Parties now closer on vital
constitution planning issue

JOHANNESBURG. — The
ANC and the government are
closer on the vital issue of a
constitution-making body, says
Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the govern-
ment's chief negotiator on con-
stitutional matters at Codesa.

He said yesterday he was
confident an interim govern-
ment could be formed "within a
few months". \(3047\)

A spokesman for Codesa's
working group dealing with ti-
terframes said earlier every
test attempt should be made to in-
still an interim government by
June 30.

"On the very vital issue of a
constitution-making body, how
its should be put together and
how it should function, we are
closer to each other than we
have been over the past six or
seven months," Dr Viljoen, also
Minister of Constitutional De-
velopment, said at Codesa.

He was responding to the
most detailed ANC proposals
yet on a constitution-making
body, tabled earlier in the day
at the World Trade Centre
here. \(3047\)

"There are very clear differ-
ences, but there are also signs
of a common perception of cer-
tain basic problems and needs
that must be addressed," said
Dr Viljoen.

"There have been slow,
small, but important positive
developments among the dif-
ferent parties. I believe a com-
promise can be found. — Sapa."
Simple majority system denied

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday denied that its proposals on a constitution-making body amounted to "simple majoritarianism".

The organisation has proposed that a proportional representative constituent assembly, based on one-person-one-vote elections, draw up a new South African constitution.

The government on Monday said a one-person-one-vote election would "put the cart before the horse by starting off with a simple majoritarian system which is actually the goal that some parties seek to achieve by the negotiations".

"The irony is that while we in the ANC firmly believe that the principle of free elections and majority rule lies at the heart of democracy, we do not support what has been called simple majoritarianism for South Africa," the ANC said at Coega.

More than 15 months ago the ANC had declared its support for the system of proportional representation. "We did so for two basic reasons. One, it enables the diverse range of currents in South African society to be accommodated without reference to groups and, two, it avoids the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas."

— Sapa
Referendum on new constitution rejected

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday rejected the holding of a referendum to ratify a new South African constitution.

"An after-the-event ratification can never be considered as a serious alternative to involving the public in elections for the constitution-making body," the ANC said at Cape Town.

Elections had an historical healing role to play in the country, the ANC said in support of its position that one-person-one-vote elections should be held to draw up a proportionally-represented constitution-making body.

Elections would be "a signal that true citizenship has at last arrived for all. Elections will be proof that we really are in a new South Africa", the organisation said.

While a referendum was a useful means of testing public opinion on issues where a simple "yes" or "no" would be appropriate, "it is a grotesque device for ensuring that a long and complicated document corresponds to what the populace thinks is correct," the ANC said.

"There is the added problem of persons being compelled to vote in favour of a constitution with which they might not agree simply because to continue with the present racist constitution would be a greater evil."

The government has still to decide finally whether it will hold a referendum to ratify a new constitution.

The ANC's comments were contained in its most detailed proposals yet on a body and procedures for drafting a new constitution, tabled at a meeting of Cape Town's Working Group 2 at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg. — Sapa
Races split over King's role

MOST Zulu-speaking men do not think it is important for King Goodwill Zwelithini to participate in Codesa, a public opinion poll has found.

However, white men strongly support the participation of the Zulu king in Codesa: 61% think it is very important or quite important, and 35% think it is not very important or not at all important.

The poll, the results of which were released yesterday by Research Surveys, found that 18% of the 309 black men surveyed in door-to-door canvassing at the end of February thought it was very important and 13% quite important that the king attended Codesa.

In contrast, 15% of black men and 16% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not very important, and 45% of black men and 46% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not important at all.

Only 4% of the men said they did not know whether it was important for King Goodwill to attend Codesa.

The responses of the 66 men surveyed in the Durban area did not vary from the national figures.
ANC: Set up body to plan new SA

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, at Codesa yesterday, proposed an elected constitution-making body which would sit in Parliament in Cape Town and be given four months to complete its work.

"Should it fail to do so, it should be compelled to dissolve itself so that new elections could be held," the ANC said in its most detailed proposals yet on the body and procedures for drafting a new South African constitution.

The proposals were tabled at a meeting of Codesa's Working Group 2.

The ANC still believes that the body should be called a constituent assembly, but said the name in itself was not crucial: "What matters is how it is chosen and how it functions, not who first came up with its name."

A new constitution should be drafted and adopted by a body elected on the basis of one person one vote, and consist of 400 delegates, the ANC said.

"All persons over the age of 18 (and living within the 1910 borders and regarded in international law as South Africans) shall be entitled to vote.

"The system of proportional representation shall be used."

**Low threshold**

The ANC proposed that the threshold or minimum percentage required for proportional representation be "relatively low — there are a number of well-established political organisations in South Africa which might not be able to reach 5%. New parties might well be born."

In agreeing on a threshold, the ANC said it was necessary to ensure that the inclusive character of the constituent assembly was maintained while avoiding an undue proliferation of tiny parties.

The ANC further proposed that the constituent assembly have a steering committee to lay down procedures, and that it should elect a "representative drafting commission".

"Decisions at the constituent assembly shall be by a two-thirds majority," the ANC proposed.

The body would also appoint an independent constitutional panel of nine "respected, representative and competent" people to hear any disputes. — Sapa.
Codesa to have a ‘gender’ body

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa’s management committee has agreed to establish a Gender Advisory Committee, composed preferably of women, which will advise working groups on gender implications of decisions taken by the convention.

Committee chairman Mr. Pravin Gordhan told a news conference at the World Trade Centre near here that the decision to establish the body followed careful consideration of representations from organisations and individuals, as well as recognition the vital role of women in the negotiation process.

“It will be a sub-committee of the management committee and its primary function will be to look into the terms of reference and agreements of working groups, and the decisions of the committee and advise on their gender implications,” he said.

The Gender Advisory Committee would consist of one representative from each participating organisation at Codesa and would be composed “preferably of women.” — Sapa
SA men want CP in Codesa

Most black and white men believe it is important for the Conservative Party to participate in Codesa, according to a new public opinion survey.

It found that 52% of white men and 40% of black men thought it very important, while 19% of both groups thought it quite important.

However, the results of the poll, released yesterday by Research Surveys, show that 27% of white men and 38% of black men thought it was not very important or not important at all for the CP to attend Codesa.

The survey, which was conducted among 389 black and 431 white men in door-to-door canvassing at the end of February, showed a high level of awareness about Codesa, as 85% had heard of the organisation.

Most were also able accurately to describe its function as being to bring about peaceful change in South Africa.

Whereas 71% of black men strongly agreed or agreed that Codesa could succeed, 10% disagreed or disagreed strongly. Only 39% of white men strongly agreed or agreed it could succeed, 30% disagreed or disagreed strongly, and a further 26% neither agreed nor disagreed.

Research Surveys concluded that South Africans generally have a good grasp of the task Codesa is designed to perform.
MPs consider their options at changing of the guard

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Wane in influence

The manner in which the CP hierarchy has chosen to deal with the crisis - by denying that there is one and forging ahead as if the referendum was just a bad dream - will simply increase the frustrations of the pro-negotiation camp.

By allowing the pressure to build up in this manner, the party leadership appears keen to jettison some of the more troublesome dissidents before they can mobilise majority support in the caucus and take over the party.

The pragmatists in the CP know that the massive white mandate for a negotiated new order means that the party will steadily wane in support and influence if it does not change direction fairly quickly.

They must also be keenly aware that most of the hardliners in the old guard of the party don't have many years of politics left in them anyway, making it less compelling for them to adapt to changed circumstances.

But the pro-negotiation camp in the CP knows that splitting the party - as happened with the NP 10 years ago - is a laborious and expensive process.

Rejuvenated CP

Plan A must remain a take-over of the party with all its resources and structures, followed by an attempt to become an important force at the negotiating table.

By making an impact and contribution at Codesa, possibly as part of an alliance with other parties, a rejuvenated CP will at least be able to offer some of its forward-looking MPs the prospect of a significant role in a reconstituted political order.

Uncertainty about the role of the DP and individual MPs in the fast-changing political landscape has also produced a fair amount of upheaval in the party.

Curiously, the fact that at least a third of the CP's 33-member caucus has given active consideration to the possibility of leaving the party for presumed greener pastures in recent months has barely raised an eyebrow among the party hierarchy.

But at least the leadership has belatedly recognised that there is a problem and has arranged for an extra-long caucus meeting this week to allow MPs to clear the air, let off steam and, if possible, address some of their fears and misgivings.

Greener pastures

One frequently heard refrain in DP circles these days is that while the party's leading lights at Codesa can probably bank on a job in politics in the new South Africa, the rest will probably be left out in the cold.

Even Nationalists - who are more isolated at Codesa these days than most could have predicted - are beginning to show signs of political nerves as he days of minority rule draw to a close.
Clarity sought on unitary state issue

CODESA's management committee will recommend to Codesa II that an addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa I to clarify interpretation of the provision on a unitary state.

Participants in Codesa have expressed doubts on whether the declaration committed signatories to a unitary state or not, Codesa MC chairman Pravin Gordhan told a news conference yesterday at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

"There was general consensus that the declaration leaves the question of a unitary or federal system of government open," said Gordhan.

"In order to remove any doubts, the management committee has agreed to recommend to Codesa II that the addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa I."

The addendum states that no provision of the declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision, would be construed as:

- Favouring, inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether it be unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;
- Preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between central government and the regions, during the proceedings of Codesa or any of its committees or working groups; and
- That the addendum shall be added to the declaration.

A Codesa sub-group has agreed that the State President should not be allowed to unilaterally declare a state of emergency during the transitional period.

Delegates said there was general agreement yesterday that an interim authority would have to agree to a state of emergency before it could be implemented by the State President.

A delegate said the near consensus was a shift away from the ANC's previous demand for the abolition of the Public Safety Act.

Once consensus has been reached within a sub group it is then considered by a working group. This group forms the agreement to Codesa's management committee.

Codesa would send a seven-member delegation to Britain in April to observe the British general election, Gordhan said yesterday.

He said Codesa had accepted an invitation from the British government to observe the elections.

"We consider this to be a valuable opportunity to observe a fair and free electoral process. We hope to gain useful lessons for our own situation," said Gordhan.

The delegation will leave for the UK on April 5 and return to SA on April 18.

Sapa.

ANC rejects voting on constitution

THE ANC yesterday rejected the holding of a referendum to ratify a new SA constitution.

"An after-the-event ratification can never be considered as a serious alternative to involving the public in elections for the constitution-making body," the ANC said at Codesa, Bophuthatswana.

Elections had a historical role to play in the country, the ANC said in support of its position that one-person, one-vote elections should be held to draw up a proportionally represented constitution-making body.

"Elections will be proof that we really are in a new SA," it said.

Government has still to decide finally whether it will hold a referendum to ratify a new constitution.

The ANC's comments were contained in its most detailed proposals yet on a body and procedures for drafting a new constitution, tabled at a meeting of Codesa's working group 2 at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg. — Sapa.
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP. There are differences in emphasis and, in some crucial areas, principle, between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a "Transitional Government of Reconciliation" confirms that three major parties to Codesa are now in full agreement on the need for a two-phase transition. The beginning of this transition — consensus at Codesa — and the end, a new constitution, are also agreed.

The IFP foresees an executive structure comprising a multi-party cabinet, under the chairmanship of the incumbent state president. This structure would be responsible for the tricameral legislature, reconstituted as a single body.

The cabinet's composition, still to be negotiated, would be inclusive of both major and minor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions of the executive would be:

The implementation of a socio-economic charter;
Supervision of a constitution-making forum;
The broadening of representivity in the civil service;
Creation and strengthening of regional structures;
Assumption of all functions of the ministers' councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the transitional government would last for a limited period, organized executive, but not legislative power. This, according to the IFP, would ensure an unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new constitution is reached.

The IFP foresees a role for advisory boards regarding areas such as the police, the SAPF, public media, privatization, and regional and local government.

Legislative functions would be fulfilled by a unicameral body drawn from the current tricameral structure. This would involve the only envisaged change to the present constitution, but an interim Bill of Rights could be enacted as an addition.

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the negotiations process is complete and a new federal constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at the "state and federal" level would be chosen.

The status of the "independent" and self-governing homelands would undergo no change in terms of the IFP plan, save for that which is specifically agreed to by themselves.

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring "(that body) to be strongly composed of specialists ... their task would be to flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already agreed upon by the negotiating parties at Codesa."

"There is therefore no need for an elected constitution-making body."

The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to become more inclusive — this is a clear reference to the controversy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu King and the KwaZulu government.

According to the proposals, the role — if any — of the international community in South Africa's transition should be heavily circumscribed; essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

The IFP opposes any supervisory function for the international community. "South Africans should have the maturity to do so without the mediation or intervention of foreigners."

As is clear from the accompanying diagram, the IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions — without the fulfillment of which, the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly be in place before the end of the first quarter of next year.

Working Group 3, which deals with the key matter of a "transitional package," is temporarily adjourned, while delegates consult their principals. When delegates reassemble next week, their task will be to extract from the three plans on the table, the points that are reconcilable — and find ways of negotiating around those that are not.
Blueprints for a new SA
OTTAWA - Canadian External Affairs Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall will visit South Africa this month and meet with participants in talks on a new multi-racial constitution.

McDougall will visit South Africa from April 6 to 8, and will meet State President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, officials said.

Canada has expressed its support for the reforms being carried out in South Africa but is maintaining its economic sanctions against the country. - Supa-AFP.
PAC, Azapo must swell numbers at Codesa

THE PAC and Azapo will just have to get into Codesa if they still want to play a meaningful role in changing South Africa into a democracy.

They do not have to jump into Codesa boots on, but their membership must allow their leaders the flexibility to choose between joining negotiations when the need arises without having to go to congress, and when and how.

This is what leadership is about.

When the two decided in December last year to stay out of the forum, there was a groundswell of support from most blacks.

In fact, when the PAC and Azapo called for a neutral venue and chairman, they were spot on. It was the only fair way.

When they stayed out later, arguing that Codesa was stacked in favour of President de Klerk, who had the NP, the Government, and most homeland leaders on his side; again these two enjoyed tremendous support from the black community.

In fact, progress in Codesa up to now has vindicated their claims.

The Government is today basking in glory after a string of victories in Codesa, where it has succeeded in pushing the ANC to accept most of its positions.

It was even so arrogant about this that it advertised its Codesa successes in major newspapers when it was canvassing for white support in the referendum.

That this would embarrass the ANC with its membership did not concern the Government one little bit.

In short, the PAC and Azapo have been right all along.

If this is the case, why must they now get into Codesa?

When De Klerk initiated the changes that now affect our lives, he did so after carefully studying the strengths of our organisations. International support was obviously at the top. De Klerk then considered all options to get the international community behind him, instead of behind the ANC or PAC.

He has succeeded.

Three years ago whites and representatives of his Government were unwelcome on most overseas platforms. Today they are more than welcome, even in the Third World. In impoverished countries they are honoured guests. It is no coincidence that the Frontline States have asked the PAC to get into Codesa. The Organisation of African Unity wants to play a role in Codesa.

True, international opinion can’t decide the course of our struggle. However, we made the British and Americans vital components of our strategies.

De Klerk is doing the same, and having the last laugh.

However, as we have serious misgivings about the change being negotiated, we have to develop strategies which take into account what has happened, and is happening, to get what we want.

When the ANC suspended its armed action, it was evident that the military campaign could continue without any gains for any side.

It was a question of who could hold out for much longer. This meant the Government, with far superior resources, had an edge.

The PAC and Azapo maintain they can still continue the military struggle. Although this is possible, can they ultimately bring de Klerk to his knees?

Negotiations seem the only option but, unfortunately, they are heavily loaded in favour of De Klerk, for he has succeeded in making our organisations fight him according to his rules.

Before the referendum the PAC and Azapo could still get away with their objections to Codesa. However, the referendum has changed the ball game and De Klerk can enter far-reaching agreements with any group. These will be endorsed by Africa and the international community.

In short, while De Klerk effectively silenced the Conservative Party, he also marginalised thinking to the left.

In the meantime the ANC has continued with negotiations. Regrettfully, and for a variety of reasons, De Klerk has been outmanoeuvring it every step of the way, not that the PAC and Azapo would have fared any better.

The real danger now is that the Government, the Democratic Party, Inkatha and homeland leaders, who in the final analysis share common interests, will force the ANC into some settlement by sheer weight of numbers.

And this settlement, if the past is anything to go by, will be heavily in favour of the Government. All that the PAC and Azapo will then say when this happens is: “We told you so.”

But of what help will this be?

For, like it or not, they will also be bound by the conditions of the settlement. In addition, there will be no other negotiating forum, specially one tailored to meet PAC and Azapo demands, after Codesa.

Worse still, the Frontline States and the OAU will not harbour any black liberation movement from South Africa after they have endorsed Codesa and participated in it.

The PAC and Azapo must now fight where the battle is—in Codesa. After all, the regime must be engaged on all fronts.

They need to fight alongside the ANC for, as I have said, when the ANC is short-changed, this will affect every black person, and not only ANC members.

When they fight alongside the ANC, it is more likely that the easy ride De Klerk now enjoys will come to an end. I do not see him riding roughshod over a ANC-PAC-Azapo alliance.

In fact, most whites are happy that the PAC and Azapo are not in Codesa. They fear an ANC-PAC-Azapo alliance.

We have always said whites divide us, and then rule us. Pity that we now divide ourselves, and they then play one against the other, and rule us with ease.

Let the PAC and Azapo, despite the fact that their stand is morally justified and they are ideologically opposed to the ANC, get into Codesa. They have a worthier battle in that forum. At stake is 300 years of struggle.
Minister urges CP to help stop carnage

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Herman Kriel, last night urged Conservative Party MPs to use their influence with rightwing militants to stop the violence plaguing South Africa.

Speaking during a debate in Parliament, Kriel said both black and white leaders were using violence to position themselves politically:

He said the time had come for black political leaders to meet and make peace for all their supporters at grassroots to see.

White rightist leaders were doing so as well, preparing themselves for action in the imminent power-sharing occurred in South Africa.

Citing the AWB's Wenkommando and elite Ystergaarde, he said: "We cannot live with this type of thing. This country will find itself in chaos if everyone continues with this positioning," he said.

Kriel read out news reports quoting CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and others, and appealed to all political leaders: "Watch your words. We are busy marketing a war psychosis in this country."
ANC rejects Govt’s constitutional plan

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC has proposed that an elected constituent assembly of at least 400 members should sit in Parliament to compile a new constitution within four months.

The movement thereby rejected the Government’s proposal of a two-chamber Parliament drawing up the new constitution.

In a strongly worded attack on the Government’s proposals, the ANC said: “What we need are not two Houses at each other’s throats, fearful of and antagonistic towards each other, but a single, multifaceted body representing the nation in all its variety and seeking to establish fair ground-rules for the realisation of the principle that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.”

Nevertheless, both parties still agree on the principle of an elected body functioning as a legislature and a constitution-making body.

The ANC yesterday proposed at Codesa that:

- A sovereign constituent assembly be elected through a system of proportional representation and should include the TBVC states.
- Based on the assumption that there should be one representative for every 50,000 voters, an assembly of 400 people would be required for a voting population of 20 million.
- A cut-off point to be used for political groups to take part in the constituent assembly could be negotiated.
- Decisions in the constituent assembly were to be taken by a two-thirds majority.
- Should the constituent assembly fail to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved so that new elections could be held.
- The assembly would choose, on the basis of proportional representation, a 40-person drafting commission.
- A steering committee, also elected on the basis of proportional representation, would handle the management of the constituent assembly.
- An independent constitutional panel would be elected to hear any disputes. It would also verify that the constitution, as finally adopted by the constituent assembly, did not contradict general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa.

The ANC said it was in the interest of democracy that such a body be elected. Elections would play an “historical healing role” and signal that citizenship had arrived for all.

“Elections will be the proof that we really are in a new South Africa. They will signal a compelling acknowledgement of our common South Africanness,” the ANC said.

Elections would also remove the sense of distance and incomprehension which separated the general public from Codesa.

The ANC denied that elections would encourage further violence.

“The danger of this argument is that if the existence of violence is accepted as a reason for not holding elections, then those who are fearful of losing an election will have a stake in maintaining the level of violence,” the ANC said.

- New hope that IFF, Bop will sign declaration — Page 8
"There was blood on the floor"

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government has strongly objected to the tone of the ANC proposals for a constitution-making body.

One delegate said "there was blood on the floor" at Codesa yesterday after the Government's retaliation.

The ANC proposed that an elected sovereign multiparty constituent assembly sit in Parliament to draw up the constitution within four months.

Government sources yesterday told the Star the tone of the ANC document was "insulting".

However, ANC negotiator Albie Sachs said: "Their proposals are insulting".

"Many aspects of their proposals are ludicrous, I am sorry to say. "If the cap fits, let them wear it," said Mr Sachs.

He said the Government's proposals for a constitution-making body excluded 8 million people in the homelands from its proposed structures.

Another ANC negotiator, Dr Frenec Ginwala, said it was hoped the Government would look at the content of the ANC's proposals and "not worry about bruised egos".

"The negative tone of the ANC document is not in line with what has been happening at Codesa," one Government source said.

It is understood the Government is particularly incensed at a reference in the ANC document to the Government's proposed bicameral Parliament, which says: "Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a CMBR (constitution-making body) and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political science student."
Pietersburg seeks to counter bad image

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau STAR 14/4/92

PIETERSBURG—The National Party-controlled Pietersburg Town Council has decided to launch a publicity campaign to counter "negative perceptions about the town" after the "no" vote registered in the region in the March 17 referendum.

But the move was strongly opposed by the Conservative Party opposition at a council meeting on Monday night.

A CP amendment to the management committee's proposal, to the effect that "ratepayers' money should not be used for such a campaign," was defeated by six votes to three.

Proposing the campaign, management committee chairman Lodewyk Snyman said there had been threats of consumer boycotts, and expressions of no confidence in Pietersburg after the referendum, which could only have a detrimental effect on the town's economy.

"The country and the world should be told where we stand on the issues of reforms and relations with other population groups," Pietersburg is a positive, friendly city of the future," said Mr Snyman.

He was supported by councillor Nic van Oudshoorn, who said there was no doubt that Pietersburg itself had returned a "yes" majority in the referendum.

Councillor Schalk Schalkwyk (NP) said it was time the culprits who repeatedly behaved like hooligans at political meetings in Pietersburg were identified and prosecuted, as they were "dragging the town's name through the mud".
New hope that IFP, Bop
govt will sign declaration

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Codetsa's management committee has agreed on an addendum to the negotiating forum's crucial Declaration of Intent, raising hopes that the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will now agree to sign the document.

The two delegations refused to sign the declaration at Codetsa 1 in December.

The proposed addendum states that no provision in the declaration favours or excludes the adoption of any particular constitutional model — whether it be federal, unitary or confederal.

The IFP had voiced strong concerns about the declaration's apparent emphasis on a unitary future for South Africa.

The addendum states that the declaration does not prevent any delegate from propagating that the powers between a central government and the regions be separated.

Codetsa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the addendum was a signal to groups not taking part in Codetsa that the management committee was amenable to removing obstacles to enable them to take part.

Codetsa represented the only process able to bring together all the parties wanting a peaceful settlement, he said.

The management committee was gathering information on groups which have applied to join Codetsa and would make a decision "well before" Codetsa 2 takes place next month.

An application by the Basotho National Party of Lesotho to join the talks had been refused, he added.

On the possible participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders, Mr Gordhan said a committee investigating the matter was "fairly confident" it would be resolved within the next two weeks.

After considering various options, the management committee on Monday decided that Codetsa 2 would be held on May 15 and May 16. The full sitting of Codetsa would consider reports from the management committee and the working groups, he said.

Mr Gordhan also announced that a seven-person multiparty Codetsa team would observe the British general elections as guests of the British government.

It would be a valuable experience for delegates at South Africa's negotiating forum to observe free and fair elections, he said.

The group, led by Mr Gordhan, includes Peter Hendricce of the Labour Party, N J Mahlangu of the INTANDO we SIZWE Party, Dr Frank Mdhlase of the IFP, Professor Selby Ripinda of the Inyandza National Movement, the National Party's George Bartlett and Janet Love of the Codetsa secretariat.

The management committee has also agreed to establish a gender advisory committee to advise on the gender implications of the terms of reference of each of the five working groups.
The Development Aid Department and the South Africa Development Trust cease operation today following a process of rationalisation and an attempt to restructure South Africa of apartheid administration.

All the staff, functions and assets have been transferred to the self-governing states, central government and provincial administrations.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers said at a briefing yesterday the abolition of the Development Aid Department and the SADT brought to an end a historic era — started in 1910 “to cater for all the material, moral and social well-being of black people”.

President F W de Klerk announced in October last year that the department and the trust were to be abolished after recommendations by the Commission for Administration.

The department has worked flat-out since then to transfer 3 million hectares of land to the self-governing states and the final 1.5m hectares still left over are to be transferred to Public Works and Regional and Land Affairs, Mr De Villiers said.

The 11 proclamations and three government gazettes published yesterday affect one hundredth of South Africa’s land that will now be administered without racial discrimination.

All the development and related functions rendered by the SA Development Trust will now rest with individual line function departments and administrations, Mr De Villiers said.
unease

Once again we see the democratic process being distorted, even as it is supposed to be serving the people. In Zimbabwe, the establishment newspapers, supported by the newspapers of the government, have given the ANC a free ride. The Independent Weekly and the Sunday Mail have been critical of the ANC, but they have not been as critical as they should have been.

The ANC's campaign has been marked by an escalating level of distortion. The ANC has been accused of using its influence to control the media. The ANC has also been accused of using its influence to control the election process. The ANC has been accused of using its influence to control the economy. The ANC has been accused of using its influence to control the government.

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Interim rule ‘must be quick’

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

It is in the Government’s interest to have a transitional government in place as soon as possible, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Such a government would end uncertainty, reduce violence and help attract foreign investment, he said yesterday.

Preconditions

However, the Government told Codesa last week that the implementation of a transitional government — a two-chamber parliament, according to the Government’s proposals — could be implemented only if four preconditions were met.

One of the preconditions was that violence was solved before an interim government could be established.

It told Codesa it was imperative that “the question of political violence in general and the bilateral understandings in paragraphs 3 of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Accord are solved decisively”.

Mr Botha’s statement yesterday does not indicate that the Government is prepared to forgo an end to violence before an interim government can be agreed to.

Government negotiator and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport last night told The Star that the Government still insisted on an end to violence before an interim government could be established.

Such a government could help to further stabilise the climate.

Mr Botha, who was addressing the weekly Government press briefing on Codesa, would not commit himself to a time-frame for the implementation of an interim government, saying it depended on the removal of “obstacles”.

He pointed out that fundamental differences, including the question of power-sharing, still existed between the Government and the ANC.

The Government had received a mandate from whites to negotiate power-sharing and if there was a deviation from this mandate, the Government would have to go back to white voters, Mr Botha said.

Responding to criticism that the Government’s proposed upper House would give minorities a veto right, Mr Botha said the Government was opposed to granting whites or any racial minority a veto in the transitional phase but wanted to protect political parties.

Tested

He denied that the Government wanted to exclude the homelands from a transitional government.

In terms of Codesa’s terms of reference, the will of the citizens of the TBVC states about reincorporation into South Africa had to be tested and the issue of their citizenship resolved first before an interim government was appointed, Mr Botha said.

The Government was not opposed to the reincorporation of the homelands but they could not be forced into such a move, he said.
CP MP pleads for unity

CAPE TOWN — In a
strong plea for Afrikaner
unity, Conservative
Party MP for Ovella-
Koos van der Merwe
said in Parliament yest-
day that he foresaw
the establishment of an
Afrikaner state that
would be recognised by
the UN, and which would
be free of apartheid.

Speaking in the Budget
debate, he also said the
CP would answer criti-
cism that the creation of
an Afrikaner state was
no longer practical.

He said the Afrikaner
had to accept that the
new SA would differ fu-
damentally from the old.

The issue of two con-
flicting streams in Afri-
kaner thought — those
who still wanted self-de-
termination and those
prepared to share power
— would be resolved by
a division of land.

"Then the power-shar-
ers can share power in
their part with the ANC
and others. Then the self-
determinists are entitled
to work out their own
way forward in an Afri-
kaner state in their part
of South Africa," he said.

— Sapa
Soares seeks pledge from ANC

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — The Portuguese President, Dr Mario Soares, is seeking assurances from the ANC about the future security of the 700,000 Portuguese in South Africa, a top ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Mend Msimang, chief ANC representative in Britain, said this after meeting Dr Soares in Lisbon this week in an attempt to dilute a strong Portuguese initiative partly to lift remaining European Community sanctions on April 6.

Dr Soares is current president of the EC's Council of Ministers and is backed, by Holland, Germany and the United Kingdom in his desire to send a "strong positive signal" to South Africa as a reward for the massive "yes" reform vote.

Mr Msimang said most discussion had focused on the security of Portuguese citizens in a future non-racial and democratic South Africa.

"Little vague"

"Many of them (an estimated 100,000) come from Mozambique and Angola, and he said that some were debating whether to leave or stay in South Africa."

He had given his assurance that the ANC was "trying to convey to them that if they co-operated with the new process (Codesa) they need have no fears."

His impression had been that Dr Soares's knowledge of the latest South African situation "tended to be a little vague."

"I think what I was able to do was to increase his understanding of the ANC's role in the Codesa process — but I tried to be as objective as possible, giving the government's position so he could see what the differences were. "
US rules out white veto in SA

WASHINGTON. — The international community should help South Africa as soon as that country had a multi-racial government, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen said yesterday.

But the US opposed any constitutional arrangements that would give the white minority a cast-iron veto, he said.

"We do not believe there should be a minority veto of any kind. We would support minority rights, minority protection because we have minority protection. We do not believe in a minority veto," he told the House foreign affairs sub-committee on Africa.

"I don't think the international committee should wait to act until there is a new constitution and a majority-rule government," he said.

Drought

"We feel that as soon as there's a multi-racial interim government the international community should weigh in and help to revitalise that economy, because the whole process can fall apart if there are not enough jobs, if there's no start made on creating jobs and achieving greater economic growth," he said.

He noted that South Africa's needs had been rendered all the more pressing by the regional drought.

The World Bank was "impatiently" awaiting the formation of an interim government so that could embark upon major housing, urban development and electrification programmes, he said.

He also disclosed that the administration had reached a tacit agreement with Congress to end a prohibition on official grants to universities and other government-controlled institutions.

Mr Cohen predicted thatCodesa negotiations would lead to a one-man, one-vote election of an interim government before the end of the year or early in 1993 at the latest. — Sapa-Reuters-AFP
KOOS predicts Afrikaner state

CONTRIVERSIAL, Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe yesterday predicted the formation of an Afrikaner state.

The envisaged state would enjoy international recognition and membership of the United Nations, and, he stressed, would be free of apartheid.

Speaking during the budget debate — and giving the clearest exposition of CP policy to date — Mr Van der Merwe said the CP would concretise and finalise its constitutional model shortly, and also answer criticism that creating an Afrikaner state was impractical.

Mr Van der Merwe said that after the referendum Afrikanerdom was at a watershed. It had to recognise that the new South Africa would differ dramatically from the old and it needed to be the architect of its own future.

He said Afrikaners had to recognise that the greatest stumbling block lay in the divisions within Afrikanerdom. "These political differences are red hot, and are continually fired up by mutual slander, hate and growing polarisation.

"With an eye to the future Afrikaners dare not ignore this divisiveness any longer. I put it to Afrikaners that we must urgently think about Afrikaner unity. We cannot build our future on internal strife."
DP to thrash out differences

Political Staff
THE Democratic Party begins its weekly caucus meeting early today to thrash out differences that emerged after the referendum.

The meeting will probe widely diverging opinions on its future that have been aired since the March 17 poll, with some MPs leaning towards the ANC and others apparently closer to the National Party.

At least one MP is understood to be contemplating joining the ANC before Codesa II.

And in Parliament last week another viewpoint became apparent when Pietermaritzburg South MP Mr Mike Tarr suggested the creation of a broad-based right-of-centre party embracing the NP be considered.

Although Mr Tarr made it clear he was not necessarily including the DP and was expressing a personal opinion, his comments are understood to be in line with a group within the party and apparently precipitated the current crisis.

Yesterday, however, party sources said they did not expect a split although some are resigned to its happening "somewhere down the line".
**Mass murderer Barend Strydom has called on members of the “Boerevolk” to actively resist the reform process “at least once a day.”**

“At the cafe, at the restaurant, in the cinema, at school, in the defence force, at work — let your support be heard... in every facet of life,” Strydom writes in the latest edition of the Boerestaat Party newsletter.

Strydom was sentenced to death for shooting seven black people on Pretoria’s Strijdom Square in 1989. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

In a letter from jail sent to the newsletter, Strydom said he would never beg “the enemy” for his release.
Catch-22 Trap Stalls Progress

Patrick Lawrence posonders opposite imperatives for ending the violence wrecking SA
NP insists on power sharing

CAPE TOWN — Government urgently wanted an interim government of national unity, but such a government had to be based on power sharing to achieve stability and economic growth, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a briefing on the progress of negotiations in Codesa working groups, he said both the interim and the final constitution had to be based on power sharing rather than majoritarianism or else SA could forget about achieving economic growth and foreign investment.

He said that during his recent trip to the Far East and previous trips to Europe the message was clear that investment was possible only if there was peace and stability and power sharing in government.

He also warned that if Codesa deviated from a power-sharing model, government and the NP would have to go back to white voters to get a renewed mandate.

"We have just received a mandate from the voters to negotiate power sharing and if we deviate from that we will have to go back to the electorate," he said.

Government was opposed to whites, or any other minority, having a veto but it was supported protection for minority parties. "Majoritarianism and a winner-takes-all position is definitely not on."

He would not be drawn on the prediction by ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki that an interim government would be in place by June, saying he did not know if obstacles could be cleared by then.

Botha insisted that government would not force the TBVC states to reincorporate into a new SA, saying they were independent and had to decide for themselves.

Codesa's working group 4 was discussing the question and referendums might have to be held in each of the states.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoi said there were problems with the ANC's constituent assembly proposals because they implied that after an election such a body would have legislative power — resulting in a constitutional vacuum.
Model C landslide saves teachers' jobs

By Bronwyn Wildason

The Transvaal Education Department reported that 1,073 of the 1,101 schools under its jurisdiction had chosen Model C. All of the 174 schools in the Free State, 231 of the 233 schools in Natal and 658 of the 716 schools in the Cape chose Model C.

Teachers around the country could breathe a sigh of relief yesterday as schools in the Cape, Natal and Free State came out in overwhelming support of the Model C option. The jobs of thousands of teachers who faced retrenchment if schools had chosen to retain the status quo were saved as more than 95 percent of schools voted to convert to the semi-private model on August 1.

Marais announced that as many as 4,000 teachers would lose their jobs on August 1. The State will pay only the teachers' salaries at Model C schools, leaving parent bodies to fund administration and running costs.

Status quo schools will be fully funded. A Model C school will receive exactly the same amount as a comparable status quo school. But funding at status quo schools will cover all costs, whereas Model C funding will pay only teachers' salaries - which means they will be able to afford more teachers.

It is believed now that because of the high majority of schools which chose the Model C option, the number of teachers to be retrenched could be halved the figure originally feared.

A Department of Education and Culture spokesman said yesterday it could take at least a week for schools to decide how many teachers they would have to retrench.

CP split on cards following expulsion

By Peter Fabricius

CAPE TOWN — The long-threatened split in the Conservative Party now seems inevitable after the expulsion from the party yesterday of Wonderboom MP Koos Botha.

Mr Botha was kicked out of the CP caucus and the party after refusing to retract a speech in Parliament this week advocating an Afrikaner volkstaat much smaller than the present white SA. The big question in parliamentary circles now is how many other CP MPs and party officials will leave too.

All eyes are on maverick Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, Free State leader Cebill Pienaar and other volkstater.

The strategy of negotiating for a "drastically reduced Afrikaner homeland" has gained tremendous momentum in the CP, especially since the referendum which virtually closed out the option of winning power over the whole of the present SA through the ballot box.

After being kicked out yesterday, Mr Botha took up a seat in Parliament next to the Democratic Party as an independent.

Mr Botha said he would now seek to bring together all volkstater.

He said that at this stage he would not go to Coetsee because Afrikaners people had a very negative impression of it. But he would negotiate bilaterally with the ANC, PAC and other parties.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said in a statement last night that Mr Botha had been expelled because he had refused to abide by party discipline or to await the outcome of an examination of party policy.
A significant number of MPs have balanced support — here's how it's unfolding.

The leader's position is clear: he's not backing down on his earlier promise to support the new political party's candidates. MPs who are considering jumping ship to the new party have been encouraged to stay put, but it's not clear if any of them will follow through.

The situation is fluid, with some MPs signaling their intention to switch allegiances in the coming weeks.

As for the party's future, it remains uncertain, with some members calling for a merger with another party to strengthen their position.

Unity preserved at long last. DP Caucus.
ANC warns against another white poll

CT 31/4/92  Political Staff

THE ANC has warned that the government's suggestion that it might return to the white electorate for a fresh mandate if power-sharing — as proposed in the referendum — was not accepted at Codesa is "quite unacceptable".

ANC National Executive Committee member Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday said that the government should accept that there will never again be an all-white referendum or election.

There had been considerable concern in ANC quarters about the March 17 "ethnic" referendum and it would be "unwise" to call another.
Crisis in CP

Reformist rebel MP expelled

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TENSION in the Conservative Party was at breaking point last night after a rebel MP for Wonderboom, Mr Koos Botha, was kicked out for his pro-negotiation views.

Senior CP and Nationalist sources said the crisis marked the beginning of the break-up of the CP and could spark a groundswell of demands among ordinary right-wingers to participate in Contraaase.

As the months of wrangling between reformists and hardliners finally burnt into the open, the reformist camp was being led.

Leading reformist Mr Koos van der Merwe was tight-lipped, saying he had "no comment on or off the record".

But an independent Mr Botha said in an interview that he refused to dispute the party's national policy. In which he said his party would support "all relevant organizations" including the ANC - for a drastically smaller Afrikaner.

Mr Botha was angered when asked whether his views were enjoyed in the caucus but added: "There's a strong movement among grassroots CP supporters for this message..."

Mr Botha said he would join any other party but sit in Parliament as an independent while trying to mobilise the many Afrikaner volunteers preparing to leave the CP.

Mr Botha's ejection from the party followed his refusal to accept his colleagues' discipline following his controversial speeches.

He said the CP would welcome the "rebels" back into the fold if they declared themselves willing to abide by party discipline.

WHAT NOW? Wonderboom MP Mr Koos Botha was thrown out of the Conservative Party yesterday for his pro-negotiation sentiments. He refused to apologise to the party - saying later that "either you talk or fight and I prefer to talk at this stage".

After being put on the carpet by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and the party hierarchy on Wednesday night, Mr Botha told them bluntly: "I stand by my speech and believe what I said."

When Dr Treurnicht presented the ANC with a "non-communist" and the "enemy" of the Afrikaners, Mr Botha responded that they remained a relevant political force.

"Either you talk or fight and I prefer to talk at this stage," he said yesterday.

Mr Botha said he had warned the CP leadership that the party was in danger of becoming "irrelevant".

"Right-wingers in favour of their own nationalist must have someone to negotiate on their behalf and not be left out in the cold where nobody is taking their case to the negotiation table."
Would you buy a used car from these men?

Accepting the National Party's constitutional proposals would be like buying a used car already advertised as being held together with chewing gum and sawdust and will fall apart around the first bend.

A government of national unity might well be necessary to carry South Africa through the transition for the first few years of fledgling democracy. But to avoid dictatorship, there have to be very firm guarantees of a cut-off point for a return to free political association. After that, political parties may feel they want to continue the coalition on a voluntary rather than compulsory basis, as is usual particularly in proportional-representation systems, but then they would have to live with the political consequences of their actions.

De Klerk's power-sharing scheme - the revolving presidency, for instance - could well be of use in the elected interim stage while the constituent or national assembly is the parliamentary forum and the contours and details of the "new" South Africa are being drawn up.

But the suspicion remains that by asking for an open-ended transition, the NP is seeking to extend as many of its own constitutional proposals as possible into perpetuity.

There is no reason to trust the NP. Its constitutional proposals speak for themselves, demonstrating that the party has not philosophically been converted to the principles of parliamentary democracy.

The NP's stated desire to protect "political minorities" through regional representation in the interim parliament smacks of the same cynicism and the same shirking from democracy.

The principle that the body which draws up the final constitution should be as representative as possible and should include parties with a regional base, if not a national one, is fair. But this should not mean tampering with democracy to keep the life-support systems of apartheid's Frankenstein monsters running.

If the tricameral parties or the "homeland" parliaments muster two percent of the overall vote, they have failed as political parties in the open marketplace. That would be the judgment placed on them in any other country in the world.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is opposed to an election because it is aware that just as it has been the most notable beneficiary of the extra-parliamentary battleground of violence, so it will be the most notable casualty of democracy.

There are reasons why people support the parties they do. The assumption that people will be intimidated into voting for the ANC is racist and underlines some people's dark fears about democracy — that the masses are too stupid to know what is right for them.

What is needed is not a brake on democracy, but a strong parliamentary opposition and an independent civil society, including critical media, to ensure that the next government will not abuse power.

Instead of accepting the NP's political closed shop, we need to trust that if the electorate is unhappy with the ANC, or whoever is in power, it will look elsewhere and will have other parties from which to choose.

But first, parties such as the ANC need to be given a chance to govern. The NP proposals seek to deprive the winning party, which it assumes will be the ANC, of the fruits of electoral victory.

If we were to accept Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Vrijen's rejection of "simple majoritarianism", we would reject virtually every parliamentary system in the Western world as being defective.

In this the NP is not alone. Rightwing polemics who shelter under the guise of liberalism, but who are paranoid about real democracy, would have us believe that the biggest threat is from the ANC and the "totalitarianism of the left". What they really fear is that the poor will use their voting strength to clamber over the barricades of the ghettos and claim houses and farms and swimming pools.

The debate around power sharing is not simply about political power, but about access to the resources of the state to redistribute, to start doing something about the horrific poverty and unemployment that is this government's legacy to South Africa. And the apologists of power sharing should start explaining why they feel they need to construct a constitution to protect the rich from the poor.
More CP men to quit?
‘Volkstaters’ aim to take a long, hard look into Codesa

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FEVERISH speculation that more Conservative MPs are poised to leave the party focuses today on controversial MP Mr Koos van der Merwe.

He is considered one of the next most likely candidates for a walk-out over discontent with CP policy and strategy in the wake of the party’s humiliating defeat in the referendum.

In a dramatic, if carefully worded speech in parliament on Wednesday, Mr Van der Merwe said Afrikanerdorn had reached a critical point at which it should resolve its differences peacefully. Opposing camps should seek the basis of peaceful co-existence through agreement on a white State.

While the speech was open to interpretation, observers believed it signalled a desire to negotiate a settlement.

As CP MPs digested the implications of the expulsion of Wonderboom MP Mr Koos Botha after yesterday’s caucus meeting, Mr Botha announced his intention to establish a forum of “volkstaters” and his desire to be their “voice in parliament”.

Once the “volkstaters” had got themselves together, he said, they would evaluate Codesa to determine whether it would be an “appropriate” forum in which to negotiate their proposals.

The National Party grasped the opportunity to get in a dig at the CP, congratulating Mr Botha for having the “courage of his convictions” and saying that he “can’t be blamed for getting tired of the obvious sterility” of the CP.

Nationalists predicted further “in-fighting” in the CP.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetser added: “Koos Botha must be feeling very lonely and betrayed by those who have made similar statements, but have left him to carry the can by himself.”

A clearly embittered CP leadership struck Mr Botha out of the party after he refused to endorse Dr Andries Treurnicht’s setting-out of policy at the caucus.

In its official statement on the matter — issued by Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux at lunchtime yesterday — the CP said it had expelled Mr Botha because he had “refused to submit to caucus discipline.”

Mr Le Roux said he, Dr Treurnicht and deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg had had “open-hearted” talks with Mr Botha on Wednesday evening, but he had indicated that he was “not even prepared to await the outcome” of a thorough strategy and policy study now under way by seven caucus committees.
Dispute over new government grows

The Government and the ANC are once more at daggers drawn, this time over the type of transitional government each is proposing. IKE MOTSAPI reports.

WHITE South Africa may once more be called upon to arbitrate - this time between the Government and ANC.

The two differ on the type of authority to rule during the transitional period and to draft the new constitution.

The ANC wants majority rule and the Government wants power sharing.

This week official sources said the Government might once more have to go to the white community for its views.

The ANC wants an elected constituent assembly. The Government rejects this, saying it will be the start of "simple majoritarianism" that would bring negotiations to an end.

The ANC has proposed:

*A sovereign constituent assembly to be elected through a system of proportional representation and which must include the TBVC states.

*There should be one representative for every 50,000 voters, thus creating an assembly of 400 people for a voting population of 20 million.

*A cut off point to be used for political groups to take part in the constituent assembly could be negotiated.

"Decisions in the constituent assembly have to be taken by a two thirds majority.

*If the constituent assembly failed to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved and new elections held.

*The assembly would choose a 40-member drafting commission.

*If a steering committee would handle the management of the constituent assembly.

*An independent constitutional panel would be elected to hear any disputes. It would also verify that the constitution, as finally adopted by the constituent assembly, did not contradict principles agreed to at Codesa.

The ANC said it was in the interests of democracy that such a body be elected. It said elections would play a "historical healing role" and signal that citizenship for all had arrived.

The Government wants:

*An elected bicameral transitional Parliament which will be a law and constitution making body.

*Both houses of Parliament will have to approve the constitution.

*The Senate or second house will ensure special representation for minorities on a regional and political basis.

*A constitutional negotiating forum that should, at best, be composed of representatives of all the political parties and organisations qualifying for participation so that they could arrive at a decision by consensus.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen later told a press conference that the Government had no mandate to enter into a constitution-making process which "has the effect of negating the negotiations by imposing simple majoritarian decision-making."

He said: "The majority is not the only interested party in constitution-making."

"A constitution is a structuring of the political process for all communities, and therefore requires a broader agreement than just a majority, so as to ensure its acceptance by all major political groupings and communities.

"There must be broad multi-party involvement in its acceptance."

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on Wednesday said what the ANC wanted was "absolute control".

Botha said the Government had a mandate to share power, and will not transfer power to the ANC. This has angered the ANC and its allies who described the move as an attempt to weaken its position at the negotiating table.

Matters came to a head when the Government tabled its constitutional plans.

The ANC rejected them outright and described them as "illogical".

Codesa delegates say the Government is trying to bully its way through negotiations after its morale was boosted by its overwhelming victory in the referendum.

The Government's attitude after the referendum seems to have baffled some of its negotiating partners.

First, it surprised other delegates at Codesa when it declared that the independent TBVC homelands should scale down their activities at the World Trade Centre where negotiations are being held.

The Government's attitude after the referendum seems to have baffled some of its negotiating partners.

First, it surprised other delegates at Codesa when it declared that the independent TBVC homelands should scale down their activities at the World Trade Centre where negotiations are being held.

It warned that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei should be excluded from the transitional government because they were independent. If these four homelands wanted to be included in the interim government, they had to renounce their independence.

It is understood that the Government was particularly incensed at a reference in the ANC document to the Government's proposals on a bicameral Parliament which said: "Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a constitution making body and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political student."

Viljoen angrily said the negative attitude of the ANC document was not in line with what was happening at Codesa.

Thus, the temporary bond between the ANC and the Government, who were rumoured to be coming "very close to each other" on constitutional principles, is cracking.

The ANC has the support of most homeland leaders and groups at Codesa. The exceptions are Inkatha, the Democratic Party and Bophuthatswana, who prefer a federation.

While the rift between the ANC and the Government seems to be growing daily, fears have been raised that an interim government mooted to be established by the end of June might just be a pipe-dream.

These sentiments have been echoed by the ANC as a result of the recent developments.

Three factors could delay the establishment of the interim government.

They are:

*Referendums to be held by Transkei, Venda and Ciskei to test the will of the people on re-incorporation.

*The ANC and its allies insisting on the elections for a constituent assembly and;

*Another whites only referendum to give the Government a mandate on a type of constitutional plan they want for a new South Africa.

The ANC regards this as a waste of time, but most important, as an attempt by the Government to be both player and referee in negotiations.
as Koos crosses the divide
City... no more for CP

Michael Moren

COMMUNITY SERVICE

An option for many

Michael Moren

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

Michael Moren

Hunt for two Chinese men

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The Police Departm...
By GAVIN EVANS

A FUNNY thing happened on the way to the 21st century. Not since the Allied victory in 1945 has there been so much in the way of good news in the media. The world is now "safe for democracy", the "new world order" has arrived and the "global village" has contracted its boundaries.

And it's true — to a point. Totalitarians — communist or otherwise — have been driven out of town, at least in Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and the Americas and now in Africa.

There's an emerging consensus, shaky but growing, that representative democracy is the best way of doing things and that life should be made difficult for most of those who flagrantly violate this ethic. Even some of the West's former favoured Cold War clients (Israel included) are starting to feel the heat.

And yet, and yet ... if it's been the best of times, it's also been the worst of times. A whole closet-full of almost-forgotten ghosts of the past have returned to haunt us.

Probably the most dramatic of these has been the rise of ethnic nationalism, in part as a reflex of democracy and in part as a form of resistance to its implications.

In less than two years it succeeded in re-balkanising the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and it is rearing its often ugly head all over Africa, even in countries where the problem was supposedly dealt with.

Even in countries with an ethnically homogeneous population — the re-united Germany and France especially — there has been the parallel rise of a fascist form of nationalism and a consequent rise in racist terror.

One of the shibboleths of the old world was that the Potsdam parcelling out of spoils of World War II was a thing set in stone. That's forgotten now. Another was that the national boundaries drawn by the colonial masters at or before Versailles were indelible. That's in the process of being thrown out as well.

Serbs, and Croats, Russians and Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians, Welsh and Scots (and lest we forget Palestinians too) have one thing in common, whatever else divides them. They want to rule themselves, on their own piece of real estate, to pursue their own cultures and to live the way they choose — self-determination, if you like. Rather reluctantly the world has recognised this as their democratic right.

So then, why not Afrikaners, Zulus or South African Tswana's? That, at least, is the question asked very loudly by the white right, and more obtrusely by Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government.

The short answer is that none of these "people" want it. For a start the majority of white Afrikaners (who today may be fractionally outnumbered by brown Afrikaners) have already voted against this idea.

Even Inkatha is backing away from its recent flirtation with the confederal idea, while the Bop government is fighting a losing battle to stave off pressures for a referendum it knows it will lose.

Perhaps more importantly, the one pre-condition for its success — a piece of ground where the ethnic group desiring independence is in a significant numerical majority — does not exist.

Not even the most modest of the Boere separatists can claim that "they" are in the majority in Orange.

There is another reason why the idea is an extremely unhealthy one in South Africa.

One of the many great lies of the Soviet imperialists was that the republics were equal partners whose cultures and traditions were respected. The truth is they were actively and viciously suppressed, and it was hardly any different in
Graduate school, and the real
opportunity and demanded the dedication to the
rigors of graduate training and research that
are essential to the advancement of knowledge.

In addition, graduate students are required to
complete a thesis or dissertation, which is a
demonstration of their ability to conduct original
research and contribute to the field.

The process of applying to graduate school
involves submitting several important
components:

1. **Application Form**: This is a standard
   requirement for all graduate programs. It
   typically asks for personal information,
   academic background, and other
   relevant details.

2. **Letters of Recommendation**: Typically,
   two to three letters are required from
   professors who can attest to your academic
   abilities and research potential.

3. **Statement of Purpose**: This is an
   opportunity for you to express your
   interests, goals, and motivations for
   pursuing graduate studies.

4. **Standardized Test Scores**: Depending
   on the program, you may be required to
   submit scores from tests such as the
   GRE (Graduate Record Examination),
   GMAT (Graduate Management Admission
   Test), or LSAT (Law School Admission
   Test).

5. **Letters of Intent**: Some programs may
   require a letter that explains why you are
   interested in that particular field or program.

The application process can be time-consuming
and may require several months. It is important
to start preparing early and follow the
requirements of each program carefully.
SOUTH AFRICANS who emigrated to America are coming out of the closet. After decades of lying low, often pretending to be Zimbabwean or Basutoland, they are joining every other ethnic group in inventing an appropriate hyphenation — in this case, South African-Americans — and proclaiming a new-found pride in their heritage.

They are meeting, forming associations and publishing newsletters. An enterprising group of Australians has even grasped the opportunity to launch a monthly newspaper aimed at the tens of thousands of South Africans who have until now been living quietly in North America.

Previously only the activist and exile communities have been prominent in organisations such as the Fund for a Free South Africa and the American Committee on Africa. They mobilised around sanctions and disinvestment and support for those disadvantaged by apartheid.

The vast bulk of South Africans lay low, hoping not to become the targets of anti-apartheid anger. This has now turned into admiration for white South Africans, as the popular American belief is that this country's problems have all been sorted out by President FW de Klerk.

So the bulk of South Africans who emigrated quietly over the last three decades can now safely eat biltong in public, advertise the sale of biltong and lobby as a political group alongside Irish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, African-Americans and others. They can even attend the same cocktail parties as members of the South African embassies and consulates without being branded collaborators.

This mirrors a decline in the influence of activist groups who are only now setting out to define a new role for themselves in the wake of recent changes in South Africa. At the same time, a number of business and political opportunists are jumping on the bandwagon. Some of the groups recently emerged are genuinely attempting to rebuild links with South Africa; others are simply Smelling a business opportunity.

One of the more genuine groups is Osaac, originally standing for the Organisation of South African-Americans and Canadians. The name, however, has been clouded by heated debate over whether members see themselves as South Africans living in America, or Americans from South Africa, or one of a number of other variations on this theme.

Now Osaac styles itself as a non-partisan “organisation of South Africans, South African-Americans and -Canadians committed to building bridges between North America and a post-apartheid South Africa.”

“The changes underway in South Africa have opened up new possibilities for those of us in North America who would like to contribute in some way to a post-apartheid democratic South Africa ... we rejoice in the impending death of apartheid and seek ways to make a long-term contribution to the construction of a new South Africa,” the Osaac brochure says.

“The challenge is to find ways to sustain a post-sanctions interest and involvement in South Africa in North America. We aim to establish a network of people with a long-term interest in South Africa and its future success.”

So far Osaac, which operates from the apartment of expatriate academic Larry Shore, has signed up more than 600 people. The recent referendum brought many of these people to light, as word went out that this time around it was politically correct to vote — and some of those who had eschewed any connection with South Africa queued up to cast their ballots, ID books in one hand and US immigration green cards poking out of their back pockets.

Osaac's 10 sub-committees are considering a range of activities: organising a post-sanctions business conference, assisting health and education projects in South Africa, sending basketball teams to help in a Soweto sports project. Their newsletter tells people about Natal University reunions in New York, invitations to Athol Fugard performances and a video library which kicked off with coverage of South Africa's World Cup cricket games.

Another group that appears to be entirely business-orientated is the USA/SA Trade and Friendship Association (Usata) run by an international commercial lawyer, Reginald Holmes. It is intended “to take away any emphasis on hostility and put it on friendship.”

Quite separately, two publications have started up in the past few weeks. Jutuka is a modest “newsletter for Southern Africans in America.”

More elaborate is South Africa News, North America, a 20-page monthly tabloid newspaper launched by two businessmen claiming to be getting into 25,000 homes and edited by South African journalist Elaino Durbin.

It offers an eccentric mix of South African news and commentary, sports results, competitions for free flights to Johannesburg and stories about people such as “Ash” Caplan who sells biltong, discount plane fares and South African wine from his office in Greenwich, Connecticut, to a client base of 40,000 expatriates.

“Almost every ethnic group in the USA has a newspaper of its own. We were one of the few groups without one,” the paper said in its introductory editorial, without pointing out that these ethnic South African publishers actually come from Australia.
Facing up to the demands of Afrikanerdom

AFRIKANER ethnic consciousness is not simply a racist phenomenon and a future South African state will have to accommodate it — or face rising levels of violence.

But regardless of whether the far right joins the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), Afrikaner "home rule" through partition or secession is simply not on the cards.

This is the view of several Afrikaans-speaking analysts sounding this week on the implications of Afrikaner ethnicity for a future, majority-rule South Africa.

Because Afrikaner national consciousness has historically expressed itself in race domination, many on the left dismiss it as irredeemably tainted. It is the view of Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Suzanne Booyse: "Given all the African National Congress' assurances, Afrikaners stand to lose very little," she comments. "Hard-line nationalists just don't think it's possible to live in similar conditions under a black government."

But poliitician Jannie Hofmeyr believes white supremacist ideas are not necessarily the psychic mainspring. "Between 1948 and 1988, whatever 'natural' racism people might feel was exaggerated and enhanced by government policy.

"But more deeply, Afrikaners are no different from other ethnic groups under pressure from a big majority. They want to protect their ethnic and cultural identity and fear that this will become unprotected, that the things they hold culturally will be overridden."

Hofmeyr said "focus research" conducted by his firm among rightwing Afrikaners had yielded surprising results. Subjects had begun by calling for their own land and the removal of blacks to the homelands, but had ultimately acknowledged the need for compromise and reciprocal rights.

The interweaving of Afrikaner nationalism and racial oppression has resulted in an interesting paradox: the left, the champion of minority rights overseas, is singularly resistant in South Africa to the concept of minority protection, seeing it as camouflage for continuing race privilege.

But if the political history of our century holds any lesson, it is that cultural collectivism — of the tribal, national or religious stripe — is a more powerful and resilient force than economic class loyalty, and that governments provoke it at their peril.

RAU's Booyse believes that the danger of violence by extreme Afrikaner nationalists in a future non-racial order has been overstated. "I see no risk of an ethnic insurrection — we're talking about a very small group of extremists; it's not part of the broader political culture."

She suggests that most far-right sabre-rattling is aimed at wresting concessions, and amounts to a form of "negotiation from outside Codesa."

Others are not so sure: political scientist Willem Kleykamp, for example, holds that the far right's referendums debate has hardened its resolve and set the stage for intensified confrontation.

How are the hardline nationalists to be dealt with, and how can a future government limit the destructive potential of a group with considerable resources, military hardware and, for the foreseeable future, security force links?

Analysts are unanimous that the Boerestaat idea is a non-starter, irrespective of whether the ultra-right joins constitutional talks.

Hofmeyr points to an irony: Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff's Oranida, in the remote northern Cape, is the most realistic proposal, but would attract few settlers because it would require them to move. Support for an Afrikaner homeland is strongest in areas where it makes least sense, such as Pretoria and the northern Transvaal.

And although he believes it is the correct strategy to lure the far right into Codesa, he points to the dangers of heightening expectations. "Once the gap between what is demanded and what is feasible becomes clear, you could raise the issue to a new level of intensity."

Because of South Africa's irreversibly scrambled democracy, devolution of power specifically to Afrikaners is also fraught with obstacles. Booyse says there has been some informal talk within the ANC and National Party of a "sub-regional" government in ultra-conservative centres such as Pietersburg, but asks how this is to be co-ordinated with the rest of the northern Transvaal, an ANC stronghold.

In the absence of home rule, other measures will have to be found to "incapacitate" the far right, in Hofmeyr's words, and reduce its threshold of violence. He suggests a dual approach: of compromise, where possible, within the resolute prosecution of broad policy "to make resistance seem pointless." The latter course had disarmed Zimbabwean whites, he pointed out.

A vital concession, holds risk analyst Wim Booyse, would be the constitutional enshrinement of the right to associate and disassociate, allowing for exclusive Afrikaner use of facilities on private property, funded from private pockets. "As long as they pay for it, they can have it," Hofmeyr agrees.

One implication of this is that the state would tolerate, but not support, Afrikaner-only schools. By the same token, householders in an area could agree by private contract only to let or sell their properties to members of their ethnic group.

The problem, Booyse points out, is that this would translate into white, rather than Afrikaner exclusiveness, something the ANC could not be expected to countenance. "The far right does not want Afrikaner schools; this would imply admitting Afrikaans-speaking coloureds."

World-wide, there is a close relationship between economic distress and nationalist upsurge. This presents a future South African government with an acute dilemma: it must redistribute wealth to its black constituents, while avoiding a precipitate fall in white living standards, which could fuel nationalist agitation.

Any mass affirmative action programme perceived to be purely racially based would be a potent flashpoint, Booyse believes. The groups most at risk would be largely Afrikaners: white workers, particularly in the state sector, civil servants and members of the security forces.

If rightwing violence can be restricted to a small minority, the analysts agree, it can be tackled purely as a law and order problem. This in turn will demand the rebuilding of the law-enforcement infrastructure, currently a bastion of hardline nationalist sentiment.
Two foreign ministers to visit South Africa

CAPE TOWN — The foreign ministers of Canada and Denmark will visit South Africa within the next two weeks.

Barbara McDougall, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, arrives in Johannesburg on Sunday. She will be accompanied by a party of six officials and about 10 Canadian journalists.

A Canadian Embassy spokesman said Mrs McDougall would meet President F.W. de Klerk in Cape Town on Tuesday and address a Cape Town Press Club luncheon on Wednesday.

The Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, arrives in Johannesburg on April 12 for a four-day visit.

An embassy spokesman said the delegation included about 40 Danish businessmen who would "examine the possibilities for trade" with South Africa following Denmark's recent scrapping of all trade sanctions. — Sapa.
Pik would keep job but wouldn’t be sent to OAU, says Mbeki

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — National Party Cabinet ministers are likely to retain their posts in an interim government, says ANC shadow foreign minister Thabo Mbeki.

But this did not mean that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would be sent to an Organisation of African Unity meeting to represent South Africa, he added.

Interviewed on Wednesday, Mr Mbeki said the ANC was hopeful an interim government would be in place by June.

This would be phase one of the ANC’s constitutional plans.

Phase two would involve elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution.

Mr Mbeki said the whole process should be completed by June next year.

“The principal task of an interim government would be to prepare the country for free and fair elections.

“We are not proposing a major reconstruction of government during this period, and the Cabinet should continue to exist, just like we are saying Parliament should live until government and the Budget.

“Our view is that ministers should not be removed from office, but become members of these committees. But there will be joint decision-making.”

“Mr Mbeki said an interim government would have to ensure that policy was implemented by people who were “broadly acceptable” to transitional government structures.

“Let’s say that an interim government is in power in June, the OAU heads of state meet in July, and the new government is asked to be represented there. You can’t send Pik Botha because he still represents Foreign Affairs.”

He imagined South Africa’s diplomatic corps would be strengthened “so that it has a more nonracial blend”.

It was for this reason that the ANC was arranging with diplomatic schools in countries such as Tanzania, France, Egypt and England to have aspiring diplomats trained there.

“The places are secure at these schools. A batch of 20 people should leave for England at the beginning of May, but one of the key issues is funds. I don’t know when they’ll be leaving.”
Voortrekkers may remove 'white' from constitution

By Michael Sparks

The Voortrekkers will consider removing the word 'white' from their constitution by next year, the chief executive of the cultural organisation, Rev Johan van der Walt, said yesterday.

"The word 'white' has become irrelevant in the new South Africa. If we keep it in the constitution it will just hurt people and drag them into politics," he said.

The decision came in the wake of the expulsion of a black child, Leroy Menguni (9), from the Voortrekker Commando at Jan Colliers School in Parkview where he is a Grade One pupil.

Although he spoke fluent Afrikaans, his membership was withdrawn after two weeks because he was black.

The row led to the commando executive resigning in protest last week.

Mr van der Walt said it was "quite possible" the organisation could have black members if the constitution was changed, but added this was unlikely to change the character of the organisation.

"This is a cultural organisation, not a sports club. People won't go there without wanting to be an Afrikaner. Nobody can say who is an Afrikaner," he said.

He added that while the majority of provincial and executive leaders agreed that the change should be made, he thought it was unlikely most members felt the same way.

"But we have a year to convince them. Afrikaners have to understand that things are changing and they need to adapt," Mr van der Walt said.

He added there was a need for cultural organisations in the community so that people could know their own language and have their own identity — fulfilling "a need to belong to a group."
THE PARALYSIS OF VAT
FM 3/4/92

Could they run a whelk stall?

If this government's utter incompetence to run the economy were not already manifest, it must have become so with the scarcely believable pantomime over the extension of VAT to basic foodstuffs. The fact that many of those who rightly opposed the exemptions last year and should have known better have now apparently changed their tack is no excuse for the latest mess-up (see Economy).

By excluding rice and milk from the latest exemption and refusing to put a time limit on it, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis ensures that neither those who wanted the exemption continued, nor those who wanted it ended, will be happy.

Selective exemptions not only distort the tax system, they are an inefficient way of bringing relief to those who need it. The main beneficiaries — as experience in every foreign country has shown — are the relatively prosperous, who in absolute terms consume the bulk of all these commodities.

None of this is to imply that we need not be concerned at the plight of the poor. When Du Plessis provided aid for the poor in last year's Budget, to be channelled through "existing welfare organisations," many warned that these organisations had neither the appropriate contacts nor structures; this appears to have been borne out in practice.

The belief that you can solve problems by throwing money at them in fact extends much wider than this. Conventional wisdom is to look at the enormous increases in spending on health and education in successive Budgets and take comfort that we are doing what we can.

Whether that money is actually being spent in the most productive way is overlooked, but there are indications that it is not.

The quality of our delivery systems is vital. We could well achieve more by concentrating on improving them rather than blindly voting bigger and bigger sums each year.

Be that as it may, the extension of VAT exemptions on some basic foods is just a mindless sop to the radicals in hope of keeping them quiet and even on that level won't succeed.

Indications are that as the upper echelons of the ANC get more involved in negotiations and (however reluctantly) move towards accepting harsh economic reality, a Cosatu fearing marginalisation is actively taking up socialist rhetoric in the hope of exploiting a gap it perceives may be opening between the ANC leadership and its mass supporters.

Whatever protestations to the contrary all concerned may make, it's impossible to accept as mere coincidence Cosatu's restatement of its hard economic line on the eve of the ANC's latest attempt to sound like the voice of sweet reason (see Economy and Current Affairs).

Cosatu seems to be spoiling for a fight and government should not have shirked it. Cosatu's pre-VAT protest, though it attracted more support than many (including the FM) expected, had absolutely no long-term significance. As its advocates always argued, VAT has become an invisible tax; extended (as it always should have been) to these foodstuffs, it would soon become invisible on them, too.

Trouble is, government, obsessed by constitutional reform through Codesa, seems to have lost the will to make basic decisions on the economy. This was shown in the Budget, in the failure to relieve fiscal drag on individuals and excessive rates of company tax, save for anodyne promises (which Du Plessis must surely realise he was in no position to guarantee) to address the problems next year.

It is shown in the abandonment of privatisation virtually before it began and the slow progress of deregulation and tariff reform. There even appears to be a revival of the discredited view that government is better able than the market to guess what sectors have best growth prospects.

The general paralysis extends not only to a suspension of existing nominal policy, but a failure to consult with the representatives of the new SA where this could be productive. The FM has argued repeatedly for the need to bring the ANC (and others) into economic decision-making.

Let those who complain about inadequate social spending share the responsibility for allocating scarce resources. Let them even write the relevant parts of the Budget speech. As it is, Du Plessis complains that the ANC refused to give any input; the ANC retorts that it was invited at too late a stage to have any significant influence.

It's all too typical of the way the economy is being not so much mismanaged as unmanaged. Fact is, this government is the only government we've got. Tragically, on the economic front it just seems to be abnegating its duty to govern.

The new SA will pose enormous demands on whatever government we get. The Nationalists' late-Eighties apparent espousal of free market and supply side economics gave us a great opportunity to enter the new SA on a sound basis, now squandered through weakness and indecision.

Of course, there can be no guarantee that a new government won't adopt foolish outdated socialist and confiscatory policies. But that's all the more reason to get the correct environment into place now, to make it more difficult.
Remember the fear factor

Delays inhibit investment — but could ease anxiety over the great changeover

The timetable for the end of white rule should be known by mid-May. After holding its breath for the referendum, the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) has announced that its next plenary session will be on May 15-16 — and much will be revealed then.

But why have an interim government at all? It’s a legitimate question. It is by now agreed among South Africans that the kind of society we all want is characterised by certain virtues — and most can even agree on what they are — so why not cast ourselves into the frothy waves of democracy, hold a one-person-one-vote election and see what emerges?

Anything else sometimes appears an irritating extension of the obvious while foreign aid and investment hold aloof — and violence, including escalating crime, racks communities.

Underlying this is a pervasive sense that things can go very wrong — people fear for their personal safety, financial security, educational standards, freedom to emigrate with their capital, and so on. And perhaps part of the answer as to why we cannot and should not press for a quick-fix “solution” to our problems is that it will take time to reconcile differing perceptions of exactly what those problems are.

Many South Africans followed the National Party’s advertised plea to vote “yes” in the referendum according to their hopes, not their fears. Almost as many would have hoped that “yes” would bring investment on an unprecedented scale and so rescue the debilitated economy. And there was a speculative inflow — demonstrated by the narrowing of the discount on the financial rand — but no major long-term commit-

ments are yet in sight.

Certainly, we can expect more foreign visitors, trade delegations and airlines with exotic-sounding home bases. The tourism industry is particularly excited by these prospects. Yet any local expansion of the tourism infrastructure represents an affirmation of emotional hopes — a sort of ticker-tape parade of confidence — rather than a serious, sustainable inflow of capital.

This holding back of foreign investment is based on outside perceptions of SA’s real chances of lasting peace and prosperity. Too many intangibles remain — among them the unveiling of the ANC’s economic programme and a fuller understanding of the nature of government throughout the transition, and indeed afterwards when the black majority is likely to hold most of the reins of power.

