruit impressionable young children to learn to kill other black people and generate anarchy in the region, and the next day turn to them with facile gestures of peace."

The IFP leader said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the government in their tracks and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them.

"We will act under the banner of the Freedom Alliance and fight together for our demands for federalism and a strong democratic constitution before elections," he said.

— Sapa.

Local government will mirror TEC

LOCAL government will be restructured along the same lines as the Transitional Executive Council, negotiated at the World Trade Centre.

This was said by Professor Malcolm Wallis from the University of Durban, Westville, Department of public administration, at a local government workshop at Capital Towers on Saturday, organised by the German-based Adenauer Foundation through its Democracy Devel-

opment Programme (DDP).

Wallis told delegates that the amalgamation of statutory and non-statutory bodies will have to be taken seriously, as will the issue of "one city, one tax base".

He said there is a lot of "muddle and confusion" concerning the amalgamation of these bodies.

He said that affirmative action will have to be given a top priority on local government. — WR

Natal Witness 25/10/93

Fears of backdoor nationalisation of cellular phone industry –
and firebrand Mokaba's already asking for his slice of the pie

Phoney business?

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Sunday ~~Times~~ ^{Tribune} 24/10/93

BRENDAN SEERY, VICTOR DLAMINI and TONI YOUNG HUSBAND

Erebrand ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba wants to buy into the lucrative cellular phone business in the wake of a deal between the government and the ANC to give black businesses a bigger stake in the new industry. The proposition which depends on financial support from the ANC has drawn sharp criticism from the National Party.

Mr Mokaba told the Sunday Tribune he wanted the Youth League to acquire a share in the equity of the two cellular phone licences to give the league "financial independence" from the ANC after the April 27 election.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk, a spokesman for the Nationalist Party, said if Mr Mokaba's statement was an indication of the thinking in the ANC, then it was cause for grave concern.

"It would seem the ANC regards the role of a political party as a short cut to enrichment."

"One of the golden rules of democracy is that there should be a clear distinction between a party's political role and the economy."

"If this kind of thing prevails in the ANC we will soon be faced with huge corruption," said Mr Schalkwyk.

Mr Mokaba said he envisaged that any stake money for a Youth League buy into the industry would come from the ANC.

Agreement

Mr Mokaba's remarks come in the wake of this week's agreement among the ANC, Cosatu and cellular licencees Vodacom and Mobile Telephone Network (MTN).

The agreement provides that Vodacom and MTN increase the equity held by black business, and commit themselves to involving at least 50 percent of black business people as "service providers". In return the ANC, Cosatu and the Posts and Telecommunications workers' union, Potw, agreed to recognise licences issued to MTN and Vodacom.

And, despite the agreement, ANC information technology chief, Andile Ngcaba, told the Sunday Tribune the organisation was considering a "backdoor nationalisation" of Vodacom. He said the organisation wanted Telkom's shareholding in the consortium increased to a controlling 51 percent.

The agreement this week states that Telkom's shareholding in Vodacom remain at 50 percent.

ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said it was a "distortion" to describe the organisation's attitude on cellular phones as nationalisation. However, he said the ANC was concerned that the public sector maintained a majority shareholding in any cellular phone operations.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC's investment company, Thebe Investments, which was originally negotiating for a share in MTN, had dropped out completely from the cellular phone industry.

Commonwealth leaders fret over half-hearted Britain

THE MOST heartfelt defence of the Commonwealth during the Heads of Government meeting in Cyprus came neither from John Major nor Paul Keating but from a one-time guerrilla with a less than whole-hearted commitment to multi-party democracy.

Smiling broadly, Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan President, last week described his English-style school syllabus, which left him with an understanding of the geology of Britain. The Commonwealth is useful, he argued: "At the Organisation of African Unity I speak through interpreters. Here I speak with people from the South Pole directly. The English brought their language and forced it on us but we have captured it. I think this is a useful starting point."

It was a rare outburst in support of an institution whose *raison d'être* is the subject of much questioning as most of the 50 heads of government undertake their traditional retreat today. For most Commonwealth leaders this meeting is primarily a round of dining, drinking and diplomatic networking. Better still, all this is well away from the TV cameras. The delegates are housed in a

scaled zone of seaside hotels from which they emerge, occasionally, for receptions aboard the Royal Yacht *Britannia*.

Given the opportunity to network in private it is little wonder that many of the world leaders value the meeting. "Amid all the waffle," said one British delegate, "there is constant contact. I saw Benazir Bhutto at the Meridien Hotel; one minute she was talking to the president of the Maldives, the next to John Major."