This is one reason why delays over “interim arrangements” — to use government’s phrase — can cause impatience. After the referendum the sense arose that the time was propitious to get the job done quickly. The voters had rejected the idea of turning back to apartheid; and implicit in that rejection is the acceptance that the current government is nonrepresentative and discredited except as a reformist entity.

In this sense the NP Cabinet is itself merely an interim arrangement.

Needless to say, the ANC would indeed like to see a swift procession to majority rule. The major obstacle to the otherwise smooth and inexorable workings of Codesa at the moment — overshadowing the issues of disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the participation of the Zulu king — is the power to be wielded by the emergent structures of an interim government.

Two models are at war with each other. The NP wants four transitional councils — possibly six depending on an agreement over MK — which will divide between them certain major areas of government prior to elec-

tions to a constituent assembly. This assembly — elected by proportional representation, which averts the spectre of a winner-take-all outcome — would then write the new constitution. The essence of proportional representation is that coalitions are necessary — and coalitions arise out of compromise.

It is important to remember that the transition to democracy is envisaged as having two phases — the first being that period it takes to level the playing fields for a national election and to set up structures to oversee the poll. These arrangements — the interim government itself — will have a limited lifespan and limited powers.

But no interim arrangement — let alone Codesa, which, broadly, deals with principles — can entrench those safeguards which properly belong in the constitutional forum to which elections will lead.

Many of the current differences in approach to the interim government reflect political manoeuvring which will intensify as the real bargaining begins over the actual shape of the constitution.

Thus, it at first appeared that the NP’s four or six transitional councils would be advisory — though their advice would have the force of command upon the relevant Ministers. Government’s Davie de Villiers responded to the critical backlash from the ANC by saying the councils would be “fully part of the executive.” On its side, the ANC wants a strong interim executive body to oversee workings of the existing Cabinet, parliament and the homelands including the “independent” TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

 Doubtless “sufficient consensus” can be found at Codesa to reconcile these conflicting viewpoints, since that is what Codesa is for (see Special Report March 27). But what the NP would like to see — and there can be little argument with this — is a movement towards the new SA which is at each and
Edging towards the new South Africa

Regulators Aubrey Dickman (an honorary professor at Wits Graduate School of Business) and Rudolf Gouws (Rand Merchant Bank) are joined by guest Joe Gerson (of stockbroker Davis Berkum) in a post-Budget and post-referendum assessment. As always, Jacob’s Raymond Parsons leads the debate.

**Parsons**: Has the referendum had a positive impact on economic perceptions about SA internally and abroad?

**Gouws**: I have no doubt that it has. Even in the days immediately afterwards, there were already signs of new interest. There was less doubt about a positive result abroad than at home, but the size of the “yes” vote has had a major positive impact at home and abroad.

**Dickman**: One must agree with that. But now everyone will look further down the road to see how this is translated into progress, politically and economically. Continuing confrontation over VAT and other matters may negate that to some extent.

**Gerson**: One thing that came up clearly when the Old Mutual tried to set up a country fund in Europe was that certain obstacles seriously inhibit investment here. One is exchange control, not only in terms of the financial ruin but in the restrictions on local institutions. Money kept in drives money out, because there’s no room for foreigners.

**Dickman**: We may recently have seen foreign buying of equities, but last year there was disinvestment from equities and gilts. Foreigners were still taking a short-term view. The interest is there, but it is still a wait-and-see attitude.

**Gouws**: Specific instances of foreign direct investment were simply waiting for a “yes” vote. We have already had confirmation of such a major deal.

**Parsons**: Are prospects for the world economy looking better from SA’s point of view?

**Dickman**: Not really; world recovery has been delayed. At a certain threshold, the slowdown has a severe effect on both volumes and prices of SA exports destined for the steel and other industries, because of their investment nature. The ingredients of world growth are there in relatively low oil and commodity prices and the stimulus being given to some economies, but in the short term these are negative things for us.

**Dickman**: That embodies a great challenge for SA to penetrate markets in manufactured goods — which we have done to a large extent — and restructure our economy.

**Gouws**: Several key US indicators have turned up this year, but Europe (apart from the UK) is going the other way. Real interest rates in Germany and Japan are very high and developments in Europe and Japan will be bad for our export prices and volumes.

**Parsons**: We don’t know whether the recovery that is starting to build momentum in the US will be anything more than a quick fix for the November elections. Structural problems there have not been addressed.

**Dickman**: Some people have pointed to the steepening of the yield curve in the US as a sign that people are anticipating further inflation and take comfort from this in terms of a possible resurgence of the gold price, but I don’t think we can rely on that.

**Gerson**: At what point are we in the SA business cycle? Is recession coming to an end?

**Gouws**: I don’t see any sign that we have struck bottom. In a few instances, inventories have been very low and with companies finding that demand has picked up there has been some improvement in manufacturing output — but consumer spending is not just flat, it is declining.

**Dickman**: The momentum is still clearly down. The fourth quarter of last year was a disaster. True, some leading indicators have turned up, there are some positive signs, but what’s more interesting is not so much where we are, but what are the ingredients for an upturn. Does it come through stimulus or does it come through lower inflation on disposable incomes? Does it come through the real effective exchange rate?

**Parsons**: How would you characterise the Budget and its impact?

**Dickman**: It is a holding operation, a bit like the curate’s egg. In parts it continues on a supply-side tack, which is good, but it is not that great because the momentum has slowed down. The total dish is not particularly palatable. It is of course redistributive in many ways, which may be appropriate. But it was also caught up in a set of socioeconomic circumstances which prevented it doing perhaps what is really necessary.

**Gouws**: I would have liked the Budget to continue more strongly on the path the Minister set upon three years ago. There was no further easing in corporate taxes and no effective cut in personal tax. In fact the personal tax burden will rise substantially this year. There is no encouragement to invest or save. That is disappointing.

**Gerson**: The Minister was hemmed in by political factors. Clearly, direct taxes were not lowered because there was no political room for it and the indirect ad valorem taxes and petrol taxes were just the easy way out. The one piece of good news was sufficiently not even in the Budget speech: the reduction from 10 to 5 years in the period you have to hold quoted shares before you are exempt from capital tax.

**Parsons**: Was the mix between direct and indirect taxes and between government spending and tax cuts the right one? Do you read between the lines that the new SA has abandoned supply-side economics?

**Dickman**: I would have liked something very different, something really bold on State spending, which would have created the conditions for tax cuts across the board. But I would like to think that we have not abandoned supply-side economics, though maybe we have gone a little Keynesian when we should not have.

**Gouws**: I think the Minister took a calculated risk that while this Budget does not give the supply-side impetus fiscal conservatives would like, he hoped that the positive impact of the referendum, the abolition of sanctions, renewed access to the world economy and a new mood domestically and internationally would bring growth.
every step of the way legal, logical and sanctioned by the protagonists' constituencies. Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen — in an interview with the FM in February — was at pains to stress his awareness of the ANC's problems of credibility among its vast and probably politically naive following.

At the same time, the NP's excruciating concerns over whether it might have outpaced its electorate underlay President F W de Klerk's bold gamble on a referendum.

While they are a minority of the country's population, whites are obviously disproportionately powerful in economic terms — indeed, in almost any terms, including military ones. The precise wording of De Klerk's question of March 17 therefore asked for a mandate to negotiate the sharing of power, not the crude transfer of power. It took account of white fears of precipitate change.

Yet the simple truth is that no general election can be held in terms of the existing tripartite constitution with its exclusive ethnic base. Indeed, government has taken to talking of an "interim constitution" — presumably a technical enabling document — conferring legality on universal-franchise elections. The ANC, understandably, accuses the NP of delaying tactics and of not wanting to give up power.

Doubtless, the NP would not like to give up power. However, it will do so on both moral and practical grounds — but has made it clear that in that process it will attend to the needs of its main constituency, the whites. This means addressing white fears of the future and safeguarding certain principles which in the past government itself flouted when it came to blacks.

Hence the concern over standards — perfectly understandable — and recalcitrance over the integration of education in particular.

But it is also in blacks' interests to have these principles secured in a strong constitution and associated justiciable pledges such as a Bill of Rights.

Anything else would lead to feudal structures of government, abrogation of human rights — and mad social experiments of the kind that led us into the wilderness for 42 years.

Even the impulse to "get things done" by forming some kind of government of national unity — into which De Klerk, Viljoen, Zach de Beer, Cyril Ramaphosa, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, KaNgwane's Enoch Mabuza and others would be drawn by popular acclaim — would risk just such a feudalistic outcome. It would have at best a tenuous legitimacy in constitutional law and, however well-meaning its first incumbents, over time the drift into totalitarianism would be ineluctable.

These factors invalidate a slashing of the constitutional Gordian knot at Codesa. The transition to a broadly-based democracy needs legitimacy at every stage — and unless a constitution commands the respect of all, it will fail. It will be a piece of paper. So it has to come about through a generally recognised legal, consensual process.

Only time and exhaustive debate can ensure a productive outcome. Expectations have to be lowered on all sides in the constituent assembly, and in certain situations compromise may not be possible. For example, the principle of the sanctity of private property and the clamour for a massive redistribution of land cannot both be enshrined in a meaningful constitution. The FM would see it as necessary to entrench the first — but where land was unjustly expropriated to further apartheid, the principle must be extended back in time to guide a special court dealing with post-apartheid land claims.

If the pressures for a redistribution of land are given primacy — as they have been in Zimbabwe — then the new SA will fail. This may not seem fair but it is certainly a factor in the perceptions of foreign investors very familiar with the scorched earth outcome of socialist programmes in the former East Bloc and Third-World states like Tanzania and Mozambique.

It is in the constitutional forum — most likely the constituent assembly which will flow from the first truly general election — that such principles will be codified. Any interim executive authority which precedes this election will deal with the daily practicalities of running the country on the basis of existing law. The current argument between the ANC and NP is solely on how much power this authority should have — not on whether it should rule in perpetuity.

Obviously the most salient point of life in SA at the moment is the violence racking the townships. Underlying this is the woeful condition of the economy. The urge to find quick solutions does not, unfortunately, always take account of the intricacies of our problems.

"Take the argument over MK. This 'army' is palpably a paper tiger; yet the "war of liberation" it has fought against the Nationalists remains in suspension — not formally declared over and done with. The point has considerable symbolic significance and leads to explosive emotions. ANC president Nelson Mandela's famous outburst against De Klerk at Codesa 1 in December was prompted by the State President's comment about MK's role. MK should formally declare peace. The ANC sees this as surrendering a valued card — particularly if MK is merely to be subsumed into a Defence Force owing loyalty to a white Minister advised by a lesser council. It says such a proposal is "toy telephone" politics — a reference to the old, impotent Urban Bantu Councils.

One is dealing with realepolitik here. The ANC feels itself literally outnumbered — yet any return to open hostilities would at best see a tragic and protracted war of attrition and, at worst, humiliating defeat. At the same time it can hardly pretend to be a mainstream political party if it maintains an external army.

This issue — and there are others like it — have already delayed the workings of Codesa and must be expected to extend the life of the interim government as constitutional wrangling sorts out the finer details. But we should be used to delay by now. As it is, pre-Codesa accords between government and the ANC have failed to meet deadlines — including timetables for the return of exiles, and the workings of the National Peace Accord which is prima facie a contradiction in terms.

We could therefore be looking at an apparent slowing down of the pace of negotiation after the introduction of the interim arrangement. Should Inkatha choose at any stage to withdraw from the talks — failing a resolution of the matter of the Zulu king — that could give every appearance of grievous disruption. This would not necessarily be so — calculations have been made that Codesa could continue without Inkatha — but further delays would be inevitable.

Swift progress will be further impeded by the practicalities of a general election. It looks rather as if we must pin our hopes of economic recovery on renewed buoyancy in the world economy to which we will sell our commodities and manufactures — rather than on an imaginary inflow of huge amounts of capital because we have got our politics partly right. But it might help a little if we also remembered that protracted constitutional negotiations — and extended haggling over the scope of an interim government — are not in themselves bad things.

Delay may in fact ensure that essential safeguards are considered in advance of the day of need — and their means of enforcement strengthened in the actual fabric of our brave new society.
The long shadow of Smuts

While the Conservative Party (CP), against all odds, maintained a fragile unity this week, the Democratic Party (DP) headed for a caucus showdown on its future role in politics. There has been talk of a new centrist party, drawing on moderate elements in several major groupings, including the National Party (NP), the ANC and Inkatha.

The turmoil in both parties stems directly from last month’s referendum, but the DP’s internal anxieties began not long after February 2, 1990, when President F W de Klerk began, in effect, to appropriate its policy. Divisions in the DP surfaced in parliament and were due to be thrashed out on Tuesday at an important caucus meeting.

Contrary to general expectation, the CP did not split and Andries Treurnicht clung to leadership as the group squabbled behind closed doors and then leaked like a sieve to the media. Humiliating defeat divided the CP caucus between those who favour immediate participation in CODESA and those who steadfastly reject the negotiating forum.

A CP head committee meeting in Pretoria at the weekend failed to resolve the issue, though the party put up a facade of unity. Caucus sources say the CP is still on course to split in the near future, unless a compromise can be worked out to satisfy both camps — but it is difficult to imagine such a compromise.

The leaders of the pro-CODESA faction are regarded as MPs Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal), Koos Botha (Wonderboom), Cebini Pienaar (Heilbron), Carel Schoeman (Nigel), President’s Councillor and Natal leader Carl Worth and Free State secretary Gustaf Claassen. The anti-CODESA lobby is headed by DP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenburg (Lichtenburg).

CP leaders, including Chief whip Frank le Roux (Brakpan), have repeatedly denied a split in the party. Le Roux says decisions at Saturday’s meeting were “unanimous” and that a number of people (all in the pro-CODESA camp) left early to keep travel arrangements and not because they were unhappy with proceedings at the meeting. But caucus sources say an anti-CODESA onslaught prevented the pro-CODESA group from stating its case that lead to the walkout.

The DP’s crisis, though not as bitter, is equally divisive. Tensions have been growing in the caucus since the referendum.

MPs to the Left believe the party allowed itself to be totally absorbed into the NP’s campaign, instead of maintaining its own identity in an alliance. Some believe the time has come either to quit the party and sit in parliament as independents, or get out of parliament and join the ANC. It’s thought that leading proponents of this view include Jan van Eck (Clarendon), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South).

Others regard the referendum as a watershed, signifying the need for a new centrist party incorporating the NP, DP and moderate elements in other groups such as the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Leaf Party and parties in the House of Delegates. Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North), Mike Ellis (Durban North) and Carole Charlewood (Umculo) are believed to be supporting this view.

A third group comprises the traditional liberals who argue that the DP has an important role to play as watchdog over government and standard-bearer of liberal values. The bulk of the caucus apparently takes this line, including senior MPs like Zach de Beer (Parktown), Colin Eglin (Sea Point), Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) and Ken Andrews (Gardens), as well as relative newcomers like Tony Leon (Houghton).

But critics of this third group argue that the party is likely to be wiped out in a general election based on proportional representation and that its cause would be better served trying to promote its ideals within a larger grouping.

The centrist alliance concept is in line with thinking in some Nat quarters. In a weekend interview, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said the party was aiming to win over 1m “coloured” and 2m-3m black supporters by next year to bolster its 2m-strong white supporter base. This would position the party to provide, at the very least, a strong opposition in the post-apartheid political scene.

A change of name is a distinct possibility and would make it even easier for moderate voters to identify with the aims of De Klerk; the old name carries too much apartheid baggage. The obvious name, of course, would be the South African Party — but perhaps that also carries too much baggage.

The possibility of the DP becoming part of a centrist party was discussed during the Budget debate in parliament last week by Tarr. He said there were “millions” of individuals whose natural political home would be in a party slightly to the Right. “Given the historical problems which the NP would seem to have in creating such a new party, one wonders whether the time is not now right for the formation of a new party which could pose an alternative to the ANC.”

The speech ruffled many feathers in the DP caucus and Tarr issued a statement the following day complaining that his comments had been interpreted out of context. He also said his views were his own and not those of either the party or a group in the caucus.

In reaction to Tarr’s speech, Eddie Trent (Port Elizabeth Central) issued a statement defending the DP’s right to work for a centrist alliance. “Given the fact that the country is currently in a state of political flux it is obvious that all political parties, of necessity, must constantly re-assess their strategies.”

Trent said the DP could not escape this reality and had accepted the challenge. The party’s efforts in helping secure a “yes” vote in the referendum were in line with its philosophy of facilitating change.

Speaking later in the Budget debate, the DP’s Robin Carlisle (Wynberg) said that, regardless of new political parties or groupings in future, the DP would continue to promote its “strategy of convergence” and would exist as an “independent player.”

But the DP envisaged a period of “tactical and strategic alliance politics,” the most crucial of which would be the creation of a “moderate centre” comprising “at the very least” important elements of the NP, DP and ANC. This alliance would need to carry SA through transition and “far into the new constitutional era” for a number of years.

It is clear the DP caucus needs to clarify its future role and, if necessary, ask a national congress — the party’s highest decision-making body — to decide the issue. If this doesn’t happen, chances are that the values and traditions on which the party is built will be swallowed up by the very transition to democracy for which it and its predecessors have campaigned.

Those who wish the DP to abolish itself should pause to remember that De Klerk did not achieve his stunning referendum victory alone — and that it was in traditional DP country that the support for him was greatest, after the DP leadership had called for it.

COSATU FM 3/4/92

Forward to poverty

Premier labour federation Cosatu has committed itself to a full-blown collective State of the kind that has led to failure and destitu-
CP's rebel MP is expelled from caucus

CAPE TOWN — The haemorrhaging in the CP claimed its first victim yesterday when Wonderboom MP Koos Botha was expelled from the party caucus.

In Parliament yesterday MP members were claiming they knew of several more who would leave the CP soon.

Botha, who said he had expected to be expelled from the party, planned to remain in Parliament as an independent. He would forge close links with other pro-negotiationists campaigning outside Parliament for a smaller Afrikaner homeland within SA.

Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, dubbed the leader of the "pro-negotiation faction in the CP, refused to comment on Botha's expulsion or his own position.

On Wednesday CP hardliners took Botha to task over a speech he made in Parliament in which he called for negotiations with all parties, including the ANC, for a drastically smaller homeland.

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MP expelled

At yesterday's caucus CP leader Andries Treurnicht asked Botha to endorse official policy, apologise and submit to the party line. He refused, apparently saying it was a choice between fighting and negotiating, he would choose negotiations.

Last night Botha said the issue of a smaller homeland was no secret. He felt it was time to move outside the party to advocate a position that commanded substantial support within the caucus as well as among constituents.

There is understood to be a strong lobby within the caucus for negotiating a smaller homeland. Free State Vredendal Piet Pieterse and Van der Merwe are both on the record as proposing this in the past.

It is believed Botha's plan to go to extra-parliamentary groupings to drum up support for this smaller homeland could cause constituencies and local CP groups to put pressure on MPs to change their stance.
The background to CODESA

South Africa today is at a crossroads. The government in power, after enforcing apartheid oppression throughout its history, is now negotiating with the organisations, the ANC, which has been fighting apartheid oppression throughout its history. The government is negotiating in the belief that this is the best way to ensure that capitalism and white minority privileges are not destroyed. The ANC, and other organisations in the mass movement such as COSATU, are negotiating in the belief that power can be taken away from the apartheid state and placed in the hands of the majority. The proposals put out by CODESA, the public statement put out by the various parties and the positions adopted by organisations of the people such as the PAC and AZAPO, who are boycotting CODESA, all reflect the attempt at sorting out this contradiction.

CODESA and the Constituent Assembly

If there is going to be a real change of power in South Africa then the present apartheid government must somehow transfer power from itself to some democratic power which can redress the legacy of apartheid oppression. The ANC believes that this can happen through negotiations at CODESA. All sections of the liberation movement feel that the De Klerk government cannot be trusted with setting up a new democratic South Africa. A Constituent Assembly must act as the place where a new constitution guaranteeing a truly democratic South Africa must be drawn up. But the run-in period leading up to the actual election of the Constituent Assembly and the overseeing of the elections to the constituent assembly requires some authority to manage the process. Because the apartheid state and the mass movement have different views on what the end goal of negotiations is, they have different ideas of the process to get to that goal, and therefore different views on who should have the authority to manage the process.

Let us summarise the key differences between the proposals put forward by the National Party and the position of the liberation movement.

- They differ with regard to the goals of negotiations (in the case of some organisations such as the PAC, they believe that the goals cannot be achieved through CODESA).
- They differ with regard to the processes and mechanisms involved in ensuring that their respective goals are achieved.
- They differ with regard to who should manage the processes involved and for how long.

Different goals

The goal of the liberation movement is the complete transfer of power to the majority of South Africans so as to ensure a unitary democratic non-racial South Africa with the emphasis of addressing all the economic hardships of the past. For some in the liberation movement, the goal is identified with socialism; and with others, this can be achieved through a mixed economy. The goal of the state and the ruling class is that of a South Africa which will develop through capitalist investment and which avoids the "chaos" of nationalisation, white exodus and civil war.

Because the goal of the liberation movement is a new democratic form of government, the ANC has compromised and has agreed that CODESA will have to reach an agreement on an Interim Government and that the tricameral parliament will have to pass laws to allow CODESA to endorse an Interim Government.

New Proposals by the Government

On its side, the government has now begun to spell out the details of its idea of what it calls the "transitional arrangements" while negotiations take place. It has unveiled a plan whereby transitional committees dealing with areas such as local government will be set up from the CODESA parties which will advise the existing state departments. The ANC has attacked this plan as being little more than the old "toy telephone" Native Representative Council of the 1940's.

ANC Proposals

Phase I: An impartial referee

- A new constitution must be drawn up.
- The government wants the committee of CODESA to draw up the new constitution through negotiations. The liberation movement on the other hand insists that only a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly can draw up a new constitution on which the laws of the new South Africa can be based.

Who will be the Referee?

As regards who shall manage the period leading to the new constitution, the government wants to retain its control of the process. This is why in the whites-only referendum, whites were asked to endorse PW De Klerk as the person responsible for and indispensable to the process of negotiations leading to a new constitution. This is also why the government wants to prolong the period of operation of CODESA so that it keeps control over all the essential functions of state like the armed forces and the budget while a new constitution is negotiated. The sections of the liberation movement inside CODESA, like the ANC, insist that CODESA must agree to an Interim Government which will manage the country for a short period of time - the time taken to set up and run the elections for a Constituent Assembly. As regards the relationship between the existing tricameral parliament, CODESA and the Interim Government, the ANC has compromised and has agreed that CODESA will have to reach an agreement on an Interim Government.
Responsibility and Commitment

Motivation and aims

Group members will be responsible and committed when they are motivated, and want to be a part of a group in order to learn. The reasons for wanting to learn might differ from person to person. One person may want to learn because they want to pass the matric exam. Another will want to learn because they want to understand and change our society. Your motivation for wanting to learn in a group will be strengthened when members are clear about the aims of the group. Here are two examples of aims that different study groups have set for themselves:

Group One:
"To study together, share books, ideas and skills to improve our marks at school"

Group Two:
"To debate and discuss topics which affect our lives and which we don’t usually learn about at school"

Has your group established for itself a set of aims and is each group member clear about these aims?
If there are no clear aims for your group or if some members are not happy about the aims, then this can lead to misunderstandings about what the group is meant to do. Confusion can also lead to a lack of motivation amongst group members. If your group has not yet established for itself a set of aims, then you should set aside time as soon as possible to do this. The group as a whole must ensure that every member understands the aims and accepts them. For those groups that have already established their aims, it can be a useful exercise to reaffirm the aims of the group. What this involves is taking time during a study session to allow members of the group to say what they see as the aims of the groups. You must be able to say why you want to keep the aims the same or why you want to change them.

Commitment and Responsibility

When group members are clear about the aims of the group this is usually all the motivation that is needed for the group to have committed and responsible members. There are situations however when groups experience problems with some members. Some groups have written to Learning Nation to ask for advice on how to deal with such problems. Some of the problems faced by groups include the following: members coming late to meetings, being drunk when they come to meetings, not participating in meetings and being absent from many meetings. We have one basic suggestion for groups experiencing these types of problems:

Discuss these problems OPENLY with the group as a whole.

Why do we say this? There are many possible reasons for people behaving in what appears to be an irresponsible manner.

For example, there could be legitimate reasons for people not attending meetings. Maybe they don’t have transport money. The advantages of raising problems in this open way then allows for the group as a whole to offer possible solutions to the problem. To take our example further, the group might decide to pool some money for people with transport problems or the group might decide to find another venue which does not require much travelling. But irresponsible behaviour can also have deeper causes. For example, people tend to stay away from meetings or fail to actually participate when their motivation is low. Again, open discussion is the best way of dealing with the situation. The person or people who have failed to attend meetings regularly or do not want to take on responsibilities, must be given the chance to express themselves freely. The group as a whole has the responsibility of identifying exactly what the problem is.

It is the responsibility of the group to find solutions to the problem. For example, the group could suggest that members who keep forgetting dates and times should keep a diary. Dealing with problems in a collective way also helps to build collective commitment and responsibility amongst all members of the group. At the end of the open discussion it might be the case that one or more group members no longer feel that they want to be a part of the group. While it is the duty of the rest of the group to try and avoid losing any members by offering different ways of solving the problem, no one should be forced to remain in the group.

Here are some ideas that you may want to think over and discuss in your group. They concern how people RELATE to each other in a group situation:

☆ No single person should dominate the group. If one person seems to be dominating, the other members should point this out. The person concerned should then take special responsibility for encouraging others to participate.

☆ People must be honest with each other about things that they think should be changed or discussed in the group. No one must ignore their own needs or pretend that they are benefiting from the group when they are not.

Dear Sir

Hoping that you’re very well in life, and I am also well. I am writing this letter on behalf of our study group which has recently taken inception. We, the study group, want to thank you very much for your helpfulness which resulted in the formation of our group.

Your articles of “Groups” has been so important, and is at present important, also will be important too for us as it provides us with a lot about Groups.

We could be glad if you could send us the previous year’s (1991) material which is about Matric Literature. You claimed to have prepared in a booklet form. Hoping for a soon response.

Yours faithfully

The secretary of the group
KweSethu Senior Secondary School
KwaMashu
**Political Correspondent**

Peter Fabrius

**April 1942**

The South African Party was described last week as a "latter day Nelson" by its leaders. The party's policies were said to be "in line with the views of the CP" and to be "working towards a united front." The party's leader, Mr. J. J. van der Berg, was quoted as saying, "We believe that a united front is essential for the defence of our country." The party's policies included support for the government's war efforts and opposition to the Communist Party's policies.

**CP sinking along with ship**

Cape Town — An unstoppable movement

**Now Nats are wooing the**

DP faction, predicts Barnard.
FW roadshow to woo black vote

Jazzy campaign will reach out to the townships

MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is set to launch a jazzy-up meet-the-people campaign to win the hearts, minds and votes of blacks, coloureds and Indians in a road show due to begin at a rally in Mitchell's Plain next Saturday.

Townships around the country are being penned into a campaign calendar that National Party strategists believe will help broaden the party's support base ahead of democratic elections.

It will be history in the making - the first time an NP leader has campaigned directly for support from those the party discriminated against during its many years in government.

"Bands, balloons and drummers will bring a measure of glitz to the party's road show launch in Mitchell's Plain next weekend in what the NP intends as confirmation that the apartheid book is closed.

Wider audience

More than that, NP secretary-general Dr Steffel van der Merwe pointed out yesterday, the party was "building up the machinery to deal with a wider audience in the elections coming up sooner or later".

Borrowing from the lexicon of extra-parliamentary activism, the NP has billed the Mitchell's Plain event as a "mass rally". There will even be NP "marshals" sporting "FW" T-shirts.

Peak Saturday morning shopping floods the local town centre with around half a million people.

De Klerk will arrive at the Westridge Community Centre at 11am, where he will be met by the Cape leader of the party, Dr Dawie de Villiers and other MPs.

After delivering a short speech from the steps of the centre, he will set out for the Mitchell's Plain Town Centre in a motorcade, accompanied by a band and drum majorettes.

His main speech of the day will be delivered in a marquee to be erected on the corner of Second and Seventh avenues.

Black townships and other areas around the country are being assessed for similar ventures.

* TO PAGE 2.
As well as being a world leader, the UK also plays a significant role in the global arena. The country is a member of the European Union and a major player in international politics and economics. The UK has a long history of influence, dating back to its days as a major colonial power. In recent years, the country has faced challenges including脱欧（Brexit） and the impact of climate change. However, the UK remains a vital player on the world stage, contributing to global issues and working closely with other nations.
PAC reiterates rejection of Codesa

UNTATA.—The PAC opened its third national congress here yesterday with its president, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, reiterating its rejection of Codesa, saying his organisation would attend talks on a constituent assembly only under a neutral chairman at a neutral venue.

Speaking at the University of Umtata, Mr. Makwetu charged Codesa was a "conspiracy" aimed at undermining South African liberation forces.

"Codesa is not intended to usher in genuine democracy. Codesa can never liberate us. In fact it was never intended to do so. It is an instrument of the regime aimed at undermining all the demands of the United Front."

Mr. Makwetu's hard line on Codesa was followed by messages of support for the PAC's congress from several African and other countries, most of whom called for unity among South Africa's liberation forces.

Messages from both the Nigerian and Tanzanian governments and the OAU urged the PAC to "join forces" with other political movements to solve South Africa's problems.

Addressing the issue of violence, Mr. Makwetu said the PAC maintained this was part of a strategy by the government to "dismember" the liberation movement.

"To me the total objective of this wanton violence is to make or force our people to sue for peace at whatever cost."

Violence was aimed at removing international focus from the government to atrocities by the ANC and Inkatha, instilling fear among blacks and portraying the government as a peacemaker.

This was why the PAC had refused to sign the National Peace Accord, Mr. Makwetu said, adding that the PAC congress would have seriously to address ways of ending violence.

Today, sessions will be closed to the media while delegates tackle policy issues. Elections for the new executive committee will be held tomorrow.

— Sapa
THE Conservative Party is to make an application in the Supreme Court against President F W de Klerk for contravening the Electoral Act.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said yesterday the party's legal representatives had been instructed to make the application requesting the court to compel Mr De Klerk to set a date for a by-election in the Welkom constituency.

He said a vacancy occurred two months ago when Mr Eddie Jordan resigned as CP MP for the constituency, and that Mr De Klerk was legally obliged to announce a by-election date within 30 days of the vacancy occurring.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Genie Louw said yesterday he would recommend a by-election be held on June 17.
Mr Naidoo, who crossed the floor to the National Party recently, claimed a survey found that more than 70% of the Indian community supported President F W de Klerk.

But the ANC information and publicity head in Southern Natal, Mr Dumisani Makhaya, disputed this claim. "I don't know where they got that figure from, ... the Indian community must not forget how they were barred from living in Orange Free State and the mass removals of the past," he said, adding that Mr Naidoo "showed his contempt of the intellectual capacity of Indians".

Mr Makhaya said the Indian community knew better when they rejected the Nat-designed tricameral parliament in 1964.

He said the ANC would do "everything in its power to mobilise the Indian community to frustrate these moves by the National Party and its stooges in the black community in general."
DP crisis

proposition to the Leon document which will propose the formation of a new Liberal official Democratic party with a new leader—Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Oscar Dlamini have already been mentioned.

The new party aims to broaden its base across the political spectrum and rival the NP as it seeks to become the leading centrist party in the new political configuration.

DP sources said last night that there could be as many as eight members of the caucus favouring closer ties or even unity with a reconstituted NP, while a smaller number were toying, with the idea of joining the ANC.

CP rebels yesterday indicated that they plan to throw down the gauntlet to the hardline leadership at their meeting on April 23—after being muzzled by the party leadership on two previous occasions.

Rebel plans to reconstruct the party by a series of staged walkouts, were wrong-footed this week by the surprise expulsion of Wonderboom MP Koos Botha.

The CP's strongly polarised factions indicated yesterday that the crunch for the party was likely to come when the seven special caucus committees set up to examine future strategy produce their reports.

Most of the reports are expected to be tabled in time for the April 23 caucus meeting.

The pro-reconciliation CP faction hoped to progressively step up the pressure on the party leadership and force a change of direction.

Zach faces new party crisis

White politicians in South Africa are set for an unprecedented shake-up. The realignment in coming weeks is likely to break the mould of long-standing party political allegiances and put the jobs of both Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Andries Treurnicht on the line.

The Conservative and Democratic parties are already in turmoil as inter-party strife since the referendum—faced the real prospect of defections.

The trigger for a major realignment could well be President PW de Klerk’s budget vote starting on April 21—when the Nationalists will change the course of White politics by forming a new party.

It is understood that plans by Mr de Klerk to establish a new centrist party across racial and existing party barriers have been discussed with close advisers.

FW to speak at rally in PM Plain
Rejoin Codesa, PAC told

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Weekend Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — Delegates at the Pan African Congress' third national congress have been urged to give their leaders a mandate to return to Codesa.

While the PAC's president, Mr Mlamli Clarence Makwetu, in his opening speech yesterday, remained opposed to re-entrance to Codesa, African leaders leaned heavily on the movement to resume talks with the government and other parties.

Mr Makwetu said participation in Codesa was futile as the convention was "pre-packed with stooges and lackeys" of the government.

"Codesa is not intended to usher in genuine democracy.Codesa can never liberate us.

"In fact, it was never intended to do so. It is an instrument of the regime aimed at undermining all the demands of the United (Patriotic) Front," said Mr Makwetu.

In a stern message from the Organisation of African Unity, however, the movement was warned that the world was waiting for the PAC to join other political leaders in negotiations.

OAU chairman Mr Ebrahim Babangida said in a letter read to the congress: "Let me remind you that the eyes of Africa are on you. The eyes of Africa are on you to see if you will adjust to the realities of today."

In a similarly firm message to the PAC, Transkei military council leader

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, in whose jurisdiction the congress was held, told delegates to give their leaders a mandate to re-enter talks with the government.

He suggested the PAC could re-enter Codesa and save face by reviving the Patriotic Front.

"We hope all political organisations will set aside their differences and concentrate on areas of agreement.

"It is hoped the new national executive will be empowered by the delegates to open dialogue with the South African government, either inside or outside the country, on terms acceptable to the organisation."

The Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) also said the PAC's return to Codesa was through reassociating the Patriotic Front.

Contralesa president Chief Sango Holomisa said in his message of support that his organisation firmly believed that "Codesa should be given a chance."

"Participation in Codesa does not mean and cannot mean, abandoning other options."

"As traditional leaders, enjoying the benefit of hearing the views of our people across the political spectrum, we know that your presence in Codesa will renew the hope of the oppressed masses for a peaceful settlement."

A new national executive council will be elected by tomorrow night, by which time delegates will have decided if the PAC is to re-enter talks at Codesa.
Razzmatazz
for FW’s
roadshow

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is
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And NP secretary-general
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His main speech of the day
will be delivered in a marquee
to be erected on the corner of
Second and Seventh Avenues.

Shortly before lunch he will
call on the Radio Plain studio
nearby and deliver a short
message to the several hundred
thousand shoppers expected to
be within earshot of the shop-
ing centre broadcast.

Just after 1pm, he will re-
tire to lunch with Mitchell’s
Plain business people and in-
vited MPs, and then leave, at
2pm.

Black townships — and other
areas — countrywide are being
assessed for similar ventures.

National Party secretary
general Dr Stoffel van der
Merwe acknowledged security
was a critical concern, but con-
firmed party plans to reach out
to black, coloured and Indian
communities. Details are still
being worked out.

“During the referendum, we
reached out to whites. Now we
want to reach out to all South
Africans. Broadly, the message
will be that the NP cares for
all South Africans.

“We will spell out our com-
mitment to democracy, to ade-
quate protection for individuals
and minorities.

“Each initial motto will be
‘Build a Nation’, but there will
be others.”

Dr van der Merwe said that
while the rallies were not nec-
essarily intended as a member-
ship drive, “we hope to pick up
new members. It is an inevita-
ble home run”.

Questioned on the likely re-
response to the NP’s commit-
tment to minority protection,
Dr van der Merwe said: “We
still firmly believe South Afri-
ca is a country of minorities
and even though we are creat-
ing an open political system
one of the main concerns of
millions of South Africans of
all shades and colours is that
they do not want their group to
be subjected to harassment.”

R2-million plan to feed SA’s elderly

DI CAELENS
Weekend Argus Reporter

PLANS are well advanced for
the introduction in South Afri-
can of a R2-million feeding
scheme set to ease the “desper-
ate” plight of the country’s eld-
erly.

At the helm is the Associa-
tion of Retired Persons and
Pensioners (ARP & P). Its na-
tional chairman, Mr Vic Brood,
said the aim was to feed “ev-
eryone we possibly can, provid-
ed they’re pensioners and genu-
inely in need”.

In the Cape, it’s all systems
go for the introduction of the
scheme in Guguletu. The De-
partment of Health Services
and Welfare has promised us
the funds and as soon as we get
them, which should be in a
matter of weeks, we’ll kick into
action.

“The ARP & P branch in Gu-
guletu has built shelters and in-
stalled cookers at the civic
centre. Meals are all arranged
and we aim to provide a sub-
stantial meal twice a week for
between 400 and 500 people,”
Mr Brood told Weekend Argus.

They planned to move into
Khayelitsha once the Guguletu
operation was established.

Mr Brood said his associa-
tion was still pinpointing areas
in the white and “coloured”
communities where “feeding
stations” would be established.
De Klerk to visit Nigeria

POLITICAL STAFF 14/4/92

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to visit Nigeria next week.

Reports last night quoted Nigerian radio bulletins as saying the visit would be announced after South African and Nigerian diplomats completed arrangements this weekend. Tswaing has not commented.

Nigeria and South Africa are considered the two economic giants of Africa. Nigeria has always taken a keen interest in South African politics and the trip is an extremely important visit for President De Klerk.

Nigerian president Major-General Ibrahim Babangida is the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. The 1991 OAU summit was in Abuja, Nigeria's capital.

General Babangida would be the most high-powered African head of state President De Klerk has visited.
LP unveils proposals for interim rule

Political Staff and Sapa

THE Labour Party wants an interim government comprising all signatories to the Codesa Declaration of Intent to oversee the existing Cabinet, parliament, the homeland governments and provincial administrations. This emerges from the party's proposals for interim arrangements and a new constitution to be tabled at Codesa on Monday.

The party said a transitional executive should deal with the election process, security forces, state-controlled media, aspects of the Budget, regional and local government, and foreign affairs.

The tricameral parliament should continue only to give legal effect to the transitional arrangement and to decisions reached at Codesa, but should be restructured into a single house immediately.

The LP constitutional proposals include universal adult franchise and a system of proportional representation for a governing body of 400.

The party says the constitution-making body should function as a democratically elected upper house of the interim legislature. It should complete its task within a year.

The LP believes negotiations should begin immediately for a system of proportional representation. This would then be used for general elections to set up a constituent assembly and interim government.
WHISPERS from Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) hint that some form of democratic elections will take place before the end of the year.

In preparation, the ANC's National Elections Commission is frantically building itself up to challenge the well-oiled campaign machinery of the NP.

Mr James Stuart, chairperson of the commission, says its main task is to overcome the advantage enjoyed by the NP and other parties that have been part of the voting scene all along.

"We need to prepare the people, specially the African majority who have had absolutely no experience of voting, to participate effectively and responsibly when the time comes," says Stuart.

In its proposals to Codesa, the ANC suggested that a multi-party electoral commission be established to ensure free and fair campaigning and voting.

"All our regional structures have been set up and are fully functioning. They are carrying the campaign to ordinary ANC members and even non-members," Stuart says.
Visit to Nigeria a coup for De Klerk

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is to visit Nigeria next week.

SABC radio last night quoted Nigerian news bulletins as saying the visit would be announced after South African and Nigerian diplomats had finalised the arrangements this weekend.

Tshwane says has not yet issued any comment.

South Africa and Nigeria are considered the economic giants of Africa, and Nigeria has always taken keen interest in South African politics.

This is an extremely important visit for De Klerk.

Nigerian President Major-General Ibrahim Babangida is the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. The 1991 OAU summit meeting took place in Abuja, Nigeria's new federal capital.

Babangida came to power in 1985 in Nigeria's fifth military coup. Since then he has struggled to restore Nigeria's economy, damaged by years of mismanagement and corruption and by the fall in oil prices.

Babangida has promised a return to civilian rule this October. A constituent assembly to draft a constitution was elected in 1988.

This will be the most high-powered African head of state to be visited by De Klerk. He has previously gone to Namibia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Senegal, Kenya and Swaziland.
Plotting the brave

ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL REPORTER

ALMOST 400 delegates from 19 political groups meet every Monday, and sometimes on Tuesdays, to negotiate mutually acceptable ways of moving from apartheid to something entirely different.

"Codesa" is now a term well known in the public mind, but beyond the very few who have actually been to witness its workings at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, not many South Africans have a clear idea of what this new political animal is, and what it looks like.

The structure sounds, and in many ways is, labyrinthine.

The easiest way to think of it — with the aid of the accompanying diagrams — is as an organism that has grown, and is still growing, from a small seed. That seed was Codesa I, the historic first plenary session of the multi-party forum in December last year.

As new tasks and problems have arisen, new structures have been added — but the lines of authority remain clear.

The process has in fact been growing since a preparatory meeting held last November.

Each political group is represented by a delegate on the management committee, which manages the negotiation process in Codesa.

There are five working groups, charged with reaching agreement on the key areas of dispute and difference among the parties, and the central political issues which have to be settled before Codesa can achieve its aim — which is to dissolve itself when its work is done.

Codesa is, in this sense, the facilitator of new forms of government, both transitional and permanent.

Three sub-committees have been created to deal with specific issues and their findings are reported to the management committee.

Acceptable agreements are reached on the strength of the findings and because the committee represents all the participants.

One sub-committee is investigating the possible participation of the Zulu King and other traditional leaders and should have its report completed in two weeks.

The sub-committee on the Declaration of Intent reached agreement on Monday about a proposed addendum to this document.

The third sub-committee — the Gender Advisory Committee — which was established this week, has six weeks to advise the management committee on the gender implications of the working committees' terms of reference and agreements.

Not all the parties are represented on the daily management committee.

Seven delegates have been appointed on an individual basis to this committee, which attends to the work of the management committee.
new South Africa

Two delegates and two advisors from each of the participating groups meet in each of the working groups.

The working groups' agendas were agreed to at the first plenary session in December.

Since the first meeting of the working groups on February 6, each group has tabled its views on the creation of a climate for free political activity, constitutional principles, transitional arrangements, the future of the homelands and the timeframes for the implementation of Codesa agreements.

Due to the complexity of some of the issues, two of the working groups have divided into several sub-committees.

Although the tasks of all the working groups are important, the crucial issues are discussed in the two working groups that deal with constitutional principles and transitional arrangements.

The working group on constitutional principles has agreed on general constitutional principles which will be enshrined in the new constitution and is now discussing the nature and form of the body which will draw up the constitution.

The group dealing with transitional arrangements is looking at structures which will move the country from the present dispensation to a new South Africa. Shortly before the referendum, this group agreed on the need for a "transitional executive structure" to be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

Decisions at the constitutional negotiations follow a lengthy road before they become formal agreements — as is shown in the first graphic.

No voting takes place at Codesa — all decisions are taken by "sufficient consensus". In practice this means that a significant number of parties have to reach agreement on an issue for the process to continue. This does not mean that there should be complete agreement.

First a sub-committee (or a working group if it has not divided into sub-committees) reaches an agreement which is referred to the steering committee of the working group. Once an agreement is reached there, the agreement is discussed by the working group. The agreement is then sent to the management committee via the steering committee.

After discussion and agreement at the management committee, the final agreement is discussed at a plenary session of Codesa, such as Codesa 2.

Among other things, Codesa is unique for the range — and seniority — of the politicians it brings into regular and extended contact. It is not unusual to find Government Ministers, former leaders of the armed struggle, and tri-cameral politicians swapping jokes over coffee and biscuits in between working group meetings.

When its work is done and it is consigned to history, Codesa will be remembered as the strangely named, oddly conceived and unlikely political animal that brought together South African leaders who had previously been thought to be permanently incompatible.
FW roadshow hits townships

THE National Party is to hold a series of rallies and meetings in black and coloured areas, the first being a "FW de Klerk mass rally" in Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town next Saturday.

De Klerk's message is expected to be heard by about 500,000 people. T-shirts bearing the State President's photograph will be worn by marshall's aides and will be distributed at random, together with similar lollipops, badges and balloons.
Watch Codesa! It serves those who serve Codesa

E, the people, sit in the dust outside Codesa and pray that our leaders will abjure their squabbles for power and privilege, for jobs and patronage, and work for a wonderful constitution to give us liberty and peace.

Some put their faith in the Nationalists, some in the ANC, some even in the Inkatha Freedom Party or the DP, but the wise trust none of them.

The ANC wants raw power, to break, to take, and to dispense; the Nationalists work assiduously on all fronts to protect their great, bureaucratic money-gathering structures; the DP wants peace at any price, and Inkatha — well, who knows what Inkatha wants? They all need to be watched, as well as prayed for, by the people outside.

If any one of the Codesa organisations had total power, we would be in a terrible stew. Happily, they are forced to compromise with each other, and from their compromises some good has come.

All parties are agreed on a universal franchise, without which no peace is possible, and all parties are agreed that proportional representation, which gives every party a voice in the legislature, is better than the present system of single-member constituencies.

Proportional representation tends to do two things: firstly, it puts great power into the hands of the party officials who decide what names go on the ballot; secondly, it tends to fracture the electorate into many parties, so that government is likely to be quite weak and unstable, a matter of constantly shifting coalitions. The result is a great deal of back-room bargaining in politics, and not much principle, which may not be a bad thing in a country where every principle is contested.

To make the government more stable, it is usual to eliminate any party that gets less than five percent of the vote. This would eliminate the SA Communist Party, which would have to sneak into Parliament as a hidden part of the ANC, with its own hidden agenda. It would also eliminate the DP, unless the elitist English whites who dominate the DP were to seek and win support from other groups. Hence the powerful DP is loath to attach themselves either to the ANC or to the Nationalists, depending on where they see the best chance of winning office. Those famous liberal principles inherited from the Frogs are protected for the time being by the DP leaders, to their credit, but the lure of office exerts a strong pull on some of their followers.

The split in white Afrikaner ranks, between Conservatives and Nationalists, makes even the Nats vulnerable to the five percent rule, unless they can recruit English whites, coloured Afrikaners, Zulu capitalists, or other maverick constituencies. Again, proportional representation imparts a powerful impulse to compromise, not on the divisive basis of political or ideological principles, but on the instinct of politicians to jettison principle in order to achieve office.

This is all to the good. This country has had too much of hot-eyed zealots, racist, fistic capitalist skill, and it might well do better under a government of venal fixers and traders. They may be dishonest, but they are not necessarily thug.

The professional politicians at Codesa are finding this new landscape both unfamiliar and, perhaps, threatening, so there is a move afoot to reduce the minimum percentage from five to three. The result would be unstable government, and a proliferation of hot-eyed little parties — like the Greens, perhaps, or the Boerestaat Party — who would find many opportunities to hold bigger parties to ransom.

This is where we are, the people, come into the picture. A minimum of three percent is absurdly low, it would serve only the interests of the professional, or the uncompromising, politicians. We want a strong government restrained by law, not a government too weakened by faction to govern.

But unless we make ourselves heard right now, it will be too late. We shall be presented, some time in the future, with a defective constitution, drawn up to serve the interests of the people who drafted it, and we shall be required — as we were in the referendum — to vote "yes" or "no".

Almost inevitably, we shall end up ratifying a bad constitution, and condemn ourselves to another lifetime of struggle against tyranny and corruption. So the time to speak out is now.

Nor are we threatened only by what is put into the constitution; greater peril lies in what is left out. The National Party, accustomed to ruling through structures that confer on its leaders a special status, has a tendency to overlook basic principles; the ANC, schooled in the techniques of majoritarian tyranny, tends to treat opponents as enemies. Neither of them has much concern for liberty, or for the underpinnings of liberty.

A proper constitution should contain, among other things, a firm guarantee of property rights, like Article 14 of the German constitution which says that property and the right of inheritance are guaranteed but that property imposes duties and must serve the common weal.

It should contain a prohibition on government interference with the right of free speech, and the right to receive and impart opinion. It should prescribe the manner of appointing judges, as well as guarantees of their independence. It should define and limit the powers of the central government, the regions and the localities, and reserve all other rights to citizens.

These requirements will not be satisfied by the Nationalist or a revolving presidency, nor by the ANC's belief in mass tyranny — both are simply devices to allow power-hungry politicians to make things up as they go along.

The last thing we want is a backroom deal between them, but that's what we will get unless we, the people, demand now to see the text of every Codesa agreement, and make ourselves vociferously heard whenever Codesa deviates from the best law that man's history and will have devised.

Ken Owen
DP caucus divided over plan to merge with Nats

THE Democratic Party caucus this week discussed a proposal to disband and form a new centre party with about 300 delegates, led by President PW de Klerk.

The plan was contained in a confidential document drawn up by Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Mr Leon's proposal comes at a time when Finance Minister Eurend du Plessis is urging the DP to find a proper vehicle to propagate the values "which many of us share enthusiastically with them".

Caucus

Other top Nationals have confirmed they, too, are discussing the idea of a new centre party.

The secret document, drawn up by Mr Leon, whose Houghton seat was held for almost four decades by veteran liberal MP Helen Suzman, was placed in the pigeon holes of all DP MPs before the caucus meeting.

His proposal was later discussed by an extended DP caucus meeting on Thursday which brainstormed ideas on strategy and a future role for the DP.

In the document, Mr Leon states that the DP's future is bleak. Support for the party had shrunk alarmingly in the white community and there was no growth of support in the non-white community. Its fundraising ability was also steadily declining.

The caucus meeting ended inconclusively, leaving Mr Leon to" write a new paper proposing a new party, including leader Zach de Beer, Chairperson Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin - want the DP to remain independent. But Mr Leon's most prominent supporters in the pat (or MPs like Roger Helley (Constantia), Mike Tarr (Marlboro North), and Robin Carlisle (Wynberg) supported Mr Andrew, who believes Mr Leon's view was shared by a majority in the caucus.

The DP's strategy review committee (of which Mr Leon was a member), would write a document on the dominant view within the caucus before the end of April.

Option

"Our inability or unwillingness to create an alliance merger - with other parties means we look to a future that is uncertain, " he said.

Instead, the DP should consider the option of creating a new centre party. "Absent the past discredited symbolicism of the NP, but with powerful leadership (Mr De Klerk) and a political commitment to fundamental liberal democracy, a new entity becomes an attractive and practical alternative," he stated in the document.

To Page 2
SA ally is facing a tough fight

WEDNESDAY was clear, but cold, which didn't deter Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker, who spent it canvassing in her constituency.

She blazed the campaign trail, greeting and nodding vigorously to prospective voters.

Political pundits say the chances of victory for Mrs Chalker — the self-pronounced "friend of South Africa" — in the Merseyside (Wallasey) seat are not good and that she is unlikely to return to Parliament after the votes have been counted on Thursday.

She is fighting a close battle in the marginal seat where she defends a 279 majority over Labour.

Mrs Chalker talked while she walked. No, she said, she did not expect to lose her seat.

"We've worked this seat hard since after the 1987 election. My vote is holding up."

The woman heading the department for aid programmes in Africa has three key areas of interest — poverty, women and good government.

If she loses her job as minister, she does not intend ignoring the issues she considers so crucial. While she will not pre-empt matters by talking of her plans in case they fail, she hints that she will continue to work in Africa in aid programmes.

If she is returned, she says, she will work with the SA government on a bilateral programme.

There are not a lot of kind sentiments being traded between Conservative and Labour Party members at the moment.

That is why the kind words of Donald Anderson, Labour spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs since 1983, were surprising.

He said: "Mrs Chalker's chances of being re-elected are slim, but I expect to see her in the House of Lords soon. A Labour government would create a separate ministry with its own minister with a cabinet post, under which the Overseas Development Administration would fall."

Mr Anderson is critical of the Conservative record on aid to South Africa and the rest of Africa.

"When Labour left office in 1979, the proportion of our national wealth devoted to aid was 0.52 percent and rising. Now it is down to 0.27 percent," he said.

"A Labour government will encourage democratic change and a peaceful transition in South Africa."

Taking the position Labour has adopted since the start of negotiations, Mr Anderson reiterated: "We will listen to, and take our cue from, democratic forces in South Africa as to where they think we can help positively."

Training

"We will look at ways — with that government — of addressing problems of reconstruction — for example, training programmes, particularly in the public sector," he said.

"Just as South Africa is changing, so too is Britain. We are no longer an island and we are forging links with Europe."

"The European Community recognises the strategic economic role SA has to play. We will work within the EC framework, remembering that Britain has special ties with SA."

Mr Anderson said an area in which a Labour government would help the post-apartheid government would be the building of an effective security and military apparatus.
as the DP reconsiders its image

Groundswell for centrist party proposal
By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week laid on the Codesa negotiating table its vision for a constitution-making body and procedures to draft a new constitution.

The organisation reiterated its position that a constitution drafting body must centre around the principle of a Constituent Assembly, which they described as the most widely used mechanism internationally.

However, in a conciliatory gesture to those opposed to a Constituent Assembly — the government and Inkatha in particular — the ANC said the name of such a forum was not crucial and could even be called Congress, after the body which drafted the constitution of the United States of America.

What is important, says the ANC, is how the body is chosen and how it functions.

But NP shoots down forum proposal

The government shot down the proposals, saying they "constituted a risk of authoritarian government".

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport this week said the proposals made no provision for the functioning of a Constituent Assembly within the framework of a constitution.

The ANC also proposes the reincorporation of the four nominally independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda into South Africa. It rejects federalism and a two-house Parliament.

To deal with disputes among members of the Constituent Assembly, the ANC proposes a nine-member constitutional panel. The ANC said this panel should not be made up of members of the current judiciary.

According to the ANC, "although there are undoubtedly persons of great merit in the present judiciary, the court system as such is seen by the majority of South Africans as a creation of apartheid government which appointed the judges as lacking in legitimacy".

**Votes for all**

The ANC's proposals include:

- That the Constituent Assembly be made up of 400 members;
- That the vote be given to all people over the age of 18;
- Decisions of the Constituent Assembly be by two-thirds majority;
- The Constituent Assembly be obliged to contain the principles agreed upon by Codesa in the new constitution and shall not contradict such principles;
- The Constituent Assembly shall elect from its own ranks a representative drafting commission made up of 40 people to work under its jurisdiction; and
- The Constituent Assembly shall be legally entitled with sovereign powers to draft and put into operation a new and binding constitution for South Africa.
Banquet launches PAC to join Codesa

Growing pressure on the PAC to join Codesa, the country's main opposition alliance, is mounting. The move comes as the PAC faces increasing internal strife and external pressure from other political parties. The alliance has been accused of failing to provide effective leadership and has been criticized for its lack of clear policies.

The most recent developments have seen the PAC's main leaders meeting with representatives from other political groups to discuss the possibility of joining forces. The talks are said to be ongoing and could result in a formal announcement in the near future.

The move to join Codesa is seen as a significant development, as it could potentially change the political landscape in South Africa. The PAC has traditionally been a significant force in the country's political scene, and its decision to join Codesa could have far-reaching implications.

The PAC's leaders are under pressure to make a decision, and the decision to join Codesa is expected to be a major talking point in the upcoming elections.
Pik for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC and the government will hold talks in Nigeria next week.

The PAC announced yesterday it would meet a government delegation in the town of Abuja.

The meeting would be held under the neutral chairmanship of President Ibrahim Babangida, the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

The PAC said the first meeting would be preparatory in nature and would lay the ground for a summit between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President F.W. de Klerk.

"We understand Mr Pik Botha will lead the government's delegation," Mr Makwetu said yesterday.

Nigerian radio reported on Friday that President de Klerk would visit that country next week.

It is understood Mr Botha will fly to Nigeria a day before Mr De Klerk to meet the PAC.
NEGOTIATE NOW "SAYS PLET "SKIET"

PRETORIA — Former senior AWB official Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said at the weekend that the outcome of the referendum had initiated rethinking among right-wingers. Failure to come to terms with the government would mean having to negotiate with an interim or majority government.

In a statement as founder and spokesman for the Orde Boerevolk, he said freedom could only be realised through negotiations or "as an absolute last resort."
PAC, govt to meet in Nigeria

In a move that could pave the way for the PAC joining Codesa, the first talks between top government and PAC delegations are to take place in Nigeria later this week.

PAC Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is expected to lead the government team to the talks, brokered by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Abuja, while PAC deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke is likely to head up the PAC delegation.

President F W de Klerk will arrive in Abuja shortly after the first round of talks for a meeting with the OAU chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

The government was at pains last night to deny that it would hold formal talks with the PAC under the chairmanship of the OAU.

Mr Botha and Nigerian government officials had made "informal approaches" on the issue of a meeting with PAC leaders. At no stage, however, was it suggested that such a meeting would constitute a formal negotiating session.

Meanwhile, the Nigerian Foreign Minister Mr Ike Nwachukwu confirmed last night that Mr de Klerk will visit Nigeria.

"The people of South Africa want change and a change is going on," Mr Nwachukwu said after briefing Nigerian media officials.

"The people of Nigeria have been working for this change. We have come to the point where the change is almost irreversible."
No more cheese, wine canvassing

JOHANNESBURG. — Reports that black support is minimal for the Democratic Party have been denied by two members of the DP’s National Council, who also slated calls for the DP to merge with the National Party.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Etienne Phofofo, representing Katlehong on the East Rand, and Dr. Bhett Kahn for the Free State, said DP MP Mr Tony Leon “must come to terms with the fact that the ‘cheese and wine canvassing’ days are over”.

The statement followed newspaper reports that Mr Leon had submitted a proposal that the DP merge with the NP, one reason being that the party did not have black support.

Mr Phofofo said that because of intimidation and violence in the township, few blacks attended DP meetings, although membership was rising.

The statement said: “The new South African electorate has a Third World lifestyle, needs and expectations.

‘Has Mr Leon ever done the same shack-to-shack canvassing in the townships like he did in Johannesburg as an aspirant city councillor and MP?’

‘DP members of Parliament must stop their damaging positioning debates and get on with door-to-door canvassing in the townships.’
FW will give clue to Nats' future

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will signal major political alignments in a debate on his budget vote in parliament after the Easter recess.

He is expected to indicate the National Party's attitude to alignments with other like-minded political parties and the possibility of a new centrist party.

This major debate will start in parliament on April 21st.

Meanwhile, the secretary general of the National Party, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, said today that there was no possibility of the party disbanding at present to form a new political party.

He was reacting to speculation that a group in the party was considering the possibility of a new centrist party under a new name.

Dr. Van der Merwe said a new political game had started and that the party would in the nature of things consider all options. Disbanding was lowest on the list.

There were, however, people who had spoken about the possibility of a new name for the party but disbanding would not be realistic.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus is to continue considering its future after the recess.

A long caucus meeting before the Easter recess did not come to any conclusion.

Three schools of thought have emerged.

These are that the party should move nearer to the National Party, that it should seek links with the ANC or that it should continue as an independent liberal party.

The DP vote played an important part in the Yes victory in the referendum but there are misgivings in some DP circles that, in the process, the party got too near to the National Party.

Dr. Zac de Beer, leader of the DP, said today that the last mandate from a party congress was that the party's independence, integrity and identity must be retained.

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From Page 1

MK LOW

THE GOVERNMENT'S continued involvement of the ANC could be scrapped by the Supreme Court of Appeal in the future due to theANC's involvement in the tree-felling case. The government has continued with the killing of one...
The first official bilateral talks between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government, set to take place in Nigeria, could still run aground over the issue of chairmanship.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has stressed in a statement that in preliminary talks with the Nigerians there was never any suggestion that the meeting with the PAC would be chaired by the Organisation of African Unity or that it would occur on foreign soil.

The original announcement of bilateral talks between the Government and the PAC was made by the liberation organisation's president, Clarence Makwetu, at the PAC congress in Umtata at the weekend. Mr Makwetu referred specifically to the fact that "the PAC and the regime will meet shortly at the neutral venue in Abuja, Nigeria, under the neutral chairmanship of President Ebrahim Babangida who is the current chairman of the OAU".

Mr Botha said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC — which has remained steadfastly outside CODESA — foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary". He added that the Government would prefer the meeting to take place in South Africa and that "since the 'playing field' has been levelled for all parties pursuing a peaceful process, there is no impediment to the PAC joining the negotiations in South Africa".

Mr Botha said that as a gesture of goodwill, the Nigerian government had inquired about possible talks with the PAC — although it had never proposed the meeting as formal negotiations or as a summit, to be held on neutral territory under the chairmanship of the OAU.

There is speculation that, if the question of chairmanship is satisfactorily resolved, Mr Botha will meet a PAC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week, before the start of the official visit to Nigeria by President de Klerk.

But PAC publicity chief Barney Desai has cautioned: "It will be difficult logistically to meet the Government this week, but we'll make every effort to meet as soon as possible."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed hopes that this bilateral contact would be a prelude to the PAC becoming a full participant in the process of constitutional negotiations. She made it clear that it would be "ridiculous" to regard such one-on-one organisational contact as a substitute for CODESA.

Mr Desai said that the PAC was anxious to convene a meeting of the Patriotic Front — a broad alliance of more than 50 anti-apartheid groupings brought into being in October — and was taking "active steps" with the ANC in this regard.

Mr Desai explained that the PAC had taken note of calls from the OAU and African leaders to work for unity and to engage the Government in negotiations.

The PAC congress maintained it would "intensify" its armed struggle despite the planned talks. — Political Staff and Sapa.
Codesa delegation to observe UK poll

Political Staff

Nine South African political figures left Jan Smuts Airport last night to observe Thursday's British general election, as guests of the British government.

Pravin Gordhan, Peter Hendriks, N Mahlangu, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Professor Simon Rapinga, George Bartlett and Janet Love will represent Codesa, travelling on an initiative of the British Embassy in South Africa.

The British also invited Matthews Phosa and Peter Soal to join the delegation.

In a statement last night, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Anthony Reeve, said the British hoped to make a modest contribution to the work of Codesa by enabling the delegation to observe at first hand the British elections process "at a time when they are preparing for democratic elections in their own country."

The delegation will hold discussions in London with senior government officials on the role of the civil service during an election campaign.

Sir Anthony said the delegation would then visit three marginal constituencies in Bolton. The South Africans would meet the candidates, visit the party's headquarters and go out with candidates on canvassing rounds.

"They will hold discussions with journalists on the question of media objectivity during an election campaign," Sir Anthony said.
Canadian Minister on tour of SA

In what is being billed as the "first official visit by a Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister to South Africa for more than 30 years", Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall touched down at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Ms McDougall, who was welcomed on her arrival by Neil van Heerden, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, is to hold talks with political leaders.

Shortly after her arrival, Ms McDougall told journalists that hers was the first official visit by a Canadian foreign minister for 30 years.

On being asked about Joe Clark's visit in 1977, the press was told the then minister of external affairs had been on an unofficial visit.

Ms McDougall said her country was encouraged by political changes in South Africa; the positive outcome of the referendum and by negotiations through Codesa.

"I'm in South Africa to hold discussions at first hand with political leaders." Asked about the possibility of her country lifting economic sanctions, Ms McDougall said economic sanctions would only be raised after acceptable transitional arrangement were in place, adding that people-to-people sanctions had already ended in accordance with a decision by the Commonwealth.

Mr van Heerden said he looked forward to a positive outcome of Ms McDougall's visit. He said the time for sanctions was long passed and that South Africa needed economic growth.

Ms McDougall visited the Takalani Home for the Mentally Handicapped in Soweto yesterday afternoon.

She hugged, kissed and tried to speak to some children, bewildered by flashing cameras.

Takalani is the only facility of its kind for blacks in the country and was partly funded by the Canadian Embassy.

Ms McDougall said she was happy to have visited the facility and gain first-hand experience of the state of health facilities in South Africa.

Health is clearly an area which needs assistance, she said, adding that the difficulty was not only insufficient funding, but also misallocation of resources.

She said Canada was prepared to assist in South African education. — Sapa.
A pall of political mortality is hanging heavily in Parliament, writes Alan Dumm

Are there more Koos Bothas

This is the question now being asked among MPs who are all grappling with the harsh new realities cast overnight by the referendum two weeks ago.

There is a palpable pall of political mortality in Parliament these days, of MPs planning alternative careers because they know they will not be sitting on the legislature's leather upholstery for much longer.

Several may escape the axe, but why risk it and endure the heartburn of Russian roulette while there are still some months left to secure lifeboats for their abrupt retirements?

MPs fully expect more Koos Bothas to emerge, disgruntled Conservative MPs who have lost faith in their leadership and the party's stodility, its failure to adapt to the negotiated revolution whispering about it.

Nobody knows how many there are.

Nationalist MPs have their candidates, the more pragmatic ones whose impatience is showing. Naturally they are, as opponents, impatient to see exactly whom they will be dealing with in negotiations ahead.

So they are prodding and goading, "Stand up, you Koos Bothas, and be counted!"

Everybody in Parliament knows that Koos van der Merwe, the ebullient MP for Overvaal, is not far behind his friend and ally.

But he is more the politician than the newly independent MP for Wonderboom. He is a seasoned strategist. He has been through this type of mangle before, 10 years ago, and is no stranger to political brawls.

Mr van der Merwe, presently bopping and weaving reporters' questions like a prizefighter, was probably dismayed at his friend's precipitous behaviour in Parliament this week in calling for a "drastically reduced" Afrikaner Volksraad.

He would favour a willing, more gradual, systematic approach. He will have confirmed and reconnoitred his destination before taking off.

It was the more artful Mr van der Merwe, however, who walked across Parliament's Joint Chamber after the opening prayer yesterday afternoon to offer a crying Mr Botha a word of comfort.

For the MP of 2½ years suddenly found himself seated across the aisle from his old comrades, stunned, alone, next to Democratic Party backbencher Wessel Nel (Mol River).

The whole confrontation and jolt of this was too much. Members were simultaneously cleaning out his office in the CP's wing of Parliament, packing his documents for another place in a corridor of political strangers. Banishment had been swift.

Mr van der Merwe took him by the arm and led him to the lobby.

When he made the contentious speech on Tuesday, one Conservative colleague likened him to Albert Nothnagel, the likeable South African ambassador to the Netherlands who, as the Nationalist MP for Innesdal, regularly found himself in hot water for speaking his mind.

He, and Mr Botha this week, broke a cardinal rule in politics: honesty is often not the best policy.

Mr Nothnagel was a refreshing character, a touch naive perhaps, or too forthright or uncaring of the sometimes brutal rules of politics. Mr Botha is no different.

That was the way he felt and he said so. In fact, he said nothing in Parliament this session until Tuesday's address: "This was my first speech this year. I felt the party had no plan, no strategy, no vision."

"I felt that being a reactionary to all the laws being scrapped and so on, didn't suit me. I want to be more positive," he said in an interview.

A head council meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, on Saturday was the final straw: "I said to myself 'The CP is not going to change'."

He decided then to go public with his campaign for a smaller Afrikaner state. It cost him his party membership.

The essence of the official reason for his firing yesterday was discipline - he spoke on such a delicate subject, aired the party washing outside congress and the parliamentary caucus.

Mr Botha's hope that the party would be able to accommodate his views was snuffed at 7.30 pm on Wednesday when he faced CP chief Dr Andreas Treurnicht, his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and Chief Whip Frans le Roux.

It was a friendly discussion. Dr Treurnicht told him point-by-point what bothered them about the speech and Mr Botha explained his position.

Dr Treurnicht had problems with a "drastically reduced" Afrikaner state, which was contrary to CP policy.

The leader also apparently thought Mr Botha too exclusive. Why an Afrikaner state, he asked. Why not a white state?

That, Mr Botha said he replied, would be racist.

And so the objections continued and Mr Botha explained what he had meant. The listening trio knew outspokenness when they heard it, however. So Mr Botha
Chances of merger with Nats ‘minimal’, says DP

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The chance of the Democratic Party merging with the Nationalists to form a new party was “absolutely minimal” at this point, said DP chairman Ken Andrew.

“I don't think it's what the majority of people in our caucus would want, or what the majority in the party would want to do,” he said yesterday.

Mr. Andrew dismissed as “enormously inflated” a Sunday newspaper report that the DP caucus was divided over a planned DP/NP merger put forward by MP for Houghton Tony Leon.

But Mr. Leon's proposals for the formation of a new DP/NP-based party have already drawn a heated response from two DP council members, and it is clear that division exists within the party about its future constituency and alliances.

National council members Etienne Phodolo of Kudelong and Rhett Kahn of the Free State Goldfields have hit out at Mr. Leon's reference to the minimal growth of DP membership in the black community, challenging him to “come to terms with the fact that cheese and wine canvassing are over and that the new South African electorate has a third world lifestyle, needs and expectations.”

Dr. Kahn and Mr. Phodolo argue: “If the DP were to form a new party with the NP this will re-racialise South African politics and strengthen the PAC/Azapo argument that Cosas is merely a vehicle whereby a white minority is trying to protect its vested interests.”

Mr. Andrew said the DP's strategy review committee, which he chaired, had been considering a wide variety of options since February. Due to the referendum campaign it had fallen behind schedule.

It was hoped the caucus would consider a proposal this month.
**Codesa in danger of losing its way, becoming a**

**The Pattern of Politics**

HERMANN GILMEE

Over the past two weeks Codesa has dramatically shown that there are still two starkly different definitions of the fundamental political problem. The NP, along with the IFP, believes that the problem has been that the Government is lacking in representativeness.

From this perspective, the solution lies in getting a broad-based governing coalition which would address the security and identity fears of minorities by giving them an effective power base. The ANC, on the other hand, is driven by the conviction that the heart of the problem is that the majority has not ruled. As the ANC's constitutional proposals to Codesa show, it has a strong tendency to equate unqualified majoritarian rule with democracy, and government by the majority with government by the "people".

From here it is only a short step to believing that only majority rule can harness the energies of the great mass of the people and overcome the profound humiliation of the colonial conquest of Africans and of apartheid.

This conflict over definitions underpins the other major failing: the inability of the main parties to agree about procedures for drawing up a constitution and establishing a new government.

In terms of actual power, the majority party under the NP proposals will not win much more power than the minority parties.

In this sense the NP plan still falls short of the decisive feature of democracy.

In a study of transitions to democracy elsewhere, Adam Przeworski has made the telling point: "Democracy means that all groups must subject their interests to uncertainty... to alienation of control..." But if the NP still has to accept democratic uncertainty, the ANC has still to face the fact that democracy, even if based on majority rules, cannot ensure stability in South Africa, and that formal government power is worthless in the face of spreading anarchy and civil war.

The document that the ANC has just tabled at Codesa's working group 2 is deeply disturbing, even if viewed passionately. It assumes that these fearful of majority rule are either racists or colonists. Minorities are simply equated with losers.

Moreover, there is the breathtaking illusion that, once ballots are introduced, the tendency to resort to bullets will disappear.

The ANC document assumes that violence in Namibia stopped because elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of universal franchise were held, and that the same process will naturally occur in South Africa.

There is simply no recognition of the fact that the South African State willed the process in Namibia to succeed, and the same State with its security forces and a white population armed to the teeth can create major havoc if a constituent assembly or future government comes about against their general will.

To compound matters, the ANC and its allies constantly talk about nationalisation and redistribution of income away from whites.

Przeworski makes a further point the ANC can well take to heart: "We cannot avoid the possibility that a transition to democracy can be made only at the cost of leaving economic relations intact, not only the structure of production but even the distribution of income."

A fundamental rethink about the negotiating process is required. The NP will have to allow the outcome of elections rather than the constitution to shape the process. The ANC will have to accept that South Africa simply lacks the social fabric for fully fledged elections which will sweep the majority to power and allow it to transform all levels of government and the constitution.
CAPE TOWN — A Guguletu pensioner whose pension was stopped by the Cape Provincial Administration last year because officials decided he had died, died in fact six months before it was restored, six months later, Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Cape’s Budget, he said this graphically illustrated the tragic effects of the CPA’s harseness, bureaucratic maladministration of black pensions.

Yeye Mbane received his pension from 1979 to April 1991 when it stopped.

“He went to CPA and was told he had been categorised as ‘dead’ and must now obtain a ‘survival certificate’ from the nearest police station.

“Mr Mbane did so and handed the certificate to CPA Community Service, Guguletu, on April 19, 1991.

“When nothing happened, he sought the assistance of the Black Sash and the Legal Resources Centre. In November he was advised (by letter) that outstanding pensions amounting to R1 770 would be paid.

“Unfortunately it was too late for Mr Mbane. He had died in October, having been denied his pension — his means of survival — for six months.”

Mr Andrew said the callous way in which black pensioners had been treated over the years was disgraceful.

“No government calling itself Christian or civilised should have tolerated such a state of affairs.” — Sapa.
Andrew dismissed the idea that the DP's proposals were misguided. "But Leon's proposals were already drawn up by the DP. We need to understand that the majority of people in South Africa want a new party that can represent them. The National Party needs to do more to show that they can be that party."

Elna and her team worked tirelessly to door-to-door canvassing in the black community. They knew that reaching out to the residents would be key to winning over the community. Elna's success was due to her dedication and hard work. She was determined to make a difference in the lives of the people she was trying to reach.

In the end, Elna's efforts paid off. The National Party emerged as the leader in the black community, and Elna was hailed as a hero for her work.
De Klerk off to Nigeria this week

LAGOS (Nigeria) — President De Klerk arrives in Nigeria for a two-day official visit on Thursday, his office announced yesterday.

Mr. De Klerk will hold talks with President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja and address a news conference, an official in the president's office said.

In Cape Town, Mr. De Klerk said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as particularly important.

"It is important because President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity," Mr. De Klerk will be accompanied by his wife Marike, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, and other top government officials.

Mr. Botha is expected to hold talks with PAC leaders.

"The visit, the first by a South African head of state, would be aimed at encouraging Mr. De Klerk's reform efforts which Nigeria fully supports," Foreign Minister Mr. Ike Nzuchukwu told journalists in Lagos.

After the March 17 all-white referendum it became clear that the process of change was "almost irreversible," he said.

"Change is going on and we must support it," he added.

Nigeria did not consult anybody about the visit, he said.

"We have our policies and they will not be dictated by anyone's interest but our own," Mr. Nzuchukwu said.

Meanwhile, the ANC and PAC have condemned the visit, the official News Agency of Nigeria reported.

"We are not happy about the way the matter has been handled," said Mr. George Nene, ANC representative in Nigeria.

The ANC had not been invited to the talks, did not know what would be discussed, and would not attend, Mr. Nene added.

PAC representative in Nigeria, Mr. Regis Kumafo, said the decision to invite Mr. De Klerk "is regrettable, and we feel it is premature."

"What African leaders should do at this stage is to send their men to South Africa to monitor the so-called reforms embarked upon by Mr. De Klerk," he said. — Sapa-Heriter-AFP.
Johannesburg. — The government and the ANC yesterday presented to Codesa starkly differing proposals on the powers an executive body would have during the initial stages of an interim government.

Delegates said there were serious differences of opinion during discussions in working group three (on transitional arrangements) and no progress had been achieved.

The ANC proposed that the present bicameral Parliament be consolidated into one chamber, which would be overseen by an interim government council.

The TBVC states and homelands would continue to exist but also under the auspices of the IGC.

This means that apart from the consolidation of the bicameral Parliament and its department the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC.

The document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

"Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President," a government source said yesterday.

Delegates said they totally rejected the ANC's proposals.

"You can't have two governments governing a country, which is what their proposals amount to," he said.

Government delegate, Dr Dawie de Villiers said the ANC wanted to form an interim government before it was constitutionally or legally able to.

The council or cabinet could be set up only after an election.

However, he said the differences between the government's and the ANC's position on interim arrangements were not insurmountable.

Delegates said much of yesterday was spent discussing the government's framework legislation to set up five preparatory councils which would advise present government ministers in an interim period.

The councils were originally called transitional councils but were renamed preparatory councils in the document submitted to Codesa yesterday.

Some said these discussions had deadlocked because of the lack of power vested in the interim councils.

While the ANC wants power to be vested in the IGC, the government wants power to remain in the hands of the present cabinet which would be advised by the preparatory councils.

The government proposal said the councils would plan and prepare for the implementation of a transitional constitution.

However, negotiations on transitional arrangements were being hampered by lack of progress in bilateral discussions with the ANC on suspending the armed struggle and in a working group dealing with political violence. — Saps
LAGOS — The ANC hit out yesterday at a planned visit to Nigeria by President F W de Klerk for talks with President Ibrahim Babangida, head of the Organisation of African Unity.

At a press conference at Tyntesfield last night, Mr De Klerk said he regarded his visit to Nigeria on Thursday and Friday as “extremely important”.

He said the trip would focus on “improved co-operation and better communication” with Nigeria, and South Africa’s role in the rest of Africa.

Mr George Nene, ANC chief representative in Nigeria, said the ANC is “not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before CoSesa sets up an interim government”.

He asked whether Mr Mandela was consulted on Mr De Klerk’s visit. Nigerian Foreign Minister Mr Ike Nwachukwu said: “Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will not be dictated by anyone else’s interests but our own.”

Foreign Minister Mr P J Botha will accompany Mr De Klerk on his visit but will be leaving a day early to hold preparatory discussions with a PAC delegation about the organisation’s stand on negotiations.
Create single chamber- ANC

The tricameral parliament should be merged into one chamber during the first stages of interim government, the ANC said yesterday.

"This will begin a process of restructuring government that all participants at Codesa agree is necessary," the ANC said in proposals to Codesa on the first stage of interim government.

Consolidation

TBVC, homeland, provincial and other departments would remain in place unless and until an interim government council (IGC) - which would be established during the initial interim stage - decided that further change or consolidation was necessary.

"This means that, apart from the consolidation of the tricameral parliament and its departments, the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC."

To qualify to sit on the IGC, the ANC said each of the Codesa participants who committed themselves to the decisions taken at Codesa 2 would have one seat on the IGC.

To enable the IGC to include political organisations who had refused to take part in Codesa or to accept decisions taken at the second plenary session of Codesa next month, the IGC should be given the power to admit representatives who subsequently change their minds.

The ANC document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

Formulate

"Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President."

Besides having the power to formulate and submit legislation for consideration, the IGC's approval would also be required for the declaration of a state of emergency and the exercise of powers under the Public Safety Act.

"Otherwise, the State President will have the power to declare a state of emergency and override legislation enacted at the instance of Codesa. He will then be able to rule by decree under the provisions of the Public Safety Act."

Executive authority remained vested in the State President, but his actions would be subject to the approval of the IGC.

Precedence

"The executive authority of the TBVC states and the Homelands should also be exercised subject to the approval of the IGC."

"Proclamations issued by the IGC should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament."

Multiparty committees would assume overall responsibility for particular departments, including foreign affairs and the Budget.

Decisions on the IGC would be taken by substantial consensus. The ANC suggested support by two-thirds of the IGC would constitute substantial consensus."
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk confirmed yesterday he would visit Nigeria as the guest of President Ibrahim Babangida.

He confirmed the visit while addressing the media after talks with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at his Tuynhuys office in the afternoon.

De Klerk joked that he was always asked to confirm such visits announced by host countries before the media seemed satisfied with their validity.

He said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as a particularly important extension of contact with African states.

"In the case of Nigeria it is important that President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity and in that context discussions will focus on multi-lateral co-operation in Africa."

De Klerk will arrive in Nigeria on Thursday for a two-day official visit. He is the first South African head of state to visit the West African nation. - Sapa
PAC dismisses Codesa as option

The Pan Africanist Congress has shown confidence in its leadership by re-electing the top four office-bearers to the movement's national executive council in Umtata yesterday.

The congress also mandated its leaders to enter preliminary talks with the Government on the issue of a constituent assembly but has unequivocally dismissed Codesa as an option through which a negotiated settlement can be reached.

Mr. Clarence Makwetu was re-elected president, Mr. Johnson Mlambo first deputy-president, Mr. Dikgang Mosekane second deputy-president and Mr. Benny Alexander was retained as secretary-general.

Mr. Maxwell Nkandlo was also nominated for the post of secretary-general but was re-elected unopposed as national organizer.

Mr. Barney Desai has been retained as the PAC's secretary for information, a move which, along with the retention of Makwetu and Mosekane, suggests a greater emergence of pragmatism within the PAC.

Desai, Mosekane and Makwetu have been dubbed the pragmatists within the leadership of the PAC.

They will almost certainly be among the leadership that will meet President F.W. de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and a team of Government negotiators in Abuja, Nigeria, this week.

The Nigerian meeting was announced at the Umtata congress on Saturday and will be the first of its kind between the Government and PAC. The two have never met to discuss the future political settlement in South Africa.

The PAC regards the meeting as a breakthrough for the organisation, but it has been dubbed by political and diplomatic observers at the congress as a "face-saving" for the Africanists.

This week's meeting was brokered by Nigerian leader Mr. Ebrahim Babangida, who has been involved in setting up the meeting for the past two to three weeks.

In a statement released in Umtata on Saturday, Makwetu said the PAC had received a mandate to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly provided the talks were held at a neutral venue and under a neutral convener.

Party
The statement said "in pursuance of this resolution," the meeting has been sanctioned by the party.

"The first meeting will be preparatory in nature and will lay the ground for a summit between the president of the PAC and his delegation and De Klerk and his negotiation team.

"We understand that Mr. Pik Botha will lead the regime's delegation to the preparatory meeting," the PAC statement said.

The new leaders of the PAC yesterday, however, confirmed that the movement would not take part in Codesa.

In his opening remarks, Makwetu said: "Codesa was not a constituent assembly and it would not deliver liberation. It was never intended to," he said.

Last night, during its closing remarks, two days after the announced meeting in Nigeria, and just when it appeared as if the movement was moving towards a more conciliatory position, Makwetu swung relentlessly back to the hardline position in South African politics as personified by the PAC.

He said the fundamental issue at stake in South Africa was that of land.

"What we are saying is that the land was taken from our forefathers by the sword and kept by the sword.

"Before resolving this issue we cannot even dream of self-determination," Makwetu said.

Turning to Codesa, Makwetu said the convention had been identified by the congress as undemocratic and that it could not ensure "the transfer of power".

The remainder of the NEC positions are: Mr. Thobile Gola, from the movement's Zimbabwean office ousted Mr. Carter Seleke for the post of assistant secretary-general.

Mr. Ahmed Gora Babangida remains the secretary for foreign affairs; finance goes to newcomer to the NEC, Mr. Thompson Gazo; political Affairs secretary is Mr. Jackie Frome; legal and constitutional secretary is Mr. Willie Seriti; Mr. Mogolet Mphahlele is the new secretary for education and human resources; Mr. Fizroy Ngcuka retains his portfolio of sport and culture; Dr. Selva Saman was re-elected health secretary and labour was retained by Mr. Lesoba Makhanda.

Ms Patricia de Lille was elected as secretary for relief and aid.
Plans for new rule

By IKE MOTSAPI

CODESA went into serious business yesterday as the Government, the African National Congress, Labour and Solidarity parties made further proposals for the establishment of an interim government.

While the Government still favours a two-chamber transitional parliament, the ANC yesterday called for the abolition of the present tripartite parliament to be replaced by a nonracial, democratically elected single-chamber parliament.

The ANC also called for the consolidation of the various own-affairs departments into a single structure to serve the people of South Africa on nonracial lines.

The ANC also said the TBVC territories, self-governing homelands, provincial, regional and district governments should be under the control of an interim government council until a new government was in place.

The Solidarity Party called for the creation of what it called an interim executive structure.

The party said membership of this structure need not necessarily be confined to Codesa participants but may include parties or organisations not represented at this stage.

This gesture will demonstrate Codesa’s commitment of the principle of inclusivity. Those parties that reject the offer will have excluded themselves from the process.
Buthelezi and FW clear the air

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent nearly four hours in talks at Tuynhuys and said afterwards that they had cleared up misunderstandings.

Also at yesterday's talks were Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, and the National Party's general secretary, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by members of his Cabinet.

They discussed the IFP demand that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini be included in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Chief Buthelezi said an impromptu press conference at Tuynhuys afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up recently between the president and himself in the face of differences and misunderstandings.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time", Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr De Klerk said the talks had clarified some misunderstandings and would hopefully have a constructive effect on Codesa.

In recent weeks the government has had meetings with the other five national states on the question of King Goodwill's participation in Codesa.

At the talks yesterday, Mr De Klerk emphasised the need for all people to be involved in combating the political violence and to create an atmosphere conducive to democracy and free elections.

"Chief Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage."

W Cape teachers set to down chalk

JOHN VILJOEN

Education Reporter

ABOUT 1500 teachers at black schools in the Western Cape are set to strike tomorrow over salary issues, in spite of claims by management that the dispute has been settled.

Dr Johan Brand, director of the area's office of the Department of Education and Training, said last week there was little point in teachers striking.

The only effect of a strike would be to deprive children of their teachers' professional expertise, Dr Brand said.

But Mr Shepherd Mladlana, national chairman of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), said teachers would decide at a meeting tomorrow whether to continue with the planned strike.

He welcomed the fact that Dr Brand appreciated the seriousness of the problem, but was worried that Sadtu had not had a report from Dr Brand himself.

It was up to Dr Brand to report to Sadtu that all outstanding salaries would be paid to teachers by 1pm on Wednesday — otherwise teachers would down chalk.

Sadtu had the power to stop the strike but would only do so if Dr Brand's report was before the teachers by the time they held their report-back meeting.
New party mooted to oppose ANC

A NEW centrist political party is emerging in South Africa of which the ruling National Party and the Democratic Party could form the nucleus.

The aim of the party, according to informed sources, would be to "bring together like-minded people" in a centrist party to challenge the ANC in non-racial elections to a constitution making assembly later this year.

Speculation has been spreading over the past year of such a development, and the suggested name for such a party was at one stage the Christian Democratic Party.

It is understood that the National Party - or at least persons in the party - have been toying with the idea of changing the party's name in order to once and for all dump the social and political stigma of apartheid.

The new centrist party also came under the Democratic Party's caucus microscope last week, when Mr Tony Leon, the Member of Parliament for Houghton, proposed that the DP disbands and merges with the NP under the "powerful leadership" of President FW de Klerk.

Merger

Leon last week drew up a confidential document wherein he proposed the merger on the grounds that the DP faced a bleak political future as its support base (white liberals) had shrunk, and because there was no substantial membership growth among black people.

The DP is however split three ways about a merger with the NP under any name.

There is a small faction, led by the DP leader, which prefers that the party remains independent; another grouping (the rightwing) led by Leon and Mr Robin Carlisle, which is in favour of the merger and a third which rejects outright any association with the NP whatsoever - this third faction lean more towards the ANC...

These people missed the point, he said.

Justice

Cronje believes that the ideals of "justice and equality" cannot be delivered only through constitutional liberation, and that there would have to be greater movement away from the legacy of apartheid to improve the physical conditions of the people who suffered under the system.

Cronje is among the more progressive persons in the DP who recognise the possibility of convergence with "the liberation movement camp".

He said yesterday that there were people within the party who wanted to associate themselves with "the privileged class, those who benefited from the system and who stand for preservation of these privileges".

These people missed the point, he said.

The NP has been trying to move away from the memory of apartheid by suggesting a change of name.

But, he said, whatever name the NP ever went under it will be important for black people to remember that the NP by any other name is still the NP.

A DP caucus source yesterday confirmed that the Tony Leon proposals were one of many things discussed in last week's caucus.

He suggested that the only significance of it was that it coincided with the NP's suggestions of a new party under a new name.
ANC hits out at De Klerk’s Nigerian visit

LAGOS — The ANC hit out yesterday at President F W de Klerk’s planned visit to Nigeria.

A Foreign Affairs Department official confirmed yesterday that the President, his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minis-

ter Pik Botha would visit Nigeria on Thursday and Friday, at the invitation of

President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also the head of the OAU.

George Nene, chief ANC representative in Nigeria, said: “We are not happy that De

Klerk, who still represents a minority gov-

ernment, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before Cadesa sets up an inter-

im government.”

Nene said the ANC was not consulted on

the visit. “It is too early to invite De Klerk, even if it is for a good cause. It is worse in a

sense that the opinion has not been sought of major players.”

Asked whether ANC president Nelson

Mandela had been consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwa-

chukwu said the decision was based on

Nigeria’s interests, “Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will

not be dictated by anyone else’s interests but our own.”

He said the visit, the first by an SA head of state, was aimed at encouraging De

Klerk’s reform efforts, which Nigeria fully

supported.

The PAC has suggested meetings with

the SA government on neutral territory

and under neutral chairmanship. But on

Sunday Botha dismissed as “entirely unne-

cessary” any prospect that the OAU might

chair such talks. Government was pre-

pared and would prefer to meet the PAC

leadership in SA. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.
No consensus on transitional authority

CODESA reached a critical point yesterday as parties failed for the third successive week to reach any sort of accommodation on the first stage of political transition.

Both the ANC and government yesterday put forward contradictory and hardline proposals for the first stage. The parties have agreed that this stage will end with the election of an interim authority, but after debating the issue for three weeks, consensus has not been approached on the actual powers of the executive until such time.

ANC delegates argued yesterday that government's proposals still reflected its desire to be both refuge and player in the transition process. Government delegates argued that the ANC's proposals—which seek the establishment of an interim government council to oversee government's activities—would effectively result in two governments.

Chief government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said after the meeting of working group 3 yesterday other parties were seeking the establishment of an interim government before it could be properly, democratically and constitutionally established. Government also insisted that the institution of the first phase of transitional arrangements could not take place until progress had been made toward resolving outstanding security questions.

"Very little progress, if any, has been made towards attaining the goals in regard to the level of political violence and a climate for free political participation," government's submission says.

"It is very difficult to foresee successful negotiations... while participating parties are still committed to armed action."

The ANC's proposals for what it terms "the first phase of interim government" are that an eight-person interim government council should be appointed by CODESA. Draft legislation should be approved by the council before being submitted to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the council before being signed by the President. TBVC legislation should also be subject to council approval.

While executive authority should remain vested in the President, he should be required to exercise such authority subject to approval of the council.

The council would assume overall responsibility for all departments.

The council would, in the case of deadlocks, take decisions with at least a two-thirds majority. Proclamations of the council should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force of an Act of Parliament.

Government's submission, on the other hand, does not deal with the issue of executive power at all, proposing only what it terms "preparatory councils". Five preparatory councils are suggested: for elections, regional government, local government, government finances and housing and urbanisation.

Councils should have seven members each, six designated by CODESA's management committee and the remaining member appointed by the President.

Except for the council for regional government, the powers of the councils to affect government decisions are not mentioned, but it was suggested that the councils would have only advisory powers. In the case of the council for regional government, the submission says "the consent of existing government institutions is a prerequisite for the implementation of resolutions applicable to them".

Preparatory councils for law and order and for defence were also mentioned in government's original proposals.

"These are vital areas to be dealt with but the institution of such councils can only be negotiated in tandem with progress made in working group 1 (dealing with the climate of negotiations) and bilaterally."

The working group will continue its discussions today.

No consensus on transitional authority
CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has assured Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Government's support for an accommodation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the IPP leader addressed the media after nearly four hours of talks yesterday. Mr de Klerk said he had held discussions with various parties and representatives of homeland governments at Codesa regarding what Chief Buthelezi described as "the thorny issue of the Zulu king."

He had impressed upon them the need for the matter to be brought urgently to a head, "reiterating the Government's support for accommodation of KwaZulu in an agreed-upon form, including the king, if KwaZulu so wishes."

Both men said some misunderstandings had been cleared up, and that further meetings would follow.

One issue raised was the Government position on transitional arrangements.

Chief Buthelezi said misunderstandings had arisen by things being read into certain concepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

"I return home much happier..." He said he was in Codesa through the IPP presence there, but "I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesa."

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

"The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted," he said. — Sapa.
Govt, Inkatha narrow ‘chasm’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE mounting acrimony and mistrust between Inkatha and the government was largely defused during a marathon meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The healing of the growing rift between two of the “big three” players in South African politics is expected to boost the negotiation process and could help ease the violence sweeping the country.

Chief Buthelezi frankly admitted after their 3½-hour meeting that “a chasm” had been building in recent months between him and Mr De Klerk as a result of differences and misunderstandings on a number of issues.

However, the lengthy meeting between delegations led by the two leaders had served to clear the air “and I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time”.

Mr De Klerk said the meeting had helped to clarify some misunderstandings “and hopefully will have a constructive effect within Codesa”.

The wide-ranging meeting covered a variety of thorny issues, including the role of the Zulu king at Codesa, the ongoing violence sweeping the country, the Codesa negotiations and the two parties’ proposals for transitional arrangements.

Top of the agenda was Inkatha’s insistence that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini be accommodated at the Codesa negotiations.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that he had discussed the issue with the other five non-independent homelands and all the parliamentary parties involved in Codesa and impressed on them that the matter needed to be “brought to a head”.

In a hint at a compromise, he said: “The (South African) government supports the accommodation in an agreed-upon form for the KwaZulu government and the king if the (KwaZulu) government so wishes.” This appeared to pave the way for the king to be part of a broad delegation representing both the Zulu people and the KwaZulu government.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said earlier that the “drastic measures” he would soon announce to curb violence “could entail legislation”.

President de Klerk is strongly expected to signal major political alignments in a debate on his Budget vote in Parliament after the Easter recess.

It is suspected he will indicate the National Party’s attitude to alignments with other like-minded political parties, and to the possibility of a new centrist party.

Meanwhile, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday that there was no possibility of the party disbanding at present to form a new political party.

He was reacting to speculation that a group in the NP was considering the possibility of a new centrist party under a new name.

Dr van der Merwe said that a new political game had started and that the party would, in the nature of things, consider all options. Disbanding was lowest on the list, he said.

There were, however, people who had spoken about the possibility of a new name for the party, but disbanding would not be realised.

Party’s parliamentary caucus is to continue considering its future after the recess.

A long caucus meeting last week did not come to any conclusion - but three schools of thought did emerge: that the party should move nearer to the NP, that it should seek links with the ANC or that it should continue as an independent liberal party.

The DP vote played an important part in the "yes" victory in the referendum, but there are misgivings in some DP circles that in the process the party got too close to the National Party.

There are also misgivings that, in a system of proportional representation - with the NP and the ANC the main players in an election - the party could not draw enough votes to have any significant number of MPs.

The caucus is to receive a report of a strategy review committee at some stage that will spell out various options.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said yesterday that the last mandate from a party congress was that the DP’s independence, integrity and identity had to be retained - but this did not mean that the party need not respond to changes in the political arena, including possibilities for a broad-based centrist coalition.
Compromise was possible on the ANC and Government proposals for the transitional phase leading to elections for an interim government, Government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

The two sides, however, differed at Codesa yesterday on which body should exercise effective power during the run-up to interim government elections. "None or little" progress was made in a meeting of the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, delegates told The Star.

The Government yesterday reiterated its view that progress in negotiations on transitional arrangements was dependent on progress in creating a "climate" for free political participation, including the disbandment of private armies and an end to political violence.

Although Codesa 2 had been scheduled for May 15 and 16, "very little if any" progress had been made in attaining the goals of the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a "climate" for free political activity, it said.

Progress in solving problems regarding bilateral agreements, had been "most disappointing", the Government said.

The ANC yesterday tabled its proposals for the functions of an Interim Government Council (IGC) while the Government tabled a framework of draft legislation for the first phase of the transition.

Both sides agreed the transition should take place in two phases: first the levelling of the political playing field and the elections for an interim government, and the second to begin with an interim government which acted as a legislature as well as the body which drew up a new constitution.

The ANC has proposed an IGC to run the country in the first phase of the transition, but the Government says two governments cannot rule simultaneously.

The Government has proposed five Preparatory Councils with advisory and co-ordinating powers. The main difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants the ultimate power to be vested in the existing Parliament and Cabinet until an interim government is elected, while the ANC wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President, but that he should exercise such authority subject to the IGC's approval.

In terms of the ANC proposals for the functions and powers of the IGC:

- All Codesa participants who commit themselves to decisions taken at Codesa 2 will have a seat on the IGC.
- An eight-man administrative secretariat will be appointed to deal with day-to-day tasks.
- The bicameral Parliament should be consolidated into one chamber and own affairs departments should be consolidated into single departments.
- Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before submission to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the President.
- The executive authority should remain vested in the State President, but he should exercise such authority subject to the approval of the IGC.
FW confirms Nigerian visit

LAGOS — President de Klerk yesterday confirmed that he would be visiting Nigeria as the guest of President Ibrahim Babangida.

He said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as an important extension of contacts with African states.

"In the case of Nigeria, it is important that President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity and in that context discussions will focus on multilateral cooperation in Africa," he added.

Mr de Klerk will arrive in Nigeria on Thursday for a two-day official visit. He is the first South African head of state to visit the West African nation.

He will be accompanied by his wife, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and other top Government officials.

During the visit it is also expected that Mr Botha will hold talks with exiled PAC leaders.

The ANC yesterday criticised the visit but Nigerian officials say Mr de Klerk's overwhelming victory in last month's referendum paved the way for a positive response to his request to visit the country.

Two previous requests were turned down.

Asked whether Nelson Mandela was consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeria's interests.

Sapa-Reuters.
Multiparty prayers at Codesa in doubt

CODESA II, scheduled to start in mid-May, is unlikely to be opened with prayers by representatives of a variety of religions, as was the first plenary session in December.

A Codesa source disclosed that this arose after objections from conservative churchmen. The source said government representatives had raised the issue in planning discussions last week.

Government, it appears, has come under pressure from certain unnamed sources — assumed to be from the Afrikaner church establishment — who have expressed misgivings about sharing the platform with representatives of non-Protestant religious groups.

They believe it inappropriate to participate in opening prayers at Codesa with representatives of the Catholic, Jewish, Muslim and other faiths.

It is understood that government has proposed that the chairman of the opening session instead call for a minute or two of silence for each delegate to devote to prayers in accordance with his own faith.
Major parties in deadlock

The Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are deadlocked at Codesa over the type of interim government for the transition period.

The Government yesterday proposed that the present tricameral Parliament should have the power to veto some of Codesa's decisions it did not agree with.

The ANC, on the other hand, made it clear that it would not budge from its demand for the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly that will also draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

The IFP rejected the establishment of an interim government because it felt it would not be feasible to have such a government while the constitution has not been drafted as yet.

ANC lawyer Mr. Mohammed Vail-I-Moosa said it was clear from the Government's proposal that: "it was not ready for a real democracy!"
Govt keen on early ‘interim’

By Anthony Johnson
Political Correspondent

The government would like to see a “transitional structure or government” installed in South Africa as soon as possible, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Such a development would end uncertainty, ease conflict, boost economic and social stability and attract investment, which was so badly needed, to the country, he said.

But Mr Botha, speaking at a government press briefing on Codesa, declined to be drawn on how long it would take to install an interim government.

He would not say if he believed predictions by ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki that such a target could be reached by June this year was “reasonable”.

But Mr Botha cautioned that there were two issues which could delay the installation of an interim government.

The first, he warned bluntly, was that if power-sharing was not accepted at Codesa the government would “have to go back to our voters for a mandate”.

A central theme in the government’s referendum campaign was the obtaining of a mandate to negotiate a new constitution that contained certain non-negotiable principles — including the demand that it be based on power-sharing.

Mr Botha said he had repeatedly been told in his international travels that “economic growth and investment are possible only when we form a government based on power-sharing”.

The second issue was a clear signal that the government felt the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa would have to be decided on before an election to a constitution-making body could take place.

Government flexible

Asked if the required “testing the people’s will” in the homelands — probably in a referendum — and the citizenship issue had to be resolved before an interim government could take place, Mr Botha said: “Yes.”

However, he later said the government was flexible about the issue and that considerable negotiating lay ahead.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said a problem with the ANC’s proposal for an elected constituent assembly was that it was “not logical” for people in the TBVC states to be able to vote in the election and yet retain the “option of keeping out”.

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Johannesburg — It was a matter of utmost urgency that the representation of the government be broadened, said the Democratic Party at Codesa meeting here.

"The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made — otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process," the party said in a statement yesterday.

It listed a number of key transitional objectives:

- Promote impartial stewardship of functions;
- Broaden the base of government;
- Preserve constitutional and legal continuity;
- Ensure stability and commitment in public service;
- Promote shared responsibility among participating groups. — Sapa.
'Advance' on interim rule

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa has made what was described as an important breakthrough on the issue of interim government arrangements.

"Working group three "broadly agreed" there was a need for a transitional executive authority, or joint interim council, with executive powers.

"The exact name of the interim body has still to be agreed upon, the present chairman of the working group, Mr. Patrick Maduna of the Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane, told a news conference yesterday.

"Working group three had spent most of the day meeting at Codesa's head office at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure must have some executive powers," said Mr Maduna.

"But we haven't been specific as to exactly what powers it should have.

"It certainly will not be an advisory structure only. It will have powers over and above advisory functions," — Sapa."
Boshoff reports to Codesa over move for Afrikaner state

The Argus Correspondent (Pretoria)

PRETORIA — The Afrikanervryheidetigting (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa’s Working Group 2, calling for an independent Afrikaner “volkstaat”.

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a “volkstaat” was the only way Afrikaners could ensure their survival and would take part in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike previous apartheid policy, Professor Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout SA.

“The creation of a volkstaat had to come about through negotiation and it had to be economically viable,” Professor Boshoff said.

He said the process of “nation-building” in a unitary state was outdated and people had to accept that secession based on ethnicity was “modern and scientific”.

He warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause “disruption and destabilisation”.

Professor Boshoff said he had spoken over the phone to Mr Koos Botha, rebel MP for Wonderboom, to discuss Avstig proposals and would probably meet him soon.
Call an election — Treurnicht

PRETORIA — The government was morally obliged to call a whites-only general election if it continued to dishonour its referendum promises of guaranteed minority rights in a new constitution, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said.

The government had built up a reputation at CedeSA of capitulating and yielding on almost all its referendum promises, so much so that “the ANC had smelt blood and was chasing the government around at will”, said Dr Treurnicht in a statement.

“The stalemate now reached at CedeSA regarding the powers of an interim government and the ANC’s adamantly refusal to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, resides in the government’s inability to fulfill its guarantees which it promised to the white voters in the referendum. The ANC would not accept checks and balances because it wanted a conventional majority government.”

In another statement Dr Treurnicht said a Yes vote had brought tens of thousands of misled workers unemployment and financial ruin.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had compiled a long list of big companies that had threatened employees verbally or in writing with retrenchment before the referendum. — Sapa.
It is testing time for all parties in SA politics

Flexible

Political leaders who hope to carve a niche for themselves and their followers in the new politics will have to be blessed with flexibility, lateral thinking, a vision of the future and boundless energy.

Perhaps equally important, they should be consumed by a determination to secure a role for themselves and their supporters in the new political dispensation.

Leaders who by their actions or statements let on that they are growing weary of their awesome responsibilities, or considering retirement as even a remote option in the next few years, will inevitably come under suspicion and pressure from their middle-level and rank-and-file supporters.

Sticking unwaveringly to tried-and-trusted principles and policies also has its place when political leaders endeavour to create a sense of permanence and stability during a time of upheaval and crisis.

But this is clearly not enough, as was shown by, for example, the demise of the Liberal Party, the United Party and the New Republic Party.

Many of the ideas cherished by these parties are enjoying something of a revival in South African politics — but the parties have long since disappeared, outmanoeuvred by their more adaptable rivals.

The National Party, like others parties in the tricameral system, burdened with its fair share of problems and uncertainties.

But apart from having the obvious advantage of being the ruling party, it is also fortunate enough to have jettisoned Mr P W Botha when he ran out of reformist momentum and ideas about how to usher in a new political order.

Mr Botha, to grant him his due, did scrap some symbolically important petty apartheid measures and the influx control system.

Adaptable

But when he ran out of steam and became more concerned with consolidating white power instead of, to use a favourite government term of his era, "broadening democracy", a relatively young and imaginative leader stepped into the breach.

Mr De Klerk, for all his blind spots on security and human rights issues, has shown himself to be a highly adaptable politician with all the well-honed instincts of a survivor.

Indeed, when he saw the political writing on the wall for the old NP, he led his party through an audacious metamorphosis that bewildered his traditional rivals and forced them to spend much of their time and energy playing political catch-up.

After using his innovative referendum drive to get a head start on other white political parties in campaigning for South Africa's first non-racial general election, Mr De Klerk is about to embark on a series of mass rallies in black areas — complete with NP marshals sporting "P W" T-shirts and lapel buttons.

The latest initiative might still backfire but its novelty is bound to ensure — as was the case during the referendum campaign — a huge amount of free publicity.

It's enough to make Mr De Klerk's tricameral opponents and their leaders weep with frustration and envy.
Plain protest planned for FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BOTH the ANC and the Labour Party are considering protest action in a bid to turn President F W de Klerk's planned mass rally at Mitchells Plain this weekend into a damp squib.

The National Party hopes that more than 500000 people will hear Mr De Klerk when he addresses a midday rally in the town centre.

ANC spokesman Mr Neville van den Rheede said the ANC office in the Western Cape had been receiving calls from "very upset" supporters from all over the region demanding that Mr De Klerk's first foray into a black area should be met with protest action.

He said members of the business, religious and parent communities were also concerned about the way the rally had been arranged without proper consultation.

Mr Van den Rheede said the ANC would protest at Mr De Klerk's visit but that no final decision had been taken on what form this would take.

Labour Party sources said yesterday that the party was also planning protest action but declined to spell out at this stage what they had in store for Mr De Klerk.
Codesa wins broad accord

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa achieved "broad agreement" yesterday on the need for a transitional executive and created a technical committee to discuss its powers.

The committee was created to overcome problems in Working Group No 3 on powers. The interim executive should have, after the presentation of different proposals by the ANC and government on Monday.

Working group chairman Mr Patrick Maduna, a member of KwaNdebele National Movement, said the 11-member technical committee would discuss the powers and composition of the transitional executive authority and its relationship to the present governing structures.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure (the transitional executive authority) must have some executive powers. It will not be an advisory structure only."

Questioned about reports that government opposed such a structure, he said: "Government did not object and indicated that it was open to suggestions."

Government and NP members are due to hold the first of their four annual retreats at a secret venue from today.

The DP yesterday indicated its support for both the need for government to relinquish some of its power, and the need to ensure legal and constitutional continuity.

DP representative Mr Ken Andrew said in a statement after the meetings that key objectives of transitional councils should be to promote impartial stewardship of key government functions. The bodies should also ensure stability and the continued loyalty of public servants and should build trust between political groups.

It was of the "utmost urgency" that the government's representativeness broadened and the momentum built up at Codesa be sustained to avoid despondency.

While Working Group No 3 took a small step forward yesterday, Working Group No 2 — currently considering the constitution-making forum — faced tough proposals from Inkatha.

Inkatha tabled a document stating that the body responsible for drafting a new constitution could not be determined without first making a choice between federal and unitary systems of government.

Mandela in call for 'ordinary democracy'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC could never accept the government's "fancy proposals" for democracy, Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference with Canadian Foreign Minister Ms Barbara McDougall, Mr Mandela said he would like the international community to ensure that "ordinary democracy" was imposed in South Africa. "We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," he said.

Asked for his comment on Canada's suggestion that the ANC relinquish its links with the SACP, Mr Mandela said the alliance had to be seen in the South African context in that the organisations shared a common goal to destroy racial oppression. — Sapa
Pik to meet PAC

A PAC delegation leaves for Nigeria today to meet with senior members of the South African Government.

The PAC's former secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the delegation would be led by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Vaughn Dowin, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, said Mr Pik Botha would talk to the PAC in Abuja.

While Botha said it was not necessary to go abroad to hold talks, he had agreed to talk to the PAC after the Nigerians requested a bilateral meeting.

The meeting would prepare a "summit" between PAC president Mr Clarence Manye and State President FW de Klerk. — Eca.
Buthelezi meets de Klerk

CAPE TOWN - President PW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent three-and-a-half hours in talks in Tuyinhya yesterday, and emerged to say they had cleared up misunderstandings between them.

De Klerk and Buthelezi discussed the IFP demand that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be included in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Buthelezi said at an impromptu Press conference at Tuyinhya afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up recently between De Klerk and himself.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time," Buthelezi said.

In recent weeks the Government had meetings with the other five national states on the question of Zwelithini's participation in Codesa.

Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage."
ANC not impressed by 'fancy footwork'

THE African National Congress would not accept the Government’s “fancy proposals” for democracy, its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at joint Press conference with Canadian Foreign Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall at ANC headquarters, Mandela said he would like the international community to ensure what he called ordinary democracy was implemented in South Africa.

"We can never accept these two Houses (of Parliament) ... these fancy proposals from the Government. "We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," Mandela said.

Asked for his comment on Canada's suggestion that the ANC should relinquish its links with the South African Communist Party, Mandela said the alliance had to be seen in the South African context.

Common goal

"We have a common goal to destroy racial oppression. If they (overseas governments) want the alliance to come to an end, they must support the end of racial oppression," he said.

McDougall said her government recognised the positive role played by Mandela in the South African political process.

Addressing the issue of violence, Mandela said the ANC’s main difficulty was getting co-operation from the security forces.

Endorsing McDougall’s words on the strong ties between her government and the ANC, Mandela noted that when he went to Canada in June 1990, he had not even had to ask for funds.

"Before I could say anything, he (Prime Minister Brian Mulroney) said ‘we have decided to give you this much...’" - Sapa.

PAC launches big recruiting drive

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch a full-scale recruiting campaign which includes establishing branches in the neighbouring Frontline states.

This was revealed yesterday in a resolution calling for the increased formation of external branches.

The campaign was also strengthened in the organisation’s election of the national executive committee where a Zimbabwe-based member of the organisation, Mr Thobole Gola, was elected as the deputy secretary-general.

Observers

The move was seen by observers as the PAC’s way to strengthen itself by bringing South Africans who were still in exile into its fold.

Meanwhile, most members of the PAC central committee have been re-elected into the positions they held since the last elections.
Govt and ANC are not that far apart on the constitution, reports Esther Waug

More that unites than divides

THE ANC and Government last week tabled their proposals for the body which will draw up a new constitution, and surprisingly, there is great scope for compromise. However, both sides reacted vehemently to one another’s plans and called each other’s proposals “insulting.”

The discussion which followed the tabling of the proposals was the most acrimonious since the Codesa began meeting in February. Yet, there are more points of similarity than differences.

The Government has proposed a two-House parliament—a National Assembly and a Senate comprising regional representatives. The ANC, on the other hand, wants one body—a constituent assembly—to fulfill both tasks.

But the ANC and Government agree on the need for an elected body to compile the constitution and to act as a legislature during the transitional phase. The differences appear to be about the electoral system.

Both have said a constitution-making body should be elected according to a system of proportional representation. The Government, however, accused the ANC of wanting a system of “simple majoritarianism.”

This concept has been rejected by the ANC, which said that it declared its support for the principle of proportional representation 15 months ago based on the fact that it accommodated the diversity of South African society without reference to groups, and that it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.

The ANC and Government also agree that such a body should be elected. But, the Government has said it is not married to the concept of an elected body and it was debatable whether an election was the only manner in which the legitimacy of a constitution-making body could be established.

"Especially if the basis of a body such as Codesa could be broadened further, agreements arrived at by consensus would be quite legitimate," the Government said in its proposals.

On the other hand, the ANC insists that there can be no democracy without elections. It points out that Codesa has a limited function: to create conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, and not to draft one itself.

"The fact that it (Codesa) is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of transition from apartheid to democracy," the ANC says.

The ANC proposals said: "It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at least have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box."

Both sides want the general constitutional principles, agreed upon in Codesa, enshrined in a new constitution, and also agree that the constitution-making body should be sovereign. A glaring difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants decisions taken in the constitution-making body by consent, while the ANC has proposed a two-thirds majority.

A fundamental difference is also on the principle of minority groups being given the right to veto a constitution.

Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen conceded that the proposed Senate would give whites a veto but added that all parties at Codesa also had a right to veto, but have thus far not used it.

The ANC, in turn, has labelled the Senate a “House of Losers.”

On the ratifying of a new constitution, the ANC has proposed an independent constitutional panel.

Elections for a democratic government are then held.

The Government appears to propose that elections be held after a constitution-making body agreed to the constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals have been rejected by the ANC and Government.

The IFP proposed that Codesa drafts a document which specifies...
ANC won’t heed ‘fancy’ demands

By Thabo Leshi
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that the ANC would not accept the South African Government’s “fancy” demands for democracy as contained in the National Party proposals for a two-chamber Parliament.

Mr Mandela was speaking at a joint press conference with visiting Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall at the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

He said the Government’s envisaged two-chamber Parliament — with separate houses for the majority and minorities — was unacceptable.

The ANC leader urged the international community — and specifically the Canadian government — to force President F W de Klerk’s Government into accepting the establishment of “ordinary democracy” in South Africa.

Mrs McDougall said she was honoured to meet the ANC leader “at this critical stage.”

More that unites than divides — Page 16.
WHO SHALL Rule? our Sides stepped

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Progress on interim executive

CODESA achieved "broad agreement" yesterday on the need for a transitional executive and created a technical committee to discuss its powers.

The committee was created to overcome problems in: working group 3 on powers; the interim executive should have, after the ANC and government presented their different proposals on Monday.

Working group chairman Patrick Mabandla, a member of KaNgwane's Inyanda National Movement, said the 11-member technical committee would discuss the transitional executive authority's powers and composition and its relationship to the present governing structures.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure (the transitional executive authority) must have some executive powers. It will not be an advisory structure only."

Questioned about reports that government opposed such a structure, he said: "Government did not object and indicated that it was open to suggestions."

Government and NP members are due to hold the first of their four annual retreats at a secret venue from today.

The DP yesterday indicated its support for both the need for government to relinquish some of its power, and the need to ensure legal and constitutional continuity.

DP representative Ken Andrew said in a statement after the meetings that key ob-
MP wants 'Israel' for Afrikaner volk

BLOEMFONTEIN — The MP for Wonderboom, Koos Botha, who was expelled from the CP, said yesterday he wanted an "Israel" for the Afrikaner "volk" in which there would be no racism or apartheid.

Speaking in the debate on the Free State Provincial Budget, for first time from the cross-benches, he said he had had the most positive conversations yet with a wide spectrum of Afrikaner leaders in Bloemfontein over the past few days.

The question dear to everyone was "what is going to happen to our children".

The referendum had shown there were voters who believed in power-sharing, but other peoples' views also had to be respected.

"At the end of time, no one will be able to deny there were Afrikaners," Mr Botha said.

Following him, Piet Steyn (NP Winburg) said Mr Botha's speech had been "deeply thought out".

The NP did not find pleasure in the strife between Afrikaners, but after 10 years the CP was experiencing its moment of truth.

Kobus Beyers (CP Virginia) said the NP was trying to drive a wedge between CP members.

"But there are individual thinkers in the CP. We are busy thrashing out different points of view in depth." — Sapa.
Boshoff warns Codesa of possible destabilisation

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Afrikanerыверкштейнг (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa's Working Group 2 calling for an independent Afrikaner Volksstaat.

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a Volksstaat was the only way Afrikaners could ensure their survival and pledged to participate in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike previous apartheid policy, Professor Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout South Africa.

"The creation of a Volksstaat had to come about through negotiation and it had to be economically viable," Professor Boshoff said.

He said the process of "nation-building" in a unitary state was outdated and people had to accept that secession based on ethnicity was "modern and scientific".

However, he warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause "disruption and destabilisation" and this would not be to South Africa's advantage.
Election run-up: Committee formed

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A technical committee has been formed as a way out of the impasse between Codesa participants about which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The committee will report to the working group on transitional arrangements on April 21, when Codesa resumes after a recess.

The working group's chairman, Dr. Patrick Maduna of the Inkanyanda National Movement, said yesterday delegates had agreed on the need for an executive structure and multiparty committees, but details of their functions and powers were to be discussed by the 11-man technical committee.

Although the government has indicated strong opposition to such a top structure having executive powers, Dr. Maduna said the government did not object and indicated "an openness"

Delegates expressed concern about the slow pace of progress since Codesa 1 and, particularly, about the government's seemingly unyielding position on its proposals.

The cabinet and political functionaries began a "bosberaad" on the Cape coast last night which will continue today.

Delegates expected the government to revise its strategies after the meeting.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr. Ken Andrew said it was urgent that the "representivity" of the government was broadened.

"The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made — otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process," he said.
The prospects for democracy in SA

By Dr Denis Worrall

"If Rousseau were approached today by some liberal-minded South Africans and asked to tell of the kind of government he would be at a loss to tell, for he would not be thinking of any nation rising to power, its survival and the future of mankind. It would be a government that can serve to keep the state of power.

Rousseau did not live in a world of nationalism and national politics. He lived in a world of the state of power.

The current emphasis on the state of power is a reflection of the political climate of the time. It is a reflection of the political climate of the time. It is a reflection of the political climate of the time. It is a reflection of the political climate of the time. It is a reflection of the political climate of the time. It is a reflection of the political climate of the time.
JOHANNESBURG — Codesa's Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) kicked off yesterday under the chairmanship of Mr. Zami Titus of the Transkei government.

About 20 women and two men gathered for their first meeting to decide on an agenda and who will be official chairperson of the GAC.
ABUJA (Nigeria). — The leaders of Africa’s giants, South Africa and Nigeria, meet here today after 30 years of hostility to discuss how they can help each other and the continent.

President de Klerk flew in today for talks tomorrow with President Ibrahim Babangida, leader of the oil-rich West African state which has for decades been at the forefront of Africa’s anti-apartheid drive and South Africa’s isolation.

“I believe that with the influence Nigeria has on the African continent this visit will go down in history as the most important we have undertaken in the post-apartheid era,” Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a Press briefing last night.

He described the meeting as “momentous” and spoke of the vast trade potential between South Africa and Nigeria. Mr Botha said he would like South Africa to become a member this year of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), of which General Babangida was chairman.

“I don’t think there will be any objection (from other African states), particularly if Nigeria supports such an application.”

He said South Africa was on the way to becoming an OAU member. There would certainly be consensus in a transitional government on this important issue. If he was still foreign minister in such a government he would urgently apply for membership.

He said there was an urgent need in Africa for countries to speak with one voice on matters of common interest.

“South Africa and Nigeria had looked at this in the past. So with the removal of apartheid, there is now nothing that divides South Africa and Nigeria.”

Open doors

“We must help our continent to survive against tremendous odds,” he said.

He believed that President de Klerk’s visit would open the doors to South Africa and Nigeria forging a joint strategy to prevent the continent from being marginalised as the rest of the world focussed on its own problems.

Mr Botha said today’s visit by Mr de Klerk would possibly accelerate a normalisation of relations between South Africa and other African states.

“We are here to celebrate the death of apartheid and at the same time to plan together, a new future for the African continent.”

• A Pan Africanist Congress delegation, led by deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, is due to leave London for Nigeria today for a meeting with a South African government team led by Mr Botha.

The PAC team left Johannesburg on a British Airways flight for the British capital last night.

Spokesman Mr Barney Desai said the PAC team would catch a flight to Nigeria today for its first official meeting with a South African government team tomorrow or Saturday.

“We will have a preparatory meeting to set the scene for talks between our president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and Mr de Klerk.”

CLIVE SAWYER, Staff Reporter

URGENT efforts to raise R1.2 million are under way by the National Botanical Institute to build an ecological laboratory and library on the contested Kirstenbosch Heights site.

Developers offered R6 million to the State in 1990 to buy the land to build 100 townhouses.

The site, which adjoins Kirstenbosch, has been the focus of concern for years as the city’s botanists fight to save the South African National Botanical Society’s home.

Appeals by the institute, backed by a 14,000-name nature petition, led the State to offer the land to the institute.

That an architect be commissioned to design plans for laboratories and an ecological centre in the Kirstenbosch area.

The institute prove that the R1.2 million was needed for the project.

“We have raised R2 million so far and big companies will not help us. We are appealing urgently to the public to provide the remaining R1.2 million.”

National Botanical Society chairman Mr Bergh.

If the money is not raised, the State will offer the land to the developers.

“We have six weeks to get the money or the State will offer the land to the developers.”
Africanists, Government in first meeting

HISTORIC PAC INDABA

A SIX-MAN Pan-Africanist Congress delegation jetted out of Jan Smuts Airport last night for Abuja, Nigeria, where it is to hold bilateral talks with the South African Government.

The delegation, led by second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, confirmed before its departure that the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Ebrahim Babangida, would chair the talks, to be held on Friday.

On Sunday Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said that in the Government's preliminary talks with the Nigerians, the issue of the talks being held under the chairmanship of the OAU was never

From Page 1
FW: Group in Plain protest

The New Unity Movement has joined the protest against President F W de Klerk's proposed manifestation in Mitchells Plain on Saturday.

Spokesman Dr Norman Maharaj said the people of Mitchells Plain and South Africa had to be reminded the policies of the De Klerk Government were responsible for "the socio-economic woes of our people. He must be told to get the hell out of Mitchells Plain." - Sapa
New Group Asks for Afrikander State
Emergency regulations may usher in interim rule

By IKE MOTSAPI

EMERGENCY regulations may be imposed to ease the establishment of an interim government, it was learnt this week.

A final decision on whether or not to impose these laws would be decided after a four-member task force had tabled its findings to Codesa Working Group 1 on April 21, a source told Sowetan.

It is expected that an interim government would be installed by June this year.

"It is premature to say that Codesa will impose those laws or not," the source said.

According to the source, the task force was appointed after objections were raised over the Government's proposals that emergency regulations be imposed during the transition period leading to a new democratic South Africa.

The Government's contention, according to the source, was that violence should be contained during this period, which will lead to the first nonracial elections next year.

Delegates at Codesa Working Group 1 charged with creating a climate for free political activity felt that the decision to impose emergency laws should be taken in consultation with Codesa and the Cabinet and not the State President alone, as mooted by the Government.

Delegates this week expressed concern at the slow progress achieved since Codesa 1 and the Government's unwavering position on its proposals.

However, Sowetan's sources said an interim or transitional authority would definitely be installed by June this year.

The breakthrough came on Tuesday when an 11-man technical committee was appointed to draft guidelines to be adopted when a transitional government is eventually formed.
FW set to meet Piki in Nigeria today

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha and a team of senior officials left yesterday for the Nigerian capital of Abuja. (30/3/84)

They will be joined today by President PW de Klerk on the first visit by an SA head of state to the key west African country. De Klerk's visit is considered important in that Nigeria's president, Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, which is expected to discuss SA's membership in June.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said a delegation led by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke and the SA government delegation, probably led by Botha, would hold their first bilateral meeting in Abuja tomorrow or on Saturday.

The aim of the meeting was to lay the ground for a meeting between De Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he said, adding that talks would centre on the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly.

The problem of who would chair the meeting would be decided only in Nigeria, Desai said, but the PAC was insisting on a neutral chair. "The meeting has been brokered by Nigeria, and the matter of who will chair it will now be decided there."

The Transkei region of the ANC has criticized the proposed meeting. Spokesman Nat Serache said yesterday: "It is ironic that the PAC, which is so vocal in denouncing 'collaboration', saw fit to collaborate with the SA President and his hosts in violating the diplomatic isolation of the SA government." — Sapa.
The war in Yemen, therefore, is not just a conflict over territory. It is also a confrontation between different visions of the future. On one side, there is the vision of those who believe in a peaceful resolution, with a focus on dialogue and compromise. On the other side, there is the vision of those who believe in forceful action, with a focus on military victory and the overthrow of the enemy. The outcome of this conflict will have far-reaching consequences for the region and beyond, as the Yemeni people continue to suffer under the weight of a prolonged and escalating war.
SA for OAU soon — Pik

From BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

ABUJA. — South Africa could become a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) later this year after today's discussion between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr De Klerk is due to arrive this afternoon.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said here last night at a press conference that Mr De Klerk's visit to Nigeria would end the era of separation between Africa and South Africa.

Mr Botha said the result of the March 17 referendum had certainly facilitated Mr De Klerk's visit and had had a major impact "on our African brothers".

He also disclosed that 10 of the 11 governments in Southern Africa had agreed to hold a regional conference to deal with the food crisis caused by the severe drought in the area.

Mr Botha said he could not confirm at this stage that he would be meeting a PAC delegation while in Nigeria, but said that if they happened to be in the country they would meet as South Africans.

FW asked to say I'm sorry

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has asked President F W de Klerk to visit his brother's grave in Nigeria and say "I am sorry".

Mr Hendrickse says the mixed marriages Act prevented his brother, Professor John Paul Hendrickse, from returning to South Africa.
NP's first meeting in black area a test

The National Party's first mass meeting in a black area tomorrow is shaping up to be a huge test of strength.

The ANC and Labour Party have both announced plans to make President de Klerk unwelcome when he visits Mitchell's Plain.

And last night the Mitchell's Plain Merchants' Association was forced to cancel their planned luncheon for the president due to mounting pressure.

NP sources have acknowledged that the rally is something of a gamble. They also feel it could shape the party's future strategy.

A flop in Mitchell's Plain could persuade the NP to re-constitute as a new centrist party.

Opposition to the NP rally is growing and the NP has been angered by a pamphlet being distributed by the ANC this week.

It urges residents not to be fooled by Mr de Klerk's smile, saying he remains leader of the party "which caused misery to millions of South Africans".

It also quotes Marite de Klerk's views on so-called "coloureds", as published by the Vrye Weekblad more than two years ago, and urges residents to join anti-visit protests. — Political Correspondent and Sapa.
Fears mount over FW’s M’Plain visit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BRONWYN DAVIDS

BIG businesses in Mitchells Plain were forced yesterday to cancel their pre-lunch meeting for President FW de Klerk during his visit to Mitchells Plain Town Centre tomorrow.

The visit, during which Mr De Klerk will deliver an address, will still go ahead despite mounting fears of a violent confrontation.

A combined picket protest by 21 organisations ranging from religious to political groups was held in the suburb yesterday and ANC spokesman Mr Tony Yengeni said the ANC would hold a “protest motorcade” tomorrow with “peaceful, effective but loud” demonstrations.

The Labour Party and the New Unity Movement have already announced plans to protest at Mr De Klerk’s mass rally “amid the victims of apartheid”.

It was learned yesterday that a luncheon for Mr De Klerk, sponsored by the Mitchells Plain Merchants Association and to be held at the Mitchells Plain Medical Centre was abandoned after pressure.

This was revealed at an ANC Western Cape press conference in the township.

Mr Dawood Khan, chairman of the 2 000-strong Western Cape Traders Association, told the conference that large national stores had agreed not to send representatives to the luncheon.

He said Mr De Klerk was “wooing coloured voters” but people should not forget the “oppression of the same Nationalist government” which removed “us from central areas and dumped us in ghettos like Mitchells Plain”.

The visit will take Mr De Klerk to the heart of poverty-stricken Mitchells Plain and he will walk through Harmony Square, the daily gathering point of gangsters and unemployed people.

Yesterday, during the combined picket protest, gangsters mockingly chanted “Viva Cisco Yackies” (a local gang) as anti-FW slogans were being shouted.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC would take responsibility for the discipline of people joining the protest.

He said there were no militant factions in the ANC that would violently disrupt Mr De Klerk’s visit but he noted that there were “tendencies in the community that were ultra-militant”.

Asked about the gangster elements, Mr Yengeni said the ANC could not take “charge of a rowdy, criminal element”.

The ANC condemned the visit as a “piece of shocking opportunism” and said it was “extraordinary that De Klerk should embark on what amounts to a piece of cheap propaganda at a time when there is so much at stake... and in a community to whom he and his party have done so much harm”.

Mr De Klerk was abusing the office of state president and this was evidence that he intended distorting the democratic process by acting as referee as well as playing in SA’s first election.

The NP slammed the ANC for issuing a pamphlet which, among other statements, says of Mr De Klerk: “After all the harm he has done, he thinks he can come to MPlaun and ask for our support... recruit members (for the NP) from among our people....

The pamphlet also quotes from a Vry Weekblad article in 1989 quoting Mrs Magde de Klerk as saying that coloured people traditionally had no history of nationhood and that their “dilemma”, because of their diversity, was that they had no binding force (samabindingskrag).

The NP said: “The ANC has issued a pamphlet with a despicable attack on Mr De Klerk and his family, even to the point of quoting Mrs De Klerk totally out of context.”

However, the NP’s Cape secretary, Mr Carel Greyling, said yesterday that opposition parties had a democratic right to protest against the visit as long as they did not try to disrupt the rally or interfere with those wishing to attend the event.

The chairman of the Democratic Party’s Mitchells Plain branch, Mr Dave Wilson, said it could not back President De Klerk’s visit to the area but defended his democratic right to campaign there.

Members of the local DP committee would decide by today whether they would launch any protest action to mark the NP leader’s first major foray into a coloured area, he said.

Mr Wilson said Mr De Klerk would be visiting an area where citizens had been denied a full vote by his government.
**Historic visit**

Red carpet for FW in Nigeria

From BARRY STREEK
ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigeria rolled out the red carpet for President F.W. de Klerk on its arrival here last night with a 21-gun salute.

President De Klerk's visit to the most powerful black African nation — the first by a South African head of state — marks a major breakthrough in his efforts to end Pretoria's political isolation.

President de Klerk was met by military President Ibrahim Babangida, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

President Babangida greeted the SA leader, who was given a 21-gun salute and inspected an army honour guard as the SA national anthems were played.

The two leaders drove from the airport to Abuja, where President de Klerk will attend a state banquet and have talks with General Babangida.

The visit has come ahead despite protests from the ANC, who said it was too early to welcome the white-minority government.

At the start of talks yesterday between the two governments, the Nigerian Foreign Minister, Major-General Jemila Nwachukwu, and his SA counterpart, Mr. Aba Botah, made a strong plea for unity in Africa to challenge the industrialised world.

Welcoming the SA delegation, General Nwachukwu said "the Ndebele" were one of several tribes that made up South Africa and that a new SA would usher in a stronger Africa.

He praised President de Klerk, saying courageous decisions and policies bringing SA to a non-racial society, but noted that "Africa must be heard, and heard strongly." He added that "Africa was a country of many nations, and they were all equal." He also said that "Africa must be heard, and heard strongly."}

ON THE CARDS ... A smiling Mr. Neil Kinnock, Labour Party leader and possible future Prime Minister of Britain, seen yesterday outside a Welsh polling station as he was about to cast his vote with his wife Glenys in one of the closest elections in a generation. "The sun is out and so are the Tories," he said. Report — Page 3
Nigeria's economy is not good-o
Mitchells Plain residents have mixed reactions to President F W De Klerk's visit to the area tomorrow, a spot survey revealed yesterday.

On Westpoort Avenue, which is a main route to the Town Centre where Mr De Klerk will do a walkabout and talk at a rally, most people the Cape Times spoke to supported him.

"People walking along the busy dual carriageway were indifferent to the graffiti, which ranged from "De Klerk go home", "FW stay out of Mitchells Plain or else" to "FW is our man".

Mrs Martha Roberts said Mr De Klerk was not so bad. "Just look at the pretty houses he has given us," she said, pointing to the clusters of day homes.

Mr De Klerk gave everybody a better life", said Mr Malcolm Hollenbach.

Mr Ricardo Simons opposed VAT because "our people can't afford it" but said since Mr De Klerk had "taken the chair, he has done a lot for us".

Mr Christopher Hess said: "We don't want him here. It will have one helluva response as a lot of people will take to him. He will definitely capture the coloured vote."

Mr Benneth Carster said the visit was "important and good. He is the first president to get all the things right". Look, the sanctions have gone and the cricketers are touring the West Indies," said Mr Carster.

At the Town Centre, Miss Mariam Hartley said: "He must get out. This visit is just a popularity campaign to get support."

But she warned that after the "unwelcoming reception" he would get in Mitchells Plain, Mr De Klerk would be too embarrassed to go any further.

Mr Peter Mentoor said the National Party had "oppressed the people for years" and he did not "fancy" Mr De Klerk moving into Mitchells Plain to capture votes.

While some comments were derogatory, many people felt the visit was a good thing.
Carlisle rejects DP merger

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

WYNBERG MP Mr Robin Carlisle will vigorously oppose any move to disband the Democratic Party to form a new centrist party with the Nationalists under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership.

He told a meeting of his Wynberg committee and party members last night that a report suggesting he backed such a plan was erroneous.

He knew of no plan to disband the DP and "if there was any such plan I would vigorously oppose it, as would the vast majority of the DP caucus and membership."

Mr Carlisle said: "Notwithstanding the immature antics of a few individual caucus members on both the left and the right of the DP, the party will continue with its mission to bring about a representative constitution based on liberal democratic values."

He rejected any merger with the NP or the ANC because:

○ The commitment of the ANC and the NP to liberal democratic values was "highly suspect."

○ The insistence of the ANC on "unbridled majoritarianism" conflicted with DP principles.

○ The devotion of the NP to "the political pork barrel" was unacceptable to the DP.

○ The 1991 DP congress unambiguously committed the party to an independent course.
new envoys

THREE ambassadors presented their credentials to President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday. (ECUH)

They were Japanese ambassador Mr Masatoshi Ohta, Brazilian ambassador Mr Igor Torres Carilho, and Transkeian ambassador, Mr Christian Magau, Sapa.
Codesa comes under focus

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Community Development Foundation is to host a one-day forum on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The seminar, which will take place at the Downtown Holiday Inn on Wednesday, will be addressed by speakers from the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and Democratic Party.

CDF executive director Mr Mbuselo Rakwena said the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress would respond to the speeches.

"The forum will examine Codesa as a means of conflict resolution in South Africa/Azania."

TPA to lower fees

The Transvaal Provincial Administration will decrease ambulance fees in the rural areas from next month.

MEC for Health Services Mr Panis Ferreira said fees would drop by a third in areas like Thabazimbi, Phalaborwa, Evander, Nelspruit, Pietersburg and Christiana.

"The decrease follows protests by rural communities."
Mitchell/Plain
It's a hard sell in
The ANC and Labour Party meetings in Mitchell’s Plain.
The last one, featuring Dr Allan Boesak, didn’t even fill
the venue. Recruitment, one understands, has not set
Mitchell’s Plain alight.

It is said some residents are more loyal to the now
disbanded United Democratic Front. They said it was their
organisation, formed by them.

The ANC, it is claimed, was
founded by blacks and is
-dominated by them.

But I’m still waiting for the
NP, or those former Labour
Party members who have
embraced the NP’s political
philosophies, to have a public
meeting in the area.

Perhaps they have been too
busy planning the takeover of
the House of Representatives
from the Labour Party to
come to Mitchell’s Plain.

...the colourless vote by camou-
gling the senate, then they
moved them out of areas such as
District Six and Clare-
mont.

Now that the new South Af-
rica is the buzz word the Nats
are asking coloureds to join
them.

Maybe Mr de Klerk will be
prepared to admit that apar-
theid was wrong after he has
seen Mitchell’s Plain — warts
and all. I would suggest that
his hosts take him to poverty-
stricken Tafelsig, that they
allow the street children who
frequent the Town Centre
near him, and that they intro-
duce him to one of the hun-
dreds in arrears with their
rent, electricity and water, or
a magistrate at the local
court.

Maybe then he’ll realise
township on the skins.

Better still, a peak-hour
train journey in a third class
carriage to Cape Town would
expose him to the dangers of
rail travel. And at Cape Town
station, where Spoornet still
exercises its own brand of
apartheid, he’d probably be
turned away from what used
to be the white section of the
station if he has a third class
ticket.

Perhaps then he’ll under-
stand what it’s like to be col-
oured; to be labeled a second
class citizen in his land of
birth.

Perhaps, too, he’ll under-
stand why the National Party
would have to admit, just as
the ANC has done, that it has
to change its composition if it
wants to so-called coloureds

...enough. The National Party
would have to change from
being an Afrikaner party to
being a South African party.

It’s a tall order. But one
necessary for political surviv-
al and proof that the NP is
changing. Mr Mandela was
willing to admit that the ANC
had made mistakes and bold
enough last year to ask the
ANC to elect Dr Allan Boesak
as regional ANC head to re-
fect the population spread in
the Western Cape.

That was pragmatism and
real political judgment, even
if it upset some ANC mem-
bers.

The Nats can only be taken
seriously if they show can-
dour and scrap tokenism. It’s
to up to them.
A POST REFERENDUM WHO'S WHO OF WHO'S HELPING SOUTH AFRICA
ANALYSIS

In the

BACKGROUND

The current economic situation in Japan is characterized by a slow recovery from the recent recession. The government has implemented various policies to stimulate economic growth, including fiscal stimulus measures and monetary easing. Despite these efforts, the economy continues to face challenges, such as deflation and a weak export sector.

The situation in Russia is more complex. While the country has experienced economic growth in recent years, it has also faced challenges, including political instability and sanctions imposed by Western countries. The recent rise in oil prices has provided a temporary boost to the economy, but it remains to be seen whether this will translate into sustained growth.

In the

FORECAST

The forecast for the global economy in 2023 is optimistic, with growth expected to pick up in major economies. However, there are still uncertainties, particularly regarding the impact of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine and the potential for further tightening of monetary policy in advanced economies.

Overall, the economic outlook for Japan and Russia is mixed. While there are signs of improvement, both countries will need to address the underlying structural challenges in order to achieve sustained growth.
Pik pleads for 'world-beating' African unity

ABUJA — A strong plea for unity in Africa to enable it to take on the industrialised world was made yesterday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Nigerian counterpart Ke Nwachukwe.

Unity would result in a stronger SA, Nwachukwe said at the start of talks between the two governments.

People in Nigeria and Africa were pleased with the progress being made at Codesa and would like to see further progress so that everyone could feel happy and welcome in one African family.

"In our view the Nijers are one of the several tribes that make up Africa," Nwachukwe added.

Botha said there were now no differences of principle between his government and party and the government of Nigeria.

"We now feel free and liberated, free to share with our brothers in Africa who believe in the same principles."

While the two men did not go into any details about their agenda before the start of their meeting, the warmth in their opening comments indicated that the talks between De Klerk and President Ibrahim Babangida were likely to result in much closer ties between the two countries. This is expected to be the case in regard to trade and diplomatic relations, as well as to visa requirements.
Violence:
Codesa to intervene

By MOKGADI PELA

AFTER six months of working to end violence countrywide, the National Peace Accord admitted to Codesa that violence continues unabated.

Now Codesa, whose other task is to generate conditions conducive to democracy, is to step in to try to stem the tide and save the ailing Accord.

Sources within Codesa said one of the key figures in the peace secretariat, Mr John Hall, made this admission when he briefed them on the accord.

But they said Hall viewed the accord as an inherently sound document.

One source said: “There is an understanding that violence is not abating and that it is necessary to think of ways of giving the accord more teeth.”

Among problems the peace secretariat encountered are lack of staff and finance.

The death toll from the violence, particularly in Reef townships, is a source of deep concern among Codesa participants.

Codesa’s Working Group 1 is now to investigate ways to improve the situation.
Nigerian visit puts seal on SA’s return

Sowetan Africa News Service

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk’s visit to Nigeria yesterday put an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa’s re-acceptance in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum.

There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions. Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa’s largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent.