Aside from its function as an elite club, there lies uncertainty about what heads of government are doing in Cyprus, and worry about a lack of leadership from Britain.

In fact many important politicians are not there at all. One veteran described the line-up of heads of government as the least impressive ever seen at such a meeting. The prime ministers of India, Canada and New Zealand are absent — these countries are holding elections. But in the case of India the failure of the Prime Minister to attend chimes with a lack of enthusiasm for the institution. Critics know that Britain is less concerned with its Commonwealth links than its European Community ties or its relation-

From Stephen Castle

in Limassol

ship with the United States. They sense both a lack of energy and an unwillingness to devote resources, as proved by the British decision to cut funding for the Commonwealth Institute. Some also suspect latent racism in Britain's ambivalence.

India was central to the creation of the Commonwealth as it was the first republic to stay within the grouping (unlike Ireland and Burma). But 46 years on it is a big enough regional power to forge its own alliances, diminishing the relevance of the Commonwealth as a diplomatic instrument. According to the Indian journalist G H Jansen it is "such a large country with such problems that we don't want anything else to worry about. We don't think about the Commonwealth".

These doubts are multiplied by the lack of a clear and incisive agenda now that South Africa is no longer a bone of contention. This, in turn, allowed the early stages of the meeting to be taken over by the Cyprus issue. Officials believe that the attempt to hijack the

of the invasion of 1974 rebounded on the Cypriots. So too, they say, did the noisy demonstration against the Queen when she was presented with keys to the city of Nicosia. Britain had fought against Cyprus being the venue but was stymied when the New Zealand government refused to host this year's meeting because of elections there. They have done the decent thing by offering to host the next event in 1995.

The other themes highlighted by the Commonwealth suffered mixed fortunes. The commitment to democracy and good government will feature in the final communiqué. But it was complicated by the presence of a handful of leaders with few democratic credentials, such as Captain Valentine Strasser, the designer-clad 28-year-old Sierra Leone ruler. A number of countries, including Zambia and Kenya, have moved towards democracy, but progress is slow.

On Gatt the conference had more success, agreeing to send ministers to European capitals to press for a settlement. It was seen as an effective counterblast to the French, whose Commonwealth equiva-

speaking states recently received fierce lobbying of the Paris line on trade talks.

But there is more than a suspicion that the French are doing things better. Richard Gunn, a member of the delegation of St Vincent and the Grenadines, said: "The Commonwealth works for us, particularly in areas like technical assistance where its agencies are of immense help. But it is seen to be slightly diminishing while the French equivalent seems to be gaining strength."

That view is shared in London as well. As a Conservative Foreign Office minister, Sir Richard Luce, now UK chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation, helped rally UN support for the British position after the invasion of the Falkland Islands. He believes Commonwealth votes swung the decision his way. He argues that this bank of goodwill is being wasted. "Somehow the British government is getting the perception that there is no British interest here," he said. "I would like to think the Government could be more positive about an institution which gives us a special link with a complete cross-section of the globe. But we are

INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY
24 OCTOBER 1993

- LONDON



Head of a divided family: the Queen arriving in Cyprus last week

Photograph: TIM OCAENDEN/PA

Dictator overthrows himself

AS A military dictator, Bantubonke Holomisa is one of the most ubiquitous products of modern Africa.

But in one essential respect he does not conform to the usual image of a modern Major-General in black Africa. Not only does he intend relinquishing power six months from now, but he will then entirely abolish his country.

Major-General Holomisa, who became military ruler of Transkei six years ago, has emerged as one of the most influential political figures in South Africa — from which Transkei is theoretically "independent". The 38-year-old soldier is a thorn in the side of State President F. W. de Klerk but a rose in the lapel of South African President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela.

Transkei took nominal independence in 1976, as a state for the seven million-strong Xhosa-speaking peoples. "Pretoria went out of its way to make Transkei look credible by making it financially viable," said Archie Nkonyeni, an Umtata businessman, Methodist lay preacher and President of the South African Chamber of Commerce for black businesses. "They poured money in."

The funds still pour in, making Transkei an Alice in Wonderland of a state. This year Transkei's budget will be nearly £1.2 billion, of which £1 billion will come from Pre-

Transkei leader to abolish his country

by Fred Bridgland
in Umtata, Transkei

toria in subsidies. The consequences are bizarre.

Transkei is fundamentally one of the poorest regions of South Africa. It has no natural minerals. Its soils are poor, eroded and overpopulated. It has little industrial base. Nowhere along its spectacular 160-mile "Wild Coast" shoreline is there a natural harbour. And yet Umtata, the capital, is a small thriving well-run town. Its shops, half white-owned, are filled with goods. The housing would not look out of place in a Surrey dormitory suburb. But it is all sustained by wages paid to 70,000 Transkeian civil servants drawn from taxes on South Africans.