The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk to make an official visit.

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

De Klerk’s visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria. There is some uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria’s interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak.

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation.

The Ivory Coast’s decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa’s leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irresistible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish. The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa.

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa’s busiest ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at De Klerk’s Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place.

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government.
Red carpet for De Klerk

ABUJA (Nigeria) - President FW de Klerk was given a 21-gun salute and a red carpet welcome soon after his arrival at the Nigerian capital yesterday.

De Klerk and his Nigerian counterpart, Mr Ibrahim Babangida, who is also current chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, then held talks at the State House to craft the beginning of co-opera-

Sowetan Correspondent

tion between South Africa and Nigeria.

On Wednesday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was given a warm welcome by Nigerian officials on his arrival before he held talks with Nigerian Foreign Minister Mr Ike

Warm welcome

From page 1

Nwachukwu:

De Klerk's welcome at Abuja's airport, in blazing equatorial heat and humidity, had all the trappings of a full state visit.

He and Babangida inspected the presidential guard and shook hands with a welcoming line of Nigerian ministers and top officials in their colourful, traditional garb.

Mrs Marike de Klerk received a bouquet as she stepped off the presidential jet, including "Afrikaner" blooms.

Babangida then accompanied De Klerk in a presidential motorcade to the capital.

Their arrival at De Klerk's five-star hotel was delayed as the cavalcade swept around Abuja.

Doubt

The lengthy wait sparked speculation that the two presidents may have engaged been in serious private talks in their limousines, while Mrs De Klerk and Mrs Maryam Babangida rode in a trailing vehicle.

South African officials said the wording of the formal invitations for last night's state banquet put the status of the visit beyond any doubt - it was a state affair which, in diplomatic parlance, meant the highest status one leader could give another.

On Wednesday, Nwachukwu told Botha: "In our view, the Bokers are one of the several tribes who make Africa. Now we believe that a new South Africa will strengthen Africa."

Botha, referring to the result of the March 17 referendum, said "the whites of South Africa have given to you a signal that apartheid is dead" - Sape-AFP.
Two steps back means progress

By PAUL STOBBS

NEGOTIATIONS for transitional arrangements are back to where they started a month ago, but don’t breathe the word “deadlock” around the delegates.

Working group three of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), on transitional arrangements, completed another round of talks on Tuesday. It announced that delegates had agreed on the need for a transitional executive and multi-party committees to govern the country in the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly/interim legislature. An 11-member technical committee was established to work out the details of the functions and powers of these committees.

It all sounded like progress, but the announcement mirrors one reached a month ago, when the parties said they had agreed to the formation of a transitional executive to be established by procedures agreed to by Codesa.

The two steps back were taken when the government returned to Codesa after the referendum and proposed preparatory councils to advise it during the run-up to elections.

The African National Congress, and most other parties in the working group, rejected the proposal, as the government would still be in control of state structures during elections for the constituent assembly. They insisted that the transitional councils be given executive power.

The government rejected this, saying the country would then be run by two governments.

According to the National Party delegate to the working group, Minister of Economic Co-ordination Davie de Villiers, an interim government could only be established after elections if it was to be “legal and constitutional”.

Although no progress was made in the working group this week, delegates refused to describe the situation as deadlocked.

“Proposals are under discussion at the moment,” said South African Communist Party delegate Jeremy Cronin, “and there are mechanisms in place to prevent a deadlock.”

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew was confident the new agreement was a sign of progress: “The advance lies in the improved level of understanding in the working group. Delegates were saying ‘that’s not what we meant’ when they were challenged. The technical people will sort out these nitty-gritty issues and we can then apply our minds to the proposals.”

The details are important in a working group which has to decide which bodies will pass legislation and control the security forces and the SABC during the transition period.

While the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk have accepted they have to give up, or at least share, political power, they are now being faced with the reality of surrendering control of state structures.

But the government is hesitating because it is not sure on who it is going to bestow its power. “When it will relinquish power and under what conditions are very important to the government,” said a Codesa observer.

“This is why constitutionality is central to its thinking.”

On the other hand, despite the ANC leadership denying it has made any substantial compromises, the organisation still has to contend with those in its ranks — and on its left — who believe it has made too many compromises and not enough gains.

The creation of a transitional executive, which will dislodge the government’s control of state power, would be seen to be a major advance for the ANC.

The start of preparations for elections for a constituent assembly would force those on the left to come into the negotiations process or risk being sidelined.

How much progress the technical committee can make before it has to report back to the working group on April 21 is open to question.

While most delegates to the working group seem confident it was accepted that this transitional executive would have executive powers, government representatives were still not prepared to commit themselves.

Chairman of the technical committee, Patrick Mabuza, of the Inkatha National Movement, said: “It will certainly have powers over and above advisory functions. The government did not object and indicated it is open to suggestions.”
Instant capitalism — just add water?

NO MORE MARTYRS NOW: CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND ORDINARY PEOPLE
by Don Caldwell (Conrad Business Books, R40)

The path of Caldwell's argument is that apartheid was socialized capitalism — everything about apartheid existed as an ANC policy. After 1994, the ANC got rid of these policies. Caldwell says, "But the ANC doesn't promise to get rid of these policies. Rather, it looks for inspiration from them or...)"

NO MORE MARTYRS NOW: CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND ORDINARY PEOPLE
by Don Caldwell (Conrad Business Books, R40)

The idea of the recall is also pleasing. Politicians should be made to be accountable as possible, and the fear of being booted out of office could help to keep them from acting against the interests of their constituents — or from putting their hands in the till.

One must also agree with his insistence that free speech be really free — that there be no censorship of any kind. The principle of tolerance in a post-apartheid South Africa must be large and strong enough not to have to try and gag even the frothing rightists. It would saddening to see an ANC government "preserving racial harmony" by silencing, say, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. (Or getting all Calvinist over sex.)

He is right, too, when he says that "group rights" are meaningless in the context of a liberal-democratic Bill of Rights. He argues loudly: "Take the so-called group right to language or culture. In fact, this is just an individual right exercised by more than one individual at the same time."

Caldwell is extravagantly scathing when it comes to affirmative action: "But whether it's called preferential policies or compensatory preferences or positive discrimination or reverse discrimination or just plain discrimination, affirmative action — in practice — boils down to government-mandated preferences for government-defined groups."

Going on to look in some depth at the ANC's concepts of human rights, as articulated in Albie Sachs' book Protecting Human Rights in a New South Africa, the ANC's constitutional guide-

lines and draft Bill of Rights, Caldwell is passionate. Most of the right's devil, he asserts, are really wishes — and, besides, who is going to pay for it all? The ordinary person would have to foot the bill, through taxes, and that will not help lift anyone from poverty.

There is an amount of cautionary wisdom in this, but one is left down when it comes to Caldwell's solution. It is a kind of happy-clappy capitalism, the belief in a magic freedom that will automatically provide rights and a modicum of wealth to all. In the style of Cold War rhetoric, democracy and capitalism are regarded as inseparable, perhaps synonymous. But Caldwell nowhere explains exactly what his free market entails — or whether monopolies and major industries will be severely restricted in their power to control the lives of workers as mercilessly as any state.

One may disagree with Caldwell, and laugh at some of his grandiloquence, but the debate should be as vigorous and accessible as No More Martyrs Now.

Shaun de Waal
'Left over’ remark back to haunt FW

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

MARIKKE DE KLERK’S important description of coloured people as those “left over” after other nations “got sorted out” came back to haunt the National Party this week on the eve of President FW de Klerk’s first foray into a coloured area.

She made the remarks in 1989, unaware they would appear in the Vrye Weekblad — or be reproduced in thousands of pamphlets distributed by the African National Congress to mobilise protesters against De Klerk’s rally in Mitchell’s Plain tomorrow.

A caricature of De Klerk, cigarette in mouth and feet on desk, with a thought bubble containing the words “It’s just that I don’t like the name Erica”, also appears on the pamphlet, in a reference to the break-up of his son Willem’s relationship with Erica Adams, daughter of a Labour Party politician.

Apart from Marieke de Klerk’s assertions that coloured people were a “negative group” — an individual being not black, not white, not Indian, but a “non-person” — the pamphlet carries reminders that the NP was responsible for the forced removals which gave rise to Mitchell’s Plain being built in the first place.

De Klerk’s rally in the dormitory suburb of an estimated 500,000 will feature all the hoopla of an American campaign trail, with drum majorettes, a motor cavalcade, marshalls in FW T-shirts, lapel buttons, bands and balloons. It is due to start at Westridge Civic Centre at 11am, and marks the first of a series of excursions the NP plans to make into black, coloured and Indian areas in a bid to broaden its support base ahead of a general election.

“The referendum the state president reached out to the white voters in South Africa. Now he wants to reach out to the rest of South Africa, starting with Mitchell’s Plain,” said NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe.

Since LP members started defecting to the NP, a number of NP branches have been established in Mitchell’s Plain in recent months.

The ANC has so far been unable to muster substantial support for itself in coloured areas. In response to De Klerk’s meet-the-people campaign, the ANC has organised protests which began with a picket yesterday.
Investigator not identified

POLICE have refused to name the senior officer appointed to conduct the new investigation into the 1995 murder of Soweto physician Dr Abu-Baker Asvat. The investigation was launched after allegations linking Winnie Mandela to the slaying were published this week.

Lt-Col Johan Mostert said yesterday the investigating officer would not be identified to prevent the media from pestering him and hampering the investigation.

The police said all media inquiries about the matter would be handled by police headquarters in Pretoria.

In 1995 Thulane Dlamini and Cyril Mnomba were sentenced to death for murdering Asvat during a robbery.

But there were allegations this week in the US newspaper, The Christian Science Monitor, that the state was in possession of a statement claiming Mandela had offered to pay R20,000 to one of the murderers after the doctor's death.

Mostert said the new investigation would involve studying statements made by the two murderers.

But it was not known at this stage if personal interviews with them would be conducted.

Both men were currently being held in Pretoria Central Prison, said Mostert. Statements about the events would also be obtained from others, Mostert said. On completion, the docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Key witness in Mandela trial returns to SA

A KEY State witness in the 1981 Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial, Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who was "kidnapped" the day before he was to testify, is back in SA.

Mekgwe was allegedly abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church manse in February last year, resulting in the postponement of the trial and the initial refusal to testify of two other key witnesses, Kenneth Kgase and Thabiso Mono.

Police sources confirmed Mekgwe was in the country, but said they were not investigating the matter because Mekgwe had not laid a charge of kidnapping.

At the time of the alleged kidnapping, media reports claimed Mekgwe was abducted by ANC members.

He was allegedly later traced to an ANC "safe house" in Harare but was moved to Zambia after SA asked for his repatriation.

New Cape MEC sparks outcry

CAPE TOWN — Newly appointed Cape MEC Peter Marais was in hot water yesterday over his assertion that it would be unfair for squatters to enjoy the same voting rights as ratepayers.

Marais, a former Nationalist member of the President's Council, was promoted two weeks ago to MEC for Works, Transport and Traffic Control after President FW de Klerk fired Labour Party members from the provincial executive.

Marais' first major speech in his new post caused an outcry among opposition MPs and embarrassment among his Nationalist colleagues this week.

Speaking during the Cape provincial debate, Marais said he could not support a one-man, one-vote system in which illegal squatters enjoyed the same voting rights in an election for a future city council "as homeowners with properties worth R200,000 or more".

He asked whether fellow MPs would be satisfied with a situation where "these that live in motor car wrecks on an open piece of land get control of the city council because they are in the majority" and could then prescribe how much tax should be paid and how it should be spent.

DP spokesman for provincial affairs Jan van Eck said yesterday that Marais should be made to retract his "insulting" statements about squatters, or be fired.

"We cannot have a person with such a hostile attitude towards a large percentage of people in the Cape in such a position of responsibility. It will undermine all faith among squatters towards the Cape Provincial Administration."
Diepsloot residents call for officials' resignation

THE Diepsloot Residents Association has requested President F W de Klerk to demand the immediate resignation of two TPA senior officials "as they are obviously unable to fulfill the functions of their positions."

TPA deputy director-general of community development Len Dekker accused smallholders in the northwestern PWV earlier this week of using environmental arguments to hide their racism.

Diepsloot and Cosmo City were recommended by the TPA task group as potential sites for the relocation of the controversial Zevorentein squatters.

Association chairman Stuart Alchison said residents were angered by the TPA officials' "emotional outbursts".

Dekker accused residents of resorting to "green" issues to disguise their racism and MEC John Mavuso described them as bigots.

The Diepsloot Residents' Association has demanded a public apology from Dekker and Mavuso.

"It is obvious that the TPA is having to use this sort of bluster and lies, and is having to fall back on the old cry of racism in order to cover their own bungling ineptitude," he said.

Alchison stressed that any attempt to move squatters into Diepsloot and the surrounding areas could lead to civil riots.

People in the area were "not prepared to sit idly by and watch their livelihood and life investments being sacrificed on the altar of the TPA's ineptitude and authoritarianism".

He said Diepsloot was one of the first areas to request full free settlement development for an entire area in 1989.

He accused the TPA of giving no consideration to the existing character and development of the immediate surrounding stands.

Dekker said the TPA expected to meet opposition from local residents wherever they decided to resettle the squatters.

But they had to be housed somewhere, and there was no simple solution to the problem.

DP 'has no plan to disband'

CAPE TOWN — Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle last night said he would oppose vigorously any move to disband the DP in order to form a new centrist party with the NP under President F W de Klerk's leadership.

He said reports suggesting that he backed such a plan were incorrect. The adverse reaction to his alleged involvement had been "so strong" he needed to set the record straight. He was not aware of any plan to disband the DP and if there was such a plan he would oppose it.

"Notwithstanding the immature antics of a few individual caucus members on both the left and the right of the DP, the party will continue with its mission to bring about a representative constitution based on liberal democratic values," Carlisle said.
NP's Rivals Upset by De Kock Rally

The National Party's (NP) attempt to rally support in the Cape Town area has been met with resistance from rival political parties. The NP has been trying to strengthen its position in the region, but this has led to increased competition and opposition. The rivalry between the NP and its rivals has been escalating, with both sides vying for the support of voters. This has made the political landscape in the area more challenging for the NP, as it seeks to gain a foothold. The situation is likely to continue, with both the NP and its rivals maintaining their efforts to win over the electorate. The political climate in the area is filled with tension and competition, with the rival parties keeping a close watch on each other's movements.
Mike Littlejohn reports on a disappointing attitude-like situation.
SA not part of Africa

Family Yet - Nigerians
The current affairs

The situation has worsened due to the rise in inflation and the decrease in production. The government has announced a 

The situation in the country is dire, with many people suffering from unemployment and poverty. The recent sanctions imposed by the international community have only made matters worse. The government has been forced to implement austerity measures, which have led to a

From the above, it is clear that the situation in the country is

**White Fangs**

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Proposals for a major realignment in white politics, as a first step towards establishing a new nonracial party to oppose the ANC, are expected to be announced before the end of the month.

The initiative, spearheaded by National Party (NP) leaders, aims to forge most of the 2m whites who voted "yes" in last month's referendum into a moderate centrist grouping, that could eventually include the bulk of the 1m potential coloured and 500 000 Indian voters as well as 1m-2m black voters.

The new party — with a new name — would rely initially on the vast organisational and financial infrastructure of the NP. It would effectively swallow up the existing parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as well as the Democratic Party (DP).

Though most current DP MPs would probably remain loyal to the party's liberal philosophy and try to maintain an independent identity, they would have little chance of winning enough support in a proportional representation (PR) election. They would abandon their present seats. The only way this could happen would be if a pact between the DP, NP and other parties agreed to submit a joint list to the electorate.

Even at a 2% PR cutoff point (it is generally accepted that the figure will be at least 5%) in a 70% poll, involving a conservatively estimated total of 17m potential voters, the DP would need 238 000 votes to secure one seat.

The "Centrists" (or whatever) on the other hand could realistically expect to win 30%-plus of the vote. That would place them in fairly strong opposition to the ANC (which, given present trends, could be expected to win 60%-65% of the total vote).

The Labour Party, which has been white-anted by the NP, is unlikely to join the new grouping but, like the DP, it would have little chance of winning even a single seat in a new parliamentary system. Its only real option would be to put what little support it has still into the ANC.

The imminent end of the current political era and the prospect of being swallowed by larger groupings has shaken the DP more than any other party.

The parliamentary caucus remains split over what options to exercise. A proposal by Tony Leon (Houghton) to consider participation in a new moderate party was discussed last week, but left unresolved. Leon's plan has minority support in the caucus, but many regard it as the most realistic option for the party. MPs and supporters who are unable to accept any form of alliance with the NP face a future in the political wilderness — or retirement on fairly handsome parli-
One of us at Last

EM. (July)

IN MY OPINION

Regular contributor

After 49 years of being a professional footballer, I am excited to announce that I am stepping down from my role as a. Regular contributor to the world of football.

The decision was not an easy one, but with the changing landscapes of the sport, it is time for me to explore new opportunities. I have given my all to the game, leaving no stone unturned in my pursuit of excellence.

I want to express my gratitude to all the fans who have supported me throughout my career. Your love and dedication have been a driving force behind me, and I am deeply grateful for your constant encouragement.

This chapter marks the beginning of a new journey. I am looking forward to what comes next, knowing that every step I take will be in pursuit of growing the game I love.

Thank you for being a part of my journey, and I hope to see you on the grass in the not-so-distant future.

EM.
War of words over FW visit to M’Plain

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and YOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

As tension rises in Mitchell’s Plain over President De Klerk’s visit tomorrow, a war of words has broken out between the National Party and the ANC.

A lunch for Mr De Klerk hosted by the Mitchell’s Plain Merchants’ Association has been moved from a private hospital to an undisclosed venue.

Association chairman Mr M Patel said: “The manager of the original venue informed us it was no longer available. He told us someone from the ANC had phoned his head office and used intimidatory tactics.”

But ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC had not been in contact with the hospital. He said that the venue was withdrawn after the Western Cape Traders’ Association warned the hospital’s owners that they were becoming embroiled in a political dispute.

A spokesman for the private hospital said “we decided it would be in the best interest of our patients and the service we render to make the decision we did.”

Mr De Klerk’s visit, his first to Mitchell’s Plain, has led to a propaganda war with NP placards advertising the meeting competing with those from the New Unity Movement telling him he’s not welcome. The ANC and SA Communist Party have distributed pamphlets against the visit.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the NP, said it was a pity the ANC was trying to deny Mr De Klerk the right to speak and accused the ANC of using intimidation.

He appealed to people in Mitchell’s Plain to show that they welcomed the democratic process and not to stand for intimidation and “uncouth politicking.”

Mr Hofmeyr challenged the NP to prove the ANC had used intimidatory and high-handed tactics.
Over the next three weeks, Learning Nation will feature an interview with Professor Kader Asmal on electoral systems and politics. In the first article we pose the question of the relationship between constitutional questions and political power. Next week, we continue with the interview, looking at details of different electoral systems and their relationship to democracy.

Learning Nation: Professor Asmal, what weight do legal constitutional questions bear in relation to other aspects of political power like military power and mass struggle?

Professor Asmal: In the history of transformation and change from an illegitimate regime to some form of legitimate constitutional structure or legal structure that enjoys respect or support, there are two ways of dealing with the transition. One is a transition where the previous illegitimate authorities are overthrown by force of arms. And the victor will then draft a constitution, bringing together all the social forces that stood for the alliance of the victors. So that in the United States, for example, in 1776, when the British were defeated, the 13 states came together and formed a federation.

In our situation, a combination of factors led to the events of February 2. It was the effect of sanctions, the state of emergency that resulted in the large scale withdrawal of investor confidence in South Africa, the extraordinary strength and resilience of the people of South Africa, and the armed struggle. But in terms of struggle, the armed struggle could not overcome the apartheid regime. And the apartheid regime, with the use of torture, large scale killings, the imprisonment of thousands of children, with fifty, even sixty thousand people detained without trial, could not smash the resistance. The Joint Management Committees failed. The whole provocation of hit squads in the 80's failed. So we reached a situation where the route to be followed was going to be different.

Now, as far as the ANC is concerned, Nelson Mandela, when he was underground in 1961, made an appeal for an All South African Convention. Albert Luthuli, in 1959, had made the same type of appeal. So the resistance movement has always maintained a position that because of the peculiar situation in South Africa, there should be change by negotiations. It was those in power who have caused untold misery over the last thirty to forty years, and rejected every demand of the resistance for peaceful change.

Now we are at a stage where the possibility for peaceful change exists. But that peaceful change won't take place without the continued involvement of our people in organised activity. And that is why the government has tried to link mass action with armed action. 'Mass action must end', they say, 'sanctions must end'. Because they know that the only levers we have as a democratic force is the strength of our people. Successful negotiation depends on the relative strength of the parties, not on good intentions.

History is full of the debris of lost causes with morality and justice on their side. All the struggles for national liberation in the world, when they were conducted peacefully, were ignored in the countries where they took place. Internationally, they paid no attention, either. Who paid any attention to our struggle in the 50's and 60's, at a time when we had a passive resistance campaign much more intensive in terms of quality and numbers than anything Gandhi had in 1929 and 1930? Who paid any attention? Overseas arms suppliers? No. The Malan regime? No. But when we moved to the armed struggle, when the ANC was banned - then, they paid attention. So you must not see struggle as unrelated to negotiation. Anyone who counterposes struggle and negotiation simply doesn't know how negotiation operates.

Recently there are examples of this; as recently as November, the government refused to consider the option of an interim government. What change of mind? The anti-VAT strike. That showed the mobilisation of people. The largest general strike in the history of the world. Three to three and a half million people participated in the VAT strike, and then the government woke up to acceptance of an interim government. They realised that they couldn't be both player and referee at the same time.

In the same way, Inkatha and the government had rejected out of hand the idea of a constituent assembly. And now, we are on the verge of agreement on the interim government AND the constituent assembly. And that is only because they know the strength of the democratic forces. They know how we can mobilise opinion. That is why, from the Pretoria Minute onwards, they have linked mass mobilisation to armed struggle, and to say that we must repudiate mass struggle. But we cannot repudiate it, because that is the only way in which successful negotiations work. While the apartheid regime has STATE power with all its associated resources, the democratic forces have only their SOCIAL power, that is all. The power of the people to boycott, to mobilise, to picket, to demonstrate, and, at the end of the day, to bring the country to a standstill. That is why EVERYONE must be involved in this process, particularly young people, because what CODESA is trying to do is NOT write the constitution. The constitution will be written by a constituent assembly. What CODESA is negotiating is the phase BEFORE the constitution. We're discussing the PRINCIPLES of a constitution, not how to write the constitution. The government would like unelected, unrepresentative parties to write the constitution. And that is totally unacceptable.

Next week, we continue our interview with Professor Asmal. The subject is electoral systems and democracy.
In 1956, the FIFA congress in Lisbon, Portugal, urged the white association, SAFA, to meet with the SASF to reach an agreement. This resulted in a meeting between the Federation and SAFA, which took place in November, 1957. Over a good curry, the groups thrashed out the issues, but could not reach a compromise. The white association was simply not prepared to challenge the Government's apartheid policies.

At the meeting, the president of SAFA, Dave Seidler, stated: "Any association is prepared to assist the non-white federation to arrange tours, to get passports and to help with coaches. But fusion is out. The SAFA will do nothing against the present government's policy or the social customs of the land."

SAFA said it was prepared to accept the Federation as an affiliated member without voting powers, but that it did not "want non-whites to represent South Africa in an international match or to play with whites in the Union." Not surprisingly, the SASF refused to accept any of these proposals.

Realizing that the SASF would stop at nothing short of a fully non-racial body, the white association turned instead to the "Bantu" association. It re-named the now-failing SABFA and helped it launch its own professional league, the National Professional Soccer League (the NPSL) to challenge the professional wing of the SASF. The NPSL was launched at Wembley Stadium in Johannesburg, in February, 1962.

FIFA gave SABFA a token seat and a vote on FIFA's executive and created a co-ordinating committee on which soccer representatives from each separate racial structure were to sit and discuss their relations.

FIFA, however, confirmed SABA's suspension. FASA, then, with the support of the government, suggested that a solution might be found in sending alternate South African teams to the World Cup - a black team in 1966 followed by a white team in 1970. This unwelcome suggestion was also rejected by the SASF.

A FIFA commission of inquiry into SA soccer in 1963 heard that SABFA was "perfectly happy to be affiliated to FASA" - it decided that the SASF attitude had been "one of destruction, not construction" and that they were irresponsibly critical of government policy.

On hearing the Commission's report, the FIFA executive lifted its suspension of FASA. Viv Grainger, a FASA executive, declared that this was a "defeat for communism" and that South Africans were obliged to practice apartheid in sport because it is the policy of the government and traditional, but we must ensure in future that it is a Christian apartheid."

This victory was short-lived because FASA was finally expelled from FIFA in 1964 for its racial policies. The SASF was reduced to a small amateur section in regions such as Natal, Western Cape and the Eastern Cape and a very small professional league. The SASF was later to become the founder member of SACOS.

Federation member Bob Pavasari stated: "SASF's future depends on unity between the African and Bantus. I hope this will be achieved before the next FIFA congress.

Hassan Howa, ex-president of SACOS which the SASF co-founded

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Next week, in our last article in this series, we will look at the dark era in South African soccer, the apartheid years.

The SASF tried to convince SABFA to join the Federation but its efforts proved futile. In addition to racist attitudes, some officials feared that unity would decrease the number of administrative positions and leave them out in the cold.

Organizations which fought racism in sport

The South African Sports Association (SASA) was the "father" of the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). It was formed in Durban in 1959 to fight racism in sport. In that year, a Brazilian team agreed to play a Western Province white team in Cape Town. This game would only be allowed to take place if three of the Brazilian players who were regarded as "non-whites" were excluded from the team. SASA telegraphed its opposition to the President of Brazil. The President instructed that the game be cancelled.
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Stage set for closer ties

Unity (OAU) had not been raised. "I have no hesitation," however, in saying that I believe South Africa must become a fully-fledged member of co-operative structures in Africa," he added.

The OAU had played a constructive role in the South Africa issue, one he appreciated, by impressing on all leaders the need for a negotiated settlement. The body had behaved correctly in refraining from internal interference in the belief that South Africans should reach their own agreements.

Turning to a question on violence in South Africa, Mr. De Klerk said government had already done much. "Accusations that the government is sitting back and not doing its duty are unfounded," he said.

"We are really doing everything reasonable which we can do," he said, citing the expansion of the police force, its budget and technological resources.

Policing and government action were not the only answers. Political leadership had to defuse the volatile atmosphere, he said. Leaders had to instil a spirit of reconciliation in their supporters.

On General Babangida associating him with anti-apartheid luminaries like Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Steve Biko, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Albert Luthuli, he said he did not make the speech and would not have placed himself there.

"I am not a protagonist of apartheid. I've closed the book on apartheid. I've led the party from which it originated," he said.

In explaining government policy to Nigerian journalists, Mr. De Klerk repeatedly said the government was "in a hurry" to reach the new South Africa.

Government proposals for a new constitution were "in step with the best democracies in the world," he said.

He rejected any accusation that government wanted to suppress people and maintain a privileged position for whites through fancy footwork and trickery.

The National Party was no longer a white party. "I am going full out for black support. I no longer divide South Africans on a racial basis," he said.

Mr. De Klerk said he had growing support among black South Africans. Polls showed that the majority of coloureds and Indians already supported him.

The NP had stopped thinking in racial terms. "I hope that those who fought so long and to end apartheid will not keep racism alive," he said. He hoped that being white would not be held against him.
FW full of praise for Nigeria talks

From BARRY STREEK

ABUJA, Nigeria.—President FW de Klerk yesterday said his historic two-day visit to Nigeria and talks with President Ibrahim Babangida had been "completely constructive".

As he prepared to leave the West African country, Mr de Klerk said discussions on bilateral relations between South Africa and Nigeria would be held shortly. No agreements had been reached at this stage.

Mr de Klerk praised the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) constructive role in South Africa and said he believed South Africa should become a member, but the issue had not been raised in his meetings with General Babangida.

His comments at a press conference here poured cold water on expectations of any immediate agreements on issues such as diplomatic ties, landing rights and visa agreements.

General Babangida made no comments to the media at the conclusion of the talks.

But the strong Nigerian praise for Mr De Klerk by General Babangida and the media indicated that much more had been achieved in the discussions than was immediately apparent.

Mr De Klerk said he had not used the occasion to specifically focus on South Africa's possible membership of the OAU, but he had no hesitation in saying that South Africa should be a full member of the organisation and other continental structures.

He also believed the countries of Southern Africa should form a cooperative structure, like the European Community, to promote economic growth and develop a market of more than 100 million people.

The Nigerian government urged Mr De Klerk to accelerate the Ciskei negotiations and introduce a transitional government as soon as possible, suggesting it would hold off making any official announcements until this had been done.
what senior Nationalists have described as the start of campaigning for South Africa's first non-racial election.

As political temperatures continued to rise in Mitchells Plain yesterday, the lunch hosted by business leaders for Mr De Klerk was rescheduled to an undisclosed venue after originally being cancelled.

The NP blamed the change of plan on intimidation by the ANC but the ANC denied this.

Mr De Klerk's campaign extends from 11am to 2pm today — but the ANC plans to kick off their protest by 8am.

Meanwhile, the acting chairman of the Democratic Party in the Western Cape, Mr Jannie Mombarg, said last night that nobody was entitled to deny Mr De Klerk the right to address any gathering.

"However, the DP also wants to point out to the NP that it should not be upset if the people of Mitchells Plain do not open their hearts to the leader of the NP," he said.

However, Mt Mombarg emphasized that any attempts to violently disrupt Mr De Klerk's visit to the area "must be condemned in the strongest possible terms".

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, yesterday called on the ANC to allow Mr De Klerk to exercise his right to speak.

"As I fought for the rights of the ANC to speak freely in Cape Town, so too will I fight for the right of the State President to speak in Mitchells Plain, or anywhere," Mr van der Velde said.

Meanwhile an ANC-supported protest march involving Mitchells Plain high school pupils failed to generate much interest yesterday morning when pupils at two schools opted to remain in class.

A planned ANC protest motorcade appeared not to have materialized by last night, but ANC Mitchells Plain spokesman Mr Neville van de Rheede said that about 15 cars had participated.

Mr Tony Rody, a worker at the Mitchells Plain Advice Office, had said they expected more than 80 cars to take part.

From page 1
Pik, PAC likely to talk today

ABUJA (Nigeria). - Foreign
Minister Pik Botha was likely
to meet a Pan Africanist Con-
gress delegation here today to
discuss the movement's in-
volvement in shaping the new
South Africa.

He was expected to see the
PAC, including its deputy pres-
ident, Mr Dikganga Moeneke,
at the airport outside the Nige-
rian capital after seeing Presi-
dent De Klerk off at the end of
an overnight state visit.

The PAC views this meeting
as a prelude to one between Mr
De Klerk and PAC president,
Clarence Makwetu.

ALAN DUNN, Argus Political Staff

At stake is the PAC's partici-
pation in some way in negotia-
tions on an interim government
and final constitution. Today's
encounter is being widely
viewed as a face-saving effort
for the PAC which has so far
steadfastly refused to be drawn
into the Convention for a Dem-
ocratic South Africa (Codesa).
FW to take NP to new voters

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

BACK from the heart of Africa, President F W de Klerk goes to Mitchell’s Plain today to lead his National Party into South Africa’s new era.

The new-style mass rally is another milestone in the NP’s epic political expedition away from apartheid towards non-racial democratic government.

Only hours after Mr De Klerk had returned from Abuja, Nigeria, he was on his way to Mitchell’s Plain’s Town Centre for the NP’s first bid to win mass support outside the white community since opening its membership to all races.

The US-style rally, with motorcade, marching girls, bands, balloons, flags, stickers, banners and special T-shirts, is a far cry from traditional NP campaign meetings.

Opposition has been mounting. Since earlier this week, when both the ANC and the Labour Party indicated they were considering protest action.

The New Unity Movement called on residents to protest.

Last night things were hotting up. A school which was to have provided children to march for the President withdrew its participation, as did the Mitchell’s Plain Traders Association, which was to have hosted a lunch. However, a threatened protest cavalcade did not materialise.

Opposition to the rally is being seen as a sign of fear among ANC and Labour Party supporters that the NP may overshadow them in support in local coloured communities.

The Democratic Party has condemned any attempts to disrupt President De Klerk’s visit to Mitchell’s Plain.

"Mr. Janie Momborg, acting chairman of the DP in Western Cape, told Weekend Argus the party believed that nobody could deny the State President the right to address any political gathering anywhere in South Africa.

"However, the DP also wants to point out that the NP must not be upset if the people of Mitchell’s Plain do not open their hearts... It was the NP which in 1966 cruelly evicted the people of District Six, which was the start of Mitchell’s Plain."
Recognise us, warn 30 000 teachers

MORE than 30 000 teachers may “down their chalks” next month because education department refuse to recognise their union and right to organise as workers.

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union announced at a press conference in Johannesburg this week that pickets, marches and sit-ins were being planned for two days in May. Details of the decision — which emanates from the Sadtu national council — are being discussed in its 15 regions.

General secretary Randall van den Heever said negotiations with education departments — in South Africa there are 19, all racially based — had reached an impasse over the definition of "unlawful action" and that his union would not back down on its demand for collective bargaining.

The definition used by the departments in draft recognition agreements was based on current "illegitimate" education laws and impinging on teachers' trade union rights, he said.

For the past year the union has been engaged in talks at two levels:

- With the umbrella Department of National Education where the implementation of a national collective bargaining mechanism for teachers is being considered;
- At the level of "own affairs" departments where the "hiring and firing" of teachers takes place, and where stop order facilities should be processed.

While agitating at a national level for the implementation of a single, non-racial education department, Sadtu’s policy is to seek interim recognition with the "own affairs" departments to address issues such as co-opts into the discriminatory "own affairs" departments. The ministry is not using the existing rights of teachers to bargain in the new system.
PROKLAMASIE
van die
Staatspresident
van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika
No. 35, 1992

TUSSENVERKIESING: VOLKSRAAD:
KIESAFDELING WELKOM

(1) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 110 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging van die Volkssaad in die kiesafdeling Welkom.

(2) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby in die besluit daarvan van die Volkssaad in die kiesafdeling Welkom:

(i) Dinsdag, 5 Mei 1992, as die dag waarop 'n nominasiehok ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Welkom met die volgende bepalinge van artikel 34 en 110 van die kiesafdeling:

(ii) Woensdag, 17 Junie 1992, as die dag waarop, indien 'n stem in die kiesafdeling nodig word om die redes vermeld in artikel 41 van die kiesafdeling, die stem van die Lid van die Volkssaad in die kiesafdeling hierbo vermeld, gehou sal word, welke stem in die kiesafdeling, op daardie dag om 07:00 sal begin en om 21:00 sal sluit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Soël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sewende dag van April Eenduisend Negehonderd Twee-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

E. LOUW,
Minister van die Kabinet.

275—A

PROCLAMATION
by the
State President
of the Republic of South Africa
No. 35, 1992

BY-ELECTION: HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY:
ELECTORAL DIVISION OF WELKOM

(1) Under the powers vested in me by section 110 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the House of Assembly in the Electoral Division of Welkom.

(2) Under the powers vested in me by section 33 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby determine, in terms of the provisions of sections 34 and 110 of the said Act—

(i) that Tuesday, 5 May 1992, shall be the day on which a nomination court will sit in respect of the Electoral Division of Welkom, to receive nominations of candidates for election as a member of the House of Assembly for that Electoral Division;

(ii) Wednesday, 17 June 1992, as the day on which, if a poll becomes necessary in the said electoral division for the reasons mentioned in section 41 of the said Act, the poll in respect of the election of the member of the House of Assembly in the electoral division mentioned above shall be taken, which poll in accordance with section 94 of the said Act will commence at 07:00 and will close at 21:00 on that day.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town on this Seventh day of April, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-two.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

E. LOUW,
Minister of the Cabinet.
Apartheid Label sticks in
on all parties

New process of poll?
Plain truth about FW’s M’Plain visit

By Quentin Wilson

RAZZLE-DAZZLE arrangements for President FW de Klerk’s visit to Mitchells Plain took an embarrassing turn this week when prominent locals dissociated themselves from the fanfare.

For a start, the church brigade invited to lead De Klerk’s procession on Saturday from the Westridge Civic Centre to the Town Centre refused to take part.

The Western Cape Teachers Association added to the organisers’ headache when they said they wanted nothing to do with the luncheon for local businesspeople.

Even Radio Plain, which broadcasts from the Town Centre, was in two minds about whether they were going to allow De Klerk air time to give a short message to Saturday morning shoppers, specially considering the station was not consulted in the first place.

The NP’s “meet the people” campaign aims to win the hearts, minds and votes in an area hit hard by the NP’s discriminatory policies.

This weekend will be the first time De Klerk has canvassed support in Mitchells Plain, among people whose vote was taken away by his party.

Although the NP’s Mitchells Plain MP, Mr Stanley Fisher, said “everything is going according to plan”, a not-so-welcome programme of action was planned by residents who interpret the visit as an insult.

In addition to a protest rally at Glendale High School for all 14 schools in the area — demonstrations, pamphlets and meetings were organised to voice disapproval.

One ANC pamphlet contained the notorious quote by Mrs Mariske de Klerk about coloured people: “They are a negative group. The definition of a coloured in the population register is someone who is not black and is not white, and is also not an Indian, in other words a non-person.”

The pamphlet also referred to the controversy surrounding the relationship between Mr Willem de Klerk and coloured model Ms Erica Adams.

ANC publicity secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC “will in no way disrupt his visit, but we want to make it clear on Saturday that a lot of people are unhappy with his presence in Mitchells Plain”.

“We feel that in some ways he is abusing his position as state president to secure votes for the NP. We also feel that it is ironic that De Klerk asks people to support his party that took their votes away,” Hofmeyr said.

Rev Allan Hendricks’s Labour Party also disapproved of the visit and endorsed the protest action.

Rev Ronald Phillips of the Westridge Anglican church said his church had decided not to lead Saturday’s procession because “De Klerk is still a representative of a minority people”.

“We have a policy in our church that we will not align ourselves with the state — of which Mr de Klerk is a symbol.

“He is the leader of a minority people and for that reason we have asked the church brigade not to lead the procession on Saturday,” he said.

Eighteen organisations, including the Dispensing Family Practitioners Association and the South African Democratic Teachers Union, criticised the Merchants Association’s executive for hosting the business luncheon without consulting their membership.

“It is seen as if the Merchants Association is taking sides between the government and the people, the very people from Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha who are your loyal customers and supporters,” the organisations said.

Chairperson of the Merchants Association Mr Mohammed Patel said they had decided to host De Klerk “out of courtesy”.

FROM GOLF TO THE GRASSROOTS: FW de Klerk will reach out to the masses this week

Photo: Eric Miller
Cockees may be out, but outside is in for PAC

Six members of the PAC National Executive Council, meeting in Bonita Springs, Florida, have called for a "total revision of the organization's priorities." Their apparent dissatisfaction stems from the fact that the PAC, under the leadership of President Joe Biden, has not been forthcoming with the promised "new and innovative approach to American politics." The members of the executive council have expressed concern that the PAC's focus onmediating between the two parties is no longer effective. They have argued that the PAC should be more proactive in promoting social justice policies, and that it should focus on issues that affect the average American.
Working group two: This group, (Constitutional principles, constitution-making body/process) has agreed on general constitutional principles to be enshrined in the new constitution. It is now discussing the nature and form of the body which will draw up the constitution.

This next step overlaps with the work of working group three to such an extent that the two groups will cover these items jointly.

Otherwise working group two still has to address:
- The protection of religions and languages.
- The role of traditional leaders.
- The roles of central, regional and local government.
- Affirmative action.
- The protection of minorities.

Working group three: (Transitional arrangements) is looking at structures which will move the country from the present dispensation to a more democratic one.

Shortly before the referendum, this group agreed on the need for a "transitional executive structure" to be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

Since then, parties have tabled their proposals and are currently discussing them.

The central point of disagreement is the amount of power the present tri-cameral parliament should enjoy in the run-up to non-racial elections.

While the ANC is suggesting that an interim government should over-
CAPE TOWN — A senior Democratic Party member of Parliament has condemned the plan by Houghton MP Tony Leon and others to form a centrist party with the National Party.

Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle last night described moves in the DP to link up with the NP or the ANC as "the immature antics of a few individual caucus members".

He denied a report last weekend that he had backed the plan to form a centrist party under President F W de Klerk. Carlisle told the DP Wynberg committee he was not aware of any plan to disband the DP and would vigorously oppose it if there were.

"I believe passionately in the need for an independent liberal-democratic party in South Africa and I reject out of hand any merger with either the National Party or the ANC."

DP MPs in Leon's camp said yesterday that it was up to the National Party to make the next move.

Although the option of re-forming under a new name has been discussed within the NP, no decision seems to have been taken.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe dismissed the idea earlier this week, but NP sources said this might not be the final word.

Most NP MPs appear to favour the NP retaining its name while broadening its support base by forming alliances with other parties.

One of the main considerations is whether or not the name "National Party" carries too many apartheid associations to appeal to black voters.
DEBATE between MPs in the Democratic Party is hotting up as different factions try to pitch the organisations in contradictory directions.

The debate on the party’s future follows a DP caucus meeting held recently to discuss a proposal to disband and form a new centrist party with the NP.

DP MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, said his party should be part of something bigger.

“We want to work for a centrist party that would include not only the DP and NP, but also organisations like the ANC and other parties. The DP was formed to fight the white elections in 1989 and the past position of the party is no longer relevant now.

“There are no other whites-only elections coming now as we are looking forward to non-racial democratic elections in South Africa.”

Hulley said the DP would remain independent “until something bigger, which we should work for, has been achieved.”

DP MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, could not say whether there were divisions within the party or whether he had any intention of joining another organisation.

Van Eck did not rule out the possibility of joining the ANC in future.

“I have always stated categorically that I stand on the side of the oppressed and dispossessed people but I cannot say whether I will or won’t join the ANC.

“What I stand for and what the ANC stands for is almost the same.”

Although he did not want to commit himself on divisions within the party, Van Eck did not rule out any merger with other parties.

He said a plan drawn up by the DP MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, was “strictly confidential” and was still under discussion.

Leon is reported to have drawn up a merger plan in which he said the DP was facing a bleak future.

He said the support for the party had shrunk alarmingly among whites and there was no growth of support in the “non-white” community.

Leon reportedly said it was impossible for the DP to consider engaging in any alliance at national level without tearing the party apart.

DP chairperson, Mr Ken Andrew, ruled out any possibility of a DP merger with other parties.

“It is not possible in the foreseeable future that there would be any merger with other parties, maybe it could be possible in two or three years.

“The idea is not even shared by the majority of the party members at the moment,” Andrew said.
Nelson, for Windies tour!

George Washington University

**Kingston —** It may come as a surprise to many South Africans to hear that the Windies team has been invited to tour South Africa. The team last played in South Africa in 1997 and the game was cancelled due to a security scare.

The South African cricket team has been invited to tour the Windies in 2023. The tour will take place in February and March, with two tests, three ODIs, and three T20Is scheduled.

South Africa's cricket team is looking forward to the challenge of playing against the Windies, who are currently ranked 5th in the world. The tour will be a good opportunity for South Africa to test their young players and gain valuable experience.

The Windies team is also looking forward to the challenge of playing against South Africa, who are currently ranked 3rd in the world. The tour will be a good opportunity for the Windies to test their young players and gain valuable experience.

The tour is scheduled to take place from February 15 to March 31, 2023. The first test will be played at the PPC Newlands Stadium in Cape Town, the second test at the St Lucia Sports Complex, and the third test at the Daren Sammy Cricket Ground in Gros Islet, Saint Lucia.

The three ODIs will be played at the Willow Rand Memorial Stadium in Bloemfontein, the PPC Newlands Stadium in Cape Town, and the Queen's Park Oval in Trinidad.

The three T20Is will be played at the PPC Newlands Stadium in Cape Town, the St Lucia Sports Complex, and the Daren Sammy Cricket Ground in Gros Islet, Saint Lucia.

The tour promises to be a highly competitive series, and both teams are looking forward to a challenging and exciting experience.

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**Nelson Mandela**

The former South African President, Nelson Mandela, was a pivotal figure in the anti-apartheid movement and played a crucial role in the transition to democracy in South Africa. His legacy continues to inspire people around the world, and his influence is still felt today.

Mandela was born in 1918 and passed away in 2013. He spent 27 years in prison for his involvement in the fight against apartheid. After being released from prison, he played a key role in negotiating the end of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 for his work to promote racial reconciliation and democracy. He was also the first black president of South Africa, serving from 1994 to 1999.

Mandela's leadership was characterized by his commitment to nonviolence and his belief in the power of dialogue and negotiation. He is remembered for his ability to bridge divides and bring people together.

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**Shaun Johnson**

Shaun Johnson is a West Indies cricketer who has represented the team in various international formats. He is known for his all-round skills and is a key player for the team.

Johnson was born in 1990 and has been playing cricket for the Windies since 2013. He has represented the team in over 50 international matches, and has been a consistent performer in all formats.

Johnson is known for his ability to score runs quickly and his bowling skills. He has been a key player in the West Indies' success in recent years, and is expected to play a crucial role in the team's future performances.

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**Michael Manley**

Michael Manley is a Jamaican politician who served as the Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1980 to 1989. He was a key figure in the early years of Jamaican independence and played a pivotal role in the country's development.

Manley was born in 1919 and passed away in 2007. He was a member of the People's National Party (PNP) and held various political positions, including deputy leader and finance minister.

Manley is remembered for his commitment to social justice and his role in the fight against racial inequality. He was a strong advocate for the rights of working-class people and played a key role in the struggle for social change.

Manley's leadership was characterized by his commitment to nonviolence and his belief in the power of dialogue and negotiation. He is remembered for his ability to bridge divides and bring people together.

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**Rudolph Moico**

Rudolph Moico is a South African footballer who has represented the country in international matches. He is known for his skill and dedication to the sport.

Moico was born in 1992 and has been playing football since a young age. He has represented South Africa in various international matches and is considered one of the country's best players.

Moico is known for his speed, agility, and his ability to score goals. He has been a key player for his club and national teams, and is expected to continue to perform at a high level in the future.

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**Zahra George**

Zahra George is a Jamaican politician who has served in various political positions, including minister of education and health. She is known for her commitment to education and healthcare.

George was born in 1962 and has been involved in politics since the early 1980s. She has held various positions in the People's National Party (PNP), including minister of education and minister of health.

George is remembered for her commitment to social justice and her role in the fight against racial inequality. She has been a strong advocate for the rights of working-class people and played a key role in the struggle for social change.

George's leadership was characterized by her commitment to nonviolence and her belief in the power of dialogue and negotiation. She is remembered for her ability to bridge divides and bring people together.
not doing its duty are unfounded," he said.

"We are really doing everything reasonable which we can do," he said, citing the expansion of the police force, its budget and technological resources.

Policing and Government action were not the only answers, political leadership had to defuse the volatile atmosphere, he said.

Though said simply to be on a working trip, De Klerk was welcomed to Nigeria's new federal capital late on Thursday with all the pomp and ceremony of a state visit, including a red carpet and 21-gun salute.

Nigeria provided the honours, despite protests from the African National Congress that the visit should not have taken place until a non-racial transitional government was in place in Pretoria.

The radical Pan Africanist Congress, which is boycotting constitutional talks with the South African Government, also condemned the visit, but it sent a delegation to Abuja to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha and Nigerian Foreign Minister Bec Nwachukwu discussed diplomatic ties, creating air links between the two countries and developing trade.

De Klerk's visit to Nigeria took place in the week that Ivory Coast became the first black African country to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa, apart from Malawi.

At a banquet on Thursday night, Bambangida said De Klerk's reforms had earned the white leader a place alongside ANC president Nelson Mandela and other black opponents of apartheid.

Nigeria, the most influential state in black Africa, has headed continental opposition to apartheid.

"We welcome you as the man who closed the book of apartheid," Bambangida told De Klerk.

"By virtue of what you initiated ... in the last two years, you have taken a well-deserved position among these stalwarts." — Own Correspondent, Sapa-AFP.
FW kisses roadshow goodbye

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's Mitchell's Plain roadshow appears to have been abandoned after he was booed down at a chaotic public meeting yesterday.

He struggled to make himself heard above the chanting of ANC and New Unity Movement supporters among about 3,000 people who thronged a specially erected marquee at the Mitchell's Plain town centre.

His address, much of which was inaudible, lasted only a few minutes and he left immediately afterwards in a vehicle.

As De Klerk left, opponents jeered and chanted "ANC, ANC", but many grabbed his hand and shook it.

When De Klerk arrived, the marquee was overflowing. Some supporters carried orange and blue balloons, NP party flags and posters saying: "We love De Klerk."

Many more carried placards with slogans such as "Votes before visits", "Kiss your white privilege goodbye", "Mandela for president" and "NUM against Co-desa."

De Klerk was greeted by deafening jeers and cheers. He said: "I say thank you very much to Mitchell's Plain. I see Mitchell's Plain is National Party territory."

Other portions of his brief address which were audible included: "I want to say one thing to you ... the NP has closed the book of apartheid."

"The NP is the party of peace ..."

Quarrels broke out between the rival supporters after a man grabbed the microphone as the State President was leaving and said: "FW, jou moer."

De Klerk said after the meeting he would return to Mitchell's Plain. - Sapa
NOT since Arthur Keppel-Jones wrote his famous 1947 When Smuts Goes has an author written a book that has changed South Africans by the scratch of their necks and forced them to look into the future.

The book becomes urgent reading—especially following President FW de Klerk’s referendum in which white SA mandated him to talk rather than fight; while on the other hand, endemic violence is tearing the country’s black communities apart.

Add to this the noise which followed the book’s publication. The author had chosen the pen name Tom Barnard, for professional reasons. Intrigue was added when he started appearing in the media wearing a mask.

Finally enterprising journalism won the day when he was unmasked by a Johannesburg newspaper as Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University.

Essentially the book is a candid chronicle of post-apartheid SA. Though in the tone of When Smuts Goes its treatment of the fictional events, the story is still too close to the bone.

This is particularly so now that SA is at the critical Codesa stage. Interim government and Constituent Assembly are no longer abstract words.

The book opens at the birth of a new SA on Wednesday, April 13, 1994 in Pretoria during a fanfare ceremony at the National Stadium (what we know today as the Loftus Versfeld rugby stadium).

The green and gold flag with a diagonal black bar is raised to give birth to the Federal Republic of South Africa. Much had gone into name changes at the Commission of Inquiry into National Symbols.

The ANC’s leader, Eminent Magqabi is sworn in as president of the new nation. The ANC had won 53 percent of the seats in the 300-member National Assembly. President Magqabi commits himself to reconciliation and the building of a new SA.

It is after President Magqabi’s death and Qunta succeeds him when the course of history takes another turn.

Qunta quickly stamps his leadership qualities as “a man who brought a good deal of emotion into politics and he was a man who spoke his mind”.

But Qunta dies and is succeeded by former Umkhonto weSive member Maxhisi Cindi who “had established a reputation for ruthlessness in dealing with dissent from both Afrikaner and Inkatha quarters”.

It is here that the ghosts lurking in SA’s history emerge to haunt Cindi’s government. Afrikaners demand their homeland. “The slow movement of Afrikaners from other parts of the country to Orania, as the envisaged Afrikaner homeland in the north-western Cape had become generally known, gathered momentum between 1989 and 2001,” writes Barnard.

The question of Orania becomes so messy that there is a threat of nuclear war. Western powers come into the picture. And some sort of solution is brokered when Orania finally wins its independence.

Later through the famous London Sunday Times respected “Insight” team we learn that Orania’s threat of nuclear war was a hoax.
And now, something new out of Africa

Claire Robertson

As South Africa prepared for the end of three decades of estrangement by Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha donned a traditional West African dress and dark glasses to look the part of an oasis in the GATT.

South Africa is expected to be represented at the GATT negotiations for African Union conference in Dar es Salaam in two months' time — as an observer — and is likely to be admitted as a full member next year.

The Nigerian ambassador to the GATT, Chief Segun Osilagun, said members would not oppose South Africa's admission to the body after the signal of acceptance given by Nigeria during a visit by President FW de Klerk this week.

And, to celebrate the visit, Mr Botha changed into Nigerian traditional dress.

During the visit, Mr Botha, in traditional dress, welcomed the President to Nigeria as one of the countries of Africa.

Mr Botha, in his official role of head of state, said: "The visit of the President has opened a new chapter in our relations with South Africa."
And now, something new out of Africa

Protesters pelt FW with stones

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was yesterday forced to abandon his visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town after protesters threw stones at him. The incident happened while he addressed more than 10,000 people who gathered in and around a marquee. The shooting were apparently thrown by members of the ANC and the New Unity Movement.

Some of them hit Mr de Klerk, but he was not injured, the Cape secretary of the National Party and chief organiser of the rally, Mr Carl Greyling, confirmed yesterday.

However, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary, said there were no casualties.

He said that the three men who threw the stones were arrested.

Mr Greyling said Mr de Klerk was escort out of the marquee and drove to Tygertown. The rest of his programme, including a road show in Mitchell's Plain shopping centre and a landover, were also cancelled.

 Threats

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr de Klerk made no mention of the incident.

"The fact that, regardless of threats and intimidation, they gathered in their thousands along the roads and carried placards, flags and stickers displaying their support for the NP, conveys a powerful message that endures well for the future," he said.

"All that serves as great inspiration to me." He then proved that the NP had the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in South Africa." Mr de Klerk's speech was greeted by deafening cheers and cheers.

Cheers

But as soon as the NPS Cape leader, Dr Dave de Villiers, opened proceedings he was shouted down by chants of "ANC, ANC." Mr de Klerk's speech was greeted by deafening cheers and cheers.

Then from the direction of the ANC and NUP protesters, stones started raining on Mr de Klerk and his aides. Bodyguards, who were lined up behind the car, threw a carpet around him and shielded him to his car.

He was then driven to Poplarpark, leaving behind pandemonium and confusion among the people.

By NOELMANN WEST
Political Reporter
LIKE Topsy, IT JUST GROWS AND GROWS

Consider a paradox: the immense labours of apartheid have been abandoned and most of the tasks laid on the public service by Verwoerdian theology have been abolished, but government grows and grows like Topsy.

The list of abandoned tasks is awesome: the pass laws have gone and with them the work of issuing passes, checking them, trapping people to the commissioners' courts, collecting fines, enforcing prison sentences and transporting people back to the rural areas.

But as the work shrinks the cost of government grows. It is now running at about R50-billion a year.

The group areas boards have gone, and nobody need buy up land for reallocation to different races. Also gone are the inspectors who used to chase workers around building sites because they were doing work reserved for other people. Nobody need spy on lovers, nor enforce miscegenation laws. Workers move where they will and there is no need for labour bureaux.

The bureaucrats, as we called the stifling network of committees that blanketed the country, with an army officer on every committee, are superfluous. There is no need for sanctions-busters, for oil buyers, for strategic stockpiles of aspirin and eyewash or for the army of bureaucrats who defended our industrial secrets. The censors have nothing much to do, and nobody chases hawkers from the sidewalks.

Nevertheless, the cost of government goes up.

The whole mad business of centralised planning, and all that went with it, has fallen into disrepute. No bureaucrat is called upon these days to discover the best site, ideologically speaking, for a Taiwanese factory, or to administer the rotten system of subsidies that went with it. The attempt to turn Bronkhorstspuit into an industrial hub has fizzled away.

Chris Heunis has gone, and his rickety structure of constitutional devices has collapsed into nothing more than Codesa, which costs not a fraction of the old Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. That alone should have saved us billions, but it hasn't.

Issor is a private company and so is Sasol, Armscor, SA Airways, the railway network and other enterprises which were once included, as government departments, among the burdens of the taxpayer are now supposed to pay their own way, and they put up their fees and charges ruthlessly. To go to hospital is to risk starving to death, and school fees drive mothers out to work.

The war in Angola has ended, and the administration of Namibia has been reduced to running a port. Nobody is building huge bases in Owamboland or case-hardened highways for the army along the borders. Thousands of military flights across the sub-continent have been terminated.

Despite all this, however, the government does not shrink. It grows. As this newspaper pointed out last week, the abolition of the entire Department of Development Aid - the biggest apartheid bureaucracy of all - has saved not a single job. On the contrary, it has caused the public service to grow.

Not only has the government found make-work jobs - at the old salaries, of course - for 4 071 redundant public servants; it has also absorbed 5 224 people who used to work for the defunct SA Development Trust. Heaven knows what they all do, but they still draw their salaries, drive around in their Mercs, occupy their offices and spend our money on each other.

WHEN government departments do, on rare occasions, shrink, the results are hardly more comforting. In 1986 Chris Heunis's department employed 1 348 people to make constitutions that didn't work. Of these, 15 were in the top bracket, earning at least R55 100 a year (not to speak of their Mercedes-Benzes, their subsidised housing loans, their crooked pension scheme, their first-class air tickets and jaunts abroad, ensovoorts, ensovoorts).

Today that department has been cut down to a mere 189 people whose task includes such things as liaison with media, research and "stabilising" the pension fund (whatever that may mean). That's progress, you might say - except that the number of officials in the top pay bracket has increased from 15 to 19, and that they now earn R191 500 or more.

To ask why it takes 19 highly paid mandarins to supervise 189 people when 15 used to supervise 1 348 people is naive. Public servants protect each other by promoting each other - that is why our army is reputed to have more generals per soldier than any army in Europe. Indeed, the military officers have more or less promoted each other out of fighting, a task which tends to be left to conscripts, or to Angolan refugees.

A NOTHER bureaucratic trick which we are seeing now is to ensure that budget cuts fall most heavily on the public - the hospital patients are dumped on to the floor and the roads are left to break up, but no senior fellow ever loses his job. The ensuing public outcry soon persuades the politicians to restore what they have cut from the Budget. The officials smile quietly.

To say that this is the worst government we have ever had is perhaps true, but petulant; to say that the ANC couldn't do worse than Mr Barend du Plessis in controlling government spending is also petulant, and perhaps untrue. What is true, however, is that the Nats will soon be handing over to the ANC a wondrous machine, an immense vacuum cleaner that sucks up money from people who work for a living, and dispenses it to those whose work is simply to dispense money.

Things can only get worse, people say gloomily as they survey the massing joblessness, poverty, welfare and education, health and happiness from the nappy state that is about to be created. Perhaps so, but there will be a difference: the ANC proposes to confiscate from the rich and give to the poor; the Nationalists confiscate from the poor to give to the rich.

And that's a much more wicked way for a government to ruin a country.

KEN OWEN
Landmark
trip for FW

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha returned to SA from Nigeria this week after what has been described as one of their most important official visits.

Relations between Nigeria and SA have been sour since 1960 when the then South African government refused to attend the Nigerian independence celebrations.

At the State banquet President Ibrahim Babangida said he was “delighted” that at last there was someone in SA that Nigeria could do business with. — Sapa
Getting gender on the agenda

By LULAMA LUTI

As preparations for the next sitting of Codesa get under way, the debate on the representation of women in the organization is also gaining momentum.

As a result, a broad national alliance of women's groups is being formed.

Already, regional structures have been set up in the Western Cape and Natal regions and it is hoped that the Transvaal will launch their structure soon.

This alliance will draw up a charter which will deal with women's rights at home, in the workplace, and in society at large.

Spearheaded by the ANC Women's League and others, the Women's Alliance was formed primarily to pressure Codesa to include gender issues in its deliberations.

Co-founder of the alliance in Natal, Sue Holland-Muter, listed the main objectives of the group:

- To raise the awareness of women about the need for including women's rights in the new constitution;
- To draw up a list of needs and demands that need to be included in a charter of women's rights to ensure that women are well-represented in negotiations and;
- To work for the setting up of a tribunal or similar institution to protect these rights.

Holland-Muter said the key issues were laws discriminating against abortion and contraception, violence against women, health and housing, education and child care.

The alliance is expected to bring as broad a spectrum of women's organisations together as possible.

"We are currently having discussions with women from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, IFP, the DP and the NP," she said.

The alliance could see party political allegiances and differences in ideologies taking a back seat as women fight for their voices to be heard during this historic era in SA.

Dr NC Zuma of the ANC Women's League said the parties taking part in Codesa were made up of people produced by a patriarchal society.

"It is not surprising, that they are slow in taking deliberate steps to correct gender imbalances in our country," she said.
PIK'S ENGINES OF GROWTH

A country with a potential market of 100 million people, South Africa is a paradise for investors. Its strategic location at the crossroads of the African continent makes it a key player in regional and global trade. With its rich natural resources, advanced infrastructure, and a well-educated workforce, South Africa offers a unique opportunity for businesses to expand and thrive.

The country's diverse economy includes agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and services, providing a wide range of opportunities for investment. The government has implemented policies to attract foreign direct investment, including tax incentives and streamlined bureaucratic processes. Additionally, South Africa is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which further enhances its potential as a gateway to the broader continent.

Investing in South Africa not only means tapping into a large consumer market but also gaining access to a skilled labor force and a well-developed financial sector. The country's political stability and strong institutions make it an attractive destination for long-term investments.

In conclusion, South Africa's strategic location, rich resources, and favorable business environment make it an ideal location for businesses looking to expand their operations in Africa and beyond.
THOUSANDS GATHER TO CHEER,
BOO DE KLERK IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN

FW rally ends in chaos, division

By KURT SWART

THOUSANDS GATHER TO CHEER,
BOO DE KLERK IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN

THE battle for the hearts and minds of the people of Mitchells Plain reached a crescendo yesterday when State President F W de Klerk was pelted with stones and driven off stage during an abortive attempt at a mass rally.

Mitchell's Plain, with a population of more than 700,000, will be a key constituency in a future non-racial election.

Many of the Labour Party MPs who have crossed to the National Party have taken their supporters with them. Yesterday NP supporters claimed a victory as thousands turned out to witness Mr De Klerk's controversial first visit to the sprawling township.

On the evidence of the crowd's response Mr De Klerk has strong support in Mitchells Plain. But, it was equally clear that the township's residents were deeply divided between supporters and opponents of the National Party.

In Seventh Avenue near the Town Centre, thousands of residents lined the road, ANC and New Unity Movement supporters on the one side facing FW fans, waving NP flags and shouting "FWF FWF" on the other side.

Some NP supporters tried to peel an ANC poster off a van. A white NP official shouted through a megaphone to the FW fans: "Please calm down, comrades." Posters plastered: "Welcome FW De Klerk" from the NP, "Welcome to Apartheid's Ghettos", from the ANC.

Democratic Party MP Mr Janie Memberg said: The crowd (estimated at under 10,000) is surprisingly small. I expected a lot more people here."

Heated arguments and healthy good-natured debates between ANC and NP supporters broke out all around the marquee after Mr De Klerk had been escorted to safety from the stone-throwers.

Boatbuilder Mr Johan Cleophas, sporting FW stickers and waving a NP flag, said: "De Klerk has made everything possible. Sanctions are dropping and more boats are coming in every day. The ANC is insane. They want to break things down. They throw people off trains. I'm going to sign up for the National Party."
Could RW become populist leader?

Graham Longworth reports on a beginning possibility in the new South Africa.
Disruption of EWS Cape Speech Condemned

The disruption of EWS Cape Speech, a program that aimed to promote free speech and democratic values, has been condemned by various human rights organizations and political leaders. The program was designed to foster open dialogue and debate on important social and political issues, but it encountered significant resistance from certain groups who saw it as a threat to their interests.

The Cape Town branch of the African National Congress (ANC) has been a vocal critic of the disruption, denouncing it as a violation of freedom of expression and a setback for the progress of the country. The ANC has called for the immediate reinstatement of the program and has appealed to the authorities to ensure its continuation.

In a statement, the ANC condemned the actions of those who sought to silence the voices of the marginalized and oppressed. The organization expressed its commitment to fighting against all forms of censorship and promoting the values of democracy and equality.

The disruption of EWS Cape Speech has sparked a national debate on the role of media in society and the need for a free and unbiased press. It has also highlighted the importance of protecting the rights of journalists and media workers who work to hold those in power accountable.

As the situation continues to unfold, there is a growing sense of urgency to ensure that the voices of all citizens, particularly those who are often marginalized, are heard and respected. The ANC and other opposition parties have called for the immediate cessation of any actions that undermines the democratic process and the fundamental rights of all South Africans.

In the wake of the disruption, there has been a call for unity and reconciliation. The ANC and other organizations have urged all parties to work together towards a more inclusive and prosperous society, where the voices of all are heard and respected.
Denmark promises massive cash aid for SA

Copenhagen wants to re-establish ties with South Africa and will provide financial support once an interim government has been established, said Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen in Pretoria yesterday.

After meeting Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said that Denmark would provide $100 million (about R280 million) over a five-year period for this purpose to the interim government and non-governmental organisations.

Denmark lifted sanctions against South Africa recently.

Mr Botha said they had discussed the concept of a southern African community of states, Codesa, and a timetable for domestic political developments.

Mr Botha said it was the first time that a Danish cabinet minister had visited South Africa.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen said it seemed obvious that South Africa would proceed to establish a democratic, non-racial dispensation.

A Danish official said Mr Ellemann-Jensen would meet President de Klerk today and Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Forty-four business representatives, 13 journalists and eight Danish Foreign Ministry officials are accompanying Mr Ellemann-Jensen on his visit. - Sapa.
PAC says talks with Pik 'a breakthrough'

Political Staff
Johannesburg. — The meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and the government in Nigeria was an important breakthrough in the negotiation process and the start of a series of bilateral meetings between the PAC and other parties, said PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

He said today the meeting, held on Friday in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, was an important breakthrough for the PAC because the meeting was held at a neutral venue and chaired by the Nigerian Foreign Minister General Ike Nwuchukwu.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha led the government delegation at the meeting which lasted almost two hours.

Discussions focused on the transitional process and it was agreed that there was a need for further meetings, Mr Moseneke said.

Further meetings between the PAC and the government would be arranged directly or through intermediaries.

The PAC suggested that an alternative negotiation forum be created which was acceptable to all parties.

The principle of neutrality should be strictly observed, which meant that the forum should be convened, chaired and its agreements endorsed by international bodies such as the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement, he said.

Codesa lacked neutrality and should therefore be reconvened.

Mr Moseneke said there were many examples of a lack of trust between negotiating parties as was clearly demonstrated by the National Peace Accord, which had failed and some signatories were now calling for the international community to monitor the agreement.

A negotiating forum should also not be "pre-packed" as was the case with Codesa. The PAC envisaged a two-sided negotiating table — between those who were in favour of a constituent assembly and parties opposed.

Plans were afoot to reconvene the Patriotic Front to establish a two-sided negotiating table, he said.
NP, ANC prepare for election battle

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will, within weeks, visit black, coloured and Indian areas across the country as the NP accelerates its new campaign to win over voters of all races.

The ANC also announced it was launching a major offensive in coloured areas following De Klerk’s rally in Mitchell’s Plain on Saturday.

The protests against De Klerk’s visit marked the first open clash in the pre-election battle between the ANC and NP to win coloured support.

De Klerk’s visit was cut short when he was forced by stone-throwers to leave the scene hurriedly. He was hit by small stones as he addressed a crowd estimated at 10 000, a turnout which De Klerk said afterwards proved “the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in SA”.

ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC was gearing up for an election and would embark on a major offensive in coloured communities.

The ANC believes an election will take place this year or early next year.

The NP is also planning a series of rallies in coloured, Indian and black communities as a build-up to a general election.

She said the Mitchell’s Plain rally was the first of a series of rallies intended to express De Klerk’s view that as he had reached out to white voters in the referen-

dum, he wanted to reach out to other population groups.

The Human Sciences Research Council found in a survey last year that 61% of coloureds said De Klerk was their first choice for national leader. ANC president Nelson Mandela received only 5%.

Hofmeyr said that of the ANC’s membership of 55 000 in the western Cape, about 10 000 to 15 000 were coloured people. The ANC had 60 branches in coloured areas and 50 to 50 interim structures which were not yet full branches.

“The ANC is by far the biggest and best supported party in terms of branches and members,” Hofmeyr said.

He said the ANC, in protesting against De Klerk’s visit, was not trying to say that De Klerk had no right to speak and canvass for votes in Mitchell’s Plain.

“What we are saying is that people in Mitchell’s Plain don’t like him and that they have the democratic right to express their dislike.”

Sapa reports that DP law and order spokesman Jan van Eck yesterday condemned the actions of those who prevented De Klerk from exercising his right to address Mitchell’s Plain residents. He also praised the “very restrained behaviour” of the SAP.

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Comment: Page 8
Labour will be a ‘good friend’ to SA

BRITISH Labour leader Neil Kinnock, addressing a foreign press corps of more than 500 journalists this week, said he was intent on close ties with South Africa.

He said Labour would be “a good friend” to any post-apartheid government.

With shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman at his side, Mr Kinnock said any government he formed would talk to all the parties in Cofesa.

“We have consulted with the ANC, which represents a substantial majority in South Africa, in the past,” he said.

“In fact, we are known to have close links among senior as well as rank and file members of the ANC.”

However, we will not confine our relationship to the ANC. We have many friends in South Africa and they will counsel us on what our position should be.

Mr Kinnock said he talked to President FW de Klerk last year because he wanted as broad a perspective about affairs in the country as possible.

“I was most alarmed when I first heard Mr de Klerk had called a referendum, but was reassured after consultation with our friends in South Africa.

“We believe sanctions must go when the final vestiges of apartheid do. But, of course, there will continue to be significant economic divisions.

“However, we will agitate for full and mature change in the country and after that we will try to encourage the return of foreign investment into the country.”

He said President de Klerk “must prove that progress is taking place”.