The hand-outs still arrive, even though Holomisa has made his state a stronghold for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and their military wings.

Holomisa regularly thumbs his nose at President de Klerk and General Kat Liebenberg, the Chief of the South African Defence Force. After the SADF launched a grossly incompetent raid on a house belonging to Apla (the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army), the PAC's armed wing, a fortnight ago, Holomisa ordered the expulsion of the only ambassador accredited to Umtata, South Africa's

Horace van Rensburg. Pretoria meekly complied, and went along with Holomisa's demand that white SADF troops guarding the embassy be replaced with black soldiers recruited into the South African Army since the political reform process began four years ago.

The reputation of Holomisa in Xhosa-speaking areas soared. There were brief anti-white riots, but Umtata's 7,000 whites are staying put, knowing that

**‘You can't rule
out a coup.
After all, this is
Africa’**

violence is much worse in places like Johannesburg and Durban.

Holomisa survives through astuteness — he has thwarted two Pretoria-inspired coup attempts — and through knowing that he sits in the heartland of the ANC and PAC. Nelson Mandela and the PAC leader, Clarence Makwetu, were both born in the Transkei and maintain homes here. The assassinated South Afri-

can Communist Party leader, Chris Hani, was also born and raised in the Transkei.

Holomisa works closely with both the ANC and the PAC, organisations De Klerk cannot afford to offend in the final approach to next April's first all-race general election. Mandela believes Holomisa's popularity can help secure nearly the entire Xhosa vote for the ANC.

De Klerk could easily cut off Transkei's money or send a battalion of troops to overthrow the military dictator, but it would wreck the constitutional negotiations and possibly provoke civil war.

The general took power in a peaceful coup six years ago from the Transkei president, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, whose regime was acknowledged as financially corrupt.

Holomisa set about cleaning up the administration, refusing to move into State House and living in a suburban bungalow with his wife and three children.

Asked why he had not allowed an election in Transkei since then, he told the *Sunday Telegraph*: "I like the ideal of democracy, but we would have had to allow the PAC and ANC to participate. They said they would have no part of a Bantustan election. But we got the mandate of our people, who overwhelmingly support the ANC and PAC, to join in the

negotiations for a new South Africa. We are going to issue a decree enacting all the legislation adopted at the World Trade Centre [in Johannesburg, where South Africa's constitutional negotiations are taking place].

"Our people will vote in the general election on April 27, 1993, and after that we will be reincorporated into the new South Africa. The Transkei independent homeland will cease to exist. I won't have any problem giving it up. The honeymoon for other homeland leaders and myself will be over."

It has been widely assumed that Mandela's reward to Holomisa will be a cabinet post in six months time. But Holomisa, trained as a paratrooper by the SADF, told me: "If Sandhurst were to offer me a staff course, I'd be glad of an 18-month holiday. Our standards are based on those of the British Army."

This suggests that Holomisa is aiming to become the first black chief of the SADF. In that position he might be a difficult man for an ANC government to deal with.

Asked whether he thought he was likely to have been South Africa's last military dictator, he replied: "I'm only hopeful about the future, not optimistic. Unless you come up with a culture of democracy practised on a daily basis, you can't rule out a coup. After all, this is Africa."

London—

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH—24 OCTOBER 1993

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Welcome, White Zulus

Sunday
Tribune
4/10/93

Growing numbers of whites are finding their political home in the Inkatha Freedom Party. KAREN MAC GREGOR talked to several of the new 'White Zulus' about their reasons for joining the party.

On Saturday afternoons, young farmer Schalk du Plessis sometimes dresses in splendid Zulu warrior skins and walks for hours with his black friends through the hills of rural Kwa-Zulu to dance at traditional weddings.

He speaks as much Zulu as Afrikaans, is a first-class stick fighter and prefers sour African sorghum beer to the fizzy West. Among the black and white folk of Nongoma, in Northern Natal, he is known as a 'White Zulu'.

Earlier this year, 25-year-old Schalk and his father Francois du Plessis — a staunch National Party supporter for all his adult life — joined the growing numbers of white South Africans who have joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

For many of the new 'White Zulus', repudiation of the racist politics of apartheid, signing up with a black political party has been a great leap of faith.

"I tell whites they must now make the effort in their minds to emigrate to the new South Africa," says former Democratic Party and now IFP MP Mike Tarr. "They must accept that whites are in the minority, that black parties will be in the majority, and that there may be chickens on the buses, but what the hell."

White IFP supporters give many reasons for their conversion, but the most common are that the party's policies are conservative, capitalist, Christian and consistent. IFP chief minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is seen as a strong leader who stands up to the ANC.

The IFP is a Zulu-based party, and many white South Africans have a romantic respect for the Zulus, conquerors of the past, and proud, disciplined traditionalists of the present. "Zulus have a strong sense of nationalism," says Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute. "Africans, especially, can identify with that."

my support, and they have lost all control. The ANC has beaten them into submission.

"I think the only real leader is Mr Buthelezi. He started out with a set of principles and has stuck to them. But what I really like about the IFP is its commitment to federalism. The whole world is sliding into little states. Geographically, Natal is ideally suited to that."

Mr Cadman has organised a few meetings in Eshowe for the IFP and says the party's membership drive is going quite well with whites, coloureds and Indians joining.

Further down the coast, at a gathering held in the sumptuous Durban North home of IFP organiser Ed Tillet's parents, a similar range of people discussed setting up an interim steering committee to establish several new branches in white, Indian and coloured suburbs.

Whites must accept they are in the minority, that black parties are in the majority and there may be chickens on the buses, but what the hell?

Mike Tarr, IFP MP

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Sunday Tribune
24/10/93

Help

Mr Tillet said affluent new IFP offices should be prepared to help those branches in need. "We must promote self-sufficiency and the entrepreneurial spirit, but we must also recognise the difficulties that lie ahead."

The cultural and economic gaps between white and black supporters, he warned, would not always be easy to bridge.

"But the smorgasbord of IFP support is broadening, and the people who eat breyani, phutu and cucumber sandwiches must forge ahead with common goals."

IFP recruits at the meeting agreed with that, but were cheered off with Mr Buthelezi's exit from multi-party negotiations.

Mielie pap is the staple breakfast in white Vryheid, but that hasn't stopped blocks of voters moving from the NP to the IFP. More extreme whites have joined the Conservative Party.

The split has caused some tension, says Vryheid cattle farmer Leon Solms, who won't go to braais any more with old friends who have joined the CP because "they only talk about politics and fighting", and abuse his views.

He is still wavering about joining the IFP, but his father and brother became members after Chris Hani's assassination when the government "let go" and allowed black protesters to run riot through city centres. The Solms family wants strong government.

Leon Solms used to be chairman of the local NP branch, but lost interest two years ago. His political reawakening occurred at a commando seminar he attended in his capacity as a captain.

"In the end we agreed the federal system would work best. People on the ground know more about what's going on in their area than guys at the top. We don't want apartheid in reverse. It didn't work before and it won't work now. After the seminar things opened like a book. I realised the IFP and NP had very close policies."

Most white people share with the IFP a firm belief in capitalism. Chris McQuet, chairman of the IFP's Highway constituency, says the party's free enterprise policies and strong commitment to Christianity are the most common reasons why white people in his area join the party.

"Also, they respect the discipline of the Zulus. When the IFP holds mass meetings, nothing is touched."

The Solms family, Charles Cadman and the Du Plessis family, too, share a soft spot for the Zulus. "The Zulus were lied to, beaten and cheated by the Brit-

Incentive

For diehard Natalians there is the added incentive of IFP insistence on a federal solution for South Africa, and for farmers there are the party's promises not to confiscate land.

The IFP does not ask the race of its members, so it has no record how many white people have joined. But in the past year more than 30 IFP regional offices have opened up in white areas around the country, and scores more branches are planned.

In Vryheid, when NP MP Jurie Mentz "crossed the floor" to the IFP earlier this year he took many of his voters with him. His party secretary, Marika van der Merwe, reckons "hundreds".

The IFP is convinced there will be a flood of new white members in the run-up to April elections. This could be campaign hype, but has been given some validity by a Human Sciences Research Council voter survey in which people who said they would vote for the NP overwhelmingly gave the IFP as their second choice.

Not all white IFP members, of course, are formerly National Party. Charles Cadman is a sugar cane farmer near Eshowe, on the Natal North Coast, who used to vote for the New Republic Party. He joined the IFP in April.

"I see the IFP as the only effective opposition to the ANC, which I do not believe is really committed to democracy. They speak with forked tongues. I am also not convinced that the NP has reformed enough to warrant

WAVERING: Leon Solms wants strong government. With him are Rosie Shongwe and Muntu Sibisi and his family, wife Joan and children Joseph, Leonard and Yolanda.

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG

ish. They were strong and they were crushed, along with their traditions and culture," Mr Cadman says.