If there is an outright Labour victory, Mr Kaufman could become Her Britannic Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

The man the British press dubbed Labour’s top Wasp and one of the rudest of politicians has had a long association with South Africa, which he visited last year.

It is understood that he would devote time, money and effort in the townships in the form of training and education.

The Conservative press claims Labour has hidden Mr Kaufman (pronounced Kofman) because he is so rude he wins votes for the Tories.

Mr Kaufman, a man whose knowledge of opera, classical music, art and the finer aspects of culture are legendary, snapped this week: “I’ve just been asked in a TV interview why I’m never on TV.”
PAC calls for Codesa changes

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called for the restructuring of Codesa and listed five demands which should be met before it could enter the negotiation process.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke led a delegation which met representatives of the Government in Nigeria last week, made it clear that the talks were not an attempt to get back on track through the back door.

He, however, said if Codesa continued to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly which satisfied PAC demands, then the organisation would contest them.

Moseneke said the PAC demanded that:
- Real negotiations should be held at a neutral venue;
- A neutral person or persons should chair the process;
- A neutral monitoring mechanism should be agreed upon by all parties;
- Certain guarantees should be agreed upon; and
- Agreements should be verified from time to time.

Moseneke said people who should chair and monitor the negotiation process could be drawn from organisations such as the Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and the European Economic Community or a combination of all.

He said Codesa was a "do-it-yourself" structure which would not succeed unless there was real progress achieved so far.

"Codesa has achieved nothing. All so-called breakthroughs have been blown down by other participants," Moseneke added.

He stressed that last week's meeting with the Government was not initiated by the PAC.

"The PAC did not ask for this meeting. We were approached by the Government and we responded positively," he said.
SA conditions not yet right for democracy

JOHANNESBURG. — A democratic political structure could not be introduced in the country while the present undemocratic culture existed, government spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Speaking at the Institute of Directors conference here, he said free and fair elections could not take place in a culture where violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance were the order of the day.

"At present, the degree of violence and level of political intolerance are not reflecting a democratic culture."

He warned that radical forces from the extreme left and right of the political spectrum would not be allowed to endanger the process.

"The process must be protected against interference. Not everyone in South Africa shares the ideal of peaceful negotiations."

Dr Delport said the negotiation process at Codesa should also not be put under pressure to produce results.

"There is presently a high level of expectancy even irritation, at what may appear to be slow progress that has been made."

"May I stress the point that it would not be wise to sacrifice in-depth deliberations merely to produce quicker results."

Codesa was still dealing with very fundamental issues and immediate results could not be expected.
THE desirability and extent of a code of conduct for political parties is to be raised in a President's Council report to be released next week. The council would also debate the report on April 22 and 24, its secretary, Mr. Johan Wellbach, said in a statement yesterday.
8 MPs fly to see Mandela

DP men in ANC talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

In a dramatic move, eight Democratic Party MPs met the ANC this week for crucial talks about strategy and the future role of the party.

The MPs, all members of the ANC-supporting faction in Parliament, flew to Johannesburg on Monday for discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. They were joined by other senior members of the party.

Yesterday they continued their talks with other ANC leaders at the organization's headquarters.

Among those involved in the discussions were Mr Janie Membeberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Cape Town), Mr Pieter Oosthuizen (Grootfontein) and Mr Rob Hassett (Sandhurst South).

This growing link to the ANC shows the DP is committing itself to the "liberation campaign" and is far more than just another "centrist" party, as the ANC sees it.

The DP is keen to be seen as a "constructive" opposition and to be seen as a "progressive" party.

On the current fight against apartheid, the DP has been criticized for being too soft on the ANC. The ANC has been accused of being too hard on the DP.

The meeting comes as the DP is trying to strengthen its position in the Parliament and to be seen as a more viable alternative to the ANC.

Earlier there had been speculation that the DP may form a coalition with the ANC, but the meeting has put an end to those speculations.

The party has confirmed that it will continue to work with the ANC, but that it will not form a coalition with the ANC.

The party has been struggling in Parliament, and the meeting with the ANC has been seen as a way to strengthen its position and to be seen as a more viable alternative to the ANC.

The meeting has also been seen as a way to show the ANC that the DP is not a "centrist" party, and that it is committed to the "liberation campaign".

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JOHANNESBURG - The success of Cadesa is the ANC says govt is threatening Cadesa
ANC spells out demands for Codesa

THE ANC yesterday set out a list of 10 items on which it wanted agreement at Codesa II on May 15 and 16, but expressed concern at a news briefing that government "intransigence" threatened the possibility of progress.

Four members of the organisation's negotiating commission also disclosed at a briefing that a working group was already drafting an electoral law for the country's first non-racial election.

According to ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mohamed Valli Moosa, the ANC's "shopping list" for Codesa II included agreements on:
- Establishment of an elected constitution-making body whose decisions could not be vetoed by any other body;
- Mechanisms to ensure elections would be free and fair;
- A general amnesty for exiles and political prisoners (as opposed to the temporary immunity granted to exiles so far) as part of the creation of an appropriate climate;
- The scrapping of all legislation impeding free political activity;
- The passage of a general law guaranteeing basic civil rights to all during the transition — in effect, an interim bill of rights;
- Assurances that the security forces would not interfere with free political activity. According to NEC member Mac Maharaj, this included joint multiparty control over the security forces;
- A moratorium on unilateral restructuring in the socio-economic, foreign relations, security and political spheres;
- Impartial control of state-owned media;
- Overall arrangements for the initial phase of an interim government; and
- The restoration of SA citizenship to the approximately 10 million citizens of the TBVC states to enable them to participate fully in the political process. An interim arrangement of dual citizenship would be acceptable.

Valli Moosa said the government had been sending mixed signals on its willingness to accept anything more than advisory powers for non-NP groups during the first interim phase. In this it faced opposition from almost all other parties at Codesa.

The NP appeared unwilling to allow hands-on control of government functions by other groups. Further, the ANC believed strongly, at the very least, that an interim executive should have the authority to vote on decisions of the existing Cabinet.

Valli Moosa rejected government's claim that because its proposed preparatory councils would include government, it would naturally be obliged to enforce any agreements achieved.

ANC demands

According to government's formulation, full consensus would be required, which the ANC believed would mean council decisions would be few and far between.

The NP's proposed terms of reference for the councils specified that they would debate actions the government should take in the future. They excluded immediate, hands-on control.

Valli Moosa said if government failed to move on the issue, this would block agreement at Codesa II, and the ANC would be forced to review its position in the negotiations. He declared to speculate on what options it would consider, but said ANC branches had been approached to discuss what the organisation should do.

Maharaj said government's "intransigence" appeared to be due to divisions in its own ranks, problems with elements in the security forces, and attempts to pursue both negotiations and electioneering.

Valli Moosa said it appeared a conservative faction in the NP still held out hope and was looking for some device "to allow them to stay in power forever".

On other issues facing negotiations, ANC negotiators said they believed the PAC would soon join Codesa. "We believe they have no option. It's a question of time and face-saving," said Maharaj.

On the issue of the Zulu king's representation at Codesa, Maharaj said the subcommittee handling the issue had not finished its work, but there was agreement that the king could not be treated in a separate way from other traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders also agreed they should participate. But it was acknowledged that the king and paramount chiefs should not descend to the playing field itself. Traditional leaders below the rank of paramount chiefs should, however, find representation at Codesa, he said.
Violence will delay elections

NSW government structures would not be installed while the existing “undemocratic” culture prevailed, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Delport — who is also government’s spokesman on Codesa — told an Institute of Directors conference in Johannesburg that free and fair elections could not take place in a culture of violence, intimidation, private armies and intolerance.

“At present, the degree of violence and level of political intolerance are not reflecting a democratic culture,” he said.

SA’s unique circumstances required that major political players all have representation in the executive. The negotiating process, he said, had to be protected from left- and right-wing radicalism.

Government had advocated a political power-sharing model at Codesa. “In practical terms this means that the major players should share executive power, it means that the major political parties shall have representation in the presidency and the Cabinet.”

SA’s special circumstances required innovative concepts and a constitution that provided more than mere representation for all major parties. Effective participation required that special features be built into the constitution.

“We simply cannot run the risk of the major political forces in our country not being reconciled,” he said.

While progress in negotiations might appear to be slow, it would be unwise to risk jeopardizing the talks to produce quick results. Codesa was still dealing with very fundamental issues and immediate results

To Page 2

Elections could not be expected, he said.

Delport urged a process of nation-building which included redistribution through growth. “To adopt in an unqualified way the concept of growth through redistribution is to our mind suicidal,” he said.

Government believed the new constitution should entrench an economic system characterised by a balance between a market-related, free enterprise system and social responsibility. “We believe in redistribution through growth, while accepting that development programmes and empowerment are prerequisites for unlocking our full economic potential.”

While disparities between whites and blacks were large, it would serve no logical purpose either to attempt to retain influence for whites only or to spread such wealth as there was over the whole population.

From Page 1

See Page 5
Power sharing vital to a new system – Delport

By Michael Chester

It was vital that the new political system in South Africa was based on power sharing rather than total domination by a single party, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport told businessmen at a Johannesburg conference yesterday.

Dr Delport, Government negotiator and spokesman at Co-desa, told the annual conference of the Institute of Directors a new constitution should create space for every political party that had substantial support.

"The whole of political power may no longer rest with the majority party alone, as in the Westminster system," he said.

"It is imperative that more than one political party should have a share in power at all levels of government. The system must exclude the possibility that a political party with majority support could alone dominate decision-making."

The system advocated by the Government had been termed "forced coalition". He preferred to call it a government of national unity, reconciliation and reconstruction.

"We are convinced," he said, "that the confidence in the future of South Africa that we all need can best be stimulated by a constitution that regulates distribution of political power in a way that all major political forces know that their interests will be actively promoted."

Achieved

"There is a marked difference between representation in government and participation in government. More representation can be achieved by a system of proportional representation in Parliament. To allow for meaningful and effective participation, however, special features need to be built into the constitution.

"Special circumstances need special and innovative concepts. We cannot run the risk of the major political forces in our country not being reconciled."

"The basis for reconciliation is acceptance and recognition. This can be fostered by allowing active participation also at the highest level in government.

"In practical terms, this means that the major players should share executive power; it means that the major political parties would have representation in the presidency and Cabinet."

Protection of Codesa talks from interference was essential. Not everyone in South Africa shared the ideal of peaceful negotiations. Radical forces from the extreme left wing or right wing should not be allowed to put the process at risk.

"It was also important that negotiations were not put under time pressures. "There is at present a high level of expectancy, even irritation, at what may appear to be slow progress," he said. "It would not be wise to sacrifice in-depth deliberations for quicker results."

Fair elections could not take place in a culture of violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance, he added.
More doors open to SA

By Esther Waugh

President de Klerk's coming to power has had a domino effect in opening the doors of international diplomacy to the previously isolated South African Government, with Zambia being the latest to establish links.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said since Mr de Klerk assumed office in 1989, the number of South African missions had risen from 45 to 70.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Monday that representative offices were to be established in Pretoria and Lusaka.

Consulates in Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Bulgaria, Japan, Norway and Romania have been upgraded to embassies.

A permanent South African delegation in Finland has been upgraded to an embassy as was the permanent mission in Hungary.

The SA interest office in Moscow has been made an embassy as has a representative office in Poland.

New missions have been opened in Rwanda, Turkey, Angola, Botswana, the Cape Verde Islands, Colombia, the three Baltic states, El Salvador, Honduras, Kenya, Madagascar, Sao Tome and Principe islands, Togo and Zaire.
Rebel DPs: 'Expel them'

MICHAEL MORRIS and WILLEM STEENKAMP  ARG 15/4 92

Staff Reporters

DEmOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zac de Beer is today watching developments around ANC-sympathising MPs in his caucus to determine whether anybody should be "thrown out of the party".

"There is a mood of anger among party workers throughout the country (over the speculation about leftist MPs seeking closer relations with the ANC)," he said this morning in reaction to reports of talks this week between at least eight Democratic MPs, including Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont and Mr Jannie Momberg of Simon's Town, and the ANC on question of strategy.

One of the MPs involved in the talks indicated that no decision was made during or after the talks, and that the future of the party would depend on debate early next week on a DP strategy document.

"The MP believed a loss of MPs to the left, as well as to the National Party, was "very likely" if the strategy document, as is thought likely, emphasised a strictly independent role for the DP.

Citing a groundswell of anger among DP workers around the country, Dr de Beer said: "They feel we did well in the referendum, which served to pull our people together to an extent which has not happened before, and to be confronted immediately with this makes them fed up. They want me to throw somebody out.

"I do not believe the evidence exists to embark on that course yet, but it may well come to that point later."

bliss...The Boesaks on their wedding day.
Into the unknown
Breath before leap
NP takes a deep

The resistance will ride out.
Split looms as DP MPs suspended

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

OUR Democratic Party MPs were yesterday suspended by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer from its caucus and all positions in the party, paving the way for an open split.

The MPs are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greyton), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) and Mr Rob Hassell (Maritzburg South), all of whom were involved in strategy discussions with the ANC earlier this week.

Mr Van Eck, who said he had been informed of the decision by Dr de Beer, commented: "It is really being kicked out - based on the hear-say of other MPs here."

Although the four rebel MPs said they would discuss the matter next week with Dr de Beer, there seems little doubt that their membership of the DP will be terminated.

They were all tight-lipped last night about their political futures, and although none of them would say so, they could well become the first ANC MPs, a move which has already been approved in principle by the ANC.

The significance attached by the ANC to the negotiations with the MPs was underlined by the disclosure yesterday that not only did Mr Nelson Mandela take part in the talks on the same day his separation from his wife was announced, but ANC chairman Dr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and head of international relations Dr Thabo Mbeki were also present.

Three other DP MPs - Mr Koos Jordaan (Umbianga), Mr Werner Nel (Mool River) and Mr André de Wet (indirectly elected) - initially took part in the discussions but, according to DP sources, walked out in protest. The DP's chief whip, Mr David Dalling (Sandton), was to have participated but was forced to withdraw after he was re-admitted to hospital following his...
For comment, address your letter to:
The Guardian
1176 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036

We welcome letters to the editor. Please keep your letter to the maximum of 100 words.

Dear Sir, I am a member of the ANC and I would like to take this opportunity to express my concerns about the recent developments in South Africa. It appears that the ANC government is failing to address the needs of the people.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

I disagree with the recent ANC policy statement. It seems to be prioritizing economic growth over social welfare.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

The ANC must do more to prevent violence in the country.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

I support the recent ANC statement on the importance of education.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

I believe that the ANC should focus more on issues of corruption.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

The ANC must take action to address the housing crisis.

Sincerely,
Your Name

Dear Sir,

I am concerned about the recent ANC statement on foreign investment.

Sincerely,
Your Name
Chances were ‘squandered’

Political Staff
VALUABLE opportunities in the rationalisation of government development assistance had been squandered through a mass of bureaucratic structures, the De Loor committee of inquiry found.

"Unfortunately vested interests have too often prevented sound conclusions and recommendations by previous investigations to come to fruition and often new ad hoc decisions were taken without fully relating them to the impact they might have on existing structures and policies."

The committee, whose report was completed in October 1989 and handed to the government, said that in many of these instances political factors played a dominant role.

Its confidential report has never been published, but the Cape Times obtained a copy.

Its findings show that despite the urgent need for development aid to poor communities, a vast administrative bureaucracy had been established with considerable overlapping and duplication, wasting much of the official effort to deal with the problems of poverty in South Africa.

The committee said that in the first phase of the past 40 years, apartheid was the overriding objective and development assistance was aimed at the attainment of political and economic independence for the homeland, South Africa.

The second phase, started in the early 1980s, was an effort to recognise economic realities but apartheid structures remained and were even expanded. The third phase, commenced in the late 1980s, was non-racial in approach and although many racial structures were still in place, they would probably soon be dismantled.

Inquiry found ‘duplication’

World Bank finding backed

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SECRET government inquiry, completed 18 months ago, strongly criticised the "proliferation" of official institutions, funds and role players involved in development assistance.

This, it said, had resulted in the wasteful application of scarce human, financial and managerial resources "because of the overlapping and duplication of activities."

The report of the nine-person committee of inquiry, headed by former auditor-general Mr Joep de Loor, was completed in October and handed to the former minister of administration and economic co-ordination, the late Dr Wim de Villiers.

At the time, Dr De Villiers said that after the report had been studied, further steps would be considered, but little action has been taken since then and the proliferation of government bodies involved in development work has continued.

The overlapping and duplication of activities has grown, despite the fact that these departments and agencies are at the forefront of official government policy to remove economic and social backlogs and reduce inequalities.

The "confidential" report of the Committee on Development Assistance has not been published before and publication of it was "restricted".

The report reveals a remarkable bureaucratic mess in the provision of development aid to underprivileged communities, much of which could have been rectified regardless of the constitutional changes being negotiated.

The committee even proposed interim steps to address most of the deficiencies it came across and it said that rectifying many of the present problems was not dependent on constitutional development, but few of its proposals have been implemented.

"Apart from the present incoherent institutional arrangement of development agencies, a number of other important deficiencies were also identified."

"The most important one in this respect can be related to the lack of a sound system of financial relations between different levels of government."

The committee said central government departments should, as far as possible, only be responsible for policy advice to the executive, and for macro-planning, financing, monitoring and co-ordination, and that every public sector entity should take responsibility for the total spectrum of the South African population.

It also recommended that development projects and programmes should be as far as possible be executed by the second and third tiers of government and that the co-ordination of development policy be undertaken by a new institution that accepts responsibility for the facilitation of development, macro-economic analyses, planning, co-ordination and advice.

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Inquiry found ‘duplication’

World Bank finding backed

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Dr Joep de Loor is a former director-general of finance and former auditor-general.

He retired from the civil service in 1989 after serving in a number of departments.

Dr De Loor was also head of the committee of inquiry into the provision of housing in South Africa, whose preliminary report was completed earlier this year.

It is believed that the committee has backed up a confidential World Bank finding on South Africa that the “present structure for formulating and implementing housing policy is hopelessly inefficient, contradictory and duplicative”.

The other members of the De Loor committee into development assistance were: The Director of Information Services of the former Department of Development Aid, Mr J H Buitien; the Director of the Central Economic Advisory Service, Mr R A Downing; the Deputy Director-General and chief of the Central Economic Advisory Service, Mr J P Dreyer; the Deputy Chief Auditor in the Office of the Auditor-General, Mr J F Jonker; the then general manager of the Development Bank, Mr A B La Grange; a partner in Debelesil, Pim Goldse and co-author to the office of the Auditor-General, Professor J A J Loots; the special adviser to the Chief Executive of the Development Bank, Dr R van Eeden; the senior assistant economist in the Central Economic Service, Mr J C Lotter, who was also the committee’s secretary.

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A passion culminates in a piece of Gravel Chips

But the wire at the end of the press reports game days

President PW de Klerk’s mission to build a nation, multiplied in muscles and play. This week 1992 - 2019.

Photo: Eric Miller
Minor changes in Africa from Major

One (SADEC) Development Cooperation Centre

Minor changes in the Southern Africa Regional Development Cooperation Centre will continue to be made. The Centre will continue to be a coordinating body to promote regional and national economic cooperation and integration.

Some major points on the agenda of the recent Southern African Economic Co-operation and Development Conference in 201

- The Centre will continue to promote regional and national economic cooperation and integration.
- The Centre will continue to provide technical assistance to its member states.
- The Centre will continue to support capacity building and training of officials in member states.
- The Centre will continue to promote trade and investment among member states.
- The Centre will continue to support regional and national economic co-operation and integration.
Three EC foreign ministers for SA

A "TROIKA" of foreign ministers from the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK is set to visit SA within the next month, according to senior diplomatic sources.

The three, the previous, present and next holders of the EC presidency, will represent the EC as a whole, rather than their individual states. 8/10/92

Foreign ministry spokesmen in the three countries would not confirm the visit, but senior diplomatic sources said it was likely to go ahead before Codesa II on May 15.

Sources close to government said Foreign Affairs was aware of provisional plans and was awaiting further details from the governments concerned.

Portugal is the current holder of the rotating EC presidency. The Netherlands held the presidency until December 31, and the UK is set to take over from June 20.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was in SA in May last year, and is one of the few "old guard" British ministers to have kept his position after the post-election cabinet reshuffle.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek is due in SA in August, accompanying Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers on a visit that has roused the ire of the ANC. The Dutch leaders, who were key supporters of the ANC during the apartheid years, cancelled a visit planned for last February due to ANC opposition.

The ANC was unavailable for comment yesterday on the EC trip.

Hurd and Van den Broek, and their Portuguese counterpart Joao de Deus Pinheiro, will meet representatives of all the major participants in Codesa.
Women to fight for Codesa role

WOMEN from a variety of political persuasions have
been encouraged to give fresh impetus to
demands for a greater role for women at Codesa.
Representatives of various organisations — including
the ANC, the NP, Inkatha and the SA Council of
Churches — said yesterday there was concern about
how little representation women had at Codesa.

Pensions to be rounded off

SOCIAL grants paid out to black pensioners will be
rounded off to the nearest R5 or R10 in future to
overcome the problem of a new trolley-assisted cash
dispenser which does not dispense coins.

Air Tanzania to start SA route

AIR Tanzania is hoping to start flights
between Dar es Salaam and Johannesburg
by the beginning of July.

SAA was evaluating the viability of
starting its own service on the route, a
spokesman confirmed yesterday following
the signing of a commercial air services
agreement between the two airlines.

SAA spokesman Anelisa Reyneke said
Air Tanzania had expressed interest in
hiring SAA's technical assistance and ser-
vice for its Boeing 737-200s similar to those
operated by SAA.

"Nothing has been finalised on the tech-
nical side yet, but they have been shown
our facilities and now we are just waiting
for the Tanzanians to make a decision," she
said.

SAPA reports that an Air Tanzania dele-

gation visiting SA held talks yesterday
with several travel companies, including

Thompson Tours and Orient Travel. The
talks concerned the compilation of various
package tours.

Tanzania recently lifted its ban on SA-
registered aircraft passing through its air-
space.

This enabled SAA to reroute its Nairobi
flights over Tanzania instead of its aircraft
having to first fly east and then north over
the Indian Ocean before turning west to
cross the Kenyan coast near Mombasa.

Air Tanzania said in a statement yester-
day it hoped to start operating weekly
flights to Jan Smuts Airport by July.

SAA had no plans to introduce a flight,
but was willing to assist Air Tanzania in
developing the route, said Reyneke.

Market demand would dictate whether
SAA would put its aircraft into service on
the route.

Final sequestration

DESPERATE attempts by the
former Cabinet Minister Pieties
to save himself from bankruptcy fail
when a final sequestration
granted against him in the
Supreme Court.

The order, by Judge H J Pressed
months of litigation, during
Piesse's staid his final leg.

The order, by Judge H J Pressed
months of litigation, during
Piesse's staid his final leg.
De Beer suspends 4 MPs after ANC talks

By Esther Waugh and Carina le Grange

Four Democratic Party MPs were suspended from the caucus of the party yesterday as a result of a meeting with the ANC leadership earlier this week, leader Dr Zach de Beer confirmed last night.

Dr de Beer announced yesterday afternoon that the four, Jan van Eck, Janine Momberg, Rob Haswell and Pierre Cronje, were suspended "on the basis of information" he had received yesterday.

Earlier yesterday he had said there was "not enough" evidence at that stage to expel the DP members who met the ANC, but said last night that he had received further information.

The MPs were suspended from the caucus and stripped of their status as spokesmen of the party.

Mr van Eck is also suspended as representative on Codesa. He served on the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

The suspended men are all in favour of closer ties with the ANC and opposed to any DP alliance with the National Party or to proposals by some DP MPs that the party join the NP in a new centrist party.

A further statement will be issued when all relevant information has been collected, Dr de Beer said.

The group who met ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday and Tuesday had also included Kobus Jordaan.

Dave Dalling, who is at present in hospital, has also been associated with this group.

But Dr de Beer last night said he had "no problems" with Mr Jordaan and with regard to Mr Dalling, he would not add to making his life difficult.

Mr van Eck, the Claremont MP, last night said in response to the announcement that what surprised him was the fact that he was informed about the decision by the media.

"I have no idea why I have been suspended, but it is a motion of no confidence in me and the message I get is that it is impossible to remain in the DP," he said.

He declined to comment on the implications for his suspension with regard to Codesa or with regard to his political future.

Sapa reported that Simonstown MP Mr Momberg said he had also learnt about the suspension through the media and that he did not consider it a "crime" to talk to leaders of other political groupings.

However, Mr Haswell (MP for Maritzburg South) told The Star that he had been informed and that he considered the matter to be sub judice at this stage in view of a hearing when he gets back to Parliament.

Greystown MP Mr Cronje was not available for comment last night.
NEWS

Local deals hinge on Coles

The deals that hinge on the Coles Supermarket in Power

The supermarket centre, some of which

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Adrian Haldane

Local deals hinge on Coles

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Democracy and Electoral Systems

This is the second part of our interview with Kader Asmal. We spoke to Professor Asmal about electoral systems and their role in the struggle for majority rule.

Learning Nation: Tell us why it is so important to have a constitution which is drawn up democratically?

Professor Asmal: The constitution must be written by everybody through a Constituent Assembly. In this sense South Africa has never had a constitution.

Firstly it was only drawn up by what is now 11% of the population. It excluded, until 1983, the vast majority of blacks. A small percentage of blacks were co-opted on a racist basis into the Tripartite System. The constitution therefore had no legitimacy.

LN: How do constitutions relate to the question of law?

Professor Asmal: Our constitution is not the higher law because, by an ordinary Act of Parliament, a simple majority of whites can amend the existing constitution.

A higher law constitution is one that has priority over Parliament and existing laws. All laws passed which conflict with such constitutions are of no effect. You have to go to the highest court in the land, one which will have blacks, which will have women, gays too. This court will interpret government legislation and to strike it down if it is contrary to the constitution. We have never had that in South Africa.

We don’t want a constitution drawn up by lawyers, in smoke-filled rooms. Everybody should be able to make representation. There should be a Bill of Rights - whether we want abortion or counter-abortion. This should be a matter of public debate.

LN: Tell us about different electoral systems, and how they strengthen or reaid democracy?

Professor Asmal: An electoral system determines how votes are related to the elections of individuals and parties. There are about 300 different systems in the world, but basically they can be divided into the following:

The British System - This is also called the "first past the post", "winner takes all", or plurality system. Elections are held in a geographical areas called constituencies. The constituencies should be the same size. Supposing there are five candid-ates. The person that gets the highest number of votes is elected into parliament. That candidate often does not get more votes than the others combined. The votes for the other candidates are therefore wasted, they may as well have not voted. Elections are therefore often by majorities.

Whoever draws the constituency lines can maximise their strength and minimise the strengths of their opponents. Secondly the constituencies don’t have the same number of voters - this is called the "loading factor". One-person-one-vote-one-value applies. This system favours two parties. It doesn’t allow for many parties to be heard. We would rather have parties inside parliament than outside, reaching for the AK47.

There are other problems as well. For example it disadvantages women - in the USA, fewer than 6% of Congresspeople are women, in Britain 10%, whereas in Sweden, and Germany it’s 30%, and they don’t use the British system.

Second System - the Run-Off or Exhaustive system, where candidates must get more than 50% of the votes in each constituency. In Algeria, in the first democratic elections, the FIS (Muslim fundamentalists) got 50% of the votes in a large number of seats but they didn’t get 50% of the votes in half the seats so there had to be a run-off. In the run off the party which came last in the constituency is excluded. This means there must be more than one election. Therefore the system is cumbersome and expensive. It is also still based on constituencies, and who decides on constituencies?

Thirdly it is a one-to-one contest in the end. Fourthly there is no proportionality between the votes you get and the number of seats. For instance in France the Communist Party never got the number of seats it should have been entitled to get.

Third System - the Alternative Vote. This system is also called the Australian system. When there is more than one candidate for a constituency, you vote by numbers. You give your first choice the number one, say the Labour Party, then the next party, say the Country Party; 2; then the Conservative-Party; 3; and then the Popular Trotskyist Movement 4.

We count all the number 1’s and if one party, or one person, has been found to have received more than 50% of the votes then he or she is declared the winner. You must get 50% of the first preferences. If no one gets more than 50%, then you eliminate the last one. You then look at the ballot papers and check to see what the second preference was and you allocate the second. What will happen then is that, say 10%, will go to one candidate, 30% to another and so on, and you count up all the votes over again and see whether a candidate has 50% so far. If no-one does, you eliminate the third and allocate the people’s 3rd choice and so on until all winning candidates get more than 50% of the vote.

This is a fair system but it is still based on the constituencies. Secondly there is no proportionality. When you add up all the votes, nationally, of the candidates of a particular party, there is no relationship between the number of seats a party might get and the number of votes it received. So the Australian Labour Party could get 46% of the votes, but only 37% of the seats. Also this system is a spoil- ing system - it means that in each constituency there must be coalitions, you have trade offs.

It means that in South Africa, the National Party in Natal can say "Give us the first preference to keep the ANC out and give Inka-Ifa number two". This is because the National Party has no hope of winning a democratic election in South Africa, but its own second preferences will spoil the chances of another party.

But there is another crucial negative feature - my own estimate is that about 60% of our people are illiterate. You can ask the returning officer to help you with a cross or a tick but you cannot ask him or her to help with preferences. Any system which relies on numbers, will give inordinate power to returning officers.

Next week we continue our interview with Kader Asmal. We will look at proportional systems and see whether these help democracy.
International Capitalism: Recessions and Uncertainty

A striking feature of many of the leading capitalist countries over the past few years is their economic recession. The USA, Britain, and France are amongst the worst hit countries. No other country has experienced such severe economic problems as Japan and Germany. These countries have shown a growth in their economies, but there is uncertainty as to how long this trend can continue.

A recession means that instead of the economy growing and the capitalists making bigger profits, the economy declines and profit-making becomes increasingly difficult.

Under these conditions, the capitalists resort to all kinds of measures in an attempt to secure their profits. In trying to beat the recession, capitalists cut production rates or even shut down factories. Sometimes they shut down a factory in one country and move the plant to another country to get cheaper labour or better tax benefits. Capitalists also argue for a wage freeze despite a rise in the cost of living. All these different tactics lead to workers facing a drop in their standard of living or unemployment.

Responses to the Economic Crisis - The Capitalists

Capitalism is an economic system based on competition between capitalists. This competition happens between capitalists within a country as well as between capitalists of different countries. For example, American and Japanese capitalists compete with each other for the sale of their products. Over the last few years, the USA has bought more from Japan than Japan has bought from the USA. By the beginning of 1991, the USA owed Japan about $46 billion. This trend is most clearly shown up through the collapsing motor car industry in the USA. More and more Americans prefer Japanese cars to US models resulting in a severe drop in sales of American made cars. The capitalists who invested in the motor car industry face huge losses.

American capitalists accuse the Japanese capitalists and the Japanese state of blocking the entry of American products into Japan. Often these accusations are made in such a way that the Japanese capitalists and their state are not attacked for being capitalist, but for being Japanese. This amounts to promencing racism where the Japanese nation is made to be a nation that is selfish and greedy. These prejudices can get easily re-enthroned in conditions of an economic recession.

Capitalists also stir up racist prejudices between nations, out of fear that their country will be dominated economically and politically by another. In particular, countries like France and Britain with their weak economies, fear German domination. This fear continues to grow given that by the end of 1992, countries like Germany, Britain and France together with our European countries are meant to merge into a single European Economic Community (the EEC) In America, there is a rising tide of anti-Japanese feeling. A campaign to "Buy America" and to put "America First" is gaining in popularity as Americans are encouraged to buy American products despite the higher prices as a sign of their patriotism.

Past experiences have shown that under worsening economic conditions, the capitalist class of one country is willing to go to war with another country. The Gulf War is a recent example. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a threat to America's oil supply and political influence in the Middle East. Imperialist invasions of another nation have little to do with advancing democracy. Instead, democracy is often sacrificed to secure the political and economic interests of the imperialist country.

Japan Strikes Back!

Japan is no longer willing to take the racist bashing it gets from the USA in silence. Japanese capitalists have found a way in which to make a profit from all the racial abuse Japanese get from Americans. A Japanese computer company has produced a video game called "Japan Bashing." In the game, players must use their "skill" to convince the Japanese government to allow US building companies into Japan. Another situation involves the player trying to understand a Japanese speak "broken" English.

The makers of the video game argue that the game is meant to improve Japanese-American relations. This is questionable however for when the "Americans" are offended in the game, a cowboy with his six-shooter gun shoots the "Japanese." When the "Japanese" are offended in the game, a Samurai warrior uses his sword to kill the "Americans." Rather than improve relations, this game seems more likely to sharpen the growing racism between America and Japan.

Responses to the Economic Crisis - The Middle and Working Class

The immediate impact of the economic recession for the middle and working classes in the capitalist countries is a drop in the standard of living, bankruptcy and unemployment. As a result of the dominating influence of capitalist ideology, middle and working class people largely believe that the economic crisis is a fault of some other country. For example, many ordinary American people believe that Japan is the cause of their economic problems. The capitalist system itself is not questioned as a possible cause for the failing economy. Thus fertile ground exists within the middle and working classes for racist sentiments to grow.

In Germany, although the economy is not in a recession, there is growing fear amongst Germans about job security and a drop in living standards. This fear comes after the recent reunification with East Germany where unemployment is as high as 30%. Germans also feel threatened by immigrants or workers from countries like Poland and other East European countries who are looking for jobs, often for low wages. Similar fears about loss of job opportunities and social benefits exist amongst middle and working class people in countries like Britain and France.

The competition between workers for jobs or for social benefits not only divides working against worker, but also turns workers of one nation or national group within the same country against another. This division within the working class is promoted by the capitalists who are out to pay the lowest wage possible. This is already being clearly demonstrated in countries such as Britain, Germany and France. In recent months, there has been growing support for right-wing and fascist political parties. Among the key issues promoted by these right-wing and fascist parties are demands for stricter immigration laws, deliberate discrimination against immigrants when it comes to jobs, housing and social security and the maintaining of "cultural values and standards." It is this desire to limit democratic rights to a chosen national group at the expense of others that makes this form of nationalism reactionary.

Prevalently, the fascist organisations do not enjoy popular support. However they are growing support for some elements of the right-wing programme especially for the tighter control of immigration. However, if the recession continues to cut more deeply into the living standards of working people and the face of capitalism is in danger, then fascist solutions become real options.

In our last article in Nationalism next week we will focus our attention on South Africa. We have the complex situation in which the majority of people are still struggling to win their democratic rights denied them under apartheid. Under the same conditions, there exist right-wing nationalist and even fascist movements.
Cracks in the DP as Zach suspends four MPs

TIM COHEN

TENSIONS within the DP came to a head yesterday when party leader Zach de Beer suspended four MPs apparently contemplating membership of the ANC. The move heralds a possible split in the party.

De Beer said in a statement that on the basis of information he had received yesterday, he was suspending the caucus membership of Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) and Janine Momberg (Simon’s Town). The MPs were also suspended from their status as spokesmen of the party and as representatives on select committees and Codesa.

The four were part of a group of seven DP MPs who held talks on Monday with ANC president Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC members.

De Beer said yesterday he had been informed that the four MPs concerned had discussed joining the ANC with the ANC delegation. This was the reason they, and not the others, were suspended.

De Beer said the suspension could be reversed if his information turned out to be untrue, but he expected the information to be confirmed soon.

The suspended members contacted last night said they were astounded by the action, which took them by surprise. They did not spell out what they would do, but party sources said their position was untenable.

Van Eck and Momberg both complained that they should have been informed of the move before the suspensions were announced, so that they could answer any allegations made against them.

Momberg said he would have preferred

to have discussed the matter in an amicable way with De Beer before any action was taken. He thought it was not a crime to discuss strategy with all parties.

"I don't want to harm the DP which has been very good to me, but I have to look to the future. I am not angry, just bewildered," Momberg said.

Van Eck said: "It is really being kicked out - based on the hearsay of other members." He said he was amazed he had been suspended without being spoken to or being given any reasons. "It is basic courtesy to at least talk to one."

The suspensions come shortly before the DP caucus discusses a new approach for the party, in the light of the changing political situation and the NP’s adoption of many DP positions. About 11 MPs apparently favour a closer relationship with the ANC, about five with the NP and the remainder want to remain independent.

In reaction to the proposition that the DP was bound to shed members soon, De Beer said: "It may be that we are in the process of shedding some members." He said he knew of no other members who were likely to leave the party.

Our political staff reports that according to DP sources, also at the talks with the ANC were Wessel Nel (Moos River), Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga) and indirectly elected Transvaal MP Andre de Wet. David Dalling (Sandton) was to have participated but withdrew for medical reasons.

From his bed in a Stellenbosch clinic, Dalling said: "I think it is a mistake for a party which has a narrow support base and narrow focus to try to limit that support and focus even further. I shall be speaking to the four MPs in the next 24 hours and hear what their story is."

Sapa reports from Durban that the Inkatha Freedom Party has welcomed the suspension of the four DP caucus members. In an unattributed statement it welcomed their "coming out of the closet and displaying their true colours. The IFP supports the MPs' inalienable right to attend political funerals of rival organisations - however, actually addressing them is unbecoming of members of an organisation which projects itself as a centrist political party."
De Klerk for President?

The National Party is poised to draw massive support from coloured areas in the Cape in SA's first democratic election — that will probably be held within the next 18 months. And the ANC rabbit seems, for the moment, to be dazzled in the headlights.

The Nats, having ditched apartheid, are moving swiftly to capitalise on their leader's popularity.

They also expect to get substantial majority support in the Indian communities — and they may be increasingly attractive to more blacks than the ANC may be comfortable with.

The Nats have other advantages over the ANC which could prove important going into an election. President F W de Klerk has tested his constituency and consolidated his position.

The ANC, on the other hand, has many resilient factions. It is saddled with some official ideological positions that the civilized world finds at best quaint and at worst dangerous. The ANC has never faced an election. And its president, Nelson Mandela, has been forced to wash domestic linen in public.

He must also not be forgotten that the ANC has always been a broad church. When Mandela eventually goes, it is not impossible that the organisation will split — which would probably strengthen further any moderate centrist party presided over by a relatively young De Klerk.

De Klerk's first foray into Mitchells Plain, the country's largest coloured residential area (in his capacity as party leader), was an undeniable success. But he was effectively forced to abandon the main public meeting and was whisked away from the giant marquee packed with about 5,000 people, after the stage had been pelleted with gravel and the occasional bottle and egg.

The vast majority of the 10,000-plus people who lined the city's streets and packed two venues to hear him speak were cheering rather than jeering. General chaos — most of it good-natured — reigned for hours before his arrival, during the visit and long after he left it and all ensured widespread publicity for the Nats cause.

De Klerk was shouted down by a relatively small group of mainly ANC supporters. But it allowed him to capture the moral high ground (a political skill that he has perfected over the past two years).

The ANC has been as the villain in Mitchells Plain, denying De Klerk the right to free speech, so often claimed for itself (and, until recently, been denied by the NP).

The ANC was also seen as perpetuating racial divisions by demanding that De Klerk keep out of coloured areas which it regards as its turf.

Such are the ironies of the new SA.

Such reaction to the meeting, a statement from the ANC's head office in Johannesburg described the event as an 'total disaster' and claimed De Klerk was neither shouted down nor placed under threat and that he abandon the meeting when it became clear that the most people opposed him.

But local officials of the ANC (and almost every journalist on the scene) concluded that the NP had clear majority support on the day. ANC spokesman Willie Hofmeyr also condemned "in the strongest terms" the stone-throwing and disruption that forced De Klerk to leave.

It was also condemned by Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck, widely regarded as much more partial to the ANC than the Nats. After monitoring the meeting and witnessing the events, he said that while he understood how angry some people were at the way the Nats governments had treated coloureds for 40 years, he disagreed of the disruptive action in the strongest and most unequivocal terms. "We cannot allow this sort of thuggery to become the pattern in the run-up to the first democratic election in our history."

It is interesting to speculate on how the ANC would have responded had the Inkatha Freedom Party disrupted the weekend meeting in KwaMashu near Durban addressed by Mandela in the same way that its supporters broke up De Klerk's Mitchells Plain rally.

There is also a correlation between the weekend disruption and the behaviour last year of AWB supporters in Ventersdorp, when De Klerk went to the town considered by the AWB to be its territory.

The ANC's response to De Klerk's Mitchells Plain visit demonstrated how far the organisation is particularly in the western Cape — still has to go to transform itself into an efficient political machine rather than a protest movement.

The Nats are already thinking in terms of communal elections — and their campaign has already started.

The western Cape ANC is based largely on the old United Democratic Front, an extremely effective anti-apartheid machine in the region while the ANC was still banned. But it's clearly struggling now to develop a new role.

Despite the election last year of Allan Boesak, the ANC's western Cape leader (supposedly to draw coloured support), there is growing evidence that coloureds will flock to the NP or, better still, a new party established around the core of the current NP.

In some respects, the groundswell of support for the NP among coloureds is surprising, considering the shameful manner in which they were treated by the party for four decades. Many residents of Mitchells Plain in particular have reason to be bitter. They were forcibly moved to the sprawling Cape Flats city when areas such as District Six were declared white.

But interviews with residents — including some who were forced to move — published over the past few days indicate that most believe De Klerk has taken the NP beyond apartheid and that it's time to start a new chapter in political history. They feel more comfortable with De Klerk and the NP than they do with Mandela and the ANC.

Many coloureds are deeply religious and, therefore, suspicious of the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party. And they are overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking.

NP leaders believe that if there is already such strong and open support for the party in Mitchells Plain, a relatively radical community prone to political intimidation, then the potential in more conservative (and less bitter) areas is massive.

The last battle

The Cape Corps, a volunteer military unit for coloureds, has been disbanded as part of the SA Defence Force (SADF)'s current rationalisation programme and in an attempt to move away from "apartheid" in the army.

But the move has been described as "window dressing" and insensitive to the traditions of a unit which traces its history back more than 200 years.

The rationalisation was approved in February by Defence Minister Rolf Meyer after months of investigation. On April 1, the Cape Corps battalions were merged to form 9 SA Infantry Battalion (9 SAI), based at the old corps base in Eersterivier near Cape Town. The maintenance unit and the Cape Corps Regiment, a citizen forces voluntary unit, were disbanded. At a parade in Cape Town next week the army will be formally disbanded and its its colours, including battle honours from World War I, will be laid up in the Castle.
The race for the black vote

Politicians are realising the black vote counts if they are to stay in business.

This shift in emphasis — to prepare the ground for South Africa’s first non-racial elections — is a major factor in moves towards a realignment in party politics.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch, foresees a potentially significant impact of this week’s events — Mrs Winnie Mandela’s fall from grace in African National Congress “establishment” politics and the shift of a group of Democratic Party MPs towards the ANC — on the future course of politics.

He sees these events as a forerunner to other similar trends in South Africa’s unfolding political drama.

By shedding Mrs Mandela, or at least diminishing her role, the ANC stands to gain more respectability in the eyes of whites. This could facilitate even encourage white politicians to either become members of the ANC or form alliances with it.

On the other hand, however, political analysts argue that watching Mrs Mandela’s next moves for signs that she may continue as a potentially powerful leadership figure for the ANC’s militant faction, consisting mainly of young people who are impatient with the older generation’s relatively conservative strategies.

Next to MK chief-of-staff and South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, Mrs Mandela is known to appeal strongly to young militants in black townships. If she were to be ousted from any significant role in the ANC hierarchy, tensions inside the organisation could increase to the point of a possible split.

This could mean the ANC would lose much support, with militants defecting to join other black organisations like the Pan African Congress, which is still committed to the “armed struggle” and refuses to negotiate with the government inside the framework of Codesa.

So far, Mrs Mandela has not shown her hand, apart from announcing her resignation from her key post as head of the ANC’s social welfare department.

She remains a member of the organisation’s national executive committee (NEC).

Some analysts say developments in the Democratic Party this week, pointing to a possible defection of some DP MPs to the ANC, could set off further significant political realignments.

An indicator would be the reaction of militants in the ANC to a new DP presence. If the militant wings disapprove, it could motivate some of them to move towards other groupings like the PAC and Azapo.

Another powerful force which could direct not only the ANC’s future political and economic policy directions, but also the whole course of black politics is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

With more than a million members, it is the largest and strongest trade union federation in South Africa. Its membership includes unions in nearly all industrial sectors.

In its recent fight against VAT and previous tough campaigns against government policy, Cosatu has shown that political leaders would be unwise to underestimate its future role and power.

Only this week, Cosatu once again bared its teeth with a blunt warning that it would resist any attempts by the government to impose economic sanctions on the country.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo said the government should stop restructuring the economy and enter into negotiations with the organised trade union movement and organised business.

Professor Breytenbach points out that Cosatu, in effect, has the power to veto government decisions by mass action and threatened disruption of the country’s economy. Although it is at present an ally of the ANC and the SACP, a future interim government in which the ANC had a role could well find itself up against Cosatu opposition if it did not approve of government policy or decisions.

The present political line-up, as seen by Professor Breytenbach, puts the DP in the centre of the political arena, with the National Party “right of centre”, the ANC/SACP “left of centre” and Cosatu further left. The PAC, Azapo, New Unity Movement and the Workers’ Organisation of SA are “far left”.

On the basis of opinion surveys, the ANC is the strongest political grouping in South Africa, with an estimated 55 percent of the total vote in a general election. The NP is the second strongest, with an estimated 30 percent of the total vote.

This means that two strongest parties could get up to 85 percent of the total vote, leaving 15 percent between the other groupings.

After the two big guns, the support ladder is as follows: the PAC, the Conservative Party and Inkatha — each with an estimated million supporters — followed by other smaller groups on the left and on the right of the political spectrum.

A big question mark still hangs over the future role of Inkatha in the peace process and over the continuing conflict and animosity between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Can the two groups ever be reconciled? Such hopes seemed to fade this week when vitriolic exchanges erupted between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi over a meeting in the northern Transvaal.

Other divisive factors that could affect future political alignments in black politics include the taxi war and train violence.

An important, although relatively silent influence is the powerful Zion Christian Church which draws up to two million supporters to its annual Easter gatherings in the northern Transvaal.

Significantly, the church’s gathering tomorrow is to be addressed by three key players in South Africa’s peace process — President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi. This move will enhance the church’s image as a force for peace and reconciliation.

Some observers say the potential role of traditional black leaders in future political realignments should not be overlooked.

Some of these leaders have a strong influence over their followers inside and outside South Africa and are eager to play a role in constitutional negotiations.
disenfranchised

COLOURED people who moved into traditional white areas should be included on the existing voters' rolls, regardless of race, Mr Roger said at Parliament yesterday.

He said the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts meant that people who moved into white areas, "disenfranchised themselves".
Glory to FW cult hides tarnished history.

Welcome to the PLAN... but many of the welcoming party had
been brought from further abroad.

The protest by ANC and now the UP and IANC
was the NP world wide concern. Thus
when there was a demonstration in the
form of the formation of the ANC in 1952 and
the Convention between 1951 and
1994, there were demonstrations. Where was
the support from ANC and now the UP and IANC?
You are welcomed “a good place” to the
city. So the city has been given a good
name. The greatest Afrikaans speakers are
those who speak Afrikaans. The greatest Afrikaans
speakers are those who speak Afrikaans.

20/4

Go! 'n Liefde, 'n Liefde

Glorious of FW cult hides tarnished history.
The 'bald Messiah' evoked strange scenes in Mitchell's Plain. JUSTIN PEARCE and photographer YUNUS MOHAMED were there to witness the Nats going multi-cultural to the sounds goema:

"R"ead or adaptation reserved" said the notice on the circus announcement where the FW rally was to take place. Five years ago, they would almost certainly have said "whites only". But this was Mitchell's Plain. This was the day the Nats went multi-cultural, my bro.

How else do you explain toy-toying Nats, an NP gathering where most of the whites present were ANC supporters.

To sense the multi-cultural nature of the occasion, a Muslim brass band struck up with an out-of-time rendition of "Owedos Christian Soldiers".

Later they swung into a rousing goema melody. It was as though the campaign planners had been studying all the clichés of "coloured culture" and adapting them to their own ends. Shining cool carnival jackets caught the eye, unbrushed hair to reveal the image of PW de Klerk smiling from the T-shirt underneath.

But "struggle culture" was part of the mix as well. Brown NP members toy-toying to chimps of "PW, PW, PW" (pronounced in Afrikaans, "Pee Vee").

District Six and other forced removal victims were frequently alluded to, one poster reading "Let's talk about Six, baby".

Two white NP ladies in the platform party showed their commitment to multi-culturalism by thrusting their fists into the air in time with the toy-toy.

One of them got so carried away that when the rally started and the crowd started, she self-consciously used her raised hand to adjust her beaded hair.

Outside a Mitchies drew up, and its occupants began handing out NP balloons and stickers. The vehicle was escorted from side to side by the crush of people desperate for the single freedom.

At 11:45came and went, the noise level, the temperature and the restlessness in the tent rose with the numbers of people who were still pouring in. There was no way the crowd would relax before FW appeared — but it seemed increasingly unlikely that he would be able to make himself heard, or even to squeeze his way onto a stage already jammed with photographers, journalists, Nats of assorted colours and stay hungry.

The multi-cultural brass band having given up, Bronkhorst MP Mr Patrick McKenzie set the microphone and tried to lead the audience in more goemalodies.

Someone arrived with more balloons and people went over like dominos in the ensuing scuffle for a vocalist.

Then a nurse, statesmanlike figure in a suit cleared his way onto the stage. Could it be, could it be the
The expected address was little more than a five-minute harangue against the ANC.

"These people do not represent the spirit of Mitchell Plaisir."
(Clearly, the true spirit of Mitchell Plaisir had to be buried in from the platform with the other NP supporters.)

"They are the radicals we must discriminate from our society." Shades of FP then, FP.

Then the strain got too much for the bald Messiah and he disappeared through the back of the tent under a net—democratic hail of sand, pebbles, stones, gravel or coarse gravel depending on your political vantage point.

A large part of the NP crowd vanished in pursuit; the rest occupied the stage and resumed the toyi-toyi, initiating a prolonged stomping march with the ANC supporters who were toyi-toying at ground level.

Yet as far as real aggro was concerned, the gathering barely measured up to a Sunday brawl attended by the supporters of two different cricket teams.

Now and then people in search of food or water would hurl an NP or an ANC proton on the ground and do a few laps of the field outside. A self-appointed orator leaped onto a plastic chair to proclaim "FP is ons baas en sal ook julie baas weer".

So who won? While coloured people are still disfranchised, we won't find out.

"Gaan FP nog praat?" asked someone passing me on his way from the bustle towards the tent.

Sorry, bro. You're three years too late for FP — and an hour too late for FP, just in case you know the difference.
By Justin Pearce

NATIONAL Party MPs bussed supporters from across Mitchell's Plain to President F.W. de Klerk's rally on Saturday.

Chiswan's best hire company said the company had donated nine buses which had been organised by the NP MP. In addition to this, eyewitness report that buses with registration plates from Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester were parked outside the Westridge Civic Centre where De Klerk held his rally.

The buses each had a capacity of 65 to 70 people.

Strandfontein MP Mr PC Harris, who was responsible for several of the buses, explained that his constituency covers an area from Maccassar to Hanover Park, including part of Mitchell's Plain.

Although the rally had been used by the NP to show its support in Mitchell's Plain, Harris said he had a right to bring in people from his entire constituency.

"The crowd at the rally spoke for itself," he said.

Bussed In

Mitchells Plain resident and Labour Party member Ms Mary Jane Windvogel interviewed some of the people bussed in from rural areas. "They were coloureds — they understood nothing about NP policy," Windvogel said. "They said that the NP people had picked them up off the streets and gave them flags and testimonies."

Some of the people were under the impression that the rally was to celebrate De Klerk's referendum victory, Windvogel said.

"The Cape Town people are all ANC and IFP supporters."

The Mitchell's Plain zone of the ANC said in a statement, "We reach the conclusion that actual support for the NP is relatively low — that is why they transported members from all over the Western Cape to Mitchell's Plain, leaving false impressions."

NP regional secretary Mr Dewald Groenewold said transport for NP supporters to the rally had been arranged by individual MPs and not the NP regional office. "But I am still glad that they arranged it."

While the ANC has claimed that the rally cost the NP about R200,000, Groenewold said he did not yet have an official tally. "The banners, flags, T-shirts and public address system had cost "a good few thousand rand."

The brass band from Paarl had come voluntarily and were not paid, Groenewold said.

See pages 16 and 17
Crunch nears for white party politics

WHITE politics enters a decisive phase next week when the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party gather for strategic meetings which could cause both to split.

The DP and the CP caucuses will both meet on Thursday for the first time since the Easter parliamentary recess to discuss crucial reports on their strategies for transition.

The DP caucus will discuss a strategy document compiled by a special committee under national chairman Ken Andrew. And the Conservative Party caucus will discuss the reports of seven special committees which have been deliberating on strategy and policy for several weeks.

The caucus meeting is likely to be a show-down between the hardliners who now control party policy and "volkstaters" who believe the party should go into negotiations to bargain for a smaller Afrikaans homeland.

This group has gained ground since the decisive defeat of the no-vote in the referendum in March and could wrest control of the party at Thursday's caucus meeting.

The DP caucus is also certain to be the occasion for a battle for the soul of the party.

Three strands have emerged in the DP: those favouring closer ties with the ANC, those wanting a new centrist "party within a party" National Party, and the centre, which wants to retain the party's independence.

To some degree the decision about where the party goes has already been pre-empted by the suspension this week of four MPs sympathetic to the ANC.

The four—Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Janiee Momberg and Pierre Cronje—were suspended after talks earlier this week.

Mooi River MP Wessel Nel has confirmed that he attended the meeting, while it was understood that Andre de Wet and Kobus Jordaan were also present.

Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who is in hospital, has been associated with the group in the past and would probably have attended the meeting if he had been able.

Political observers said a split could occur in the CP if the party retreated into its well-known position that it would not negotiate with blacks other than leaders of recognised ethnic groups.

Agonising

But if the "volkstaters" prevail, this could force out hard-line conservatives.

While the CP and DP are agonising over their futures, President de Klerk is also expected to make major announcements during the debate in Parliament on his budget vote.

• The row between the four suspended DP members and the party leadership continued with a new flare-up yesterday arising from remarks by party leader Dr Zach de Bruyn in a television interview on the SABC's Agenda programme on Thursday night.

De Beer yesterday confirmed he had made an offer to the four that he would apologise to them and rescind their suspension if they gave their colleagues "a satisfactory assurance they have no intention of joining any other party and would serve the DP in full loyalty."

He also confirmed certain remarks he had made in the SABC programme to which some of the suspended members had taken exception.

Reacting to de Beer's offer and remarks, Momberg said he and others had been suspended without the party leader contacting them. The decision had been taken on the basis of "third-party evidence."

"I regard this as a hatchet job on us. Clearly the DP wants to get rid of us," Momberg said.

Momberg said the Agenda interview had been conducted in a way that created the impression that the four MPs were already out of the party. He took exception to remarks by de Beer to the effect that the four had been a "debilitating" influence in the party and now that they were gone, an "invigorating" process had started.

De Beer confirmed he had made remarks on such lines and had used the words "debilitating" and "invigorating". However, he had talked on the basis of "if they go..."

Momberg, he said, had worked hard for the CP, but its constant "courting" while the ANC had had a demoralising influence on many party members.

Momberg said he had requested the chairman of hisSimon's Town constituency council, Ed Coombe, to call a meeting of the council for Tuesday night.

"There I will inform them (the council) fully about my intentions."

PETER FABRICIUS,
ESTHER WAUGH
and FRANS ESTHERHUYSE
CRISIS in the Democratic Party which could lead to a split and the defection of four MPs to the African National Congress, is expected to come to a head next week — possibly on Wednesday.

Party leader Dr Zac de Beer has called a special meeting of the party's MPs to discuss the issue when parliament resumes after the Easter recess.

He told Weekend Argus the four MPs suspended from the caucus would be given a hearing before any action was taken to end their membership.

They are Whip Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South). In addition to their suspension from the caucus, they have been stripped of their status as party spokesmen.

The earliest opportunity for the special meeting is expected to be Wednesday, because Dr De Beer and others will be attending Codesa discussions in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

It is likely Dr De Beer will present a declaration of loyalty to the DP and ask all the MPs to sign it. Those refusing will be asked to leave the party.

MPs unable to give the DP their unquestioned loyalty because of leanings towards the ANC or NP will probably have to leave DP sources have said.

The row between the four members and the party leader...
IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.

State President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and de Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collision between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Thanne road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, police seriously cautioned accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Al Stadler said all three leaders would be "flouting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes de Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important to the new South Africa."

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1988 when former president F W de Klerk addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

De Klerk's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1988, shooting of more than 20 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

De Klerk praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the rule. He is God's servant for your good."

This was no yolk

NAPLES - Police found guns, bullets and drugs hidden in Easter eggs when they raided a Naples bar yesterday.

The bar owner and his wife had also hidden three of illegal gaming slips among the Easter bunnies and bottles of whisky on the shelves. — Sapa-Reuters.

A sweet, early Easter

DAVID KATZ

EASTER comes sweet and early for 15 excited children at Johannesburg's Christian hospital - they were given Easter eggs and picture books donated by the Cadbury and Penguin groups.

An abandoned 18-month-old toddler, Katherine Cloete, living at the hospital until a foster home is found for her, was slightly overwhelmed by all the attention, but smiled shyly when a big, brightly coloured egg was thrust into her hand. Dilton Yule ($5), as keenly bid between mouthfuls of chocolate.

Paediatric ward sister Lorraine Chotel said those children who could read would keep their books while the rest of the books would be put in the hospital library.

Photograph: JACOOB RYCLIFFE
MOUNTING pressures within the Democratic Party are expected to reach a crisis this week, which could result in a final break-up of the party after the suspension of four MPs for holding discussions with the ANC.

It is believed that the next move will be for the DP Chief Whip Dave Dalling to force his own suspension which could lead to him and his suspended colleagues leaving the party.

Dalling, a member of the old guard and a known ANC sympathizer, was expected to have led the delegation of seven others who saw Nelson Mandela last Monday, but suffered a setback following a recent heart-attack which required his readmission to hospital.

If he is well enough to return to Parliament this week his colleagues expect him to force the issues.

This could lead to a three-way split in the parliamentary DP MPs joining the
SA's future at stake in Codesa II – Slovo

By FRED KHUMALO C1972

THE future of SA will be at stake when Codesa-II meets in four weeks' time.

This was the clear message from ANC NEC member Joe Slovo at a Future Forum organised by Idasa in Durban this week.

He said the ANC had no intention whatsoever to dissolve MK.

He said there was no example in history of one contestant in a struggle demanding that the other must not only declare a ceasefire – "which we have done" – but also dissolve its army even before the first stage of reaching and implementing an agreement for a transformation. (2041)

As a next step, he expected a constitution-making body to be elected.

As soon as the constitution-making body has been elected, the tricameral parliament should be dissolved; voters from the TBVC states should participate fully in the elections; and an independent non-partisan commission should take control of the election process.

However, notes of discord have been sounded at Codesa. The government has called for a two-chamber approach – which effectively means the perpetuation of the tricameral system.

The IFP proposes a constitution-making body composed of a group of wise men "detached from the political process"; thereafter the constitution would be put to a referendum.

Said Slovo: "There is no historical precedent of a whole constitution being adopted by a referendum. Just imagine asking the electorate to say 'yes' or 'no' to a package containing hundreds of clauses."
Shaping a constitution by push and shove

President De Klerk's campaign to win support for the National Party from coloured and black voters has taken him from one devoutly Christian community to another, from Mitchell's Plain in the south to Moria, headquarters of the Zionist church, in the far north.

The glint in his eye, one assumes, is the vision of a political alignment that pits the NP's "Christian democrats", against the ANC's "social democrats". Leaving aside such troubling details as finding a name to accommodate Muslims in a Christian-democratic party, it's a nice idea but it raises two questions.

The first is whether it can succeed, and on this point I am sceptical. Members of the Democratic Party, it is true, are already choosing sides, some going left and others going right, leaving the old-fashioned Progs like Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin, who don't have such fast footwork, sitting lonely on their liberal principles.

President De Klerk is bound to pick up large numbers of coloured Afrikaners voters, he will surely draw more Indian voters than TIC-NIC, as Co-desa's only ethnic party is fondly known, and he may even win over the Zionists and other black Christian constituencies. The idea of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party is fading, but it may not be dead.

On the other side of the great divide, the ANC, its policies in confusion and its organisation in disarray, must appeal to an increasingly fractured black constituency. Despite the support of a handful of white and Indian intellectuals, and a minority of each minority, its hopes of a two-thirds majority seem increasingly unrealistic. No wonder there is a glint in Mr De Klerk's eye.

Nevertheless, having watched at close quarters South Africa's liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the ANC's psychological embarrasse of racist retaliation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government.

This raises the second question: what happens if the grand coalition fails? To the ruling elite, and especially to the bureaucracy, the prospect of an ANC government is an unmitigated disaster. The public servants foresee purges, such as the Nationalists conducted in their early years against military officers and senior public servants; the business elite foresees nothing but taxes and restrictions, the whites foresee retribution of economic and cultural type.

As a kind of insurance against such disaster, the Nationalists are trying to construct a constitution that will not simply transfer power, as the ANC demands, but "share" power. The thrust of Nationalist thinking is to build into the constitution a guaranteed role for minorities in practical effect, to preserve the white bureaucracy, and to entrench the minority party in government.

The ANC, of course, wants a transfer of power, as unfettered as possible. It makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but it is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total.

On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding "control" of state media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power.

The attitude of Cosatu is instructive. As the government begins, at long last and very timidly, to dismantle the corrupt instruments of power by which it has dispensed privilege to its supporters — the boards, the parastatals, the immense state enterprises — Cosatu does not applaud, it rages: the present government is stripping the future government of economic weapons.

There is not much, when you think of it, to choose between the Nationalists and the ANC, the one seeking to preserve its bureaucracy and its privileges, the other seeking to inherit them. The one clings, the other grasps. Either of them, whichever comes to office, will be confronted with demands for vast expenditure to overcome what one calls "backlogs" and the other calls "injustices", and both relish the prospect of meeting these demands.

The making of a constitution is an intensely political process. It is no use lamenting that both the government and the ANC have already made the constitution hostage to their own political agendas. The state president is openly campaigning for election, and the ANC is pushing for an effective transfer of power to an interim government, ahead of a new constitution.

That interim government would serve both as a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution and as an interim administration with executive powers. A more satisfactory arrangement would have been an independent constituent assembly, capable of quietly drafting the constitution while the government simply kept the show on the road, but that obvious course has been rejected. The shaping of the new South Africa has already been politicised, beyond retrieval, and the constitution will be created not by adherence to principle or by intellectual rigour but by plain old political push and shove.

This may perhaps produce a good constitution, since each side must at least contemplate the prospect that the other might win, but it would be a lot more comforting if President De Klerk, instead of banking on his grand coalition, began to contemplate the prospect of ANC rule.

Then, instead of trying to keep his bureaucracy and its powers intact, he might concentrate on limiting the size and scope of government, and entrenching the protection of the weak which is the essential feature of democracy.

Ken Owen
ANC to get first MPs this week?

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THERE is little chance of reconciliation between the Democratic Party and its four suspended rebel MPs, who are likely to join the ANC this week.

The ANC's national working committee, which met in Johannesburg last week after talks with the rebel MPs, has agreed in principle to MPs who join the ANC retaining their seats in Parliament.

As the ANC is not a registered political party, however, they will have to sit as independent MPs.

The four rebels — Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Rob Haswell (Maritshburg South) and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) — will almost certainly be joined by, Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton, when he recovers from his recent illness.

Mr Dalling said yesterday that he was still receiving medical treatment and was not able to comment.

The DP's parliamentary caucus meets on Wednesday morning to discuss the report of a strategy committee, headed by the party's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew, appointed after the party's MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, proposed that the party dissolve and form a new centre party with President F W de Klerk as leader.

Indications are that a substantial majority of the caucus support the idea of the DP continuing as an independent liberal party and will back party leader Dr Zach de Beer's call for it to take the lead in forming a democratic centre in South Africa.

They feel the DP's strong showing in Codesa and the referendum have vindicated its role, and that those who do not support this role should be told to seek a political home elsewhere.

Dr De Beer's decision to suspend the four rebel MPs has been strongly supported inside and outside the caucus, Mr Andrew said yesterday.

One of the rebels, Mr Momberg, said last night that the way in which the suspensions were handled made reconciliation unlikely.

The party leadership has said that for the suspensions to be lifted the four would have to explain why they had organised a meeting with the leadership of another political organisation without telling Dr De Beer.
By Dr NEVILLE ALEXANDER
Chairman of the Workers Association for Socialist Action

NATIONAL symbols such as flags, anthem, insignia and colours imply the existence or the becoming of a nation. In different countries under very different historical circumstances national symbols have obtained legitimacy and acceptability by very different routes.

In South Africa itself the present national symbols were the outcome of a series of compromises between Afrikaans and English-speaking white inhabitants of the country. For this reason, they have never embraced the entire population and have in fact been spurned by the majority of the people. For most of us, indeed, they are no less than the insignia of national oppression, a constant reminder that we are excluded from enjoying the rights of full citizenship because we are supposed to be one or other shade darker than the white citizens.

No SA nation

Present discussions about national symbols are, to say the least, premature. They will certainly influence the eventual outcome but they cannot be decisive. Only a democratically elected Constituent Assembly will be able to decide the issue itself or, at the very least, the principles on which ad hoc solutions will be based.

The simple fact of the matter is that there is no nation in South Africa at present. We are building a single national community. The practice, adopted by very many of us of referring to our country by means of the double-barrelled word South Africa/Africa, shows the complexity of the situation.

We would simply be fooling ourselves and our children if we tried to give the impression that by cobbled together a set of symbols without any meaning, the Olympic rings, or anything else, we have somehow ordained the nation. Most of our history has been one of conflict between white and black, between ruling classes and oppressed classes.

If we follow the advice of Ernest Renan, the famous French historian, we shall have to “forget” many things before we can constitute a nation. Amongst the things we shall have to “forget”, in my view, are the present symbols that pass as the national symbols of South Africa. It is no less than a matter of class and racial hallucination to suppose that the present symbols could become acceptable to all South Africans.

To underline the point I am making, one could ask the question: how many white South Africans other than soldiers and policemen have ever been (never mind lived) in a black township for more than a few minutes? Can they have any idea of the depth of alienation that has become such a terrifying feature of our society?

No, we shall have to wait for the impulses towards the unity of our people to become the dominant ones before we shall be able to speak sensibly about national symbols. In the meantime, makeshift, so-called symbols will have to do. They reflect accurately the bitter legacy of racism and apartheid, the opportunistic groping for legitimacy by some and for the trappings of power by others. They do not, and cannot at this stage, paper over the deep cracks that continue to divide our people from one another.

Only the healing process of a democratically elected constituent assembly that will bring about greater unity by means of a series of open-bitterness meetings — not unlike Buchu brandy and perdepi — will begin to overcome the ravages of our past.
Codesa still split on transition body

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — No agreement has yet been reached on a transitional executive structure by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee as Codesa resumes today after an Easter recess.

The eight-man committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements before Codesa began its recess two weeks ago.

A three-man task group comprising advocate Mr Arthur Chaskalson, Mr Panie van der Merwe and Mr David van Wyk met yesterday and will report to the technical committee today. The working group will meet next week.

An impasse developed between the government and ANC about the powers of the body which will rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The ANC has proposed an interim government council while the government wants several preparatory councils to rule the country in conjunction with the existing tricameral parliament.

The differences, however, revolve around the powers of a transitional executive body.

The ANC has rejected the government's proposed councils, which would have only advisory powers.

The government wants the ultimate power during the first phase of the transition to be with the existing parliament and cabinet until the election of a transitional government.

The ANC, on the other hand, wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President but proposed that his authority could be exercised subject to approval of the interim government council.

The two sides also disagree on the decision-making mechanism of an executive structure — the government wants decisions to be taken by sufficient consensus, as is the case at Codesa, while the ANC has proposed that decisions be taken by substantial consensus, which means at least a two-thirds majority.

The ANC and government also differ on the role of the homelands during the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles, which also meets today, will continue to hear proposals on a constitution-making body.
DP's rebel five will join the ANC today

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE five rebel Democratic Party members of parliament will join the ANC today.

At least four of them flew to Johannesburg this morning and are expected to announce their membership of the ANC at a press conference around lunchtime.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be present.

The rebels are expected to retain their seats as independents, effectively representing the ANC in parliament.

They are not likely to have any further discussion with party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who indicated yesterday that he intended to confront the MPs today.

But the MPs made it clear they considered their relationship with the DP to have been 'terminated' by Dr De Beer's remarks on television last week when he described their presence in the party as 'debilitating'.

The decision of the MPs — Mr Jannie Mostert of Simon's Town, Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont, Mr Dave Dalling of Sandton, Mr Rob Haswell of Pietermaritzburg South and Mr Pierre Cronje of Greytown — to resign today and join the ANC preempts tomorrow's DP caucus meeting.

There was strong speculation that disciplinary action would be taken against them at the meeting, although one of the rebels said today he had not been invited.

The dramatic developments in the DP unfolded in the wake of talks last week between the ANC leadership and four of the five rebel MPs. Mr Dalling was to have attended the talks, but was unable to for medical reasons.

Dr De Beer — who summarily suspended the men from the caucus after growing pressure in the party to act against potential defectors — made it clear that unless the MPs were able to assure him of their full loyalty to the DP, they would have to go.

The MPs face considerable anger from constituents, many of whom will demand their resignation as MPs.
De Beer to meet suspended MPs

Patrick Bulger

FOUR DP MPs suspended from the party’s parliamentary caucus will meet DP leader Zach de Beer tomorrow to finalise their political futures. 810292 21/4/92

De Beer said yesterday he would confront the four MPs — Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Pierrès Cronje and Rob Harwell — on information he had that they had sought membership of the ANC.

He had consulted the party’s lawyers to establish the mechanisms for their expulsion from the party if their expulsion from the caucus was upheld.

If the MPs confirmed his information, they would be permanently suspended. “If they can satisfy me their loyalty is fully with the DP, they are welcome to stay,” Sources close to the group said yesterday they would probably leave the DP and remain in Parliament as independents.

One source said the ANC had no difficulty with the MPs being members of it and remaining as MPs in the tricameral Parliament. However, ANC sources have pointed out that they cannot sit as ANC MPs as they were not elected and because the ANC is not a political party.

De Beer said the DP position remained that it would take part in temporary alliances with other political organisations to realise specific political goals. However, alignments with other political parties would not be entered into if they sacrificed the independence of the DP.

To Page 2

De Beer 810292

The turmoil in the DP and CP was sparked by the referendum result. A faction within the CP is committed to negotiations, and some believe the right wing should be represented at Coesa and at least put forward its proposals.

Several caucus committees were established to probe the various options, and are expected to report back to Thursday's caucus meeting.

From Page 1
Major debate as FW takes centre stage

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

Major issues, including interim government arrangements, political realignments, violence and relations with the rest of Africa, will be among the issues raised in one of the most important debates of the parliamentary session.

The two-day debate on the President's budget vote begins tomorrow. Parliament resumed today after the Easter recess.

Codesa also resumed its work today after an Easter break and problems which have arisen there are expected to be reflected in the parliamentary debate.

An impasse has developed between the government and the ANC over the issue of transitional arrangements in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

President de Klerk is expected to deal with attempts to bridge these differences. The government attitude is that some substantial results in the negotiations must be reached before the next plenary session of Codesa on May 15 and 16.

Mr de Klerk has also stated that the problem of continuing violence must be adequately handled before the constitutional reform issues can be fully addressed.

He said at Moria in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend that speeches and peace accords alone could not make peace happen where violence ruled. He also referred to cunning and violent forces at work.

Mr de Klerk could give details during the debate of what the government has in mind for an interim constitution. Draft legislation containing these ideas is expected soon.

According to some Nationalist politicians, Mr de Klerk may also address the question of new political alliances or the formation of a new centre party.

At present these politicians are more in favour of alliances than a new party which would lead to the National Party changing its name.

All in all, I would like to say the NP thought it fit to use foreign voters to influence the referendum.

That is the kind of argument he wants to use because he cannot face the fact that he lost by 1,048,567 votes. Just look at what a sensationalist impression he tries to create in the public's mind.

There were so many irregularities I don't know where to start.

That is what he proclaims in the press. What absolute nonsense it is! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Passports issued at SA Embassy in London

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether he will comment on the application by a certain airline, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to inaugurate direct, discounted flights between Britain and South Africa; if not, why not; if so, what steps does he intend taking to facilitate the introduction of such an air service in particular and the introduction of an open-skies policy in general;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

[322E.ENT]

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: Mr Chairman, firstly I should like to discuss the factual position pertaining to the rendering of scheduled air services between countries.

Scheduled air services between countries are usually introduced after the signing of a bilateral agreement between two countries. All aspects relating to the rendering of the particular service are defined in such an agreement. Such an agreement also contains particulars of the frequency of flights that each designated airline and/or airlines of the signatory countries will be allowed to undertake. The number of frequencies is negotiated between the countries on the basis of the need that is determined by the aviation authorities of the two countries through market analysis.

Therefore the following steps have to be followed: The number of frequencies to be operated by each of the respective countries have to be negotiated in terms of the agreement and in the light of the market demands. The total number of frequencies to be operated by each country is allocated to a country and not to a specific airline. The airline and/or airlines have to be designated by each of the countries to operate the required services. Such designation is done by each individual country.

In the case where a country designates a specific airline to operate the required service, the airline would then be entitled to operate the total number of frequencies allocated to that country.

However, in the case where a country opts for the designation of more than one airline to operate the allocated frequencies, it stands to reason that it is the responsibility of that other country to allocate to each of its designated airlines the number of frequencies to be operated by each one of the airlines.

I must stress that the opposite country has no say in this process of dividing the allocated number of frequencies between the two countries. The only responsibility of the opposite country is to grant us a mere formality, after having been informed of the designation or designations, landing rights to the airline and/or airlines concerned, and to approve of its or their timetables and tariffs.

Regarding the specific case under discussion I should like to point out that such an agreement between South Africa and Britain has been in existence since 1945, in terms of which initially only one airline per country was designated to render the particular service.

However, South Africa's international aviation policy is currently under revision. As a matter of fact, the study has just been completed, and as an interim measure I, in conjunction with the Cabinet, determined as our policy that other countries may designate more than one airline to render this service to South Africa on behalf of those countries.

This concession has been discussed in each of the 30 bilateral negotiations undertaken since November 1991. During the talks held with Britain on 28 February 1992 this concession also came under discussion. Britain accordingly obtained the rights to appoint more than one airline to undertake the allowed number of frequencies.

At present, this frequency amounts to 10 flights per country per week. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Chairman, I would like to congratulate the hon member on his announcement today that in future more than one airline on the flight will be able to render a service between the two countries in a bilateral arrangement. I very much hope that this is something that will be followed because after the very exciting visit to South Africa by Mr Richard Branson, chief executive of Virgin Atlantic, there seems to be confusion in the hon the Minister's department as to whether or not an agreement had been struck with Virgin Atlantic. The response given by the Ministry of Transport was that there was no agreement between the airline and the South African Government, because South Africa was not in a position to influence the British leg.

The South African government can, and with respect should, start making an impact by ensuring that the services are not only up to the same standards of safety and economically viable criteria. Historically the problem with the bilateral agreement—which has been in existence for 46 years—the very one which is the basis for renegotiating with the British government is, that such agreements have been deeprooted interventionist and protectionist. We had a situation in which the South African Government has overprotected South African airlines to the detriment of the South African consumer. It has been a very cozy relationship, but one which resulted in high airfares, high capacity and very low competition.

It is properly what one could call a duopoly. Between 1983 and 1991 air fares between London and Johannesburg rose by an average of 24% per annum, the increase since 1985 being cumulatively 100%. That has grounded South African and prevented them from travelling abroad. At the same time, however, on the other major air route in the world—the North Atlantic route between London and New York—air fares have fallen by 22%. There is a very simple explanation for those two sets of figures. On the one route there has been a very rigid interventionist attitude of very strict bilateral; on the other, between America and Britain, one has had a relaxation on the bilateral on those routes and one has accordingly had a drop in fares, to the
Bush to nominate new ambassador to SA

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bush today nominated the US ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, to be the new ambassador to Nigeria and he is expected to announce shortly the nomination of Princeton Lyman, new Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, as the new US ambassador to Pretoria.

In a brief announcement, the White House also said Mr. Bush would nominate Dennis Barrett, the mission director in South Africa of the Agency for International Development, to be the new US ambassador to Madagascar.

Mr. Swing (57) has been US ambassador to South Africa since 1989 and is regarded as one of the State Department’s most skilled African specialists. His tour of duty in Nigeria will begin at a time when that country is taking faltering steps towards establishing a democratic constitution.

The new appointments will have to be approved by the Senate and the process is expected to begin next month. No difficulties are expected and the confirmation proceedings are likely to be formalities.

Mr. Lyman is popular and widely respected in the State Department, and is known to be an efficient administrator and an effective diplomat. It is understood his appointment will be made known once a series of bureaucratic changes have been decided on in the State Department.

He is known to have been following events in South Africa closely for some months.
CAPE TOWN — The five rebel Democratic Party members of parliament will join the ANC today. At least four of them flew to Johannesburg this morning and were expected to announce their membership of the ANC at a press conference around lunchtime.

ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela was expected to be present.

The rebels are expected to retain their seats as independents, effectively representing the ANC in parliament.

They are not likely to have any further discussion with party leader Dr. Zach de Beer.

The MPs said they considered their relationship with the DP to have been "terminated" by Dr. de Beer's remarks on television last week when he described their presence in the party as "debilitating".

The decision of the MPs — Mr. Jannie Momberg of Simon's Town, Mr. Jan van Eck of Claremont, Mr. Dave Dalling of Sandton, Mr. Rob Haswell of Pietermaritzburg South and Mr. Pierre Cronje of Greytown — to resign today and join the ANC pre-empts tomorrow's DP caucus meeting.

The developments follow talks last week between the ANC leadership and four of the five. Mr. Dalling was unable to attend for medical reasons.

Dr. de Beer, who suspended the men from the caucus, had said that they would have to assure him of their full loyalty to the DP, or go.
Codesa still grappling
with transition issue

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

No agreement has yet been reached by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee on a transitional executive structure as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa resumes today after the Easter recess.

The eight-man committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements before Codesa started its recess two weeks ago. A three-man task group comprising Arthur Chaskalson, Faasie van der Merwe and Dawid van Wyk, met yesterday and will report to the technical committee today.

The working group will be meeting next week.

An impasse developed between the Government and ANC about the powers of the body which would rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council while the Government wants several Preparatory Councils to rule in conjunction with the existing tricameral Parliament. The differences, however, centre on the powers of a transitional executive body. The ANC has rejected the Government's proposed councils which would have advisory powers only.

The Government wants the ultimate power during the first phase of the transition to be with the existing Parliament and Cabinet until the election of a transitional government.

The ANC, on the other hand, wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President but proposed that his authority could be exercised only subject to approval of the Interim Government Council.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles will also meet today.

CODESA faces taxing problems — Page 13
FW won round 1 of the power game – now for round 2

Almost 25 years ago, when circumstances drove me out of the country, this was a deeply stratified society.

It was not only the racial compartmentalisation into which individuals were boxed – it was also the fossilisation of thought, the impossibility of breaking out of fixed attitudes and customs into which individuals were trapped.

The nature of South Africa’s transition makes it remarkable, and distinctly different from what has occurred in other Third World countries. There the struggle assumed a straightforward fight between the old powers of colonial domination and the indigenous people.

Here, that kind of struggle has been cleverly sidestepped by the National Party, pulling the rug from under the feet of the liberation movements. Suddenly the language of change assumed a new form, the old fossilised thought patterns disappeared.

The struggle for power and political influence will cut across colour lines but still reflect deeply entrenched interests. In a way it can be said that our politics have now become multiracial in a way that those who advocated it never imagined.

Nothing reveals this as starkly as the attempts of the National Party to break into the black vote.

The liberation movements themselves, in particular the ANC, have played into the hands of Mr de Klerk in being unable to forge unity among themselves. While the Patriotic Front was a good attempt to do so, it is now virtually defunct.

The violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a godsend for the Nats. It has destabilised and demoralised the black communities, driven them into laager-type ethno economic thinking, less able to deal with a situation they wish to abolish.

But ultimately South Africa will head for a straightforward type of modern democracy based on one person one vote. Neither the strong opposition forces in the country, nor the international apartheid politics, and with it the loss of white power as has happened in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa.

Round two is uncertain and is taking the form of political struggle where the Government and Mrs de Klerk are attempting to lay down the rules, according to its own power play.

But the struggle for power knows no rules, indeed makes its own rules. Yesterday’s enemies become today’s friends and, black turns into white, and so on.

South Africa is also a deeply pluralistic society, both culturally and politically, and the division of the unity of the African people into two contending liberalatory treads, ANC vs PAC/Azapo together with other interests like Inkatha and the TVBC regions, confirms that political pluralism.

It will be the ability of the Government to maintain these divisions and pluralism, that will ensure its own future survival, and its own aims of power sharing. In this process we will have to give in as much as to take, clearly indicated by the see-saws of the negotiating process.

But some aspects of that pluralism will fade away, like the interests of the TVBC, and the insane AWB. They cannot hold ground because they defy all the norms of a modern democratic state.

The TVBCs violate the territorial integrity of the country, and the AWB represents a dying age that will be swept away. Both the ANC and the National Party, with the latter thrashing around to maintain its power, will occupy the centre and dominant ground.

However the interests of the PAC cannot be swept away that easily. The PAC represents an ideology that is becoming increasingly important in Africa and the African Diaspora.

The collapse of communism also gives a decisive edge to pluralism, and the lack of a credible alternative to capitalism will mean at most reform within that system.

But what form the next phase of
Model of transitional govt on drawing board

CODESA negotiators have begun formulating a transitional government model which can be implemented as soon as obstacles to an interim government have been removed.

A technical committee headed by DP national chairman Ken Andrew and including representatives of 16 other Codesa participants met for a full day during Codesa's two-week break, which ends today, when working groups resume their deliberations.

Andrew said yesterday the committee would meet again today to conclude its work.

"I hope that we get a long way towards devising an appropriate model for Phase I that can be brought into being when the preconditions of certain parties are dealt with," Andrew said.

He said the technical committee had reached "quite a lot of commonality". There had been broad agreement that initial multiparty structures should be appointed by Codesa to deal with specific issues of the transition.

The committee was appointed after NP proposals for advisory transitional councils were rejected by the ANC and allied organisations. The ANC argued that advisory councils would leave government's executive powers intact and allow it an unfair advantage in the run-up to elections for a constitution-making body.

Government has since said it will not enter binding agreements on a transitional government until the ANC abandons the armed struggle and disbands Umkhonto we Sivwe.

The DP attempted to play a facilitating role in working group three dealing with transitional arrangements when it became clear that a gulf had developed between NP and ANC positions.

Andrew said the committee had put aside the preconditions of the parties and these would be dealt with by the appropriate working groups.

He would not say how the committee had overcome the issue of the extent of the interim government councils' sovereignty. There has been broad agreement, however, on a two-phase approach to an interim government: the first phase concentrating on levelling the playing field in the area of elections and state media and the second stage concerning itself with the election of a sovereign interim government to oversee elections for a constitution-making body.

Andrew said there were over-optimistic hopes of significant progress before the next plenary session of Codesa takes place in mid-May.

"I would be pleasantly surprised if there has been agreement on Phase I and II of interim government," he said.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer is fond of reminding those who complain about the lack of discipline and unity within his party that it is more difficult to employ strong-arm tactics in a party that regards itself as liberal.

True, a PW Botha-style leader who rules with an iron fist would not sit well with a party so staunchly opposed to authoritarian ways of thinking and doing.

But a more relaxed and tolerant style of leadership should never serve as an excuse for not knowing what is going on in your party.

Indeed, in a liberal party there is a special onus on the leadership corps to remain fully abreast of developments among the party's often fairly diverse constituencies and have their political antennae constantly tuned into the various streams within the organisation.

Hearts and minds

Sadly, this has not always been the case in the DP.

The question which arises is whether the crisis the party currently finds itself in could have been avoided or managed more skillfully if the party leadership knew what was going on in the hearts and minds of what is, after all, a not particularly homogeneous group.

One would expect that with the multiple uncertainties thrown up by the transition process, the leaders of all parties would at this stage be particularly sensitised to the hopes and fears of their public representatives.

Of less concern are those MPs — easily identifiable among all parties in the tricameral Parliament— who are merely hiding their time waiting for retirement from active politics.

Significant bloc

These individuals are too old, too tired, too bored or too inflexible to deal with the rigours of the new politics which beckon. Others have had a long innings and deserve a well-earned rest.

Politicians falling into this broad category generally have the security of a parliamentary pension but are toying with the idea of running a small business as a hobby when they hang up their wreaths. Others will return to their second professions.

But then there is a significant bloc of MPs who harbour very real aspirations of retaining some meaningful role in politics under a new democratic order.

Formal response

It is particularly this group of MPs that is proving a headache for both the DP and the Conservative Party and the leadership corps in both parties should have taken the trouble to speak at length to these easily identifiable MPs on an individual basis.

These face-to-face sessions may or may not have succeeded in preventing the gradual break-up of these parties but at very least they would have served to better enlighten the leaders about the stresses and strains troubling their parties.

In the case of the DP, the leadership argues with some justification that dissidents have not made proper use of available channels to voice their misgivings and aspirations.

There have also been complaints that some MPs have not been frank with the leadership when approached or have simply lied about their intentions when confronted.

But at the end of the day it would appear that the DP leadership did not really want to continue accommodating what Dr De Beer has referred to as the "ANC-friendly" members of his party.

Indeed, the party's formal response to the decision of the five MPs to finally leave the party and join the ANC amounts to "good riddance" — a stance which may yet prove to be shortsighted as the DP moves from the old politics to the new.
Debate continues over Zulu king's presence at Codesa

Political Staff
Johannesburg. - No firm decision had been taken on the thorny issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa, said management chairman Pravin Gordhan.

The chairman of the sub-committee investigating their participation, the Reverend T J Mohapi, said earlier a "tentative" agreement stated that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa.

A major stumbling block for the continued participation of the Inkatha Freedom Party would be removed if the management committee ratified the sub-committee's proposal.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take part in Codesa only if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is given the same status as other Codesa participants.

Mr Gordhan said the sub-committee was still receiving submissions and no firm decision had been taken.

Several progress reports had been tabled by the sub-committee to the daily management committee and the management committee, he said.

Mr Mohapi, who said he was commenting in his personal capacity and not as the sub-committee's chairman, said: "A tentative agreement has been reached but not yet an agreement in the final sense."

He said the agreement was still to be ratified by the management committee.

It was tentatively agreed that the Zulu king and traditional leaders would be admitted as full participants on a provincial basis.

Each province would be able to send 12 delegates and five advisers, said Mr Mohapi.

He said Mr Mandela was still to make a submission to the sub-committee this week.

Work delayed

The National Manpower Commission, dogged by delays in extending labour laws to all workers, could become extinct if it was not restructured.

Writing in the 1991 annual report of the NMC, acting chairman Dr Franz Barkels said it had been impossible to achieve full consensus on principles for restructuring the NMC by January 1992. — Sapa.
Five rebel MPs ditch DP for ANC

THE ANC gained its first de facto representation in Parliament yesterday when five DP MPs said they had joined the ANC and would sit as independents.

MPs David Dalling (Sandton), Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre van Hauge (Bophutatswana), and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) told a news conference at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg the ANC had not asked them to resign their seats.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the five would be expelled from the party.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the MPs' membership of the ANC had been approved by the organisation's national working committee. He said a subcommittee had been appointed to examine the relationship of the ANC and its members with the tricameral parliament. Its report would determine whether the MPs would continue in Parliament.

Their decision clearly delighted the ANC. Cosatu hailed them as "the new Voortrekkers for the new SA".

However, Saps reports the NP said the members would find little support for their decision among their constituents.

De Beer said their move would surprise no one. It vindicated his actions in suspending the four (excluding Dalling), and even raised the question as to whether the party should have been as patient as it had been.

On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said. The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might, in a symbolical sense, derive some advantage from their joining.

I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed in any way!"

The DP's switch follows their expulsion from the DP parliamentary caucus last week when De Beer said he had information they had sought ANC membership. An expected meeting between De Beer and the rebels failed to materialise yesterday.

Their joining the ANC signals a renewed drive by the organisation to gain support and credibility in the white community.

An ANC source said it was unlikely the organisation would ask the MPs to leave Parliament at a later date. Instead they would probably retain their seats as Parliament underwent its probable conversion from SA's legislative body to a constitution-making body and interim legislature.

While Ramaphosa said the five could not in any way be seen as ANC representatives in the "unrepresentative and discredited tricameral Parliament", they would be subject to ANC policy dictates.

"They have worked closely with the ANC for many years and their member-

MPs join ANC

ship formalises a long-standing relationship which has earned them great respect in our communities and among our members," an ANC statement said.

The five in a joint statement their attempts to promote a closer relationship with the ANC had triggered opposition from within the DP caucus.

They said a post-referendum caucus discussion had outlined various future courses of action for the DP which included remaining independent and forging a closer relationship with the ANC, leading to a formal alliance and merger when the ANC became a political party. They said senior party members felt a closer relationship with the ANC would debilitate the DP.

They said they were joining the ANC to promote non-racialism, the "full liberation of all South Africans" and to work for democracy in practice.

"We join the ANC with no preconditions regarding our positions in the organisation or with specific policies, knowing that our experience and views on emerging policy positions will be judged on merit within the organisation.

"We recognise that years of propaganda, which is still continuing unabated, has created a false impression of the ANC, particularly in the white community." They said their membership would "assist in countering this negative image" of the organisation among thinking South Africans and the world community. They called on others to "reach out and take the hand of friendship extended by the ANC".

A "gang up against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of contrived constitutional models designed to thwart the will of the people merely because the ANC seems to enjoy majority support in the black community, will have a polarising and negative effect that will not be in the best interests of SA or of democracy." They were confident they were acting in the best interests of their constituents, including disempowered blacks.

Picture: Page 3
Comment: Page 4
Dawie de Villiers fills in for Barend

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday appointed Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers acting Finance Minister. It is practice in SA, for a full Minister, not a deputy, to stand in for an absent colleague. Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys, the most likely choice, was due to travel abroad this week and was thus not available.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was admitted to hospital 12 days ago suffering from extreme exhaustion, and he was expected to be back at work by yesterday.

But a spokesman for his office said Du Plessis’ doctor had refused to allow him to return and had recommended rest for a further "week to two weeks at the most". The spokesman added: "The strain with the Codesa, the referendum and then the Budget has been extreme and it is amazing he did not collapse earlier."

Parliament had been in recess and only seven weeks will be back in sit, within two weeks," he said.

De Villiers, one of the most senior members of the Cabinet, has been closely involved in economic planning portfolios for the past few years.

The Finance spokesman said there was no cause for concern that Du Plessis’ condition had deteriorated. "He just needs rest now was it considered practical to appoint an acting Minister," he said.

BILLY PADDOCK
Codesa group: 'No progress'

JOHANNESBURG — Codesa's working group, which was unable to make progress yesterday, and mandated its steering committee to look into the differences that had arisen.

Government representative Dr Gerrit Viljoen said after the day's discussions that the group was "treading water". "We obviously have differences," he said.

As a result, the working group's eight-member steering committee will meet on Monday to draw up "lines of debate or proposals" to be discussed by the full group the following day. — Sapa 28/4/92
Zulu king may join Codesa II

Political Staff
A MAJOR stumbling block to progress at Codesa appears to have been cleared away with a proposal by a management committee's sub-committee that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini be allowed to lead a delegation to Codesa.

This was a pre-condition laid down by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his personal participation in Codesa.

The report by the eight-man sub-committee, which includes IFP chairman Mr. Frank Mdalose and the South African Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo, will now be submitted to the management committee for ratification.

The report follows rejection of an earlier one which also gave support for King Goodwill to be allowed to head a delegation.

Sub-committee chairman Dr. T.J. Mohapi said it had been agreed that traditional leaders would be represented by four delegations based on the four provinces.

In terms of the recommendation, King Goodwill will head the Natal delegation.

ANC representations
Dr. Mohapi said the traditional leaders could participate as early as Codesa II on May 15 and 16, if the recommendation was approved by the management committee.

He said the only work left for the sub-committee was to hear representations from ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and this was expected to take place this week.

Dr. Mohapi said that he did not expect Mr. Mandela's submission to alter the committee's finding.
Whites urged to change attitude

By MONK NKOMO

WHITES should help build the nation and stop thinking that blacks would kill them or repossess their properties in a new South Africa, says Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

Soweto 2-21-92

Addressing the Pretoria News/Burgerspark Business Club in Pretoria on the concept of Nation Building yesterday, Klaaste appealed to the business sector to help change the attitudes of those who still had apartheid in their minds.

"The vicious system of apartheid, including the pass laws, has destroyed black families and the black man's culture," said Klaaste. "The Government attacked our souls by making our tribes look very bad."

He appealed to blacks and whites to show the world that people in this country could live harmoniously together. He commended the Afrikaner nation for having built their "volk" since 1922.

"It will be a sick and criminal thing to go back to the past. Most Afrikaners are dead frightened of black people. They think we are a violent nation. They think we are necklacers. The problem is that they do not know us."

"The Afrikaners must help us rebuild this nation which has been torn apart by apartheid laws," Klaaste said.
Zulu king could get Codesa seat

An agreement allowing Zulu King Zwelethini and other traditional leaders to take part in Codesa is on the cards.

The possibility of such an agreement was confirmed by the chairman of a Codesa sub-committee, the Rev TJ Mohapi.

It is expected that an agreement could be ratified by Codesa’s management committee next Monday.

Mohapi confirmed that “a tentative agreement has been reached by the committee”.

He said members of the sub-committee, who include Inkatha’s Dr Frank Mdlalose, Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and ANC official Mr Jacob Zuma, all agreed that every province in the country be represented by 12 delegates and five advisers.

Codesa’s daily management committee, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, however, denied last night that the sub-committee had reached agreement on the issue.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said the sub-committee had not yet completed its work as it was still receiving submissions on the issue.

He said only Codesa’s management committee was empowered to take decisions on the status of traditional leaders.

King at Codesa

From page 1

"The Daily Management Committee is extremely optimistic that a constructive solution will soon be found to facilitate the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at the convention."

Zuma, who did not want to confirm or deny Mohapi’s statement, said Codesa was formed to find solutions to problems. He said he saw no reason why the issue of the king could not be resolved by Codesa.

He said: “What we have to do is to find ways of including the king and other traditional leaders as delegates."

"If we do not do that, then Codesa will be failing in its duty. What we should accept is that the king and other traditional leaders will not be bringing anything new to Codesa," the ANC leader said.

Other delegates believed that the way had now been "paved clear" for IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take his place at the negotiating table.
MPS Join the ANC

Democratic Party

BY JOE MELIEN

SOWETAN Wednesday April 22 1992
 Parties poised for FW's political rabbit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THERE was intense speculation in parliamentary circles last night that President FW de Klerk might pull another rabbit out of the hat during the debate on his budget vote which begins in Parliament today.

The 12-hour debate begins this afternoon against a background of defections from the Democratic Party and suggestions that turmoil in the Conservative Party could soon burst into the open.

However, National Party sources said last night that it was premature to expect Mr De Klerk to make any announcements on a new centrist political party at this stage.

NP sources said that while the president "may have something up his sleeve" they did not expect "anything drastic" to be announced during the next two days.

However, the debate on the president's budget vote does give Mr De Klerk centre stage and there has been widespread speculation that he will use it to announce initiatives on several major issues.

These include the interim government deadlock — with the government and ANC apparently some distance away from agreement at Codesa — further steps aimed at curbing violence and South Africa's international relations.
Call for rebel MPs to quit

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Call for rebel MPs to quit
ANC gains foothold in Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

2009-12-14

ANC Comrade MPs
ANC Gains Foothold in Parliament

Comrade Mrs

Defining betrayed voters not MP says
Defectors to Remain in Parliament as Independents

By Robert South

Five DP rebels join ANC
Homelands become area of disagreement

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A third major area of disagreement has erupted at Codesa — testing the will of homeland citizens on their reincorporation into South Africa.

Three of the four homelands yesterday told Codesa they were in favour of reincorporation but did not believe it was necessary to determine this by holding a referendum.

The Government said the views of homeland citizens needed to be tested democratically before reincorporation could be decided upon.

"While the South African Government has no objection to negotiating the reincorporation of any of the states, it will not exert any pressure on, or agree to any railroadings of, any state and its people to choose either reincorporation or the retention of the status quo or any other constitutional alternative," the Government told the Codesa working group dealing with the future of the TBVC states.

A government source said race and ethnicity would not play a role in a referendum to test the will of homeland citizens, but votes would be counted separately on the basis of citizenship.

The Transkei Government delegation, who initially were in favour of testing the will of its citizens regarding reincorporation, said a meeting of 150 Transkei organisations "overwhelmingly" resolved on April 13 that "a referendum was no longer a requirement for the Transkei to join the new apartheid-free South Africa".

"Transkeians want restoration of their South African citizenship which they claim was taken away from them without consultation," the delegation said.

The position was supported by the Ciskei Government delegation who said it was "convinced that this course offered the best opportunity for a stable and sound economic development for the Ciskeian people and that it would not be necessary to hold a referendum amongst the Ciskeian people to confirm this course of action".

The Government source said yesterday that homelands wishing to take part in transitional arrangements had to forfeit their sovereignty and become self-governing territories.

The Venda Government told the working group that there was no reason to "descend" into a national state before participating in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

A second impasse exists in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements where the ANC and Government disagree on the powers of the transitional executive structure.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council with executive powers to oversee the tricameral Parliament and National Party Cabinet.

However, the Government has proposed several Preparatory Councils with advisory powers.

A specially appointed technical committee has been appointed by the working group to find a way out of the impasse. Members of the committee would not comment after its meeting yesterday except to say progress had been made.

The working group on constitutional principles yesterday disagreed on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed. The working group asked its steering committee to narrow the gap between different proposals.

The Government and ANC both agree on the need for an elected body to draft the new constitution. The ANC has proposed an elected constituent assembly and the Government has proposed a two-chamber Parliament. The IFP, however, wants a Codesa-appointed convention to draft the constitution.
The thorny issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa had not yet been finally resolved, management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

The chairman of the subcommittee investigating their participation, the Reverend T.J. Mohapi, however, earlier said a "tentative" agreement had been reached.

A major stumbling block for the continued participation of the IFP would be removed if the management committee ratified the subcommittee's proposal that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take part only if King Goodwill Zwelithini is given the same status as other Codesa participants.

The tentative agreement was that the Zulu king and traditional leaders would be admitted as full participants on a provincial basis.

Each province would be able to send 12 delegates and five advisers, said Mr Mohapi.
State needs to fund parties
Rebels resigned, says DP

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

In a late salvo, the Democratic Party insisted yesterday that five defectors to the ANC had effectively resigned.

And, at a meeting last night, Claremont MP Mr. Jan van Eck was called on by the Democratic Party constituency committee to resign his seat.

In a brief statement, committee chairman Mr. Gerald Richman said the committee adopted a motion expressing the fullest confidence in the DP and its policies.

Both Mr. Van Eck and Mr. Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) gave undertakings to resign their seats if they left the DP.

But they say their summary suspension from the caucus, and having been "driven out" of the party has relieved them of that obligation.

The DP regional executive has endorsed the resignation calls. Executive chairman Jasper Walsh called on them to honour their promises.

"They chose to join the ANC knowing that such action automatically excludes them from DP membership."
Voice of ANC heard at last in parliament

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IN a remarkably modest moment of political history yesterday, the voice of the African National Congress was heard in South Africa's parliament for the first time.

It fell to one of the movement's most recent recruits, Democratic Party defector and MP for Greytown, Mr. Pierre Cronje, to breach the barrier of racial exclusivity that, for 80 years, frustrated the ANC's yearning to reach the heart of political activity.

"It is with humility," Mr. Cronje began, "that I stand here as the first member of the ANC to speak in the parliament of South Africa.

"That right, no more and no less, is what the ANC has struggled for for 80 years. What a waste of human energy and talent."

The House was attentive and quiet, except for the occasional muffled interjection, and two or three "vivas" offered more in jest than in solidarity.

Politically unthinkable even just a matter of months ago, the first ANC speech was subdued.

But in a measured voice, Mr. Cronje conveyed his and his colleagues' conviction that the ANC embodied the non-racial ideal of the future and that it would be the vehicle for its achievement.

The ANC, he said, was the only organisation which had succeeded in bringing all South Africans together in one organisation, "illustrating to South Africa and the world that the notion of a single nation is not impossible and that it is possible to overcome the conflict between ethnic and national pride and national patriotism."

Furthermore the ANC was best placed to lead the second phase of liberation — liberation from the legacy of apartheid, racism, inequality and fear.

The ANC had embarked on a creative search for viable solutions to South Africa's problems.

Mr. Cronje said continuing propaganda had created a false impression of the ANC and he and his colleagues would work to counter this negative image.

He warned that merely "ganging up" on the ANC because it happened to have wide black support would have a negative and polarising effect on South Africa's future.

"The sooner we get an elected constituent assembly the better."

The political timbre of Mr. Cronje's historic speech moved the next speaker, DP leader Dr. Zac de Beer, to remark that while some might wish to take issue with the content, "I doubt there is any member who will not express appreciation for the tone in which he said it."

"I hope we can always debate on that level."

304A

ANC 23/4/92
FW expected to deal with transitional rule

TOS WENZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is expected to deal with the government's proposals for a transitional government and for a new constitutional system when he speaks in parliament today.

This will be on the second day of the debate on his budget vote.

The government promised last month that draft legislation on a transitional constitution would be unveiled towards the end of April.

According to top Nationalist sources, Mr De Klerk will also deal with problems and a threatened deadlock at Codesa about transitional arrangements.

While the National Party is proposing a number of transitional councils without executive powers, the ANC favours a supervisory body over the present government and a transitional system.

Mr De Klerk is expected to again reject the ANC proposals. Government spokesmen maintain that this amounts to a new super-government undermining the sovereignty of the present government.

He is also said to be critical of the way in which the ANC has presented some of the proposals for preparations for an interim stage as, in fact, part of that stage.

A large number of issues were dealt with on the first day of the debate.

For the first time a member of the ANC addressed parliament yesterday.

He was Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, who joined the movement this week.

He said that it was with humility that he spoke in parliament as the first member of the ANC after that movement had struggled for this right for 80 years.

He had joined the ANC to promote non-racialism in practice. The movement was the only political organisation that succeeded in bringing together people from every national group.

Speaking immediately after Mr Cronje, Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that many people could take issue with what Mr Cronje had said but he doubted whether there was any member who would not express appreciation for the tone in which he had debated.

Mr Piet Coetzee, Nationalist MP for Springs, welcomed the presence of ANC supporters in parliament. Although the movement had not yet become a political party its actions could now be debated in parliament.

Conservative Party leader Dr AP Treurnicht maintained that there was no such thing as an undivided South Africa. It was only a fantasy of the ANC which wanted to dominate the whole of South Africa and a demand from the United States.

The idea of one central government for different nations was contrary to modern political development and with political self-determination.

The idea of a non-racial South Africa in Codesa's declaration of intent was ridiculous.

Not acknowledging nations or ethnic groups meant being blind to the realities of South Africa.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, called on Mr De Klerk to "take the plunge" to a centrist party.

If he did that he would find wide support among all sections of the population.
Fruits of talks ‘will be seen’

By Esther Waugh

Sufficient progress will be made in the next three weeks before Codesa 2 to take the negotiation process a step forward, Codesa management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

He said that in the run-up to Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16, the fruits of the debates and deliberations of the four months since Codesa 1 would become visible.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Gordhan acknowledged that there was a perception that the pace of the five Codesa working groups had not lived up to expectations.

"However, there is a high level of optimism that the fundamental issues under consideration in the various working groups will have been discussed and agreements of substance arrived at by Codesa 2," he said.

It was to be expected that the negotiation process would be "difficult and tentative", with 19 organisations with diverse political views trying to find common ground on national issues, he said.

"There is a keen realisation that the public needs an assurance from the Codesa participants that the negotiation process is working and is effectively taking the country a vital step forward towards a democratic South Africa," said Mr Gordhan.

All delegates were aware of the high level of expectations, particularly among the disenfranchised, and were therefore committed that Codesa 2 would arrive at agreements which would signal to South Africa and the international community that negotiations were a viable peaceful option to solving the country's problems.

A number of matters, such as the implementation of agreements, would have to be resolved after Codesa 2 and the required structures and processes could only then be determined, he said.
transitional Govt proposed
Way out of deadlock on
Dear President,

I am writing to express my deep concern regarding the ongoing political tension and instability in the region. The recent events have led to a significant loss of life and property, and I urge your government to take immediate action to address the root causes of these conflicts.

It is imperative that we work together to promote peace and stability. This can be achieved through dialogue, mediation, and international cooperation. I encourage my government to participate in these efforts and to support initiatives aimed at promoting reconciliation and development.

I am confident that with concerted efforts, we can overcome these challenges and build a better future for all.

Sincerely,
[Your Name]
State aid mooted for political parties

CAPE TOWN — Making state aid available for political parties to ensure their "effective functioning" would have to be considered, said a President's Council report tabled yesterday.

The report, drawn up by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, said state aid might be necessary because of "historical differences" and the "wide diversity in living standards, economic capabilities and educational levels among different population groups".

It noted that a number of countries gave direct state aid to political parties based on an amount determined either according to the number of votes drawn in the latest election or the number of seats won.

The report recommended that a formula be drawn up for funding political parties and that the total amount be published in the Budget. Tax concessions on donations to political parties should also be considered.

While foreign funding was "undesirable", if allowed, it should be restricted and the amounts, sources and purpose of the donation declared.

The council wanted statutory control over funding, with all parties submitting audited financial statements annually to the electoral commission. The sources of donations above a specific amount would have to be declared and funds used for the purpose for which they were given.

Legislation should be introduced to ban the allocation of funds to political parties "used for undemocratic practices and destabilisation of the state".

The report recommended establishment of a permanent electoral commission made up of experts, jurists and representatives of political parties, and proposed that it be separated from the legislature so that government and party influence could be limited. It could be part of the judicial authority.

Control of elections, registration of political parties, and control and administration of election funds — including foreign funds — would fall within the commission's ambit.

The report advocated the drafting of a code of conduct, to be "honoured on the basis of the convictions and acceptance of the community".

It proposed that political parties on registration sign a code of conduct binding themselves to maintain and extend the democratic political process; honour a charter of fundamental human rights; show respect for the national symbols of the state; acknowledge the necessity and role of all political parties in SA's political system; accept a ban on encouraging racial hatred and respect statutory regulations for political parties.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt 'backed' by GOVERNMENT indirectly contributed to the sponsorship of the SA Grand Prix earlier this year when it gave companies sponsoring the event tax breaks, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar told Parliament yesterday.

As the audited statement of the event was still being processed, Parliament would have to wait until the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had completed his work to establish how much revenue was forgone.

Concession 'misused' by churches and welfare organisations to import second-hand clothing might be withdrawn because of large-scale misuse, Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said yesterday. The alleged misuse was connected with a concession to sell some of the clothing to cover import and distribution.

Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach yesterday denied CP leader Andries Treurnicht's allegation that the SADF had been instructed to start preparing for the arrival of a UN taskforce in August. Treurnicht had claimed that the task force would monitor the composition and institution of an interim government.
Zach looks to the future

CAPE TOWN — The new SA would need the DP, its values and its principles because the ANC and NP could not be trusted with the country’s future on their own, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told Parliament that the DP’s origins could be traced to when freedom, dignity, equality and the law were under attack from government.

“With full respect to the NP and to the ANC, there is anything in the record of either which gives confidence. They will apply pragmatic, realistic social market policies... that they will truly escape from the economic dirigisme which went hand in hand with Nazi authoritarianism and with ANC socialism in the past.”

The DP had to look to a new phase of politics and consider how best it could serve the country. There were remnants of apartheid that had to be eliminated and a great deal of convergence was required, but building a new SA was the next stage.

“To strategise for a new phase, one needs to revisit one’s principles and then decide how the future can best be shaped around them — freedom, human dignity, equality under the law,” he said.

Despite the steps that had been taken to return to these values, one could not be confident that they would thrive in a new SA. Economic freedom had been sacrificed on the altar of apartheid. “Can we be sure it will be safe in the future, from being sacrificed in the name of a new kind of social engineering planned to produce instant redistribution.”

There certainly was a need for the DP, a party which had an unbroken record of opposing equal rights.

De Beer said: “Of course the DP will be in some danger in a forthcoming election, in which the perception will arise of the elephants fighting and the grass being trampled... If there were no DP in the new SA, it would be necessary for someone to reinvent it.

“So while there are a few of our people who seek their salvation in the big battalions, the vast majority of democrats believe that we have a duty to uphold our principles and values in the new SA.”

While there may have been errors of judgment, it shall never be said of us that we sacrificed principle for expediency, or truth for personal advantage.

DP steps up bid to attract blacks

THE decision this week by five DP MPs to join the ANC yesterday resulted in the announcement of an intensified drive to woo black supporters to the party and calls for the MPs to resign their seats.

Of the five affected constituencies, Simon’s Town’s DP committee is the only one to have formally called for the resignation of its MP.

The remaining will meet before next Tuesday to discuss the positions of their MPs.

DP party workers said they were flooded with calls from members insisting the MPs resign.

Chairman of the Maritzburg South DP branch Peter Barnard said he had been inundated with telephone calls from the branch demanding MP Rob Haswell’s resignation.

The regional DP structure would meet on Monday with members of the Maritzburg South and Greytown (MP Pierre Cronje) branches to discuss the issue, he said.

The Claremont branch met last night and will make its decision on MP Jan van Eck known today while the Sandton branch will meet at the weekend to discuss MP Dave Dalling.

Chairman of the Sandton branch Peter Jardine said he personally would not encourage his branch to demand Dalling’s resignation for a variety of reasons, but

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FW to unveil interim rule plan

This State President, Mr FW de Klerk, is this week expected to present Parliament with an announcement or draft Bill setting out details of a proposed transitional constitution.

The proposal is likely to include details for ending the life of the bicameral Parliament system and the setting up of a single-chamber transitional legislature, with a constituent assembly in its place.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, confirmed yesterday that an announcement would be made "within the next day or so" - a period dominated by the debate on the State President's vote.

Viljoen set the likely date and aim of such a Bill on March 23 when he said: "With a view to meaningful discussion, consideration and negotiation in Codesa, the Government will make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April."

"Good progress has been made" and "I suppose I will within the next day or so announce some announcements are likely to be forthcoming."
It's Viva! as ANC is heard in Parliament
ANC ‘could gain 9m votes in open poll’

Staff Reporter

The ANC could expect to gain nine million votes of a possible 18 million in the first non-racial election, Dr Peter Collins, senior lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at UCT, said last night.

Speaking at an Ottery meeting, Dr Collins said he estimated with an electorate of 18 million people, the ANC would gain seven million black votes with the balance coming from the other population groups.

He said an opposition coalition would capture four million black votes and three million coming from the other population groups.

Other black parties would gain one million votes. Parties from other race groups would also capture about one million votes.

While these figures assume a 100% turnout, which is unlikely, they may be a guide to proportional strengths, he said.
Barend 'won't retire'

Staff Reporter 30/4

SPECULATION that Finance Minister Barend du Plessis would be forced into early retirement through illness was rejected by a department spokesman yesterday.

Mr Du Plessis, 52, admitted to hospital 13 days ago, was recovering at home yesterday after suffering extreme exhaustion which has been attributed to the demands of Codés, the referendum and the budget.

The spokesman said there was no question of early retirement.

He said Mr Du Plessis' doctor had advised him to stay away from the office for "another week or two".

Mr Du Plessis was initially expected back at work on Tuesday, the spokesman said.

The minister was in daily telephone contact with the office, he added.

Dr Dawie de Villiers has been appointed acting finance minister in his absence.
The Kitchen Sink

The Power Behind

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SOMERSET	THURSDAY	APRIL 23 1992

The kitchen sink

Somersett 23442
ANC in Parliament: Echos from Defiance

The Face of ANC's Voice

Parliament
TBVC homelands: All could decide

WHITE South Africans and their black countrymen may have to join hands in a referendum to decide whether the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa.

This was said by a senior Government official during a Press briefing on developments at the Codesa Working Group 4, charged with investigating the future of Transkei, Bophutha-tswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The date for such a referendum will be set in due course. The official, who declined to be identified, said the Government was right in insisting that the people of the TBVC states should show by way of a referendum that they wanted to be South African citizens again.

By IKE MOTSAPI

The Government was acting according to the rules and terms of reference agreed upon and adopted during Codesa 1 by all the 19 delegates.

He said the referendum would, however, involve “all people of South Africa irrespective of their race, colour or creed” who have to indicate whether they wanted these homelands to be reincorporated to South Africa.

“Every South African will now have to use his or her right to vote this time. It is true that whites and some blacks were not involved when homelands were created.”

“Those were the days of apartheid. We are now work-
The truth in surveys

BY MOCKED PEIYA
Political Correspondent

President F.W. de Klerk is today expected to put flesh on the bones of the Government's long-awaited proposals for a transitional constitution.

The plan is expected to include details of how the Government plans to dismantle the tricameral Parliament and set up an elected, two-chamber legislature.

Mr De Klerk did not speak on the opening day of the debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, but Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Mr De Klerk would unveil the proposed transitional constitution "within the next day or so".

The government hopes its proposals will be taken up by Codesa.

Both Dr Viljoen and the government's official spokesman on Codesa were yesterday at pains to dispel suggestions that the current negotiations are facing deadlock.

Dr Viljoen said that while agreement had not yet been reached by Codesa on the status of traditional leaders, King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus held "a special and exceptional position even above other traditional leaders".
Taxpayers may have to fund parties

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Taxpayers could be forced to pay for the election campaigns of political parties because politicians might not raise sufficient funds themselves.

This is one of the recommendations in the report of the President’s Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs on political parties which was released yesterday.

It also suggested that an electoral commission to ensure free, regular and democratic elections be set up, and that political parties sign a code of conduct that sought to stop any party from advocating racism or violence between groups or individuals.

At a press briefing on the report, committee chairman Johan Heyns said that the ban on racism would mean that the Conservative Party would not be able to register as a political party unless it opened its ranks to all race groups.

“The most contentious issue for already hard-pressed taxpayers was that they be compelled to pay for the election campaigns of their political masters. The report said that recruitment and membership fees were still essential for parties, but "financial contributions by members are gradually forming a smaller percentage of party income". Elections could not be successful unless political parties had the financial ability to reach and influence voters. Funds were required for the establishment and maintenance of a democratic party system.

“The importance of a first election to lay the foundation for a multi-party democracy cannot be sufficiently emphasised.”

Mobilise

The committee said it was important to try to level the political playing field. All political parties should have an equal opportunity to influence voters and mobilise support, so State help should be given to parties who did not receive foreign aid.

Strict statutory requirements for audited reports of expenditure would apply.

In the first election, the State should pay for the dissemination of political information on the roles, rights and duties of voters, the report said.

“It is recommended that annual financial aid in accordance with an agreed formula be considered for registered political parties.”

Funding would be made on the basis of votes cast for a party. Aid to parties should be disclosed in the annual Budget. Tax concessions on donations to political parties could be considered.

If foreign funding of parties was to be allowed, the source, amount and purpose would have to be disclosed.

The committee said a permanent, statutory electoral commission should be established, comprising experts, jurists and representatives of all political parties. It would monitor and be in overall control of elections to ensure they were fair and democratic. It should be separated from the legislative authority so that government and party influence could be limited as far as possible.

The commission could be part of a constitutional court.

It would be responsible for registering political parties, and arbitrate in disputes between political parties.

The commission would monitor party funding, including foreign funding, to ensure the money was spent in accordance with statutory prescriptions.

The commission would function in terms of a Party Act and an Electoral Act.  
Crunch time for homelands

By Esther Waugh

Codeosa delegates will on Monday try to resolve a deadlock on the future of the homelands after consulting with their leaders on whether the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation should be tested.

Should Monday's crucial attempt fail, the matter will be referred to the Codedsa management committee, and if all attempts to break the deadlock falter, the future of the homelands will appear as an unresolved issue on the agenda of Codedsa 2, a Government source said yesterday.

The main dispute in the working group dealing with the future of the homelands is whether a national referendum should be held to, firstly, test the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation and, secondly, to determine whether South African citizens favoured reincorporation.

Three of the four homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — told Codedsa on Tuesday that they were in favour of reincorporation but did not consider a referendum necessary.

The Government said the will of these citizens should first be democratically tested.

The ANC has rejected the Government's proposal: "The SA Government is asking Codedsa to put the stand of legitimacy on a system that stands condemned by the entire international community."

The ANC proposed that Codedsa 2 agreements should provide for the immediate restoration of South African citizenship to all homeland citizens.

The ANC identified the following steps as being part of the process of reincorporation:
• The immediate restoration of citizenship to homeland citizens;
• The participation of the homelands in transitional arrangements;
• Identifying the stage at which legal reincorporation should take place.
The Democratic Party leadership announced yesterday that the five MPs who joined the ANC had automatically ceased to be members of the DP.

Dave Gant, chairman of the DP national council, said in a statement that the DP constitution made it clear that a person ceased to be a member of the DP when he or she joined another political organisation without the consent of the national council.

Since they had not obtained the consent of the national council, the five had therefore ceased to be members of the DP at 2.30 pm on Tuesday (when they said they were joining the ANC).

"Any contentions by the Members of Parliament concerned that they are entitled to retain their seats on the basis of their continued membership of the Democratic Party are therefore invalid."

Mr Gant's statement was clearly a response to moves by the five MPs to force the DP leadership to expel them.

The intention was to argue that they were entitled to retain their seats as they had not voluntarily left the DP.

Many MPs wish to switch sides — Page 18
Govt proposals likely today

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is today expected to put flesh on the bones of government's long-awaited proposals for a transitional constitution.

The plan is expected to include details of how government plans to dismantle the bicameral Parliament and set up an elected, two-chamber transitional legislature.

De Klerk did not speak on the opening day of the debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, but Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told a media briefing De Klerk would unveil the proposed transitional constitution "within the next day or so".

Government has indicated in the past it will make its plans for an interim government available in the form of draft legislation before the end of this month.

Asked about the status of government's proposals, Viljoen said yesterday: "Good progress has been made and I suppose within the next day or so some announcements are likely to be forthcoming."

Viljoen and government's official spokesman on Codesa were yesterday at pains to dispel suggestions that the negotiation process was facing deadlock.

The Ministers acknowledged that a number of sticking points remained on key issues, but noted that the rate of progress had slowed because Codesa's focus had shifted from procedural issues to matters of content and policy which were more difficult and time-consuming to resolve.

Delport said: "Progress will not be on a level line — there are bound to be hiccups and difficulties."

Viljoen emphasised that the Codesa plenary session would serve as a platform for the working groups to present "interesting and meaningful" progress reports rather than final reports.

He said the 89-strong working groups were cumbersome and because Codesa was operating on the basis of consensus it often took a long time to thrash out agreements. However, government and other parties were striving to implement a transitional government "as soon as possible."

Viljoen said that while agreement had not yet been reached by Codesa on the status of traditional leaders, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini held a special position above other traditional leaders.

He suggested that it was traditional leaders "in the more general sense", that were making it difficult for a solution to be found to the tricky issue. He was optimistic that a solution would be found by next week, noting that significant progress had already been made on the issue.
ALL special secret projects in the National Intelligence Service, the SA Police and the SA Defence Force had been ended, President de Klerk has announced.

A special Cabinet committee of four ministers under Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was now exercising control over secret funding, he told parliament yesterday during debate on his budget vote.

And revised legislation on secret funding was to be tabled in parliament soon.

He said the three security departments were now confining themselves to secret projects only within the limits of the line-function tasks entrusted to them by law.

"Mr De Klerk pointedly did not refer to special secret projects in other departments," one MP called out. "What about Foreign Affairs?" after his announcement.

"Explaining the difference between the two kinds of secret projects, official sources said a line-function secret project could, for example, be police surveillance of revolutionaries. While a special secret project was something outside the department's normal jurisdiction such as the funding of political parties."

Committee's task over

Mr De Klerk said the scaling down of secretly-funded projects had been confirmed by the special private-sector committee under Professor Allison Kahn which he had appointed last year to investigate special secret projects.

The committee had now completed its task and reported to him. It had found that the departments involved had ended or scaled down not only special secret projects but also some ordinary covert projects.

The Committee had also found that the continuing secret projects complied with the guidelines he had laid down. These stated that secret projects could not favour any political party or had to be in the broad national interest and had to play a positive part in promoting peace and combating intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee had reported that all its recommendations for the ending of projects had been accepted.

It had also confirmed that departments which normally conducted covert actions should be allowed to continue to do so.

Undertakings honoured

Mr De Klerk said the special Cabinet committee was now exercising control over the content of every special secret project and overall control over covert expenditure in general. He said the government was committed to keeping the political playing field level but that no individual party or group which engaged in political violence was exempt from the attentions of the NIS, the SAP and the SANDF.

The government had now honoured its undertakings last year. These were:

- To limit secret projects to the minimum.
- To subject necessary projects to stringent financial control and firm Cabinet management.
- Not to allow secret funds to favour any political party.
- To revise secret funding legislation.
Keppler praises Winides

“check of dom

There it goes... Captioniker Hemsters up her finger before the row of the

Get that man it’s... Captioniker Hemsters up her finger before the row of the

sa is bowed over and out!

Chances for shares to
DP backs calls for rebel five to quit

Political Correspondent

The National Executive of the Democratic Party has thrown its weight behind demands for the five MPs who have defected to the ANC to resign their seats.

In a statement, executive chairman Mr David Gant said it was noted that the MPs had "joined a political organisation whose stated policies and views are different to and in certain cases directly in conflict with those contained in the DP manifesto on which the MPs were elected to parliament".

"In the circumstances, the executive believes that the MPs should resign their seats..."

As the dispute simmered over whether the MPs were expelled or effectively resigned by joining another party, the second of the five to speak in parliament since the defection, Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, said he and his colleagues "will not succumb to the politics of mud-slinging".

"Our battle will not be with you," he told "friends and former colleagues" in the DP.

"We will continue to see you as potential allies of the broad democratic movement. If our absence will enable the DP to operate more efficiently and cohesively then our parting of the ways may indeed have been a positive development.

"And although our ways have separated, we hope that the different roads we will follow from now on will, at the end, still bring us to the same political destination."

The DP has in the meantime elected Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, as the new Chief Whip to replace defector Mr David Dolling.
PRESIDENT De Klerk has urged political groups in the country to regard the referendum result as a new point of departure to develop the country's full potential.

Speaking in the debate on his budget vote in parliament, he also announced a major adaptation to the government's transitional proposals involving a directly elected executive council with a revolving presidency.

The debate was no longer on the question of whether a new and just order should replace the old, nor whether it should include all South Africans, he said. The focus was now on what the new dispensation should look like.

The rest of Africa wanted South Africa to develop to its full potential so it could play its important regional role, and the international world wanted to play a constructive role.

The time for petty politics was over, he said.

He dealt again with the government and National Party proposals for different phases on the way to a new constitutional system.

There should first be a preparatory phase to transitional government followed by the introduction of a transitional constitution through which an executive authority and parliament could be elected.

The preparatory stage did not entail a transitional government. Two central governments could not exist side by side. Only in the second phase would there be a transitional government.

The main points of view of the government on a new system were well known but would soon be submitted in greater details, he said. Draft legislation embodying these details were expected soon.

In the meantime Mr De Klerk announced what he described as a significant new element in the government's proposals—an executive council.

It would replace the present State President and carry out the functions of the head of state and of government.

The chairmanship of this executive council would rotate every six months in the transitional government.

The government was now proposing that this executive of the transitional government should be elected directly by all South African citizens.

The three to five candidates who received the highest number of votes would be members of the council.

He maintained that the most important advantages of the direct election of an executive council would be that democracy would be maintained and expanded; leaders with proven support would be identified and be directly responsible to those who elected them; and the separation of the legislative and executive authorities would be strengthened.

A phased approach in which the executive authority could be reconstituted reasonably rapidly at an early stage and apart from parliament would become possible, he said.
PARLIAMENT was "merely another site of struggle" and the ANC's participation in it was not intended to strengthen or extend the life of "this illegitimate structure", Mr Jan van Eck said during debate.

Moving to clarify the ANC's role in parliament, Mr Van Eck, the second ANC MP to speak in debate, said he and his fellow defectors from the Democratic Party "are deeply aware of the great responsibility that rests on our shoulders as members of the ANC to ensure that the way in which we use parliament will in no way strengthen or extend the life of this illegitimate structure".

"On the contrary, our participation here must be seen as a declaration of intent to bring this body to an end as soon as possible and to replace it with a truly non-racial democratic parliament where the true representatives of the majority of our people will take their legitimate place.

"But although we are members of the ANC, we will not be and cannot be, formal representatives or spokespersons of the ANC."

In a strong attack on the National Party, Mr Van Eck said the ruling party "cannot be trusted with the future and can never be allowed or trusted to lead the process of democratising our apartheid-ridden society."
Cohen: FW is over-confident

HARARE. President FW de Klerk was over-confident following his success in the referendum, according to United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

Ziana news agency reported Mr Cohen saying this yesterday when he briefed President Robert Mugabe on his (Mr Cohen's) visit to South Africa earlier this week.

— Sapa (2047)
Document on
Codesa jam

JOHANNESBURG. — A
document proposing the
creation of a transitional
authority with effective
executive power has
been drawn up by a Co-
desa technical commit-
tee. (Sapa)
The committee was ap-
pointed by working
group III dealing with
interim arrangements to
try to resolve the dead-
lock at the Convention
on the nature of a transi-
tional authority. In
turn a three-man delega-
tion was created to draft
a proposal to resolve the
impasse. — Sapa
WELCOME... Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC's Western Cape chairman, yesterday welcomed two of the five rebel Democratic Party MPs into the regional organisation. With him is Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont) on his right and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) on his left.

Rebels given time to move

Political Staff

THE five rebel MPs who joined the ANC this week will now not have to leave their parliamentary offices immediately. The five are to get new offices in Marks building, but these will not be ready until next week.

The Democratic Party initially insisted that they immediately quit their offices. If the DP had insisted on this, the five would have had to occupied temporary offices for a week before moving into their new offices.

FORMER Democratic Party caucus members who joined the ANC this week had since experienced much abuse from the world of white politics, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg said yesterday.

Mr Momberg told a Cape Town news conference they had found it "a very cold world out there in white politics" where they had met with much abuse since joining the ANC.

Mr Momberg and Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck were formally welcomed to the Western Cape ANC region on Thursday by its chairman, Dr Allan Boesak.

The MPs are two of a group of five DP MPs who joined the ANC on Tuesday.

Dr Boesak confirmed the views expressed by the DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, that his intention to expel the MPs would not harm the good relations between the DP and the ANC.

Meanwhile, the DP's national executive has endorsed the decision by Dr De Beer to suspend the five rebels and called on them to resign their seats.

The chairman, Mr David Gant, said after a meeting yesterday the executive had confirmed that the five had "of their own volition" terminated their membership of the DP because they had not received permission from the executive to hold dual membership before they joined the ANC.

As a result the executive believed they should resign. — Political Staff, Sapa
Nats won’t fight for more seats

THE National Party will not take part in by-elections in the House of Assembly where seats had been won by opposition parties in the general election, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said party political rivalry within the current parliamentary dispensation was becoming less relevant by the day.

"This fact led to a decision by the National Party to refrain, as a general rule, from taking part in House of Assembly by-elections in which the seat had been won in the general election by members of the opposition. Naturally, we reserve the right to revise this decision in the light of new circumstances."

The situation in the House of Assembly, particularly after the referendum, had become so stabilised that participation in by-elections had become "cumbersome and unnecessary".

The situation in the House of Representatives, where there had been a change in administration and the NP still had to prove itself at the polls, was different.

New players coming to the fore were not waiting for a new dispensation — they were part of Parliament already.

"Through pro-ANC elements in the Labour Party and the five former honourable members of the Democratic Party who have joined the ANC, the scene has already begun to change."

Mr De Klerk said there were rumours of the ANC making offers to members of smaller parties.

- Mr De Klerk said the Conservative Party should meet the government in Groote Schuur-style talks on how to get that party back into the mainstream of South African politics.

He said there were indications that the CP was reconsidering its policies, and he welcomed these first signs, the "tapping on the shell" of new thinking.

- Mr De Klerk said demands for international involvement in maintaining South Africa’s internal security were uncalled-for. He said that "insinuations" by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that a United Nations task force would come to South Africa later this year, and that the government or SADF would co-operate with it, were too far-fetched to react to.

He also said he was not prepared to restrict the security forces in their responsibility to ensure internal stability and law and order.

"South Africa is a sovereign state and it is the government’s responsibility to ensure the safety of the state. Demands for international involvement in the maintenance of internal security are uncalled-for and are rejected by the government." — Sapa
FW proposes
1 man, 1 vote to
elect presidency

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In an important move to try to break the deadlock in negotiations, President de Klerk has proposed that the whole South African population should directly elect a joint interim presidency.

Individual leaders would stand for election for this supreme executive body — although not more than one per party — and the three to five who won the most votes would serve on it.

The executive council — as it would be called — would reach decisions by consensus and the chairperson, known as the president, would rotate every six months.

The executive council would become the head of state and government and would appoint a new Cabinet.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament during his budget speech yesterday that elections for the executive council could take place much sooner than the more elaborate general elections for an interim legislature-cum-constituency assembly.

This meant a transitional government could be in place while the difficult issues concerning the structure of a transitional legislature were still being negotiated.

Government sources said Mr de Klerk's proposal could contain the seed of a resolution to the impasse at Codesa over the powers of the transitional executive during the first phase of transition.

The Government wants Codesa-appointed "preparatory councils" with purely advisory powers to prepare the country for the elections for an interim legislature.

The ANC and most other parties at Codesa want a Codesa-appointed interim executive with real power to prepare for and supervise these elections.

Mrs de Klerk's proposals yesterday could offer a compromise because the fully representative executive council would be in charge at the time of elections for an interim legislature.

ANC sources reacted guardedly to the proposal last night, but said it was "interesting".

Political observers also noted that direct elections of individuals to an executive presidency would favour Mr de Klerk himself whose personal popularity far outstrips that of the NP.

In a wide-ranging speech, Mr de Klerk also touched on other important matters:

- He announced that the National Party would for the time being not fight by-elections in the House of Assembly in seats held by opposition parties.
- Mr de Klerk said that since the parties in Parliament would probably never fight each other again in a general election, the party-political rivalry in Parliament was becoming less relevant by the day.

This means that the NP will not fight the imminent by-election in Welkom, a seat held by the Conservative Party.
- He announced that the National Party had no intention of dissolving to form a new centrist party.
- Mr de Klerk said the NP was the parliamentary party "with quite the strongest claim to being a national movement, with, in addition, a dynamic growth potential among all South Africans".

Mr de Klerk invited other parties to join the NP — or, if they wished to retain their identity, to enter alliances with it.

NP discussions in this regard, especially with extra-parliamentary parties, were developing well already, he added.
- The National Party leader Zach de Beer for insisting that the DP remaining independent, Mr de Klerk said there was no room for a "Sir Galahad" in SA politics, implicitly extending an invitation to the DP to join the NP.
- He called upon the Conservative Party to join the NP in a Groote Schuur conference to negotiate ways of bringing itself back into the political mainstream.
DP defectors … Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jannie Momberg with ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa

There's no room for rancour in driftsands of the DP

ANTHONY HEARD, who broke the news of the Progressive split to the United Party leadership in 1959, suggests to the Democratic Party: this is no time for bitterness.

With an all-race election in prospect, there will be many political switches, surprises — many “alarums and excursions”.

Some DP’s feel a powerful urge to merge with the Nats. Maybe some have even discussed it with top Nats.

On television, De Beer described the DP as the moderate liberal party in South Africa. Arguably that is so, but he will surely concede that there are people within the ANC, and at least some in the NP, who see — or have become — as attached to fundamental freedom as most of his party.

Some of his own stalwarts, such as Worrall, were pretty unflazed about FW Botha’s draconian state of emergency when in office, and Wynand Malan was both a stalwart and a Breederbonder. With baggage like that, it’s wise not to throw too many stones at others on human rights.

There is an assumption in the West that “other” cultures have no respect for freedom. For “others” read black. This is dangerously fallacious.

White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, notably the English-speaking variety, might have the veneer of civilisation, the “right” gentlemen’s clubs and attitudes. But they can, with little conscience, clothe a liberal paper such as the Rand Daily Mail, fire a presbyterian editor such as Laurence Gandar, and put up with migrant labour, single hostels and low wages for far too long — and operate less-informative public relations.

A bit of humility goes well with a real respect for human rights and individual worth. Freedom is not an exclusive possession.

When the Prog broke, there was plenty of rancour and bitterness, with angry demands to resign seats. They did not, of course. The DP should capture the spirit of transitory times and not be too shifty with those who feel their future is with the ANC. The ANC, a former guerrilla movement, has held out its hand to mainstream whites — members of the South African parliament — risking severe criticism for having links with a fatally-flawed tricameral order. The move is historic, the generosity manifest.

It can only be hoped that the DP gives due weight to this, and discourages personal attacks, snide remarks and constituency breast-beating.

The DP has every right to play a continuing independent role, in or out of parliament. Or it could itself in time consider an alignment with the ANC, if that were to mean losing those who seek their future security with the Nationalists, so be it.

Anthony Heard is the former editor of The Cape Times.
The ANC takes 'shopping list' to Codesa II

By PAUL STOBER

DELEGATES to the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) are likely to be in the hot seats when they meet next month.

Sharp differences have emerged between the African National Congress and the government about what must be achieved at Codesa II for substantial progress to be made towards the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa.

Last week, the ANC released a "shopping list" of issues on which it wants Codesa II to reach agreement.

According to the ANC this basket of measures would pave the way for an interim government to be in place within the next four months.

This would effectively wrest control of government from the National Party, and is the political priority of the ANC at the moment.

But Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen has said it is not likely Codesa II will produce final results.

"Codesa II will review progress reports and there will be other plenary sessions," he said at a press briefing on Wednesday. As the negotiators at Codesa usually do, he left the door open by adding: "Progress reports can be final reports."

Despite Viljoen's predictions, ANC national executive member Valli Moosa remained confident about the possibilities of breakthroughs before the second plenary session. Using the government's proposals on the first phase of the transitional process as an example, he said: "The government is not supported by anybody else and its positions are not sustainable. We are confident of about getting the government to move away from its present positions and towards agreement at Codesa."

He added that failure to reach agreement at Codesa II would be a result of "intransigence" on the part of the government.

The most important items in the ANC package are: the establishment of an interim government during the first phase of the transitional arrangements; the restoration of South African citizenship to the estimated 10-million citizens of the TBVC states; the establishment of an elected constitution-making body; and mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections.

However, with arrangements for Codesa II to be held on May 15 and 16 already well underway, it is on precisely these issues that the government and the ANC seem to be the furthest apart.

- Working group two, which is discussing constitutional principles and the shape of a constitution making body, mandated its steering committee to suggest areas of discussion after it was unable to make any progress. The ANC has proposed that a single chamber constituent assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, draw up a constitution. The government has proposed a second house, representing regional and minority parties, which would have veto powers over the new constitution.

- The government is expected to announce draft legislation, which will enable it to enact an interim constitution, within the next few days. The legislation is expected to include details of how the government sees permanent closing of the tricameral parliament and creation of the constituent assembly/interim legislature.
Power sharing

Party political rivalry was "becoming less relevant by the day," and other parties should work to redefine their missions. They invited the CP to Groot Schuur for a day-long summit to discuss how it could participate in the new dispensation so as not to leave the 800 000 people who voted for it in the referendum in the lurch.

He discounted any speculation of the NP disbanding by saying: "It is asking too much if the NP is expected to wind itself up and surrender itself in a new party. The NP is the political party inside Parliament with quite the strongest claim to being a broad national political movement with... dynamic growth potential."

With reference to the planned security legislation, De Klerk said it was envisaged that it would ban the planning and organisation of private armies, and the possession of unlicensed arms.

A task force would also be assigned to the national peace secretariat to assist where socio-economic conditions were causing violence.

He said significant progress had been made with the ANC in terms of bilateral negotiations on the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The government was doing everything in its power to ensure that the conditions were right for the ANC to end the armed struggle and disband its underground structures before Codesa II.

De Klerk also said that following the Kahn commission of inquiry into secret funds, new legislation governing such funds was being drawn up. All secret projects that the commission had recommended should be ended, had been.

Our political staff reports that NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said last night the transitional proposals amounted to "an acceptable short cut" to place the top leaders of executive power in the hands of SA's most popular leaders "fairly swiftly."

If Codesa accepted the proposals, elections for the executive council "could be done in about two to three months from the time that agreement is reached."

The proposals were designed to meet the ANC halfway on its demands for a share of executive power at an early stage of the transition.

DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin said government's constitutional proposals increasingly sounded like something out of Alice in Wonderland, as they were becoming "furrier and curvier."

CP frontbencher Tom Langley accused the government of "shadow boxing" while surrendering power to the ANC.

Labour Party spokesman Desmond Lockey said the government proposals showed it did not believe blacks were capable of governing themselves.

There was no reaction from the ANC last night.
De Klerk proposes new-style presidency

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday proposed that an executive council be elected to serve as a presidency for the interim period of South Africa's transition to democracy.

This executive council - made up of three to five people - would be elected on the basis of one person one vote and in terms of a new Electoral Act to be negotiated and drafted by Codesa, De Klerk said in Parliament during his Budget Vote.

It would replace the present State President and carry out the functions of the head of state and the head of government.

In terms of De Klerk's proposals the transition of South Africa would be divided into two parts: a preparatory phase when preparatory councils would lay the groundwork and facilitate elections to a two-chambered assembly which would govern the country and write a new constitution.

The preparatory councils would be appointed by the presidency, the EC, which itself could be elected sooner rather than later, De Klerk said.

"We are now proposing that the executive council of the interim government should be elected directly by all South African citizens who will be entitled to vote on the basis of a new negotiated Electoral Act," he said.

Each political party would nominate a person for whom party loyalists would vote in terms of the franchise agreed upon at Codesa.

The three to five candidates who received the highest number of votes would be elected as members of the EC, De Klerk said.

It is understood that elections for the EC could be held sooner rather than later, possibly even before the inception of the first phase - that of the appointment by the presidency of preparatory councils.

The preparatory councils would be nominated by Codesa and officially appointed by the presidency (the EC).

The councils would, among other things, see to the registration of voters and issuing of identity documents to smooth over this process, draw up electoral regions and boundaries and oversee elections to the interim government.

The EC would remain at the head of the interim government, which would sit in a legislature made up of two chambers.