"But the Zulus have risen above all that and re-established their culture. Many are traditional and conservative, and I see that as a strength. I think what is making people stand up and listen to the Zulus is that, in the turmoil of South Africa, they have stood up and said: 'No, we don't want to be dominated again. We want control in our region.'"

Francois du Plessis's family passed down stories about Zulus helping Afrikaner farmers against the English in the Boer War, and they remain grateful. He cites three reasons for joining the IFP and, as a believer himself, the main one is Mr Buthelezi's and King Goodwill Zwelithini's Christianity.

The Du Plessis farm is on one of the many edges of KwaZulu, overlooking one of the king's palaces, and he describes a symbiotic relationship with the family's Zulu neighbours.

"When they need help they come to us, and when we need help we turn to them," he says.

"You know, A for Afrikaner starts off the alphabet and Z for Zulu ends it. All the others are in between. We go together and have always been close to each other. Then apartheid came and drove us apart. I was a fool for believing it was right."

Unfinished

Sunday
Times

24/10/93

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POWERS OF REGIONS

MUCH heat has been generated by the list of exclusive regional powers in Section 118 of the proposed constitution.

The number and type of regional powers will determine the extent of federalism in the constitution. Key players are discussing ways of expanding this list.

ANC: Education and health cannot be exclusive regional functions because norms, standards and curricula need to be uniform and determined by central government. The system of regional government must be streamlined and cost-effective.

GOVERNMENT: The list of exclusive powers for regions compiled by the technical committee could be expanded, but national standards will have to be maintained.

DP: More powers, including education, health and public works, should be given exclusively to regions, and the capacity for central government to interfere with these should be eliminated.

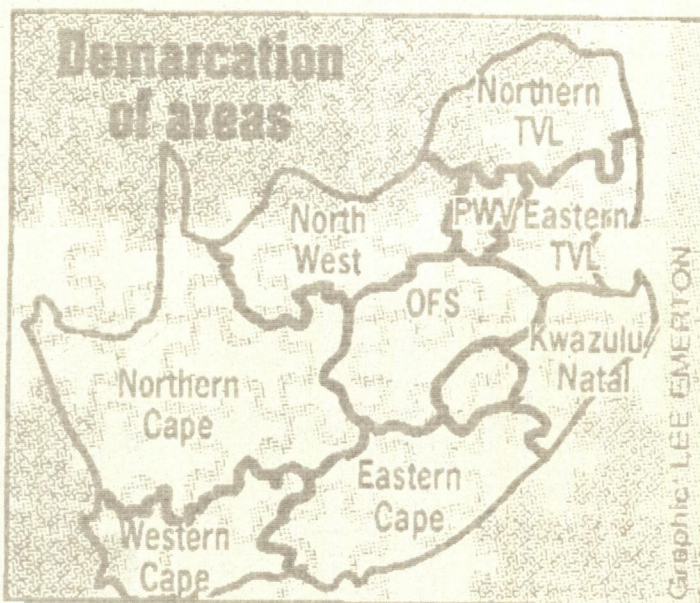
PAC: The power to make all laws should reside exclusively with central government. Provincial authorities should only be able to make regulations and by-laws.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE: Central government powers should be confined to national matters such as foreign affairs, trade and roads. Central government should determine standards for weights and measures, education and health, for example, but substantive powers in these areas should reside with regions. Regions should have the power to impose taxes.

REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

COMMITTEES set up at the World Trade Centre have produced a map consisting of nine regions. The latest

RAY HARTLEY outlines the viewpoints of the main parties on five critical disputed aspects of the interim constitution, which has to be finalised by November 5



report, which is under discussion, includes extensive arguments for and against changing the proposed boundaries.

ANC: In general, agrees with the boundaries proposed by the commission, but adds that these do not need to be finalised now. It suggests that the Northern Cape region should be divided between the North-West and Western Cape. Sasolburg should be in the OFS, not the PWV.

GOVERNMENT: Differs with commission proposal. Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and OFS and North-West region should be amalgamated.

DP: The Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and the Northern Cape region should be absorbed into the North-West, Western Cape and other regions. East Griqualand should be part of Natal and not the East Cape/Kei region as proposed. Pre-

toria should form its own region separate from the rest of the PWV. Sasolburg should fall into the PWV region.

PAC: Demarcation should be undertaken only by an elected constituent assembly and only provincial boundaries in a unitary state should be demarcated.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE: Those directly affected by boundary changes should have the final say on which region they would like to reside in. More grassroots views should be canvassed before boundaries are drawn.

THE CABINET

A multi-party cabinet has been proposed. How this cabinet will take decisions and the possibility of a deputy president from the party with the second most votes is the subject of behind-the-scenes discussion.