To page 2
Inmates ask to have a meal at the ANC. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service.

He asked the prison authorities to give him a meal. The prison authorities did not give him a meal. The prison authorities did not give him a meal. The prison authorities did not give him a meal. The prison authorities did not give him a meal. The prison authorities did not give him a meal.

The ANC has no meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service. The ANC does not have a meal service.
ANÉC demands full inquiry

ANC demands full inquiry

Political Staff (2048)

THE ANC today demanded a public inquiry into a "police cover-up" in the Trust Feed massacre, as called for by the judge who found five policemen guilty of murder and attempted murder.

ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus said an independent public inquiry was necessary "for the sake of peace in our country."

The ANC demand came in the wake of the police decision to launch a departmental inquiry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baskie Smit, Chief of the Internal Stability Division, into the irregular actions of the investigating officers in the case.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday he had instructed General Smit to "launch a thorough investigation into this matter with the view to possible criminal and/or departmental stops."

General Van der Merwe said: "I will not tolerate or condone unprofessional investigations or any attempts at a so-called 'cover-up.'"

Woman 8km: Man

A MAN has been dragged down a road and was released from hospital. — CR

Early on A Jack, 25, was drugged and dragged by his alleged lover. Ms Jack, who went to hospital. — CR
ANC to discuss latest proposal

Political Staff
ANC policy-makers are today studying President de Klerk's proposals for a directly-elected executive council - or revolving presidency - as the first step in the transition to a new constitutional system.

The proposals are seen as an attempt to overcome a deadlock in negotiations on transitional arrangements.

As the government's latest position sparked fresh debate in political circles, it emerged that the proposals bore a remarkable resemblance to a proposal for a transitional executive council by a Cooda drafting committee.

The main difference is that Mr de Klerk has proposed one-person-one-vote elections for the executive council, while the drafting committee suggests a multi-party executive be constituted by legislation agreed to by Cooda.

Key players in the negotiation process were hesitant today in commenting on Mr de Klerk's proposals.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation would respond to the proposals, ban on private armies and Mr de Klerk's constitutional proposals after discussion.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the proposal would be looked at. He could not find fault with the basic underlying democratic principle of people electing their leaders to such a council, but everything depended on how the ANC responded.

Mr de Klerk told parliament yesterday that an agreement on a directly-elected national executive could be reached before a general election for a transitional parliament and the whole population could take a quick and effective decision.

Mr. Rob Hawwall, MP, for Maritzburg South, who is now a member of the ANC, said the proposal sounded like a recipe for a long, unacceptable transitional period, but could promote national unity.

Mr Colin Eglin, constitutional expert of the Democratic Party, said it was difficult to evaluate Mr de Klerk's proposal until the whole government package was known.
Democracy and Electoral Systems:
Systems of Proportionality

During the last two weeks we have been writing about an interview Learning Nation had with Kader Asmal. This is our last article in the three part series on electoral systems.

The ANC says that the simplest system of voting will be the best for democracy. THE ANC SAYS THAT THE SIMPLEST SYSTEM OF VOTING WILL BE THE BEST FOR DEMOCRACY

Kader Asmal: There are different kinds of proportional systems.

The Irish System

The Irish system, which is the most complex, is thought to be the best system. The Law Commission proposes the Irish system. It is a constituency-based system - a multi-member constituency system. If there are 5 seats, each party will put up three or four candidates per seat. But no party can ever win 5 seats. So if there are, say, 9 parties then you will have 30 to 40 candidates. You can vote 1 to 30. So if you have three candidates for the Main Party you can vote 1, 2, 3. You could have up to 5 seats, the PAC 7, 8, 9, and the National Party 10, 11, 12. An intricate formula is then used to calculate a quota. They count the first choices, like in the Australian system and anybody who comes up to the quota is elected. There are some complications: if a person is above the quota, then you distribute his/her second preference. If no-one gets above the quota, you eliminate the last candidate and distribute the votes, until you have elected five people for the five constituencies.

It is a very complicated process and is expensive. There is a close relationship between the number of voters and the seats won. So if the party which gets 48% of the votes will get between 48 and 50% of the seats. It usually works in a rural-based society, so it is used in Ireland, Malta and Tasmania. Usually you find 2 or 3 members of the same party fighting each other to be re-elected. Its a personalized form of representation. This system, because of being personalized can lead to corruption. We want machinery where people can establish their rights.

Namibia

Another form of proportional representation is the kind which was used in Namibia in 1989. In Namibia, a list system was followed. There were no candidates with names and you voted for the party and not for the party, the symbol or SWAPO's famous symbol, because of the high degree of illiteracy. In the first election it is really a national mobilisation. You could effectively vote anywhere in the country, you didn't have to vote in a constituency. SWAPO got 57% of the votes and so they got 57% of the seats. There was no cut-off point in Namibia but there were only 84 seats, so you had to get 1 1/2% of the votes to get a seat.

The ANC believe

We, in the ANC, believe that our first election should be a countrywide election. We have to register voters, Whites, Indians and coloureds are already registered in their constituencies. We won't be able to register 15 to 16 million people within 15 months. Secondly, eligibility of voters will give us enormous problems. We can't do that. That is why the smallest system of voting, in which you can vote anywhere in South Africa, because you're voting for a party, will be the best. So if the ANC gets 50% of the votes then it will get 50% of the seats, if the NNP get 5% votes they get 5% of the seats.

One of the problems of the list is that somebody has to draw up the list. The list should not be drawn up by the movement alone because what would happen is, in the first election, there may be 400 candidates for the ANC, and if the ANC got 60% of the vote then the top 60% of the candidates will be elected to the National Assembly. There will be a distance between the elected and the electorate.

In the subsequent elections we want some connection between the electorate and the elected, and that is why we are suggesting that half of the list should be drawn up by the regions. Each region will be given the same number of seats.

The issue of minorities

In SA we have the obsession that there are only one ethnic minorities. But there are other minorities. There are cultural minorities, religious minorities, and there are sexual minorities. Most societies have 10% gays. In conditions of repressive practices by the political parties, people may want to vote by reference to the interests they want to protect, rather than a political party. Under the "first-past-the-post" system no party, frankly, would choose a gay: under the Irish system you may choose a closet gay. But under this system, the party choosing its list may choose to win gay votes by having a gay on the list. The gays, themselves, could form a party and have a gay elected.

The other advantage is on the gender question. In Germany, even in a conservative society like Portugal, there are a higher number of women in parliament than in the "first-past-the-post" system. Also under the list system you don't have the bitter in-fighting as to who is going to stand in Soweto East, whether it is going to be a Xhosa speaker of a Zulu speaker. This leads to disunification and sectarianism. That is why the list system is a fairer system.

The "first-past-the-post" system

I would have thought that the PAC or Inkatha would oppose the "first-past-the-post system" because, in the fullness of time, that would guarantee that the National Party and the ANC would dominate. That is why it wrong to see the ANC's proposals of proportional representation with a list as protection of minorities. It is not minority protection, it is minority participation.

Learning Nation: You have spoken about the problems of the "first-past-the-post" system and its tendency towards two parties. What about the fact that other systems lead to a proliferation of smaller parties. In the South African situation they can form a conservative coalition and prevent the ANC, as the majority party, from implementing its programme? Is this not a danger?

Kader Asmal: Of course there is danger. This system tends itself to coalition and we must be aware of that. But that is a risk we have to take in our society. There is a calculable, calculated reason for rejecting the "first-past-the-post system". We neither have the experience nor the capacity to be co-authors of the "first-past-the-post" system. We don't have the demographic information of South Africa, and the census of this year is farre. The TBVC states must still be incorporated. We don't have enough confidence on the judiciary to be fair about delimitation. Also, most constituencies will be African, and it would be wrong not to have other constituencies represented.

For these reasons we are also calling for all elections to be conducted by an independent commission. Elections must not only be fair but must be seen to be fair. Yes, coalitions may be a tendency in the list system, but that may not be so much of a disadvantage in South Africa. Finally we must just see that we get 60% of the vote.

This is the last in our series of interviews with Kader Asmal. Next week we continue our series on trade unions.
The National Question in South Africa

Nationalism

The National Question in South Africa

Nationalism

The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa

In South Africa, a social system of apartheid-capitalism exists. It is a system in which the ruling capitalist class uses racism to exclude the vast majority of the black population from the South African "nation". Under apartheid-capitalism, black people are denied democracy. On the other hand, the white minority in South Africa have found that their access to democracy is not complete and it is not applied consistently. For example, apartheid laws have also denied white people the right to freedom of association, freedom of the press and so on.

In opposition to the system of apartheid-capitalism, the liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and AZAPO struggle for a new South African nation that is democratic, non-racist and non-racist. It is this struggle to liberate South Africa from its undemocratic, apartheid version of nationhood, that puts us in solidarity with the many other national liberation struggles taking place across the world.

National Liberation and Socialism in South Africa

The working class of South Africa has a long history of commitment to a socialist future. Presently in South Africa, the organised working class is still strongly committed to socialism despite the problems and bad name socialism has received because of Stalinism. This support for socialism can be seen from COSATU's most recent Economic Policy Conference which reaffirmed COSATU's support for a socialist future.

On the other hand, we struggle for national liberation and on the other hand we are committed to a socialist future. What is the link between national liberation and socialist struggle?

In our first article of this series we saw that historically, it was the bourgeoisie who set the stage for the struggle against feudalism for political power. Our fourth article saw that debate within the socialist movement on the question of national liberation and socialism became a burning issue at the beginning of the 1990s. Today, in South Africa, we find on the one hand debates on whether we must engage in a struggle for national liberation or a struggle for socialism. On the other hand, amongst those who support the struggle for national liberation, we find further debates. One of the key issues in these debates is the question of class leadership in the national liberation struggle.

Bourgeois or Working Class Leadership?

One view argues that national liberation belongs to the bourgeoisie. This view says that the programme for national liberation must limit itself to demands that the bourgeoisie class, as the ruling class, can grant. This view argues that national liberation must bring about a democratic, non-socialist and non-racist capitalist South Africa. Our view on this has been achieved with the working class putting forward a socialist programme and leading the struggle to achieve this goal. This argument is often referred to as a "two-stage" theory of socialist revolution.

Another view exists which opposes the "two-stage" approach to national liberation and socialism. This view argues that capitalism in South Africa survives because apartheid gives it cheap labour. This view says that apartheid therefore cannot be destroyed and democracy cannot be guaranteed under capitalism. This view argues that the working class, which desires national liberation and socialism will remain the most consistent fighters of apartheid and upholders of democracy. For this reason, this view argues for working class leadership of the national liberation struggle. The holders of this position point to situations in which bourgeois leadership of the national liberation struggles, turn against their commitment to democracy. Our article on the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union showed examples of how the bourgeois leadership in some of these movements are already acting in undemocratic ways.

The view which argues for working class leadership in the national liberation struggle is strongly argued for by Trotsky in the 1920's in his fight against the rise of Stalinism. The debate over which class should lead in the national liberation struggle in South Africa will continue to inform and impact on our day-to-day struggle for liberation.

Right-wing nationalism in South Africa

Right-wing nationalism in South Africa

Last week we looked at the rise of right-wing nationalist tendencies in some of the leading capitalist countries across the world. We saw the link between a deepening economic crisis and the growing support for fascist policies.

The South African capitalist economy has also been hit by a severe recession. The working class experiences this daily through retrenchments, the rising cost of living and decreased social services offered by the state as it continues the campaign to privatise these services. An added feature in South Africa is the uncertainty in the current political situation. For the white working and middle classes, the certainty of minority (apartheid) rule with the privileges it offers them is no longer there. The white minority faces a possible situation of (black) majority rule. The same is true for the leaders and supporters of the bastuums and the tri-cameral system.

The combined effect of worsening economic crisis and possible loss of minority political power leads to growing support for the reinstatement of "minority rights". The wage-only referendum of 17 March 1992 gave majority white support to De Klerk's negotiations option to preserve apartheid in some new form rather than the more right-wing option offered by the O'Farrell and the AWB. However the danger does exist that worsening unemployment and poverty together with the growing political uncertainty can create conditions in which the racist divisions between blacks and whites as well as between blacks can widen. Fears that majority rule will mean the oppressive imposition of a single cultural tradition onto people could also lead to growing support for organisations like the AWB and the bastuums leaders.

Conclusion

The broad liberation movement must show that its policies on winning and securing democracy and solving the economic crisis as well as its policies on the cultural diversity found in South Africa is not in conflict with the building of a unitary and democratic nation. These are some of the concrete issues that need to be taken up in our struggle for national liberation today.
DP executive calls on defectors to resign seats

CAPE TOWN — The DP's national executive has endorsed leader Zach de Beer's decision to suspend five MPs who subsequently joined the ANC, and called on the five to resign their seats.

Chairman David Gant said after a meeting yesterday the executive had confirmed that the five had "of their own volition" terminated their membership of the DP as they had not received permission from the executive to hold dual membership before they joined the ANC.

Gant said the executive noted that the five were "publicly stating they had been expelled from the party", and were justified in retaining their seats because they had "not willingly" left the DP.

The five had joined a political organisation with stated policies and views different from — and in certain cases "directly in conflict" with — those contained in the DP manifesto on which they were elected to Parliament. As a result the executive believed they should resign.

The DP caucus moved yesterday to fill the gaps left by the five MPs.

Pinetown MP Roger Burrows replaces Dave Dalling as chief whip and Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur) becomes a whip in place of Jannie Mombberg.

Burrows had, until yesterday, served as an ordinary whip for the party.

Smuts was understood to be the first woman appointed as a whip in Parliament.

The party's other whip is Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North.

Sapa reports that Berea MP Denis Worrall told Parliament there was no place for white politicians in the new dispensation, although there was room for white politicians.

In a debate on the President's budget vote, he said there would be a role for politicians from minority parties who decided to opt for nonracial politics.

Although he would like to see the five former DP MPs resign, Worrall said he understood that they had gone over to take their message to the black majority.

There was room for a party that spoke to the middle class across the spectrum.

South Africans valued their property, jobs and families, and politicians should be talking to these people.

The DP will hold its federal congress in Johannesburg on October 16 and 17.

We represent everyone, says Van Eck

CAPE TOWN — The MPs who joined the ANC this week always represented the whole of their constituencies, not just the registered voters, one of the MPs, Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

They had never spoken just for white people and had always reflected the broader aspirations of the community.

They were, therefore, answerable to total constituencies and not only to registered voters, he said at a news conference where he rejected calls for them to resign.

The news conference was called by the ANC in the Western Cape to welcome the five MPs into the organisation, particularly the two MPs from the region, Van Eck (Claremont) and Jannie Mombberg (Simon's Town). The ANC's regional chairman Allan Boesak said members were very happy with the MPs' decision.

Expressions of support and joy had been received for their decision from ANC supporters throughout the region, including Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

Boesak said he agreed with a statement by DP leader Zach de Beer that he did not think his party's relations with the ANC would suffer in any way because of the decision of the five MPs.

Mombberg said he would hold a public meeting in his constituency soon if he could find a venue.
Report on interim govt nears finality

THE CODESA subcommittee on interim government meets again today to finalize a report that could guide the first phase of interim government after CODESA II meets next month.

The eight-member technical committee, appointed by CODESA's working group 3 dealing with transitional arrangements, will deliver its report to the working group's steering committee.

The technical committee is being assisted by a three-man subcommittee which has listed points of divergence arising from participants' proposals.

One of the committee's tasks has been to decide on the terminology that will be used to describe the organs of interim government.

A transitional executive council consisting of 39 members drawn from among all 19 CODESA delegations is being mooted.

"The council is not going to run state departments but it will monitor certain of them," a CODESA source said. Subsidiary councils dealing with security, the compilation of a single voters' roll, in preparation for an elected transitional legislature, state-run media, foreign affairs and regional administrations will report to the executive council.

The council will also determine what role the intergovernmental community will play in SA's transition and may be responsible for negotiating the reincorporation of the

Interim govt

TBVC states. In general, it will be responsible for levelling the political playing field.

"The TBVC states and the tripartite Parliament will still be intact by CODESA II. After that they will be dismantled when we have agreed on a date," one source said.

Another source cautioned against expectations of the first phase of interim government coming into being immediately after CODESA II. It would probably take place "some time after CODESA II." He said several parties had proposed preconditions before they took part in interim government. The SA government is insisting that the ANC disband Umkhonto we Sizwe and abandon the armed struggle before it enters binding agreements. This problem, a source said, could be dealt with in the multiparty committee handling security matters.

The ANC's precondition that proposed multiparty committees be accorded executive status could be dealt with in part by an assurance from government that decisions reached by consensus in committees would be made into law.

A number of parties are insisting on knowing the shape of the second phase of interim government before taking part in phase 1.
Secret projects 'terminated'

THE National Intelligence Service, the police and the SADF had terminated all special secret projects, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He also said that sound and effective cabinet control had been established over secret projects, and that revised legislation on secret funds was being finalised. — Sapa
PARTY POLITICS FM 24/4/92

Towards fair play 304A

With the fervour so typical of recent converts, the Nat-dominated President's Council (PC) has proposed a package of reforms to engender a sense of ethics and fair play in party politics.

The proposals, in a report published this week, come 18 months after President F.W. de Klerk asked the PC to investigate "the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of SA political parties in terms of commonly prevailing democratic norms and guidelines."

Given that the PC has little credibility at the best of times and that its reports tend to end up gathering dust on some basement shelf, and also that the issue of political ethics will inevitably come under Coders's spotlight at some point, there seems little need to give much attention to the latest report.

Politically, much of the comment and analysis is typical Nat hypocrisy. If, years ago, government had introduced and adhered to many of the proposals, the chances are we wouldn't be facing our current constitutional crisis.

But be that as it may, the report is an interesting academic exercise and could provide a good basis for a future government — depending on its disposition — to introduce and maintain ethical standards.

The PC's committee for constitutional affairs, chaired by Johann Heyns, investigated democracies and one-party states around the world and has provided a most summary and information-packed tables of who-allows-what-and-why as far as political campaigning and party formation is concerned.

Its conclusion and recommendations will no doubt stir controversy in political circles that take these issues seriously. Those that don't will simply ignore them.

Among the committee's profound findings are:

☐ For democracy to succeed, there must be regular and fair elections in which voters are able to make "meaningful" choices (something the Nats have never allowed);
☐ Political aims must never be achieved through violence, intimidation and "undemocratic methods";
☐ Donations to parties should be disclosed;
☐ Front organisations for political parties should not be allowed;
☐ Passive resistance (which the committee lumps together with violence and intimidation) is incompatible with democracy and should not be allowed;
☐ There should be some form of State financial aid for political parties, possibly including tax concessions; and
☐ A wide range of party activities should be determined by statute and monitored by the State. Punitive action should be taken if the law is broken.

The full PC was due to debate the report this week.
POLITICAL PARTIES

The final pages

Proposals for fundamental constitutional changes to pave the way for a transitional government were expected to be made in parliament this week by President FW de Klerk.

As the FM went to press, De Klerk was preparing for what is widely regarded as the most important week of the current parliamentary session — the two-day debate on his Budget vote. Two issues in particular were expected to dominate: the establishment of a transitional government; and the future of the National Party.

Though Codesa was deadlocked before the Easter break on details of the transition, there were indications this week that government and the NP would push ahead with plans to table draft legislation in parliament setting out proposals for a transitional administration. The draft was expected to be tabled first at Codesa.

Significant changes to the constitution will have to be made to accommodate a transitional government and are expected to be fiercely opposed by the Conservative Party. The massive "yes" vote in last month's referendum effectively means De Klerk will not have to test any constitutional changes in another whites-only poll, an undertaking he gave in the 1989 general election campaign.

If current obstacles in the way of agreement at Codesa on transitional arrangements can be resolved quickly, Nat leaders expect the legislation and necessary constitutional amendments to be approved by parliament before the end of the session in two months' time.

Following his successful, though chaotic, rally in Cape Town's Mitchell's Plain earlier this month, De Klerk was also expected to spell out this week his views on the future of the NP. There is a strong move in the party to change the name and work towards the creation of a powerful moderate party, incorporating elements of the Democratic Party, more members of the crumbling Labour Party and parties in the House of Delegates.

Nats believe the new party would have the potential to attract not only the vast majority of white votes in a democratic election, but also a significant number of coloured, Indian and black voters.

The NP is well positioned to exploit crises in both the DP and the CP. Both parties are struggling to define their future roles and have been rocked by defections. The CP's pro-Codesa Koa Botha has been suspended from the parliamentary caucus and four pro-ANC DP MPs have been suspended from the CP caucus.

De Klerk was expected this week to make serious overtures to a group of DP MPs who believe the best course for the party is to merge with the NP and try to "liberalise" it from within.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Exit, left

The Democratic Party (DP) closed ranks this week after five MPs broke away to join the ANC. Party leader Zach de Beer says he doesn't expect further defections.

The resignation of the five — Dave Dalling (Sandton), Jan van Eck (Claremont), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) — was generally expected. It followed the suspension of four of them from the parliamentary caucus last week after they had discussed their future with ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Dalling was not suspended because he was ill and did not attend the talks.

Though De Beer says the split came as no surprise, it's a serious blow to the DP, which is struggling to define its future role on the political scene.

The ANC welcomed the five. It said the move "formalises a long-standing relationship which has earned them great respect in our communities and among our members."

They will remain in parliament with the ANC's blessing, but will sit as independents because the organisation is not a registered political party.

All five have close ties with the ANC. Two of Momberg's sons, Dalling's wife and Cronje's wife are members. Van Eck has developed strong links with the organisation through unrest monitoring work in western Cape townships.

The future of the DP is now under serious threat. With the Nats effectively occupying the party's traditional middle ground, it has little hope of winning even one seat in a proportional representation election.

This has led to the emergence of three streams of thought in the caucus since last month's referendum. Some MPs, headed by the five who broke away, believe the DP has no future as a liberal standard-bearer and will serve its supporters better from within the ANC.

Another group considers some form of alliance with the Nats, possibly within a new party, as the best way to keep liberal values alive. But there's little likelihood of any of them splitting away to join the Nats. They propose instead to put their views to a party congress in the hope of winning support for the DP as a whole to merge with the Nats.

The third group believes the DP should remain independent and true to the values for which it and its predecessor parties have stood since splitting from the old United Party (UP) in 1959.

As the FM went to press, it wasn't clear whether the split would give new impetus to moves to join the NP. Some MPs believe the caucus will consolidate and that the split will, in the short term, strengthen the resolve of those who want to maintain DP independence.

In a statement explaining their action, the five rebels said that though a caucus committee was assessing the DP's post-referendum position and future strategy, it was clear that the three streams were irreconcilable.

There was a feeling in the caucus that MPs who favoured closer ties with the ANC should leave the party as amicably as possible. Their talks with the ANC last week were
The thorny issue of the Zulu king’s participation in Codesa appears to be close to resolution. If so, it will remove one potential reason for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to pull out of the process altogether.

On Tuesday, the Codesa ad hoc subcommittee created to examine the question of participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders tentatively agreed that they should become full delegates at Codesa.

Jumping the gun somewhat, the chairman of the eight-member subcommittee, T J Mohapi of QwaQwa’s Dikwankweta Party, de-
I'm now feeling quite old, admits veteran minister Pik

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN  
Being the longest-serving foreign minister in the world made one feel rather old, Pik Botha admitted yesterday.

He assumed this mantle as Hans-Dietrich Genscher (65) announced this week he was stepping down as the German foreign minister after 18 years, saying he had held the post long enough. Chancellor Helmut Kohl has replaced Mr Genscher with Ms Irmgard Schwaetzer.

One of Mr Botha's first tasks as the world's longest-serving foreign minister was to accept the credentials of Mohammed Said Benriane, who is to head the office of interests of the kingdom of Morocco in South Africa and is the first representative of a Muslim state in South Africa.

Mr Botha described Mr Benriane (36) as an "eminent young person".

Morocco opened an interest office in South Africa in September after President de Klerk's visit to that country in

1990.

Asked how he felt about his new status, Mr Botha said: "Rather old."

Mr Benriane has studied international administration and diplomacy at the University of Paris. As a diplomat, he has served in Brussels and at the United Nations in Geneva. He has also served as head of Morocco's press information division.

Mr Botha said Mr Benriane's appointment showed the tremendous progress South Africa had made in its return to normal international life.

South Africa had a substantial Muslim population. "They are citizens of whom we are proud. They make a major contribution to our national life."

Expanding relations with the Muslim world was important for South Africa, Mr Botha added.

Mr Benriane said Morocco's presence in South Africa was an expression of support for the democratic process developing in this country.
Secret projects terminated – FW

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — All special secret projects in the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the SA Police and the SA Defence Force have been terminated, President de Klerk announced yesterday.

A special Cabinet committee of four Ministers under Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was now controlling secret funding, he told Parliament during debate on his Budget vote.

And new revised legislation on secret funding was to be tabled in Parliament soon.

He said the three security departments were now confining themselves to projects only within the limits of the line-function tasks entrusted to them by law.

Mr de Klerk did not refer to special secret projects in other departments.

Explaining the difference between the two kinds of secret projects, official sources said a line-function secret project could cover police surveillance of revolutionaries while a special secret project was something outside the department's normal jurisdiction, such as the funding of political parties.

Mr de Klerk said that the scaling down of secretly-funded projects had been confirmed by the special private-sector committee under Professor Ellison Kahn which he had appointed last year to investigate special secret projects.

This committee had now completed its task and had found that the departments involved had terminated or scaled down special secret projects as well as some ordinary covert projects.

The committee had also found that the continuing secret projects complied with the guidelines he had laid down. These stated that secret projects could not favour any political party, were in the national interest and had to play a positive part in promoting peace and combating intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee had reported that all its recommendations for the termination of projects had been accepted.

It had also confirmed that departments which normally conducted covert actions should be allowed to continue to do so.

Mr de Klerk said the special Cabinet committee was now controlling "the content of every special secret project and overall control over covert expenditure in general".

Mr de Klerk said the Government was committed to keeping the political playing field level but that no individual party or group which engaged in political violence was exempt from the attentions of NIS, the SAP and the SADF.

The Government had now honoured his undertakings:

- To limit secret projects to the minimum
- To subject necessary projects to stringent financial control and firm Cabinet management
- Not to allow secret funds to favour any political party
- To revise secret funding legislation
The Conservative Party will oppose a proposed President's Council code of conduct for political parties which bans racism on the grounds that it is undemocratic.

The President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs chairman Johan Heyns said on Wednesday the ban would mean that the CP would not be able to register as a political party unless it opened ranks to all.

Dr Servaas Latsky, a CP President Councillor, said yesterday it would be undemocratic to prohibit a party from registering as long as its policy did not include violence.

He added that the ban was contrary to another proposed clause in the code of conduct which stated that all political parties should be given an equal chance to influence voters.

Dr Latsky said it would be undemocratic if the Zulu, Afrikaner or English people adhered to a certain ideology and it was prohibited to register as a political party on the basis of such an ideology.

Voters should be given the opportunity to decide whether a party's policy was "ridiculous", he said.

CP information chief Dr Pieter Mulder said it would be undemocratic to "just wipe a party's policy off the table".
Parties face conduct code

The African National Congress, the Conservative Party and some other groupings will find it difficult to adhere to a proposed democratic code of conduct for political parties. This is clear from discussions in the President's Council this week on a "blueprint for democracy" proposed in a key report from the council's constitutional affairs committee, reports FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.

The report stresses that the legitimacy of a code of conduct for political parties will depend on the measure of support it receives from society. Such a code should be part of a negotiated settlement for South Africa.

On the issue of violence, the report says if an acceptable democratic constitution is introduced, political interest groups will only have to accept the democratic process, but also maintain it by their actions.

"Violent action is therefore not compatible with this principle."

Parties guilty of such practices should be prohibited from registering as a political party.

Fierce opposition to this proposal came from the Conservative Party this week.

Dr Servaas Latsky, a CP President's Councilor, said it would be undemocratic to prohibit a party from registering while its policy did not include violence.

He added that the ban was contrary to another proposed clause in the code which stated that all political parties should be given an equal chance to influence voters.

Dr Latsky said it would be undemocratic and against the spirit of a democratic society to deny a party a chance to register because it espoused violence.

A further complication for the ANC is a proposal that certain restrictions be placed on mass mobilisation which has been one of the ANC's key political strategies.

The report says the right of a group in a representative democracy to organise and mobilise "may never infringe on the freedom and rights of other individuals to form groups and to organise."

Practices that are not permissible also include intimidation, bribery, violence and public unrest, destabilisation, action as a front or surrogate of a political party, and enforced membership.

It is proposed that the signing of an ethical code for political parties and acceptance of the code of conduct should be requirements for registration as a political party.

For the Conservative Party the main problem will be a recommendation that political parties should be "prohibited from encouraging racial hatred between population groups and individuals."
FRANS ESTERHUYSSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

SIGNS of further political ferment in the Democratic Party have surfaced after this week's defection of five of its MPs to the African National Congress.

Observers predict more defections later on, but not now. Some say any others harboring thoughts of moving out were likely to wait until after the dust had settled.

Mr Jannie Momburg, MP for Simon's Town and unofficial "whip" of the new ANC group in parliament, declined to comment on whether or not more DP members were likely to move to the ANC.

But speculation continues that the DP may lose more members to the left and the right. Others say the DP has an important, central role to play in the new political dispensation.

Mr Momburg told Weekend Argus his group would hold informal "caucus" meetings to discuss legislation and situations affecting them.

"Mr Momburg emphasised they were not representing the ANC in parliament.

"We are ANC members who are sitting as independents. We are not there to state the ANC's viewpoints."

There would be liaison between the five MPs and ANC headquarters as well as with the organisation's Western Cape office.

The MPs would inform the ANC on legislation affecting them and handle issues which the ANC might wish to have raised in parliament.

Mr Momburg said his defection would not affect his work on behalf of all his Simon's Town constituents.

Meanwhile, there has been speculation about a further breakaway by some DP members in the Eastern Cape to join the ANC, but this could not be confirmed.

The DP's MP Edward Trent, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, said the party's internal affairs should not be discussed outside.

He confirmed there had been a "working arrangement" between the DP and the ANC in the Eastern Cape, but this had been "well documented" in Press reports.

The working arrangement had been for the specific purpose of seeking to create a non-racial city with one tax base and a common voters' roll.

Mr Trent said it was also true that two "brain-storming sessions" had been held by the DP in the Eastern Cape during the Easter recess to discuss the party's position in terms of "the developing political scene."

Mr Rory Riordan, former Eastern Cape regional chairman of the DP who resigned from the party last October to join the ANC, said there was tension in the DP over its survival.

"The DP has an enormous amount of soul-searching to do... We all realise we are struggling for a universal franchise election."

Mr Riordan said his information was that about three-quarters of DP voters had switched their support to the NP since the last general election.

Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, has described the DP defections - of which he is one - as "only the tip of the iceberg."

He told parliament in his first speech since joining the ANC this week that all political parties born in the "politics of yesterday" would be affected by the forces that led to the breakaway of the five MPs.

The other defectors are Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Mr Dave Dalling (Stamton), and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown).

Mr Van Eck told Weekend Argus the ANC group intended to focus strongly on certain controversial issues, including:

- Obstacles in the way of democracy;
- Violence, specifically the role of the security forces, their lack of protection for black communities, and the "virtual total breakdown" in relationships between black communities and the police; and
- Misuse by the government of state machinery such as the SABC, security forces and other agents in its election campaign against the ANC.

The group would also focus on the fact that the government had launched its election campaign against the ANC "before the playing field has been levelled", and was "manipulating the negotiation process at the cost of the ANC."

Mr Van Eck said these were among issues on which they could not take a strong stand when they were in the DP because of the DP's position between the ANC and the NP...
Stop at Codesa 2, congress is told

"Codesa" should be the "last stop" in the negotiations process, an ANC speaker told the second regional congress of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) in Umtata last week.

Mr Mahlubandile Qwase said: "Codesa should be used to expose all those blocking progress within the negotiating process. It should come up with a clear definition of phase three — elections for a constituent assembly."

Qwase said Codesa 2 should be seen as a forum to dislodge the "present racist government".

Cosas treasurer-general Mr Xolani Mbutho called on President FW de Klerk to resign. He also told the congress that if it was the case that De Klerk had lost control of the security forces, an interim government should be established.

On the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said MK had been formed with a specific objective and that the people would decide whether it should be disbanded or not.

Mbutho attacked the authorities for unilaterally increasing examination fees from R54 to R71 at a time when the government was talking about the involvement of all in education.

The Transkei Department of Education was also criticised for a 50 percent increase in school fees.

A demand was made for a forum to negotiate all education matters.

— Eca
South African National Congress member and former ANC secretary general, Joe Slovo, speaks to the media during the trial of ANC leaders on charges of sedition.

**Long-distance liberal finds his liberation**

From a Nat supporter in the 1970s, far removed from the ANC's mass base, Slovo found his voice and his calling in the liberation struggle. His experiences made him an influential voice in the ANC, especially within the liberal wing.
ANC mum on FW’s presidency proposal

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday declined to react to the proposal by President FW de Klerk that his job should be taken over in the next few months by a directly elected, multi-party executive.

However, the ANC said Mr Nelson Mandela would respond today to Mr de Klerk’s proposal when he speaks at the University of the North in Pretoria.

The ANC president is being installed as the university’s chancellor.

The ANC is expected to baulk at the provision which stipulates that the three- to five-member executive council operate on the basis of consensus, as this would give an effective veto to leaders with limited popular support.

Both the ANC Youth League and Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday flatly rejected Mr de Klerk’s proposal.

The youth league said the proposal was another attempt to delay the arrival of democracy.

General Holomisa described the proposal as “queer” and an “exercise in futility”.

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would oppose an elected presidency if, in part, it was elected to establish an executive team to manage elections for a constituent assembly.

Pik: Nats set to become SA’s most popular party

THE National Party was on its way to becoming the most popular political party in the country, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

In Parliament Mr Botha claimed the NP had the support of 70% of whites and the majority of coloureds and Indians. He said the party was making inroads in the black community.

Mr Botha said: “If the ANC wakes up and goes into a partnership with us and the Inkatha Freedom Party, South Africa will be saved.” — Political Correspondent
CP to rethink policy at secret Cape venue

CP will remain white, says Hartzenberg

THE Conservative Party will hold a "bosberaad" at a secret venue in the Western Cape this weekend as part of a major review of party policy.

The rethink on policy and strategy comes in the wake of the ferment in the party following its humiliating defeat in the referendum.

Rebel MPs were planning to start resigning at regular intervals from this week in a bid to put pressure on the party's hardline leadership to change direction and join the negotiation process.

However, the current review process appears to have temporarily put these plans on hold.

The CP caucus has prepared seven documents dealing with key areas of party policy and strategy for discussion but it is not clear how long the evaluation process will continue.

If the party leadership is seen to be dragging out the process indefinitely as a way of avoiding a decision on negotiations, some of the more rebellious MPs could join Mr Koos Botha of Wonderboom, who was thrown out of the party recently.

The Democratic Party is expected to consider a document outlining future options for the party at its regular caucus meeting next week.

Party sources said yesterday that the purge of the five ANC dissidents in the caucus had failed to clear up tensions within the party.

However, no further defections are expected while the DP is still involved with 'debating the document' being drawn up by Mr Ken Andrews.
Secret projects ‘ongoing’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE number of government secret projects in general had been reduced, but they had definitely not been closed down, the chairman of the Democratic Party’s caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

It was important to note that secret projects would continue both inside and outside the line function of certain departments.

The secret projects would, in future, also not be subject to any functional control other than by the cabinet, Mr Eglin said.

He added President FW de Klerk’s statement in Parliament on the secret projects was “far from satisfactory”.

Indeed, R402.117 million has been allocated under the 1992/3 budget for “secret services” and a further R4.383 billion has been allocated for the secret Special Defence Account, indicating substantial amounts will be spent on secret projects.

In his speech, Mr De Klerk said there had been a drastic reduction in the number of special secret projects, “that is to say projects which fall outside the strict line functional terms of reference of departments, and in the expenditure of them”.

Effectively, this does not mean that the three security wings will stop all secret projects, but it does mean that they will not be involved in secret projects which do not relate directly to their legally-defined functions.

Mr Eglin said, in his reaction: “As long as secret projects are under the control of a single political party, the secret project system will be suspect.”
Schools tax shocker

For the full story, turn to page 3.
Black leaders slam rotating presidency

BLACK leaders yesterday fired damaging shots at the idea of a rotating presidency floated by the State President this week, and the African National Congress is likely to add its volley to the fusillade of rejection today.

While the ANC delayed its reaction to the State President’s proposal for an elected presidency, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled De Klerk’s plan as “too sketchy and so full of ambiguities that it is difficult to comment on them at all”.

Rejected

In a statement from Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi said an elected presidency would be “an absurdity” until the ANC was ready to “do what needs to be done”.

Buthelezi said he was opposed to “an elected presidency becoming the country’s constitution-making body”. He also opposed an elected presidency if it were put in place to manage elections.

Any proposals for establishing a constitution and holding elections should be presented to the voting public as a referendum for adoption or rejection. The IFP is totally convinced that anything short of procedures in which political parties negotiate a constitution which is then put to the voting public for testing in a referendum will be disastrous.”

Details

Buthelezi said a free and fair election was not possible in South Africa now because all political parties could not campaign with equal freedom in all constituencies.

Government sources were yesterday heard saying that because the ANC had the influence required to disturb the integrity of the electoral process, they would take part in the election.

Their expectation is that the ANC will come back with a request for more details and a few ideas of their own, particularly that the transitional period be pegged to a stipulated length of time.

There is a suggestion that the ANC does not want to work through more Codesa meetings after May 15, so there is hope in Government circles that the ANC would see the executive council as an acceptable compromise.

Other black leaders are already stacking up their objections. Transkei’s General Bantu Holomisa described the proposals as “quack” and an exercise in futility. He said the proposals had a “built-in mechanism” to delay the negotiation process.

“Members of the Patriotic Front in Codesa view with disdain De Klerk’s endeavours to co-opt them into executive positions with utter lack of accountability and legitimacy.”

Holomisa said it was clear that De Klerk was determined to “carve a niche for himself in the corridors of power, now and in the future, regardless of his limited support base”.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha fired a first election shot in Parliament by saying South Africa would receive no meaningful foreign investment if the ANC governed alone.

“The ANC will be surprised by the number of African governments who said this to me, by the important governments in the Far East who say it, and by the American investors who say it. There is no escaping it.”

Botha said the National Party wanted to be, and could be, the majority party in South Africa. But South Africa would only be saved if the ANC, IFP and the NP reconciled and ruled in partnership, offering policies acceptable to the world.

People in impoverished areas wanted jobs, Botha said, and in future election the NP would tell voters that the ANC, because of the policies of its Communist Party allies, would not be able to provide jobs.
IFP slams ANC over rebel five

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Mr Frank Mdhlalose yesterday branded the ANC's decades-long opposition to apartheid as a farce in light of its acceptance of five MPs as members.

Five former Democratic Party MPs joined the ANC on Tuesday. Dr Mdhlalose felt the ANC's resultant representation in the tricameral Parliament was an act of political expediency.

He said the IFP was "stunned by the sudden ANC entry into mainstream system politics."

He called for the immediate resignation of the five former DP members from Parliament.

Sapa
changed me
Lusaka Visit

Why we quit DP for ANC
FIVE white stalwarts of the Democratic Party have taken the plunge and nailed their colours, and careers, to the mast of the country's biggest political movement. Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling tell of the heart-searching that brought them to their momentous decisions.

Lusaka visit changed me

As I sat at the press conference of the ANC on Tuesday, many thoughts crossed my mind. My whole life seemed to flash past me.

I remember as a small boy how upset my father was when Hitler died; how I helped to dig Dr DF Malan's grave as a student, how I met Dr Verwoerd. How fond I was of Mr Vorster. How hard I worked for the National Party for 30 years.

I thought of my break with the NP in 1977 and the marvellous media campaign of Denis Worrall. I thought of my election as MP for Simon's Town.

Propaganda

Now I, an Afrikaner and Dutch Reform Christian, have joined the ANC. People will ask why.

What changed my life finally was a visit to Lusaka in July 1989 to meet with the leadership of the ANC for the first time. I met Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nhobi, Tom Selina, Gertrude Sopo, Fonsull Maduma and others.

For the first time I met people who have always been portrayed as terrorists, murderers, criminals and all the terrible things the Nat propaganda told the people of South Africa. Suddenly I discovered that here were highly qualified, articulate, sincere people who love South Africa as much as I do.

When the ANC was unbanned in 1990 I could meet grassroots members more easily and I started to identify with them. I became friends with these people.

I joined the ANC because I believe that now that statutory apartheid has ended, the real battle begins - to rid our country of the legacies of apartheid, namely racism, the breakdown of law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears.

I leave the DP with a great deal of sadness. I believe the DP has played a crucial role to bring us closer to a nonracial democracy.

I do not intend to get into fights with the DP. I believe the DP will move closer to the ANC in the foreseeable future, and when that happens we can be together again.

I believe the ANC and the DP should fight against the common enemy - the NP.

I conclude to say that I do not expect my people of Simon's Town to follow me all to join the ANC. I just plead for their understanding.

...
I'm at home with victims

HAVING fought racism throughout my career, I strongly feel the need to associate myself not with those who until recently imposed apartheid on SA, but rather with those who were oppressed by it.

Over the past months, the DP's image has become almost synonymous with that of the NP. The NP, while shedding support to the Right, has appropriated almost all of the DP's policy, and much of its support base.

I am uncomfortable with this, as I do not trust the people who destroyed democracy and the rule of law in South Africa to implement enlightened policies.

Harmful

There are three camps in the DP. They are:
● Those who want to remain an independent party, speaking up for liberal values. This is not viable because "liberal values" are no longer the preserve of the DP. Nearly all the parties at Codesa espouse these values.
● Secondly it would be harmful to our country if the political divide was also a racial divide, with nearly all the whites supporting one side, and most of the blacks the other. Finally, this is not viable as the DP will be crushed by the "giants" in elections.
● Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the NP. This is also not viable because any attempt to achieve this at national level would split the DP down the middle and tear the party apart.
● Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the ANC. This is not viable because, within the DP, too many members see the ANC as an enemy and not a political friend.

The result is that we have a stalemate. It is in this atmosphere of uncertainty that the DP has been operating recently. This has led to several clashes within the party.

Late last year Robin Carlisle MP proposed a vote of no-confidence in me as chief whip because I had attended an ANC fund-raising function in Stellenbosch addressed by Nelson Mandela. The fact that I had been granted prior permission by the DP leader to attend the dinner did not stop the motion being put.

More recently, I was criticised by two of my colleagues for saying in Parliament that my "yes" vote in the referendum was not a "vote for FW" or for the National Party, but rather a vote for negotiations and peace in our country.

These incidents, plus many other recurring unpleasantnesses, which I need not describe in detail, did little to make one feel at home.

Finally, Zach de Beer himself has often said that those who felt they belonged in the ANC should go now; rather than later — leaving a more homogeneous DP to continue with its work. There should be no complaint if some of us take him at his word.

I admire the ANC for the courageous struggle it has led in ridding SA of apartheid, oppression and intolerance.

I subscribe to its philosophy of a multiparty democracy free of racism and sexism.
must set pace DP defection with Khayal Shpia

my way
DP bids happy farewell
to its Gang of Five

This departure of the DP's Gang of Five brings to an end, one hopes, the period in which the party provided a haven for closet revolutionaries, Stellenbosch socialists, draft dodgers, homeless federalists from the UP, Afrikaner carpetbaggers and sundry political flotsam of the apartheid era.

The role of universal haven was formalised in the "Progs" by the banning of legitimate political movements. Communist after all, did not go up in smoke when the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated; they hid. Some hid in the universities, some in the law, some in the Prog youth movement.

From these bunkers they conducted guerrilla warfare on liberals, and on liberal ideas, turning the English universities into bastions of intellectual bullying and political intolerance, and making the "Prog" parties ambivalent and surreptitious in defending liberal ideas.

Helen Suzman, and at a later stage people like Colin Eglin, held off in Parliament for many years, but in the end the party's liberalism was watered down by radical and socialist ideas, making easier the National Party's pernicious campaign to portray liberals and communists as the same breed.

Now it is respectable, even in the tricameral parliament, for people who are not liberals to show their true colours. The ANC, which calls itself a front, not a political party, offers a home to anybody whose principal concern is to see South Africa governed, any old how, by black people.

The most intriguing comment of the week was the assertion by David Dalling, the MP for Stadton who lives in Stellenbosch, that his switch of allegiance, if that is the right word, entailed no change of principles.

The implications are perplexing; are the principles of the ANC to be deemed identical to those of the DP? Or did Dalling not, as a member of the DP, subscribe to its principles? Or has he taken his principles intact from the UP to the Reform Party to the PFP to the DP and to the ANC, with nary an ethical wobble along the way?

As an exercise in simple logic it's fascinating, but it doesn't matter much. The fact is that DP members who wish to serve the ANC should go to the ANC, and DP members who are enchanted by President De Klerk, as Houghton's Tony Leon appears to be, should follow President De Klerk.

They are not, plainly, bound by liberal principle. Nor should they hesitate to switch parties and cling to their seats. The precedent of betraying voters has been well entrenched as a political tradition during the shabby period of apartheid, and is sanctified now by frequent repetition.

Anyway, the sooner they go the better. The way things are going in Codesa, we need the liberals of the DP as we have never needed them before. We don't particularly need a new battery of natives' representatives to carry on where Margaret Ballinger left off, speaking for people who can't speak for themselves. But if that's what turns them on, so be it.

What we do need, and need desperately, is a party which is devoted to the liberal principles which have been shown, around the world, to take countries to peace and prosperity. Both the ANC and the National Party pay lip service to that ideal, but, to judge from what leaks out of Codesa, neither of them understands the essential features of a democratic state, or is willing to sacrifice its own interests to a wider welfare.

The Nationalists appear to me to have embarked on a most dubious enterprise to create an "interim" state in which the National Party will be enabled to block the will of the majority, and in which it will use that power to prevent for as long as possible the establishment of a liberal democracy.

The ANC, on the other hand, pays assiduous lip service to democratic ideals but appears to me determined not to have the power of the central government watered down in any serious way.

The National Party does not seem to grasp the dangers of thwarting the will of the majority, and the ANC does not appear to grasp the dangers of overriding powerful minorities. If both parties continue on their present paths, Codesa must surely deadlock, or it must end in the adoption of a defective constitution which will perpetuate rather than resolve conflict.

The DP, on the other hand, possesses a set of ideas which are uniquely suitable to divided societies, precisely because they set as their ultimate value the liberty of the individual — the right of every person to form his own destiny, just so long as he does not in doing so violate the equal right of every other person.

This ideal, of the free individual as the centrepiece of the system, has moreover been successfully integrated with a set of economic principles which have generated wealth and made possible the solution, within reason, of any social problems. They provide for reasonable distribution, through taxes and regional transfers, of the available wealth; they offer the means of sustaining the poor or the workless, and of providing health care and education.

The members of the Democratic Party are well versed in these ideas, but they have been intimidated — often by their own members — from propagating their own beliefs. Those liberals who have tried to do so — John Kane-Berman and the Institute of Race Relations come to mind — have been vilified and attacked, very often by the socialist refugees hiding in liberal bunkers.

The result has been a timid among DP members in spreading their message. Hardly one of them dares to say, with Friedrich von Hayek, that democracy is impossible without capitalism, although that is self-evidently true. They still pay a guilty homage to socialist ideas that empower the state, oppress the citizenry and enrich the bureaucracy.

The departure of the Gang of Five may restore their confidence in their own beliefs. The DP, freed of the fear of attack from within, of the stab in the back, may now face up more boldly to the totalitarian parties which are using Codesa not to tame the power of the state but to capture it.

Ken Owen
Freedom of the media 'an unattainable goal'

By EVIE VOSLOO

Peace can only be achieved in the open marketplace of ideas, which should give both sides an opportunity to speak freely, the chairman of the South African Media Council, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, SC, said in Cape Town this week.

Professor Van Rooyen, a former head of the Publications Appeal Board which heard appeals against the then rigid censorship in force in South Africa, was addressing a meeting of the National Media Council in the civic centre.

He said that during the past decade, the Media Council — set up by the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors — had played an important role in broadening the freedoms of the media and maintaining high standards of journalism.

‘Although the laws referred to mostly had criteria referring to, for example, state security and peace and good order, it needs little argument to convince one that these wide and vague criteria are to be abused,’ Professor Van Rooyen said.

The council had also dealt with the channeling of its proposals into amending and repealing statutes, said Professor Van Rooyen.

“We also have a guarantee that all the laws which restrict freedom of the media are being reviewed at present. The remaining limitations must also be able to satisfy the requirements of a Bill of Rights, which we most certainly will have under a new constitution,’ he said.

He also said that in the past few months the Media Council had made extensive proposals to the government on the Publications Act and the Section 29 duty of journalists to reveal their sources.

“Our proposals regarding the Publications Act accentuated the protection of children by way of age restriction and the freedom which adults should have to choose freely to see adult films and read books they want to read,” he said. We have not asked for the freedom to distribute pornography — and we believe this accord with modern Western thought — but proposed that vague criteria be scraped. In the case of films the Media Council had requested that the Supreme Court should have the final say that the criminal courts should deal with pornography and that statutory control — if it is to remain — should necessitate age restriction.

An informed public will then make the choices concerning its children.’

On the question of journalists’ sources, the Media Council had requested absolute privilege as a starting point but realizing that granting courts the discretion to decide when it will be contempt, the council had revised the act.

Laws should only be a set of restricting and prohibiting rules, but rather a set of protecting and permitting rules,” he said.

“One follows this approach, freedom of the media should be the rule which accords with the general open and free democratic air,” he said.

At the meeting a decision on a proposal by Mr F Feathershine of the NPU that the Media Council’s membership be cut from 30 to 11, that it move from Cape Town to Johannesburg, that the parties be barred from hiring lawyers and that the power of the conciliators be increased was postponed.

Mr Feathershine said that expansion of the council’s functions over the years and its size had made it expensive. Because of the recession the media had to look hard at the bureaucrats it had created and the NPU was not prepared to fund anything beyond what was absolutely necessary.

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HoR Nats in talks

NATIONAL Party MPs led by the member of the National Assembly of South Africa, Mr Jae Ru, this week met with their counterparts in Umlundi, capital of Kwazulu-Natal. (AP)

The talks were held at the Umlundi Council and were attended by Mr Mpho Gwadziswato, Mr Mapaleng Nkate, Mr Phelebenyana Phatlali and Mr Gcina Mkhize.

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Trade show

The Cape Industrial Trade Show (CITS) was held on Tuesday, June 6, at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood. The show is virtually fully booked and CITS will be open from 9am to 9pm. It will open on Saturday from 8am to 2pm.

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DP Youth backs De Beer

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party Youth (Western Cape) has declared its backing for DP leader Dr De Beer who wants to see rebel DP MPs who defected to the ANC this week.

And Mr David Gelt, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the DP, said the NEC had not accepted the demand that the defectors should go.

The defectors are Dr Jan van der Watt, Mr Brian Skenes, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Peter Christensen and Mr Tom Coetzee, all of whom were members of the Western Cape.

A spokesman for the DP Youth said yesterday that the party had taken a stand on the issue at a meeting held on Tuesday.

“We wish to register that the executive unanimously agrees with steps taken by De Beer on the issue and reiterates the commitment of the youth to the DP as an independent party with liberal democratic principles.”

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Smashing savings

FOR MONTH-END SHOPPERS!

ALL GOLD TOMATO

SUNDAY TIMES CAPE METRO, 26 APRIL 1992
Mandela rejects plan

to be power sharing for a number of years.

The NP source indicated, however, that if agreement could be reached on the principle of shared executive power, then compromises could be made on the composition of the upper house proposed for the new legislature.

At present, the NP proposes that the three top parties in an election have equal power in the upper house—irrespective of the size of their vote. This the ANC rejects totally.

If the NP's position on the upper house is amended, it would bring its proposals for a two-chamber legislature roughly in line with what is being proposed by the ANC, the Democratic Party and others.

The government will spell out its detailed proposals for an interim government in a draft Bill which is now in its third draft and is likely to be released at the end of next week.

The draft Bill, they said, would include an Interim Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile, the Coesa technical committee has been discussing the impact on transitional measures made by the principal parties, with the government at last conceding that the principle of some form of executive authority for an interim government be agreed to.

All parties at the talks agreed that there should be a temporary executive structure whose primary purpose is to implement policies and measures directed towards resolving the political climate and the levelling of the political playing field to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections.

FW's 'super council' rejects

BY MIKE ROBERTSON

AND EDITH BULBRING

HOPES of establishing a government of national unity this year have been dashed with the blanket rejection by the ANC and Inkatha of the government's proposals for an elected executive council.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday joined Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in dismissing the government's proposals for an executive council made up of three to five members directly elected by the public.

Mr Mandela's statement now sets the stage for the first major battle in Coesa on a substantive constitutional issue.

Call

President FW de Klerk unveiled his proposal for the executive in Parliament this week.

Mr Mandela said at a graduation ceremony at the University of the North yesterday that his organization rejected "outright" the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council.

The ANC's position, he said, remained unchanged.

"We call for elections for a constituent assembly which shall also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated."

Earlier Mr Buthelezi also rejected the proposals, saying the idea of an elected presidency to establish some kind of super adjudicating body for resolving disputes was not acceptable.

Rapid

In terms of President de Klerk's proposals, the current presidency would be replaced by a directly elected executive council comprising between three and five members. Each party would nominate a candidate for executive council elections and the three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the executive council.

National Party sources said earlier this week they believed rapid movement could be made towards holding elections this year for an executive authority if the proposals were accepted.

The sharp rejection of the proposals by the other two key players, confirmed NP sources, now makes elections unlikely.

One top NP negotiator said the party's bottom line was that there would have...
'Partnership will save SA'

The country would not receive any meaningful or significant investment if the ANC wanted to govern on its own, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Friday. "If the ANC wakes up and goes into a partnership with us and the IFP, SA will be saved," he said during debate on the Foreign Affairs vote.
Mandela rejects plan

This structure would include a multi-party council which would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa and would be vested with effective executive powers. The council would have sub-councils which would be given specific responsibilities in relation to the functioning of departments in the preparatory stage.

There would be sub-councils on defence and law and order, regional and local government, finance and foreign affairs. NP sources said that if the proposals regarding the preparatory councils were accepted it would result in the councils having de facto power over their areas of jurisdiction, but de jure power would reside in the government of the day.

The NP, they said, was prepared to accept the need for a council which would have overarching power over the sub-councils. But it could not accept that the council should be a body which had overarching power over the Cabinet.

The government will spell out its detailed proposals for an interim government in a draft Bill which is now in its third draft and is likely to be released at the end of next week.

The draft Bill, they said, would include an Interim Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile, the Codesa technical committee charged with overcoming the impasse on transitional measures has made substantive progress, with the government at last conceding the principle of some kind of executive authority for interim governing bodies.

All parties at the talks have agreed that there should be a temporary executive structure whose primary purpose would be to implement policies and measures directed towards improving the political climate and the levelling of the political playing field to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections.
ANC hits at NP plans

By ZB MOLEFE and S'BU MNGADI

THIS week's transitional government proposals by President FW de Klerk mean that the NP would still be in power even if it lost an election, ANC president Nelson Mandela charged yesterday.

Addressing a ceremony where he was installed Chancellor of the University of the North, he said: "The National Party's desire to cling to power at all costs emerges even more sharply in the government's proposals."

Mandela warned that the NP proposals would result in an interim government that would not enjoy the confidence of the majority which would see it as "a slightly refurbished NP government."

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the proposals were "an elaborate toy-telephone which only exposes the NP regime's inability to present meaningful, substantial and long-lasting solutions to the country's problems."

Sapa reports that the NP yesterday reacted to Mandela saying that the ANC - with its alleged record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action - should be careful about criticising the democratic proposals of other political parties."
Holomisa: 'FW is stalling'

President FW de Klerk's offer to hold the country's first one-person one-vote election and share his executive powers will not win approval at Codesa, according to Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

"There is no doubt that his proposals to Codesa have a built-in mechanism to delay and stall progress in the negotiation process," General Holomisa said on Friday.

De Klerk told parliament on Thursday that a three- to five-member executive council could be elected before agreement on an interim government.
CP opts for talks about talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party took a significant step towards participation in constitutional negotiations at its secret "boycott" meeting held in the Western Cape at the weekend.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was cautious about the brainstorming session held in the light of the CP's referendum defeat, but allowed that "we are very pleased with the way things went".

He said the CP had decided "to approach the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and the government's official spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delport, about his offer of bilateral talks with the CP "to see what he has in mind".

He said the party had opted for what amounted to "talks about talks" with the government, which is anxious to draw the CP into broader constitutional debate and the negotiation process.

A CP source who attended the marathon strategy review session claimed that the pro-negotiation faction in the party caucus emerged as the majority and "carried the day" at the crucial meeting on the future direction of the CP.

"It can be assumed that if we (the CP) are carefully handled, we can be brought into Codesa," the source said.

*CP may accept FW's 'ice-breaker' invitation — Page 5*
Heroes’ welcome for DP five.

DURBAN — The five Democratic Party MPs who joined the African National Congress were given a heroes’ welcome by ANC supporters at a meeting in Imbali near Maritzburg.

The secretary general of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking at the meeting yesterday, said the five members would enrich the ANC with experience, reports Sapa.

The five are representing neither the DP nor the ANC in parliament, but have said they will act as independent MPs who support the ANC, amid reports the ANC’s 26-member national working committee was being discussed at a regional level and the matter would be referred to the ANC’s 26-member national working committee.

The Democratic Party’s Sandton constituency yesterday called for the resignation of Sandton MP Mr Dave Dailling, one of the five DP members who joined the ANC last week, reports The Argus Correspondent.

The call was made after a special meeting of the DP’s constituency committee held in Sandton yesterday.
Dalling tells Sandton DP ‘I stay put’

By Mohen Govender

The Democratic Party’s Sandton constituency yesterday called for the resignation of Sandton MP Dave Dalling, one of the five DP members who joined the ANC last week.

The call was made after a special meeting of the DP’s constituency committee held in Sandton yesterday.

But Mr Dalling said he would not bow to pressure.

Mr Dalling, Claremont MP, Jan van Eck, Pietermaritzburg South MP Rob Haswell, Greytown MP Pierre Cronje and Simon’s-Town MP Jamie Mombarg joined the ANC last week.

DP chairman Peter Jardine said the committee believed Mr Dalling was morally bound to resign as he had joined a political organisation whose principles differed from those for which he had been elected.

“The committee endorses the principles and policies of the DP. We want to assure the people of Sandton that their parliamentary needs will in the meantime continue to be dealt with by the Sandton DP, with the assistance of other DP MPs,” Mr Jardine said.

Asked to comment, Mr Dalling said last night: “I cannot resign because a committee wants me to. I have to take into account the hundreds and thousands of people in Sandton.

“If I were to resign, and if we include Alexandra in Sandton, there will be approximately 300 000 blacks in Sandton and surrounding areas who will not be represented.”
ANC suggests plan to air Codesa sessions

THE activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if "Codesa, the Radio Show" comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of SA and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa's working group dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group's brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed "and especially to avoid misunderstandings."

"The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states," an ANC submission to the working group said.

ANC negotiator Matthews Phosa said in the weekend the proposal was being considered but seemed an ideal way to keep the public informed of Codesa decisions.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.

This secrecy has irritated some participants, who argue that matters of national interest should be in the public domain. They are concerned that should Codesa continue to operate in secrecy its decisions will gain limited acceptance from the public.

See Page 2
Independent panel mooted by ANC

THE ANC has modified its stance on a constitution-making body by suggesting the creation of an independent constitutional panel which would ensure that principles agreed at Codesa become enshrined in a new constitution.

This important concession, an adaptation of a suggestion originally made by the DP, goes some way toward satisfying the demands of other Codesa participants— notably the Inkatha— that the constitution be agreed on before a new government comes into being.

The ANC's proposal, published in the latest edition of official ANC journal Mayibuye, is an addition to its more general proposals for the constitution-making body.

These are that the body be elected by proportional representation with a relatively small threshold for parties to qualify for representation and that it should take decisions by a two-thirds majority.

The ANC feels these measures would be sufficient to counter the argument that the ANC was trying to use its popularity to force a constitution unacceptable to some South Africans onto the country as a whole.

The powers of the independent constitutional panel to veto decisions of the constitution-making body are not described in the Mayibuye article.

Writing in Mayibuye, ANC constitutional committee member Ablco Sachs says the ANC agrees that a constituent assembly should be as inclusive as possible, so as to produce a document acceptable to and binding on the whole nation.

But Sachs states government's proposal that there should be a second house with equal powers to the elected constitution-making body to represent minority parties and regional interests.

This would result in a House of Winners and a House of Losers, each trying to face each other down. This would be the worst way of achieving the desired consensual result, he writes.

Discussing the constitutional principles discussed so far, Sachs says the impression that the ANC and government had come to agreement on power-sharing and on regional government was false.

Balance

However, provisional and broad agreement had been achieved that there should be a balance between central, regional and local government and that minority political parties should be able to participate meaningfully.

The final formulations, which are subject to a Codesa plenary session, on both issues were left "open and vague."

"It should be said that the debates were rich and interesting, but the gulf between us and the government remains large," he says.

Key issues still to be discussed are economic systems, the role of traditional leaders, affirmative action in the bill of rights and self-determination, Sachs writes.

Codesa faces crucial interim govt debate

CODESA faces a crucial debate today with the presentation of a report that could help finalize arrangements for the first phase of interim government.

The eight-member technical committee will present its report, which includes about 30 recommendations, to Codesa's working group 3. The technical committee was set up to identify commonalities and differences on pre-election interim structures, following what one Codesa participant described as "a stalemate."

DP MP and committee chairman Ken Andrew yesterday declined to comment on the contents of the report but said the group had made satisfactory progress.

The main issues up for debate are the powers of the interim government council and the variety of multiparty subsidiary bodies which would be established to "level the playing-field."
5 tipped for Du Plessis portfolio

BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN,
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa’s ambassador to the United States, Mr. Harry Schwartz, is among at least five persons singled out as the likely successor of Mr. Baron du Plessis, who is to retire as Minister of Finance this week.

Speculation of a likely replacement for the portfolio vacated by Du Plessis in a surprise resignation over the weekend includes: the present Minister of Tourism and Industry, Mr. Derek Keys; the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr. Chris Stals; Mr. Conrad Strauss, the Standard Bank chief; and the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr. Dawie de Villiers.

Du Plessis resigned at the weekend citing “exhaustion” as the main reason behind his decision to step down. His resignation could force President De Klerk to look beyond the National Party, existing Government officials and even Parliament for a replacement, senior sources yesterday said. Schwartz has been identified by political observers and persons in and around Government as the person who could be “sensitive to the economic and political expectations of the majority of South Africans” one MP said yesterday. He also said that Schwartz is known to be a conservative social democrat and an outstanding economist and would therefore be a “perfect Finance Minister for an interim government.” “He would swing the Budget around to more of a people’s Budget, as it is still very much an exclusively white Budget,” the MP said.

But following in the pattern established by De Klerk himself earlier this year - with the appointment of former Gencor boss Derek Keys - he might indeed replace Du Plessis with a person from the private sector.

Dr. Dawie de Villiers has been dismissed by knowledgeable sources as a replacement as “he is too ambitious politically”. On the other hand, Standard Bank chief Strauss and Reserve Bank governor Stals are among the private-sector persons around whom speculation centred yesterday.

The DP’s spokesman on finance, Mr. Ken Andrews, also believes that it would be wise for the President to “broaden the base of his Cabinet” beyond the NP and Government for a replacement for the vacant portfolio.

A spokesman from the President’s office yesterday said that an announcement could be made sometime this week, but that it remained De Klerk’s prerogative.
Codesa’s ‘king size’ issue to be solved

CODESA’S management committee will today decide whether the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and other traditional leaders should be allowed as delegates at the negotiation table.

And ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who is reported to be in favour of including the Zulu king, is expected to address the committee on the issue today.

A subcommittee elected by the management committee to investigate possibilities of allowing the king and other traditional leaders to take part in Codesa will also table its findings today.

However, it is expected that the management committee will rule in favour of the participation of the king and other traditional leaders.

A weekend newspaper reports that Mandela wanted to personally “support the inclusion of the king.”

The chairman of the subcommittee, the Rev Tlaping Mopele, last week caused a furor when he announced that a tentative agreement had been reached by members of his committee on the issue. The management committee refuted this, saying the matter had not yet been resolved.

Mr Pravin Gordham, chairman of the management committee, said Codesa had “not yet resolved the issue of the participation of the king.”

Gordham said he was hopeful that a solution would be found soon.

Mopele said the committee recommended that the four provinces of the country should each be represented by 12 chiefs, kings and five advisers.
Barend bows out after a long career

MR BAREND Jacobus du Plessis, Minister of Finance for eight years, has retired after a meteoric political career.

His career literally burnt out in the rarefied political ether where only the toughest live long enough to go on pension.

By his own admission, Du Plessis ultimately could not take the bruising pace that others like him - and the State President he came so close to becoming - endure for a living.

Circumstances of a radically changing South Africa also caught Du Plessis in a particurally nasty crossfire at the very moment that he would otherwise have secured for himself the historic honour of introducing Value Added Tax to South Africa.

Instead, by a combination of Du Plessis's own inflexibility and the tenacious onslaught of new extra-parliamentary foes such as the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, VAT became a major nightmare and a certain force in his final undoing.

Du Plessis himself points out that putting together a Budget in 1992, under the unprecedented pressures of a South Africa in transition and in a crimson economic nooseive, took too heavy a toll.

The Budget debate had scarcely ended before he was admitted to hospital for an as yet undisclosed malady, which was so serious as to end a political career at a relatively young age of 52.

Born the eldest of three children, the young Du Plessis was immediately exposed to politics by his railway worker father Hendrik, active in the National Party at branch level.

He grew up in Boksburg and went to Potchefstroom University for his BSc degree which he obtained in 1963.

Then followed a colourful and wonderboy career which built enough momentum to catapult him, ultimately, to within a whisker of succeeding Mr PW Botha, his mentor and political patron, as State President.

He turned teacher first, passing through the teacher training college as chairman of the SRC and travelling abroad to meet other student leaders.

His first post was mathematics teacher at Helpmea Boys’ High School and then at the Johannesburg Technical College.

His next career move was into the SABC in the chief engineer's department, where he helped to pioneer the data-processing department before being promoted to the director-general's office as administrative secretary.

Computer skills

Du Plessis’ newly acquired computer skills led to his next career switch, to IBM, where he expanded his interests into banking and attended the IBM Graduate School of Banking in Princeton, USA.

In 1966 he had formally joined the National Party and he now moved into public life by winning a seat on the Roodepoort City Council in 1972. The next year he was deputy mayor and a year later mayor.

The mayoral spell was shortlived, however, as he took the Florida seat from the Opposition United Party in the general election of that same year.

Once in Parliament, Du Plessis employed his by now substantial experience and flair for monetary matters by serving in the Select Committee for Public Accounts and serving as secretary of the National Party group on finance.

In 1982 he chaired a committee investigating his former employers' affairs at the SABC and the media, and in the same year became Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information. In the meantime he had accumulated the directorships of 12 companies.

NP hierarchy

Du Plessis had a sparkling and refreshingly candid public style, which won him much favour with the media, which soon had him tagged as the most upwardly mobile young politician in the four ranks of the NP hierarchy.

These attributes had been put to good use as NP information officer from 1977-81. He was now destined to try them out on a more difficult clientele.

On November 23, 1983, he was appointed to the Cabinet with the difficult portfolio of (black) Education and Training. He immediately applied his personal style to the problem of school boycotts, meeting student leaders and the SA Council of Churches' Secretary-General, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The problem was however too deeply seated in the country's apartheid past to arrive at quick-fix solutions and six schools were closed at Atteridgeville and Soweto.

Undaunted, Du Plessis tried to overhaul the system of black education within the constraints of government policy, trying to get the black community more closely involved in their schools and cutting red tape obstructing access to his office. He also lifted the colour bar to appointment and promotion within his department.

When Mr Owen Horwood retired as Minister of Finance, Mr Du Plessis was promoted over the heads of senior Cabinet men who would traditionally have felt entitled to this most senior of posts.

Du Plessis was, however, the favourite of the leader, PW Botha, who was known to have picked Du Plessis as his successor.

Du Plessis persevered bravely and was suddenly faced with the prospect of awesome power and responsibility when an ill President Botha sprang his surprise resignation on the party caucus. Du Plessis came to within eight votes of winning against FW de Klerk in the final round of the contest for party leader.

In the end, Du Plessis proved not to be quite the liberal he gave himself credit for.

In the view of those who repeatedly faced him across the negotiating table at the Union Buildings and the HF Verwoerd administration HQ, Du Plessis was described as intolerant of their viewpoint, paternalistic and ignorant of the basic facts about blacks and their needs.

In Parliament, Du Plessis on occasion displayed some anger which, to a lesser degree, approximated that of his departed mentor.

It is perhaps this aspect of Du Plessis's make-up, the tension and the tendency toward highly animated debate, argument and action which may in the end have pulled him up short both mentally and physically.

Whatever career Du Plessis is to follow next, the record seems to show that he will likely end up at or very near, the top again.

He and his wife Annette (born Van der Berg) have four children, Jean, Vanessa, Charl and Berno.
Wide spectrum of women to chart rights

JOHANNESBURG. — Women from different political persuasions have agreed on a non-party political programme to draw up a women's charter in South Africa.

The Women's National Coalition, comprising 56 organisations and eight regions, met over the weekend at the University of the Witwatersrand here.

A statement issued yesterday said the coalition had agreed to campaign throughout the country for a charter of women's rights to be incorporated in the constitution of a new South Africa.

Such a charter was intended to correct historical inequalities in law, and traditional and social customs. Work on the charter is to be completed within a year.

The coalition said it plans to elicit the views and needs of all women—in rural and urban areas, in farms and factories, domestic workers, women in business and professions, and housewives. Information will be collated and experts asked to help formulate the charter. The document will be indigenous to South Africa, the statement said. — Sapa
Walsh denies leaning towards NP link

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, yesterday dismissed as "totally incorrect" weekend reports that he favoured the formation of a new centrist party with NP links.

He was reacting to reports which tried to categorise the DP's remaining 23 MPs into three camps. Five DP MPs defected to the ANC last week.

The reports sketched three factions in the DP: 27/4/92
- A "hard core" of liberal democrats who want the party to stay independent.
- Those who have leanings towards closer ties with the ANC.
- Those who favour the formation of a new centrist party, possibly with NP links.

Mr Walsh, MP for Pinelands, yesterday said that efforts to lump him into the last category were "totally wrong".

He said in a statement: "I continue to believe, as I have always done, in the vital role that an independent liberal party needs to play in the unfolding tapestry of South African politics."

Mr Walsh said the "political baggage" of the NP made closer co-operation with that party an unacceptable option. He said this meant that he was inclined to closer co-operation with the ANC.
Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if “Codesa, the Radio Show” comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of South Africa and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa’s working group IV dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group’s brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed “and especially to avoid misunderstandings.”

“The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states,” an ANC submission to the working group said.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.
CP may accept FW's "ice-breaker" invitation

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE PARTY sources who attended the party's "bosberaad" in the Western Cape last weekend said the latest initiative to put out feelers to the government's official spokesman on Codesa, Mr Tertius Delport, came close to an acceptance of President F W de Klerk's offer last week to hold a Groote Schuur-type ice-breaking session with the CP.

This session would be aimed at bringing the party into the mainstream of political negotiations. Mr Delport is Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht labelled the discussion which took place at the meeting, on seven policy and strategy documents proposing a new course for the party, "very, very fruitful".

He said the in-depth discussions on the specially-prepared documents would continue, but added: "We have no doubt about our future course — it's a matter of strategy.

CP sources said the entire atmosphere in the party had changed since the CP leadership muzzled the pro-negotiation faction at a head council meeting in Pretoria just a few weeks ago.

Things are now looking healthy and there are indications that the CP is moving towards a commitment to the negotiation process and its outcome.

A leading member of the pragmatic faction in the CP, Overvaal MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, said at the weekend that greater unity and co-operation were necessary among Afrikaners to ensure their place in the sun.

In a frank interview in Rapport, he spoke of the need for a close working relationship with Mr De Klerk to ensure the defeat of the ANC.
Thumbs down for NP plan

Renewal of closeness between Nats, IFP?

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION to the government's proposals for a multi-party, directly-elected executive council to take over the job of the State President snowballed at the weekend.

The plan, aimed at electing a new leadership core to direct the reform process during the transition to democracy, was rejected at the weekend by the leaders of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party and the Transkei government.

Last week the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party expressed serious reservations about the plan for a three-to-five-person rotating presidency.

The plan was originally aimed at breathing new life into the Codesa negotiations, which have shown limited progress in recent weeks, but has so far proved universally unpopular for different reasons with groups across the political spectrum.

The government hopes that a more detailed version of the proposals to bring the most popular political leaders into the top echelons of government will receive a more sympathetic reception when it is presented to Codesa parties for discussion today.

There was disappointment and anger in the Nationalist camp over the summary rejection of the proposals by parties both inside and outside Codesa.

Mr. Nelson Mandela said the ANC rejected "outright" the proposed executive council, adding that it was clear that the NP was still bent on clinging to power.

"Vague"

He derisively dismissed the system whereby power would be shared equally by all leaders who made it on to the council as a "loser takes all" system.

Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi dismissed the proposals as too vague, and vowed to oppose them, saying that elections could not in any case take place until violence had been brought under control.

Labour Party leader Mr. Allan Hendrickse said at the weekend that Mr. De Klerk's latest plan for power-sharing showed that the NP did not believe that black people were capable of ruling by themselves.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the proposals were "strange".

The NP said it was surprised at the ANC's "simplistic" rejection of the proposals.

NP secretary-general Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe said: "With its record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action, the ANC should be careful about criticising the democratic proposals of other political parties."
Barend: Keys the strongest prospect

TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

Mr Barend du Plessis's successor as Minister of Finance is expected to be announced by President De Klerk this week.

He is likely to consult National Party provincial leaders and the announcement could come after the Cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Du Plessis's shock resignation takes effect on May 1.

It is understood that he will resign from all political posts, including the Transvaal leadership of the National Party and his Florida seat, because of exhaustion.

A senior National Party official said there was nothing sinister about the move and no suggestion that Mr Du Plessis had been forced out.

His resignation was accepted at an emergency Cabinet meeting yesterday.

Mr Du Plessis's key Cabinet portfolio with Minister of Trade and Economic Co-ordination, Mr Derek Keys, is the strongest contender.

Mr Keys is in Japan on business.

Dr Elsie de Villiers, Minister for Public Enterprises, is acting Minister of Finance and he has been mentioned in political circles.

Two other possible candidates are: Standard Bank chairman Anthony Coetzee, Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals and Mr Harry Schwarz, former Democratic Party Finance spokesman and former ambassador to the United States.

Some National Party officials believe Mr Keys would do better in trade and industry, which is more suited to his experience.

Mr De Klerk may therefore bring into his Cabinet another expert from outside politics. Inside the National Party one other possible candidate is Mr Jan van Rooyen, Minister of State Expenditure.

Mr Schwarz has worked closely with the government, is widely respected in government and business circles.

Dr De Villiers, as Cape leader of the party, has the longest political career in the party, but he does not have a round financial background.

During South Africa's transitional period it is thought wise to have a politically neutral Minister of Finance.

Some observers think Mr Stals would be ideal because he would be seen as a technocrat outside the party's political arena.

Ex-ministers are also being sought for Mr Du Plessis's political posts.

Mr Du Plessis's sudden resignation on April 30 will see the Transvaal National Party leadership at the meeting on May 1.

There is no clear succession plan, but it is expected that Dr De Villiers, acting leader, will be the new leader.

Former Finance Minister, Mr Piet Botha, and General Magnus Malan, will be possible candidates.

Mr Du Plessis was clearing up his office in the Standard Bank building in Cape Town yesterday.

He said there were no personal or political differences between him and the party.

Referring to the by-election that will result from his resignation as MP for Florida, he said there would still have to be discussion as to whether he would take part in the campaign.

Schwarz silent on succession rumours

The Argus, Foreign Service

WASHINGTON—South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Mr Harry Schwarz, said today he was surprised and shocked by the resignation of Mr Barend du Plessis, but declined to comment on speculation that he might succeed him.

Speaking from Sacramento, California, where he is attending a conference of foreign relations, Mr Schwarz said: "The news of his resignation came as a complete surprise to me and I was very sorry to hear of it."

"I realized he was under heavy pressure but it was not clear what he was going to do next."

"The news came as a shock to me and to all of us in Washington."

He added that he would not comment on speculation that he might succeed Mr Du Plessis.

"I would not want to comment on the speculation at this time."
Bill Sewell — the first rebel

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE first high-profile Democratic Party member to cross the floor from the comfort of establishment politics to the hurly-burly world of extra-parliamentary politics was not one of the rebel MPs.

It was former Western Cape DP chairman Mr Bill Sewell, whose move almost a year ago was not announced in a blaze of publicity.

Mr Sewell is not that type of politician; he works quietly and efficiently in a world far removed from the headlines.

Mr Sewell, who managed the DP's election campaign in the Western Cape in 1989, is a member of the ANC regional election committee.

He's quite a catch for the ANC, which is short on members with experience in running election campaigns.

He said: "Right now we are developing strategies for constituent assembly elections. We are also preparing comprehensive training materials."

He said the ANC was not ready to enter elections — "but we are getting there and are preparing for our members for a new form of struggle".

"Businessmen might feel that they should keep money flowing into the National Party, but they must know that we can have stability only if the ANC is part of any settlement. We need their support."

He said he joined the ANC because "I want to play an active role in rebuilding the country and eradicating the ravages of apartheid".


A move to Cape Town as general manager of a Cape-based furniture group strengthened his association with liberal political parties as he became Western Cape chairman of the DP.
Six contenders for Barend's job

By Peter Fabrechts
Political Correspondent

Barend du Plessis's shock resignation from politics at the weekend has left the race wide open for his successor as Minister of Finance and Transvaal leader of the National Party.

Mr du Plessis announced on Saturday that he was resigning all his political posts — including his Florida seat in Parliament — from the end of the month because of exhaustion.

National Party and other political sources said there was nothing sinister about the move and no suggestion that Mr du Plessis had been forced out.

Immense

Mr du Plessis was admitted to hospital two weeks ago, citing physical exhaustion as a result of his immense workload.

A range of candidates for Mr du Plessis's key Cabinet portfolio has been mooted, with Minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Coordination Derek Keys the strongest contender.

However, the names of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, Standard Bank chairman Conrad Strauss, Reserve Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals and SA Ambassador in Washington Harry Schwarz have also been mentioned.

Some NP and official sources believe that Mr Keys would do better in Trade and Industry, which suited his experience.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce the new Finance Minister after Wednesday's routine Cabinet meeting.

Dr Strauss's name is also being mentioned in political circles. He has worked closely with the Government abroad, and is widely respected in Government and business circles.

Dr de Villiers, who has been acting Finance Minister since Mr du Plessis became ill, probably has the strongest political claim to the job because, as Cape NP leader, he leads the largest provincial caucus.

Speculation on a likely successor has been thrown wide open because of the transitional period that the country is undergoing.

In this time, traditional claims such as position in the party may well take second place to wider political and technical considerations.

Ideally, the choice should be someone politically neutral to win the widest possible political support.

Some sources believe that Dr Stals would be ideal because he would be seen as a technocrat standing outside the party-political arena.

In some quarters it is being speculated that Mr de Klerk might choose a black person for the position, although his difficulty would be to choose someone of standing who would not reject the job as a co-option.

The names of Dr Elly Liska, the Finance Department, and indeed groups at Turffontein ANC leaders Nelson towards settling the university on the road to...
Women join hands in struggle for rights.
Now it's total war.

Koos and the CP:
Treurnicht said he was “not interested in any way” in Mr Van der Merwe’s challenge to him to have a television debate.

Mr Van der Merwe said he would stay on as an MP and would consider his position in the next few days.

He did not have a new political party in mind, but there could be a movement to get the Afrikaner to Codesa to state his case there. His main aim was to ensure a place in the sun for the Afrikaner without apartheid or racism.

The messages of support from party office bearers agreed with his view that the party was leaderless and without any plan. Fellow MPs had also telephoned to express their shock, but they would remain in the party for the present, he said.

Mr Van der Merwe’s said that hardliners in the CP moved swiftly to expel him to prevent him from hijacking the party.

At a weekend caucus of the party he repeatedly clashed with Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the party.

Today he remained resentful that he had not been told about his expulsion before it was announced to the press. He said it was strange that he had been kept on as a whip through the years even though he was said to be so undisciplined.

**FIRST WITH THE NEWS:** How The Argus broke the story yesterday.

Mr Le Roux and Dr Treurnicht said efforts had been made to contact Mr Van der Merwe until the announcement could no longer be delayed.

Mr Van der Merwe launched a blistering attack on the party leadership in a television interview last night, accusing it of having no plan and of leading its followers into a cu-de-sac.

He said the party was leaderless, and leaders were “so venal a type that you can plough with him.”

One of the reasons the leadership kept stalling about negotiations was because they had no plan.

The reason given for his expulsion from the party — that he had disregarded party discipline — was a smoke screen.

The real reason for his expulsion was his criticism of the confusion in the CP, Mr Van der Merwe said.

Dr Treurnicht said today he did not plan to react to Mr Van der Merwe and he was not interested in entering into a debate with him.

Mr Le Roux said Mr Van der Merwe had tried to use the party as his own power base. This could be seen from the venom in his TV interview.

“He is an undisciplined person and the National Party can have him with the greatest of pleasure.”

He confirmed that the final straw, which led to Mr Van der Merwe’s expulsion was a weekend newspaper interview.
Deadlock over independent states

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa's divided working group four, which is discussing the future of the TBVC states, has submitted a report seeking a basis for consensus.

It recommended that governments of the TBVC states should be allowed to determine whether or not their people wanted re-incorporation.

Working group four has deadlocked because of a decision by Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and the ANC/SACP alliance that there was no need for the will of the people to be tested on the issue of reincorporation.

The government believes that a referendum or election is essential before a decision can be made.

The report said that when independence was initially granted to the TBVC states the South African government had left it to the governments of the four territories to decide.

"It would be constitutionally anomalous for the government to decide what the people of the TBVC states really want, to attempt to implement or monitor any testing of the wishes of the people, or to decide how their wishes should be established," the report said.

The report said the parties' positions were so divergent that no consensus was possible unless all were willing to make concessions. — Sapa.
FW backs critics of Codesa's pace

PRESIDENT De Klerk has aligned himself with the misgivings of three black leaders about the pace at which Codesa is proceeding.

Mr De Klerk had talks in Cape Town with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu and chairman of the council of state of Ciskei Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

In a statement the three said most parties and governments at Codesa were not being offered enough time to go back to the people with tabled proposals for the purpose of careful and rational decision-making.

They said the purpose of any democratic constitution should be to define the limits of the powers of the state.

Any constitution-making process entrusted to a popularly-elected assembly ran the risk of exclusively reflecting and entrenching the interests of the majority party.

The endemic violence in the townships had created a mood of defiance and intolerance.

The leaders said that never again must there be a government capable of gathering the kind of monolithic powers which successive National Party governments had acquired.

Mr De Klerk said the government's viewpoint was that the pattern of activity and the methods followed at Codesa at present inhibited proper communication because of a lack of time.
SA’s economic future at stake as candidates

The hunt is on to find a successor to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis following his weekend resignation. Many names have been forwarded as possible candidates for this key position, but five seem prime contenders.

**RESERVE Bank Governor**

Dr Chris Stals (57). Born in Germiston and educated at Germiston Afrikaans High and Pretoria University. Dr Stals was senior deputy governor of the Reserve Bank from 1973-85. Before that he was Reserve Bank general manager from 1975-76 and assistant to the governor of the Bank from 1977-75. He became Reserve Bank Governor in 1989. In 1990 Dr Stals was made honorary professor at Unisa’s School for Business Leadership. Married with three sons and a daughter.

**MINISTER of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination**

Derek Keys (60). Born in Johannesburg and educated at Wits University. A chartered accountant by profession, he was elected executive chairman of Gencor in 1986, before which he was self-employed. Also occupied positions as board member or chairman of companies such as Malbank, National Discount, House, Price Forbes, Sappi and Samancor. Married with a son and a daughter.

**STANDARD Bank Group**

Chairman Conrad Strauss (64). Born in Upington and educated at Paarl Boys High. A PhD from Rhodes University followed by spells at Cornell and Harvard universities in the United States led to his appointment as senior lecturer in economics at Rhodes in the early 1960s. Dr Strauss, who is married with three daughters, won the Marketing Man of the Year award in 1989 and has been vice-president of the Institute of Bankers in SA since 1990.

**PUBLIC Enterprises**


**SOUTH African ambassador**


The hunt is on to find a successor to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis following his weekend resignation. Many names have been forwarded as possible candidates for this key position, but five seem prime contenders.
Keys the favourite, say govt sources

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk, confronted with a political or economic choice for a successor to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, was consulting his Cabinet colleagues before making his decision.

Most sources yesterday were leaning in favour of Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys, at present in Japan. It was understood De Klerk had a lengthy telephone conversation with him at the weekend after Du Plessis’ announcement.

The possible alternative was Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

One very senior government source said the most logical option, which had already been discussed, was that Keys would take over the job as he had already been earmarked for it. He said the plan had been that Du Plessis resign the Finance portfolio at the end of the year. When Keys came into the Cabinet, it had been discussed that he would take over the job.

Another source said that it would be unwise to rule out De Villiers because he was an extremely senior Minister and a close friend of De Klerk’s. Should he insist on getting the job, he would in all likelihood be given it.

Du Plessis has refused to be drawn on the question of his successor, saying it was the President’s preserve.

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Keys 610149 28/4/92

"He has several options open to him and he will choose a person that will best fill the role as he sees it," he said.

He said he could think of several people in the Cabinet who would be admirably suited to fill the position. "It has to be remembered that the task is not purely a technical one but a key political post, even in line function matters."

It is understood that Standard Bank Investment Corp chairman Conrad Strauss was in Cape Town yesterday but this was on business unconnected to the Cabinet post. Speculation in certain quarters has it that he could be considered to take over the Trade and Industry portfolio. It is understood that tentative discussions had been held with Strauss previously.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that ambassador Harry Schwarz yesterday testily rejected DP leader Zach De Beer’s assertion that he was too old to be Finance Minister, but hastened to add that he had never expressed any interest in the job.

He said Du Plessis’ resignation had come "as a bit of a shock — I hope he’s not seriously ill".

Schwarz, who will be 68 next month, referred to his busy schedule and said that "some people" were old when they were 60.
Concern over HSRC accounts

CAPE TOWN — The accounts of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which employed capital of R106.7m and had an income of R95,3m in the 1990/91 financial year, have been strongly criticised by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

The council said in its annual report, which was released yesterday, that it had made adjustments, which were “at times dramatic and traumatic”, and these changes would continue to intensify the impact of its activities.

In his report on the HSRC accounts, Wronsley withheld his audit opinion on the 1990/91 financial statements.

He said: “Due to deficiencies in the accounting systems, the systems of internal checking and control, the application of certain accounting principles as well as the potential actual effect of these deficiencies and shortcomings on the assets, income and expenditure as reflected in the financial statements, I am not able to express an opinion regarding the fair representation of the council as at 31 March 1991 and the results of its operations for the year ended.”

Wronsley gave no further details, but his criticisms are bound to be raised in the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.

During the year, the HSRC received a parliamentary grant of R71.1 million, a 10.7% increase over the previous one.

Its self-generated income increased by 16.1% and its total expenditure from R73.7m to R89.2m.

HSRC president Dr Tjaart van der Walt said the increase in the council’s financial transactions had placed an unprecedented burden on computer systems and personnel.

Special consultants were commissioned to conduct in-depth investigations and a plan to rectify internal control shortcomings was already under way, he said.

In his report, HSRC chairman Prof J P de Lange said the process of democratisation and the opening up of South African society had strengthened and accelerated the adjustment process within the council.

“If the HSRC is to be increasingly at the service of more communities and people, adjustments and changes are not only appropriate but also essential.”

“That is why this process will continue,” De Lange said.

During 1991, the number of HSRC personnel was reduced from 900 to 859 and five activities were transferred to other bodies.
Codesa delegates reach agreement

By IKE MOTSAPI
THE ANC yesterday agreed to the imposition of the state of emergency and detention-without-trial laws while the interim government is in place.

In a document submitted to Codesa Working Group 1, the ANC however said the state of emergency should only be declared on the advice of a multiparty interim executive authority, cabinet and interim council.

The ANC said it accepted that provision should be made for "the justifiability of the proclamation of a state of emergency or unrest area and any regulation issued in terms thereof."

The ANC said it was however opposed to the power allowing for a state of emergency to be proclaimed retrospectively.

Other issues that the ANC was opposed to included the right to life, the right to legal personality, the and the right to a legal remedy.

Reacting to the move, many delegates at Codesa described the development as a major concession.

Procedures

The ANC said the following procedures should be taken into account during the state of emergency:
* Detainees must be informed of the reasons for their detention;
* An adult family member or friend of the detainee should be notified of the detention as soon as possible;
* The right to communicate with and or consult a lawyer of the detainee should be guaranteed;
* Detainees should be allowed visits by their families at all times;
* The names of detainees, dates and place of their detention as well as the laws under which they are held should be published in the Government Gazette promptly;
* Detainees should be entitled to be treated with humanity and respect; and
* The right of detainees to have a detention reviewed within 30 days of their detention should be guaranteed.
CP expels MP
Koos van der Merwe

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has expelled its pro-negotiations MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, allegedly for “ignoring party discipline”.

Van der Merwe was kicked out of the CP caucus and stripped of his party membership yesterday, according to a statement signed by the CP’s chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux.

Van der Merwe was not available for comment yesterday but it is believed he and another former CP MP, Mr Koos Botha - who was expelled earlier this month also for his pro-negotiations sympathies - may now form a right-wing group which could enter CODESA.

Van der Merwe’s dismissal comes after a crucial weekend meeting in the Western Cape where the CP decided to explore an offer by President FW de Klerk to enter into first-round talks.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Sunday that the meeting between the CP and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, was exploratory.

“We have decided to make contact. We are not at this stage going to negotiate but we will ask him what he has in mind,” Treurnicht said.

Political observers are baffled by Van der Merwe’s expulsion, particularly in the light of the decision to engage the Government in first-round “talks about talks” - something which the maverick MP had campaigned for within the party.
By IKONE MOTAPE
CODESA's management committee is today expected to formally announce the participation of the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and other traditional leaders in the negotiation process.

An announcement was to have been made last night but Codesa management committee chairman, Mr. Pravin Gordhan, said they had decided to issue a statement today.

Gordhan said there had been favourable discussions and recommendations from various parties regarding the participation of the Zulu King and other traditional leaders at Codesa.
FW clears air over proposals

SOWETO 28/4/92

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday met three leaders of self-governing states for talks to clear up misunderstandings of the Government's views and constitutional proposals.

The talks were attended by KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei.

De Klerk described the talks as "productive".

He said "perceived and real misunderstandings" had been removed.

"On the broad principles, there were no fundamental differences between the South African Government and the three delegations," De Klerk said.

A joint statement said the three men had gone to the State President because of concerns that if progress was to be made, "we must take our people along with us.

"We need to talk and listen to our constituencies to find the deepest consensus, the very essence of Codesa."

De Klerk said the meeting was important in that it clarified perceived differences. The delegations had spoken out clearly about important arguments which needed the attention.

"We also focused on violence and the problem of private armies for political parties.

"The air was cleared and we exchanged views on fundamental aspects of problems in the country.

"This will contribute to greater understanding and enable us to reach broader agreement in the negotiation process." he said. -Sapa.
AZAPO has rejected a proposal by the President’s Council that political parties be partly funded by the State.

AZAPO’s secretary-general, Mr Don Nkadineng, said because the council was “part and parcel of the racist tricameral Parliament”, it was doubtful that parties which sought to bring it down would benefit.

He said the recommendations could be the Government’s attempts to legitimise its covert funding of parties whose sole aim has been to destabilise the liberation movement.

“The recommendation seeks to limit foreign assistance given to certain sections of the liberation movement and to boost the coffers of parties of convenience, some of which were formed in hotel rooms,” Nkadineng said.
President FW de Klerk wants to "take on the black townships of the Transvaal" - and Soweto could be his first stop, senior National Party sources said yesterday.

An NP spokesman confirmed yesterday that following the "success" in the Cape Town "coloured" township of Mitchell's Plain recently, the party would like to see him "take on the Transvaal's black townships".

The spokesman said "of course it has to be planned well".

"There are a lot of people who are claiming him, who are wanting him to come to them first. Of course we'd like to go to Soweto, but we'd also like it to be a success," the spokesman said.

De Klerk and the NP have started a national campaign to woo what they call "non-traditional" support - which means everybody who is not white.
'Valuable step' in transitional talks

Political Staff

A PROPOSAL for a Codesa-appointed multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) and several sub-councils would take the discussion on transitional arrangements a valuable step further, said Codesa management chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan.

It is contained in a discussion document of a specially-appointed technical committee seeking to break the impasse in the working group on transitional arrangements on the powers of the body to rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government, which was placed before the group yesterday.

Mr Gordhan was confident the working group would resolve remaining areas of disagreement before Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

The document, which would be referred to the leaders of the 19 parties taking part, proposed that the TEC be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa and would be a multi-party body with executive powers.

Mr Gordhan said yesterday that the CP, the HNP, the AWB, Azapo and the PAC would be invited to Codesa 2.
FW’s ideas are ‘unworkable’

ONLY an elected body had the right to draft a constitution for the country, a senior official of the ANC told Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners last night.

Mr Mohammed Vaill Moosa was responding to the Government’s proposals for a rotating presidency which were announced by State President FW de Klerk last week.

Moosa said the Government had a “unique ability of concocting unworkable ideas”.

Speaking on the same programme, Bruce Anderson of the IFP said the constitution should be written by a college of parties and referred to the electorate for consideration.

Anderson said an interim government should have power to address issues affecting the nation.

Siphiwe of Johannesburg said the idea was “undemocratic”.

Vincent of Soweto said all parties at Colesa should have equal representation in the executive council provided it led to the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Themba of Durban said the idea was unacceptable and undemocratic.

Cladman of Uitenhage said it was clear De Klerk did not want to relinquish power.

Vusi of Soweto also rejected the proposals. He said the interim government should be given a short time frame.
'Put brakes on Codesa rush'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE anti-ANC faction at Codesa, comprising the government, Inkatha, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, yesterday called for the brakes to be applied to proceedings at the negotiations to end the "headlong rush" at the forum.

The push for a revision of the procedures followed at Codesa to give the participants more time to think, do research and consult their supporters and other parties follows a six-hour meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between the four parties.

The proposed slowdown comes just when the ANC and its allies have called for the process to be accelerated and amid warnings that the Codesa II plenary session slated for May 15-16 is in danger of becoming a "damp squib".

Delegations led by President F W de Klerk, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo also reached consensus on the following issues at the marathon meeting:

- South Africa should be composed of a system of regional or federal states which have meaningful powers entrenched in a constitution "which cannot be withdrawn by any central government".
- The need for minorities to be effectively protected under a new constitution.
- The homeland leaders, who initiated the meeting, said in a joint statement read by Chief Buthelezi afterwards that they harboured "deep concerns... about the headlong rush of Codesa into attempting to finalise transitional or interim arrangements before there were any final agreements on constitutional issues".

The three leaders claimed that the majority of parties and governments at Codesa were not being given enough time to go back to their people with tabled proposals for "careful and rational decision-making".

Mr De Klerk said the government aligned itself with the criticism against the pace.

However, this did not mean that the government and the three other parties did not want to move swiftly towards a solution.

We feel that if the logistical and practical way in which Codesa approaches matters could be revised, we might move more swiftly.

The press conference planned by Codesa's Management Committee on the issue of the Zulu king for 6.30pm yesterday was postponed until today.
Axe MP tells CP: Now it’s war

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party’s hardliners yesterday threw down the gauntlet to the burgeoning reform faction in the party by expelling its leading anti-negotiation advocate, Mr Koos van der Merwe.

The surprise purge has shattered the fragile unity the CP achieved following a special “bosberaad” at the weekend which saw Mr’s favouring constitutional negotiations gaining the upper hand in the caucus for the first time.

A bitter but unrepentant Mr Van der Merwe — the second rebel MP to be ditched from the caucus — told the Cape Times yesterday that Mr Van der Merwe had been making strides in turning the party around.

The defiant MP for Overvaal told the Cape Times after returning from his Transvaal constituency last night: “They can expel me, but they cannot expel my ideas from the party.”

Mr Van der Merwe said he had decided the region to summarily boot him out of the party without personally informing him as “a declaration of war” and that he challenged CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a TV debate on the “real reason” for his expulsion.

Mr Van der Merwe said the party under its current leadership was stuck in a “political cul-de-sac” as it was incapable of giving its one million supporters an idea of where it was going.

Mr Van der Merwe said he was “shocked” to be
CAPE TOWN — The CP expelled maverick MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday, sounding a warning that no deviation from party policy would be tolerated.

A shocked Van der Merwe—who learnt of his expulsion from reporters on his arrival at Jan Smuts from Cape Town—told Sapa: "They can expel me and destroy my membership of the party, but the ideas that I stand for no one can take away from me. I will continue fighting for what I have always believed in. Racism is finished. We must negotiate and forget violence."

CP chief whip Frank le Roux had told the media he had been "relieved of his party membership" because he "continued to ignore party discipline."

It is believed the CP's caucus executive—made up of hard-liners Andries Treurnicht, Ferdi Hartzberg, Casper Uys, Tom Langley and Frank le Roux—made the decision at a meeting yesterday.

Van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, joins Koos Botha (Wonderboom)—expelled last month—in a temporary wilderness for advocating a negotiated settlement for a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

Van der Merwe was reportedly in high spirits after Sunday's caucus bosebaad at which the CP decided to hold talks with the NP on the issue of negotiating a smaller homeland. His expulsion follows the publication in a Sunday newspaper of his view that the CP should join the NP and others in an alliance against the ANC.

CP leader Treurnicht said Van der Merwe's expulsion had nothing to do with his views on a volkstaat, adding that intensive CP discussions on the issue were progressing well.
Joint body to prepare for elections

Codesa plan for interim super cabinet

GOVERNMENT, the ANC, Inkatha and other Codesa participants unveiled a plan yesterday for the first phase of interim government which will prepare SA for elections.

A multiparty technical committee — consisting of all major players — recommended the creation of a super cabinet to be called the Interim Joint Council. The council, to be appointed by Codesa, would have a multiparty character and would have the primary purpose of levelling the political playing field.

The council would be backed up by several six-member sub-councils dealing with defence and law and order, regional and local government and finance. In addition, it would have an independent election commission and a media commission.

But the critical issue of the council’s relation to the existing executive was not defined by the technical committee. The committee was also unable to recommend firmly whether the council should take decisions by total consensus, as proposed by government, or “sufficient consensus”.

The committee said the resolution to this problem would be facilitated by clearly defining the powers of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils. This suggests that government would be prepared to agree to decisions being made by sufficient consensus if the tasks of the council and its sub-councils were definitely circumscribed.

At a news briefing yesterday, current working group 3 chairman Patrick Modisa said the committee had not discussed when the structure would come into operation, but said all participants regarded the matter as urgent.

President F W de Klerk’s proposed interim executive was not discussed by the technical committee or by working group 3 yesterday, he said. NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said De Klerk’s proposal referred only to the second stage of transitional government.

Labour Party delegate Peter Hendrickse stopped short of calling the development a breakthrough, but said it indicated significant progress.

The technical committee lists as one of its basic points of departure the requirement that the council be able to intervene in any issue which could adversely affect the levelling of the political playing field or the creation of a favourable climate for elections. “The terms of reference of the overarching bodies should be the levelling of the playing field and ensuring a climate for free political participation,” he said, while the individual councils should have the same terms of reference, but in specific fields.

The committee identified several areas of responsibility for the sub-councils, although there was a difference of opinion as to whether a foreign affairs subcommittee was justified. Sub-councils on urbanisation, housing and economic affairs were specifically ruled out. The precise function of the finance sub-council was left over for subsequent discussion.

See Pages 3 and 4
Comment: Page 4
The Post-Bernard Challenge

Press, policy, political, correspondent, national, municipal, county, city, state. After eight years of the press standing on its feet, is ready for a change. The success faces a host of problems, but the spirit of community

Purse-stringing pretenders

1000
I Pushed CP Too Far — Koo's

Maverick's Houdini Party Line

By Peter Badkins

SAM 28/4/79
Proposal may help crack Codesa logjam

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A proposal for a Codesa-appointed, multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) and several sub-councils would take the discussion on transitional arrangements a valuable step further, Codesa "management" chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

The proposal is contained in a discussion document of a specially appointed technical committee seeking to break the impasse in the working group on transitional arrangements regarding the powers of the body to rule SA in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

Mr Gordhan was confident the working group would resolve remaining areas of disagreement before Codesa 2 on May 18 and 19.

The document, which would be referred to the leaders of the 19 participating parties, proposed that:

- The TEC would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.
- It would be a multiparty body with executive powers.
- It would have Cabinet status and its decisions would be binding on and implemented by the Government; whose view was that this would be the case only if decisions were taken by consensus.
- The TEC would be appointed by the State President on the recommendation of the Codesa management committee.
- It would have several sub-councils, an election commission and media commission.
- Sub-councils have been proposed for defence and law and order, regional and local government, finance and foreign affairs.

The chairman of the working group dealing with transitional arrangements, Dr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandla National Movement, said several areas of difference still remained.

The powers of the TEC and sub-councils had not yet been finalised, he said.

President de Klerk's proposal for an elected executive council was not discussed at yesterday's meeting.

Mr Gordhan announced yesterday that the CP, HNP, AWB, Azapo and PAC would be invited to Codesa 2.

The Government yesterday supported a submission by the Inkatha Freedom Party that "workable proposals which accommodated the widest possible convergence of views be placed before the working group dealing with the future of the homelands."

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NEWS
ANC MPs say defections are difficult being first CT 29/4/92

By Daniel Simon

ANC MPs, say defections a "carapace" of power and resilience. But I also have a large
number of messages from the townships. The
time passes but I am here because of the time
time. I don't understand my time.

The decision to join the ANC

Mr. Peter, the ANC president,

Mr. Fredrick, the ANC leader,

Mr. Mantoa, the ANC member,

Mr. Kgotane, the ANC secretary...

ANC, 29/4/92

It's difficult being first...
SA problem violence  —  Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released here Mr. Mandela said the situation in South Africa compared with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror, could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa," Mr. Mandela said.

He asked the OAU for an international force to end "white-inspired" township carnage.

— Sapa

Pik in line for top Nat job

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FOREIGN Minister Mr. Pik Botha last night emerged as the front-runner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

In a surprise development, Mr. Botha is believed to have signalled his willingness and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Mr. Barend du Plessis.

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Mr. Botha dropping out of the race.

At time of going to press, a spokesman for Mr. Botha could not confirm that he had made himself available.

But it is known that a number of senior Nationalists visited Mr. Botha in his office yesterday urging him to take up the challenge.

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were no longer in contention.

Meanwhile, Mr. De Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Mr. Du Plessis as finance minister today.

Mr. De Klerk's decision is expected after today's cabinet meeting, but government sources have indicated that if the President has not reached a decision he may leave the portfolio in the hands of acting minister Dr. Dawie de Villiers for some while.

Dr. De Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises, has been tipped and stands a good chance of winning if Mr. De Klerk opts for a purely political choice.

However, there has been growing consensus that the best available man for the post from within the cabinet is Mr. Derek Keys, the Minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination.

Old Pik' feels the years now

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said yesterday he felt "rather old" since he heard this week that he will become the longest-serving foreign minister in the West when his German counterpart, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, quits in May.

Mr. Genscher has held his post for 18 years while Mr. Botha recently celebrated 15 years on the job.

Mr. Botha said: "I have only pleasant memories of him. But I feel rather old although I started young and there are a number of foreign ministers older in years than me."

"Mr. Genscher made a major contribution to Germany during the period after the Second World War in expanding and constructing the new German foreign relations policy."

"He also worked extremely hard in his country's relations with Central Europe."

— Sapa

SABC workers on strike

MORE than 20 SABC workers based at the Sea Point offices decided yesterday to go on strike.

The employees, all members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, took the decision as part of a national ballot which followed the collapse of pay talks.

Since the deadline for the ballot was 7pm yesterday the full results would only be made public today.

The SABC has offered a 3% increase plus a 4% merit component but this was rejected by the union which went on a one-day wildcard strike on March 17 this year.

Work stoppage continues

Distress at Koos ousting

EXPELLED Conservative Party MP Mr. Koos van der Merwe faced his Overvaal constituency council last night amidst signs that grassroot party supporters were distressed at the manner of his dismissal.

A CP source in Mr. Van der Merwe's constituency said last night: "I don't think anybody is happy about how it happened."

Mr. Van der Merwe's expulsion was announced while he was flying from Cape Town to Johannesburg yesterday and he first heard the news when confronted by newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport.

"If they are going to throw somebody out of the party at least they could talk to him about it," said the constituency source.

By DANIEL WEEKES as the CP has been difficult and two former DP men audience yesterday.

Mr. Van and Eek (C) and Memong (S) closed that they had an attack since decision to join the another DP.
agreement in principle — leaders can take part

King Goodwill, traditional

DAVID GUEVELESE, PAOLO COCOSA, JACOPO BALLERI, ANTONIO PARISI, EUGENIO SCARCELO, AND ANTONIO ZAMPA

An elected parliament...
FW's ideas are 'unworkable'

By MOKGADI PELA

ONLY an elected body had the right to draft a constitution for the country, a senior official of the ANC told Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners on Monday night.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa was responding to the Government's proposals for a rotating presidency which were announced by State President FW de Klerk last week.

Moosa said the Government had a "unique ability of conceiving unworkable ideas".

Speaking on the same programme, Bruce Anderson of the IFP said the constitution should be written by a college of parties and referred to the electorate for consideration.

Anderson said an interim government should have power to address issues affecting the nation.

Siphiwe of Johannesburg said he rejected the idea, saying it was "undemocratic".

Vincent of Soweto said all parties at Codesa should have equal representation in the executive council, provided it led to the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Thembekile Durban said the idea was unacceptable and undemocratic.

Gladman of Uitenhage said it was clear De Klerk did not want to relinquish power.

Vusi of Soweto also rejected the proposals. He said the interim government should be given a short time frame.

David of Hillbrow said he favoured an interim government which would lead to a constituent assembly.
CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has announced its official spokesmen after the departure of five MPs who joined the ANC.

Dene Smuts replaces Janie Momberg as the party's spokesman on home affairs and Andre de Wet replaces Mr. Momberg as sports spokesman.

Tony Leon replaces Dave Dalling as spokesman on justice and Mahmoud Rajab replaces Mr. Dalling as spokesman for correctional services.

Lester Fuchs becomes alternative spokesman for correctional services and replaces Jan van Eck as alternative law and order spokesman. Errol Moircroft replaces Rob Haswell as alternative spokesman for regional affairs.

Mike Tarr replaces Pierre Cronje as public service spokesman and Miss Abrahams replaces Mr. Tarr. — Sapa.
Codesa: Big new advance ‘on way’

TOS. WENTZEL
Political Staff AFR. 27/4/92

An important breakthrough in negotiations for a new constitutional system is on the way in Codesa.

A working group of the negotiating body has decided that there must be an interim constitution providing for an elected parliament. This body will then draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature.

There were voices in political circles today that this could bring about agreement soon on the way in which a new constitution should be drawn up. Recent fears of deadlock in the negotiations are beginning to shift.

The next plenary session of Codesa will be held on May 15 and 16. Although major agreements may not be announced, there is hope that at least substantial progress can be reported.

Representatives of the major parties in the working group now have to report back to their principals but substantial agreement on an important principle will be presented to them.

According to top government sources one important aspect of the new proposal is that it moves away from the ANC’s plan for a constituent assembly which would virtually have had carte blanche for the drawing up of a new constitution.

The principle of having a new constitution being drawn up within a strictly legal framework was being accepted: it would, one source said, now be a question of changing existing arrangements instead of simply creating new ones.

The new proposal will not affect the government’s proposals, full details of which will be made known soon.

See page 31
SA problem violence Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released here Mr Mandela said the situation in South Africa compared with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. While indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, hopelessness and scale of the terror, could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa," Mr Mandela said.

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Pik in line for top Nat job

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha last night emerged as the front-runner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

In a surprise development, Mr Botha is believed to have signalled his willingness and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Mr Barend du Plessis.

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Mr Botha dropping out of the race.

At time of going to press, a spokesman for Mr Botha could not confirm that he had made himself available.

But it is known that a number of senior Nationalists visited Mr Botha in his office yesterday urging him to take up the challenge.

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he felt "rather old" since he heard this week that he will become the longest-serving foreign minister in the West when his German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, quits in May.

Mr Genscher has held his post for 18 years while Mr Botha recently celebrated 15 years on the job.

Mr Botha said: "I have only pleasant memories of him. But I feel rather old although I started young and there are a few foreign ministers older in years than me."

"Mr Genscher made a major contribution to Germany during the last 20 years and I wish him well as he faces the Second World War in expanding and constructing the new German foreign relations policy."

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SABC workers on strike

By DANIEL WEEK one of the f

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A source in Mr Van der Merwe's constituency council said last night: "I don't think anybody is happy about how it happened."

The expulsion was announced while he was flying from Cape Town to Johannesburg yesterday and he first heard the news when confronted by newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport.

"I am going to throw somebody out of the party at least they could talk to him about it," said the constituency source.

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The employees, all members of the Media Workers Association of SA, took the decision as part of a national ballot which followed the collapse of pay talks.

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Another DP re
Pik favoured as NP's Transvaal leader

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha is a frontrunner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

In a surprise development yesterday Botha signalled his willingness to be considered for the job, and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Barend du Plessis.

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Botha dropping out of the race.

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were not candidates.

President FW de Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Du Plessis as Finance Minister today.
Accord fuels hope for new constitution

The members of a Coesa working group have unanimously agreed to let their principals decide on a plan for a directly-elected interim government which will draw up a new constitution.

Working group 2, which is considering interim arrangements, proposed that Coesa decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:
- An elected parliament which will draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature;
- The composition of and procedures to be followed by an interim executive;
- Justiciable civil and political rights during the transition;
- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections;
- Elections for the national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists; and
- Decisions on all matters relating to the constitution to be taken by a "special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Regional power forms an important part of this proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representative and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Coesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Coesa yesterday. However, Coesa sources said when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Coesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions.

If Coesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 16 and 17 will be in a position to endorse major agreements. "The critical hour has been reached," one Coesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Coesa declared yesterday it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose described the "in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant."
Inkatha warns on king's participation in Codesa

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

An agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but, while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned yesterday that unless the Zulu king was given full participation, the agreement did not “mean much”.

This meant that unless King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not take part in Codesa 2 on May 13 and 14.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was frustrated by the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

“The most important thing that has to occur is agreement on what sort of participation,” said Dr Mdlalose.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the issue could be resolved at the next meeting of the committee on May 4.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee yesterday agreed that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divided into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the province, and each would send two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided upon: full participation; limited participation on issues which affected them directly; and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

A proposal for an elected constitution-making body under legislation was yesterday placed before the working group dealing with constitutional principles.

The working document, which is still to be discussed with the leaders of the 19 participating groups, proposed that such a body be included in an interim constitution, drafted by Codesa.

The interim constitution would provide for the body — an elected single-chamber parliament — to be elected on the basis of proportional representation with half the seats allocated on a national list and the rest through regional lists.

It would also provide for:

- The composition and procedures of an interim executive.
- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections.
- Decisions to be taken by “special majority”.
- Decisions on matters relating to regional structures and the distribution of power between central, regional and local levels of government must require the special majority of regional representatives in the national assembly in addition to a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.
- The new constitution should be drafted and adopted within a specified period of time.

Mr Gordhan said the proposal was an important advance in the working group's work. The group had reached a serious impasse on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government had earlier proposed an elected two-chamber parliament to draft the constitution and run the country while the ANC had proposed an elected constituent assembly to act as a constitution-making body under legislation.

The IFP had proposed that a new constitution be drafted by an appointed convention.

Reports on progress at Codesa since the first meeting of the five working groups on February 6 have to be finalised by next Thursday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee yesterday considered the applications of 17 organisations wishing to take part in the talks, but its decision would only be announced today after the groups had been informed.
Africa puts out welcome mats

In times of dark pessimism, a heartening glimpse of roster prospects
Botha: Arrest won't keep me from parliament or dampen VNP aura.

I'll fight on — Te Deum
IS the problem in South Africa a colonial problem, or a special colonial situation or simply a question of human rights violation in a sovereign country?
These are the questions that Pheko sets out to answer in his 154-page book published recently.

Pheko, an obvious sympathiser of the Pan Africanist Congress, is a lawyer whose training is used to the full in both research and argument for his views.

He argues that those who push for anything less than defining South Africa as a colonial problem that needs decolonisation are inherently against restoration of full land and human rights to those dispossessed by the colonising marauders who landed at the Cape in 1652.

Referring to South Africa in its PAC and Black Consciousness name of Azania throughout the book, Pheko says the fact that Britain handed the country to another group of settlers without decolonising meant that South Africa remains a colony of Britain.

He has harsh words for those, like the ANC, the SACP and Western governments, who argue that South Africa was a sovereign State.

"International Law would be abetting Britain's colonialism and its consequences of apartheid, genocide and theft of African land if it were to lend any legal validity to the status of South Africa as an 'independent' State based on the abuse and manipulation of international law by Britain.

"The only time that South Africa will be an independent State in international law shall be when the vast dispossessed indigenous African majority has regained control of their country."

Pheko argues that land forms the basis for State independence.

"All nations or people fighting for liberation, against alien rule and seeking self determination are fighting for land."

Title: SA betrayal of a colonised people, issues of International human rights law.
Author: SEM Pheko
Publisher: Skotaville Publishers, R28,55
Reviewer: Mathatha Tsedu

The book is a welcome read, especially in the present political climate in the country, with different political organisations putting divergent views about the State and solutions of the problems of this country.

It is bound to become a controversial book judging by quotations and assertions made about the positions of several people.
CODESA BRIEFS

• THE standing committee of working group two, which deals with constitutional principles and the constitution-making body, has proposed Codesa agree to an interim constitution which would provide for an elected parliament to draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature, the composition and procedures of an interim executive and for decisions on the constitution to be taken by a special majority.

• REPORTS that three homeland leaders — Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Mongosotho Buthelezi of kwaNdebele — had called on Codesa to slow the pace of negotiations, has been confirmed. Transkei leader Butu Holomisa said the three knew that they would not make it in national elections because their power bases were imaginary.

• THE Codesa management committee has rejected 15 out of 17 applications to join Codesa. A decision on the applications of the other two parties, the People's Progressive Party and the National Seposengwe Party, has been postponed until a later meeting of the Codesa management committee. The rejected parties include the Afrikaner Party, the Federal Independent-Democratic Alliance, the Pan African Congress of South Africa and the United Asian Front.
A taste of the changes still to come

BY LINDA RULASHE

FOR the first time in years, disenfranchised South Africans join their white counterparts in going to the polls next month — but votes won’t be cast for a new government.

Instead, one group of voters will decide on whether they are in favour of the present direction of traffic flow in a Johannesburg residential area. Another will elect the first non-racially formed municipal structure in Kimberley.

Between the two extremes of trivality and significance lies a small vision of what the future South Africa might be like.

Adults above the age of 18 who live or work in the Yeoville, Bellevue and Observatory suburbs of Johannesburg will be asked on May 20 to say yes or no to the recently reversed direction of traffic flow on two major roads in the vicinity — Rockley/Raleigh and Hunter streets.

In order to vote, participants in the opinion poll will simply have to fill in and sign “a brief application to vote” form, stating their full names and residential or business addresses.

“This is an excellent example of the sort of public participation we are trying to stimulate in Johannesburg,” said Yeoville councillor Martin Sweet, who has been seen as the villain of the piece. It was at his instigation that the streets were reversed in the first place, leading to an avalanche of protest from residents and businesses.

Sweet said: “As far as I can make out, it will be the first totally open franchise vote of its sort in South Africa. It’s exciting that our ward should be taking the lead in non-racial decision making in a way that could well become a model for grassroots democracy in the new South Africa.”

The traffic direction has become source of great controversy since its inclusion in a redevelopment scheme in the area, said Sweet. However, residents and traders can come to “a balanced decision” about the matter after having experienced the finished scheme in its entirety for a few weeks before voting.

To further ensure voters make “informed decisions”, Sweet will chair a public meeting a week before the opinion poll when council planning officials give a presentation on the project and “the pros and cons” of the new traffic direction.

Meanwhile in Kimberley, an announcement about the city’s first non-racial municipal election is expected early next month.

Twelve wards in greater Kimberley are to be contested, with two councillors representing each ward.

Kimberly City Council spokesman, Coenie de Swart, said last week that the council had suspended the 1974 Cape Municipal Ordinance No 24, thereby scrapping racial limitations on voters.

This follows a conference in January involving 50 organisations which included the council, civic associations, ratepayer organisations and local business groups to determine the future of the region’s municipal administration.

Resolutions included the consolidation and rationalisation of all local authority organisations by the establishment of an interim joint local government committee.

In October 1990, the NP controlled council took over financial and administrative controls of Galetswe township nearby but has retained two separate budgets in the interim.

A “one tax base, one administration” philosophy was also adopted.

The results, said De Swart, were “unbelievable”: more than 78 percent of Galetswe residents now regularly paid tariffs and rent.
Out of the cabinet

Into the boardroom?

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

BAREND DU PLESSIS said on Agenda this week that his role model for life after politics was Chris Heunis.

Why anyone would willingly seek to emulate the portly former minister of constitutional development is a mystery, except that it might provide a clue to that other mystery—Du Plessis' premature exit from politics.

Heunis, in retirement, is a political agnostic. During the referendum, he was one of the few former cabinet ministers who would not endorse a yes vote for President PW de Klerk.

There are a number of similarities between Heunis and Du Plessis. Both were ambitious men who at some stage in their political careers glimpsed the pinnacle of power, but were never to attain it. Both were purportedly versed in an impression enhanced by Du Plessis' friendly manner and good relations with the press. But both in fact had close connections with the securocrats.

Though Heunis' political ambitions were put paid to by Denis Worrall, who came within 37 votes of removing the safe seat of Helderberg from under him in 1987, at the end of the day his fate was sealed by the demise of his mentor, PW Botha.

Du Plessis was Botha's choice to succeed him as leader of the National Party in 1989. He came within a few votes of defeating De Klerk, an outcome that would probably have spelled a very different future for South Africa.

Ian van Eick, the newly shifted African National Congress MP for Clarmont, claimed last year that Du Plessis was the leader of a "fifth column" of securocrat MPs inside the National Party who were opposed to De Klerk's reforms.

Whether or not that was true, Du Plessis — despite his seniority — was not one of De Klerk's inner cabinet who have been masterminding the reforms and the negotiating strategy of the NP.

In recent months, the one-time boy wonder has looked increasingly out of synch with the political process unfolding around him. His handling of the dispute with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other groups around the introduction of VAT was alternatively heavy-handed and weak-kneed and at the end of the day he came off poorly at the hands of Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

Equally poor was Du Plessis' handling of the shutdown of the Inkatha funding scandal. His leaking in February of the agreement at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on a transitional executive authority was ill-timed, and his interpretation of the contents strangely out of touch.

Even his going creates a headache for De Klerk. Having resigned his seat, he has put De Klerk in the position of having to fight one more by-election against the Conservative Party, in Du Plessis' west Johannesburg constituency of Florida.

South Africa is headed into new political terrain and there are only two types of Nats left who have any role to play.

There is the old guard such as Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee and Piki Botha who will see out the negotiations and help shepherd the country into the new order but will not go far beyond that.

There is the next generation such as Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels who know that if they want to have any political future in the new South Africa they must learn the rules of a whole new ball game.

Though he is still relatively young and falls between the two, there is no future in politics for Barend du Plessis. Even his own Department of Finance will be sharing power with a multiparty council that will be appointed by Codesa.

If the VAT dispute did not tire him out completely, the prospect of having to negotiate policy every day with a subcommittee with executive powers might well have been enough to drive Du Plessis from politics forever.

Any hope that De Klerk's reforms would collapse and that the securocrats and conservative backing in the party might have helped Du Plessis to power would have been finally shattered with De Klerk's morale-boosting referendum victory.

Of course, as a former finance minister he need not sink back, like Heunis, into the role of a small-town lawyer. He could follow predecessors such as Owen Horwood into the more lucrative fields of the private sector and on to the boards of companies, a far better proposition than remaining in politics.
No aces left up FW's sleeve

If Codesa is a game of bridge, FW de Klerk has played his last trump card, argues PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

which should be delighted with this new dawn in our nation's history - is bored, in some cases restless.

That is the way of negotiations, one might say. You need the nitty gritty, the technocrats from all sides quibbling late into the night, drafting legal contracts, before you can pull out the drums and bugles and roll out the new flag.

Not always. We can reflect with some envy on the collapse of the Berlin wall and of the seeming blink of an eyelid that it took for eastern Europe to move from totalitarian rule to democratic elections.

They were spared this extended game of Chinese checkers, or poker, or whatever the appropriate metaphor is for Codesa. (De Klerk says he is playing bridge, a game of intelligence, not poker - a game of chance.)

The difference, of course, is that the forces of democracy in South Africa never decisively won the struggle and that communist regimes of eastern Europe were far less tenacious or crafty than the National Party when they realised that the game was up.

So they gave way to the will of the people.

Here, in South Africa, even those people who supported and held up Yassley Havel as a hero don't think that the will of the people is such a good idea.

Majoritarianism, upon which all democratic systems are based, has become a dirty word in South Africa.

In fact, the purpose of the whole process of negotiations is to build up defences against the majority and protecations for the minority.

This is mainly because the majority is black and poor and has never had a say in government before and so the process has to address the fear of the haves that the have nots might seize control of the state and use it to start redressing the imbalances.

But because it is no longer polite to talk in terms of race the National Party claims to be protecting political minorities which, when all else is swept aside, is really the National Party.

De Klerk, for all his gamesmanship, has grown remarkably immune from the normal rough and tumble of political jostling. The referendum undermined that there is hardly an opposition newspaper left in the country.

There is still enough afterglow from the referendum victory. The cringing of the white opposition and the fact that the diplomatic community and foreign governments appear to be eating out of his hand must all contribute to de Klerk's warm sense of achievement.

The ANC sends contradictory messages. Nelson Mandela preaches a far harder line from the public podium than the negotiators emerging from the darkened halls of Codesa.

Into the vacuum of political leadership in the streets, where the violence never ends, steps Winnie Mandela.

While Codesa has made significant breakthroughs in terms of the first phase of the interim government - clearing the way for elections, the nature of which is still to be decided - it has only made incremental inroads into National Party power.

Perhaps all this helps sustain the illusion that "power-sharing", in which the NP seeks to retain a permanent veto in this country's affairs, is somehow other than a viable proposition.

As Nelson Mandela said in Arrest this week, De Klerk and the National Party mouth acceptance of one person, one vote but then "propose a constitutional dispensation that makes provisions to ignore the verdict of the electorate."

Who can blame the National Party if they feel nostalgic about the exclusive power they had cradled in their arms these past few decades and want to modify things just a little? Unfortunately, no matter how much they protest, they will have to step aside. They were never put there by more than a tiny minority.

Avoidance of this reality is the only explanation why de Klerk - with everything seemingly going for him - only has jokers left to pull from his sleeve.
DU PLESSIS remained tight-lipped about the financial affairs of the bank, and his strategy, as the Reserve Bank and the Rail Commuter's board controlled by Prima Bank, which had since acquired Cape Investment Bank. This had been linked to accusations that the bank's assets had been stripped by Prima before it was placed in provisional liquidation — an act which precipitated its insolvency.

Caraisse said there were concerns that the bank may have "pumped millions into other banks in similar questionable deals.

From Page 1

"What is clear is that, whilst not criminal, activity appears to have occurred and the government owes the public answers to all the questions raised."

Caraisse said this applied particularly to the question: "Did Mr Barend du Plessis resign as Minister of Finance as a result of these matters?"

Transport Minister Piet Wijen said the transactions had nothing to do with Du Plessis in his official capacity and his official relationship to the bank.
Interim govt plan is 'put on ice' for Codesa

CAPE TOWN — Government was set to put its interim government plans on ice in favour of the Codesa working group steering committee proposals for drafting an interim constitution for an elected assembly.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport, speaking at a briefing on Codesa yesterday, said: "This is a very important document," in response to a question of whether it broke the deadlock.

He said government would temporarily shelve its plans to introduce draft legislation because it had been intended to put momentum into the process and this seemed to have been achieved by the steering committee proposals.

In terms of the steering committee's proposal that Codesa drafts an interim constitution, government believes that, even if agreement cannot be reached on the more sensitive details, Codesa would at least have made progress towards a more representative constitution.

Government's plan is to try and flesh out the interim constitution proposals to such an extent that the elected interim government, responsible for drafting the final constitution, would have to put only the finishing touches to the interim constitution.

The ANC, on the other hand, would like to see the interim constitution as general as possible to give the elected body greater leeway to determine the constitution.

This is likely to provide the major negotiating stumbling block as the interim constitution will not be able to be overturned easily. Part of the steering committee proposals states that the elected interim government would draft a new constitution "which shall not be in conflict with the general constitutional principles".

The document was clearly a compromise solution where government has had to forgo its insistence on equal weighting for regional representatives within regions and to a second house of parliament.

The steering committee proposals state that regional and national elections would be conducted on a proportional representation basis, and there is absolutely no mention of a second house.

It states there will be elections for a national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, "half the seats being allocated through national lists and half through regional lists".

However, Delport pointed out that this did not reject the possibility of a second house, but neither did it accept it.

"We have not softened our position on the protection of minorities or meaningful participation of minority political parties," he said, adding that "the extent of protection and participation still has to be resolved".

Government has also been manoeuvred into a position where the final constitution-making process cannot last indefinitely.

The proposals say Codesa will agree on mechanisms to ensure that the national assembly completes the work of drafting a final constitution "within a specified period of time".
PAC turns down Codeesa invitation

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday reiterated his organisation's view that it would not have any dealings with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The organisation received an invitation to attend Codeesa 2 yesterday afternoon, shortly after Makwetu's arrival from an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

The PAC leader said Codeesa could not deliver genuine freedom, adding that they would turn down the invitation in writing.

He said: "We will afford Codeesa the courtesy of a reply, but we will definitely not be attending Codeesa II on May 15.

"Instead of agreeing to freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said in response to news reports that Codeesa had agreed to a state of emergency and detention-without-trial regulations during the transitional phase.

"Instead of agreeing on the demand for an elected constituent assembly as the only forum to draft a constitution, Codeesa yesterday agreed that an interim parliament should draft a constitution."

He said: "Tuesday was the worst day in the life of Codeesa."

Referring to violence, Makwetu said his organisation's interpretation of the political violence was gaining "unsurpassed momentum with the decision of the OAU ad hoc committee to call for international involvement to put an end to the violence."

He had put forward the view that a commission of African leaders be formed to investigate the violence.

The PAC has constantly insisted on international involvement to solve the country's political problems.

Asked whether the organisation was being pressurised by various African governments, the PAC president conceded that OAU members had said they would prefer all political parties to engage in the Codeesa process.

Position

"But we explained our position excellently. And fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone - we are an independent political force."

Makwetu said he had various discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela while they were abroad - most matters centreing on the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

"The PAC called for the direct participation of the OAU secretary-general in the reconvening and monitoring of the Patriotic/United Front," he added.
The King and Codesa debate still rages.
Bizarre turn in rightwing broedertuins

Yesterday's arrest of a former Conservative Party MP highlights the increasing complexity of rightwing politics. GAVIN EVANS reports

The arrest of Koos Botha for the 1991 broedertuin massacre brings to one of the more bizarre realities of the current conservative realignment — the incoherence between the left of the parliamentary rightwing and the extra-parliamentary extremists. Botha, the independent MP for Wonderland who was most recently expelled from the Conservative Party for his pro-apartheid stance, was arrested at 1pm yesterday in connection with charges relating to the July 1991 blaze, which wrecked the school buildings set adrift to house children of returning African National Congress exiles.

This is the same Koos Botha who was convicted last May for his role in the 1990 countrywide arson campaign, and who recently asked the court to adjourn his trial until his appeal was heard. He is currently serving a 15-month sentence for that same crime.

As the prosecutor, S. Venter, explained, the investigation began after the blaze, which destroyed five school buildings and caused extensive damage to the school's infrastructure.

The arrest of Koos Botha is yet another in a series of arrests of former members of the rightwing movement, including NRMP leaders. The most recent arrest was that of Oupa Manyamela, who was charged with arson in connection with the 1990 countrywide arson campaign.

The investigation is expected to last several weeks, and it is hoped that it will shed light on the extent of the rightwing network and its involvement in the 1990 arson campaign.

The arrest of Koos Botha is a significant development in the ongoing investigation into the 1990 countrywide arson campaign. It is hoped that it will lead to the identification and prosecution of other members of the rightwing movement who are involved in this criminal activity.

The case is being handled by the Special Investigative Unit, which is a team of highly trained detectives who are dedicated to investigating and prosecuting white-supremacist crimes. The unit has a proven track record of successful prosecutions, and it is expected that the arrest of Koos Botha will result in further arrests and prosecutions.

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On the brink of a ‘big bang’

This week Codesa chalked up several important breakthroughs. Proposals have been drawn up, by delegates of all parties at the convention, on the critical areas of an interim government and how SA’s new constitution should be drafted. Tim Cohen assesses the significance of this week’s agreements and the work still to be done.

The officials’ enthusiasm possibly stems from relief at the fact that the deadlock situation which emerged on many issues at the beginning of the month has been breached.

Nevertheless, the proposal for interim government before elections (being discussed by working group 3) and the proposal for an interim legislature after elections (working group 2) provide a crucial focus for the debates to come. They provide the foundations for future discussions and a framework for the future political nature of SA.

The proposal on how the country will be governed before elections revolves around the premise that the political playing field is level and that the climate for political participation is free. All other proposals flow from this premise.

It is proposed that there should be a transitional executive council (TEC) made up of an interim joint council (a super executive) and a number of subcouncils. These bodies would be geared to ensuring that no party started off with any advantage over the others.

So, for example, the TEC’s structure would be of a multiparty nature, meaning that a Codesa-like structure would run affairs that could affect the outcome of elections. Separate subcouncils on defence and law and order have been proposed. Two other subcouncils are envisaged: one for regional and local government and another for finance. A foreign affairs subcouncil is possible, but subcouncils on urbanisation, housing and economic affairs have been ruled out.

Critical issues — such as what powers the councils will have, their relation to existing government structures and whether decisions will be made by unanimous or substantial consensus — have yet to be resolved.

Although the proposals appear so vague as to be almost meaningless, they do indicate a substantial convergence of opinion.

The proposals for the second stage of interim government are less vague. The long-term future of the country is dealt with in five points on a single page.

Point one says Codesa will agree to a legislative instrument (in effect an interim constitution) in terms of which a constitution-making body will be established.

Point two says Codesa will consult the TBVC states in drafting this document.

Point three says Codesa will agree on a set of general constitutional principals (many of which have been provisionally agreed upon at Codesa).

Point four says the interim constitution will draft a new constitution by a “special majority” (two-thirds is envisaged) and act as an interim legislature.

Point five says Codesa will agree on special mechanisms to ensure that a national assembly adopts a new constitution within a specified period of time.

Regionalism comes firmly under the spotlight, with half the seats being decided by “regional” elections and half by “national” elections. However, constitutional decisions can be made only with a “special majority” of both regional and national delegates.

Codesa, the official noten, has not taken firm decisions in a one-by-one fashion. It likens its process to “a blob of trey matter” confusing for delegates, never mind the public. The important thing is that the blob is growing, the official says.

The two working groups’ proposals will now be discussed by the delegates, principals, who are expected to report back to Codesa next week — just two weeks ahead of the scheduled start of Codesa II.

It is likely that Codesa II will update what has been achieved rather than act as a final decision-making forum. A Codesa III is beginning to look inevitable.

However, should parties find consensus on the proposals, progress should be made more quickly.

What has become clear is the nature of the alliances within Codesa, with the gradual emergence of an ANC group, a smaller but influential government group, and what some have been tempted to call an “anti-process” group consisting of the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and Inkatha.

How this last group handles the current proposals will be critical. It could force other parties to call their bluff. SA’s future could rest on the decisions they take now.
End in sight to Codesa logjam

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has expressed confidence that Codesa is heading for agreement on the contentious question of a constitution for an interim government.

This emerged yesterday when Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Terathus Delport briefed journalists on proposals for an interim constitution, drawn up by a steering committee on Codesa's working group 2. The committee proposed that Codesa should draft an interim constitution.

Dr Delport disclosed that as a result of this agreement the Government would probably withhold its draft proposals for an interim constitution, pending further discussion about the steering committee proposals.

Asked if the proposals would break the deadlock in negotiations for an interim constitution, Dr Delport would not answer directly, but said the steering committee proposals were a very important document.

He said Codesa 2 would probably agree on the first phase of the transition (a Codesa-appointed transitional executive to prepare for elections) and give some indication on how phase two — an interim constitution — should look. He would not say how the proposals compared with the Government's previous position.

But it appeared as if the Government was softening its insistence on a second House of Parliament — representing minority interests and having veto powers over legislation — during the interim period.

This has been a point of disagreement between the Government and the ANC.

The steering committee's proposals significantly do not mention a second House.

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Botha linked to AWB case

Sabotage: CP outcast in court

Pretoria Correspondent

One of the Conservative Party’s two expelled MPs, Koos Botha of Wonderboom, yesterday appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court in connection with several acts of sabotage and possession of explosives.

Mr Botha was picked up by police at his home at about 12.35 pm and appeared in court at 2 pm. He was not asked to plead and was released on R1 500 bail. The case was postponed to June 3.

Among the incidents being linked to his arrest are blasts at the old Hillview School in central Pretoria, at Cosatu House and at two post offices in the PWV area.

Mr Botha told reporters from his home in Wonderboom before his arrest that he was waiting to appear in court.

“I am sitting here with my wife, making arrangements, and would not like to have the press around now,” he added, “the case against me involves, among other incidents, the Hillview blast.”

A police spokesman confirmed that Mr Botha’s arrest was connected to an existing case in which several acts of terror were being investigated.

Koos Botha... forced to hand in passport and must report to police daily.

Mr Botha’s name was added as the fifth accused in the trial against four members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering — Andries Steyn Kriel, Andries Cornelius Odendaal, Dirk Jan Hattingh and Petrus Jacobus Judeel.

The four were earlier released on R3 500 bail each and warned to appear in court on June 3.

However, Mr Kriel and Mr Odendaal have since disappeared and warrants for their arrest have been issued.

A condition of Mr Botha’s bail was that he hand in his passport. He must also report daily to the Wonderboom police station between 8 am and 5 pm, must not leave his residential address, and must not leave the Pretoria or Pretoria North magisterial districts without the permission of investigating officer Major H Prinsloo.

Mr Botha was kicked out of the CP two weeks ago after a controversial speech in Parliament. He had reportedly contravened party discipline by speaking in favour of a “drastically reduced” volkstaat.

He was last seen publicly when he took part in a debate on an interim government at the University of Pretoria on Tuesday.

The Star’s Political Correspondent reports from Parliament that there was a general feeling of disbelief among MPs last night that the mild-mannered Mr Botha could be involved in sabotage.

However, some MPs pointed out that Mr Botha had appeared on a public platform with the AWB in the past.

National Party MPs said they thought the incident would embarrass the Conservative Party, while others said they believed that the CP might have expelled Mr Botha earlier this month because it got wind of what he had done.

CP sources would not comment.
Codesa rejects 15 bids to join

Fifteen organisations have had their applications to join Codesa turned down. (30.4)

Codesa's management committee did not give reasons for its decision. However, it considered the applications after the applicants completed questionnaires and a report was commissioned on press coverage of these groups.

Applications which have been refused include those of three newly established right-wing parties — the Afrikaner Party, Boervolk, and Boerentia Party.

Other applications refused are the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance; Insika, National Party; Freedom Party of South Africa; Merit People's Party; Mighty Sofasonke Party; the Pan African Congress of South Africa, a splinter group of the PAC; People's Party of South Africa; Reform Party of South Africa; United Conciliation Party; Venda National Party; Mayamana Action Party; and United Asian Front.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said only the parties already attending at Codesa, plus the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB, the PAC and Azapo, would be invited to Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16. — Political Reporter.
PAC rejects Codesa invitation

By Thabo Leshile
Political Staff

Despite mounting pressure from African governments to join the negotiation process, the PAC rejected yet another invitation to join Codesa yesterday.

PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu said an invitation to join Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16 was received yesterday afternoon, shortly after his arrival from the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa.

The meeting was held in Tanzania, on Tuesday.

"We won't attend," an adamant Mr Makwetu told a press conference at the organisation's Johannesburg head office.

Mr Makwetu said the Arusha meeting, attended by 13 African governments, had expressed a desire to see all South Africans join the negotiations process.

The PAC had explained its opposition to Codesa "excellently," he said.

"Fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone. We are an independent political force," Mr Makwetu said, responding to whether the OAU was pressing the PAC to join Codesa.

He said he had explained the PAC's position on the need for a neutral convener and venue in resolving the political problems of South Africa.

"This is necessary due to the dubious nature of the regime and its direct participation in the violence," he said.

The PAC, he added, remained convinced that Codesa could not deliver genuine democracy.

"Instead of agreeing on freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said, referring to a newspaper report that Codesa had agreed on the imposition of a state of emergency and detention without trial.

"Wednesday was the worst day in the life of Codesa," Mr Makwetu declared.

The Star, however, understands there was no such agreement at Codesa and the report had misrepresented the facts.

Regarding the continuing violence, Mr Makwetu said the PAC's demand for neutrality in the country's political situation had gained speed with the OAU's call for international involvement to end the violence.

Such action should take the form of a commission to investigate who was responsible for the "atrocities," he said.

The OAU meeting was also addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela.
Questions are being raised about Cosatu's future role, writes Mike Siluma

STARS 30/4/92

An alliance that may not last in a democratic SA

How long would the alliance between the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the ANC last in the event of the Nationalist government being replaced by a new, democratic regime?

The question, increasingly made relevant by the imminent constitution of a transitional authority through Codesa, is raised by leading labour relations expert Dr Duncan Innes in the latest issue of his Journal, "The Innes Labour Brief".

In his forecast of developments in the union movement for the rest of the year, Dr Innes says recent actions by Cosatu suggest that the federation has committed itself to continuing to play a political role in the national life and to fiercely defend workers' rights under not just the present, but also all future governments.

Two key pointers of where Cosatu is headed, he writes, are its decision to apply for membership of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and its threatened plan of action in three months' time if its political and economic demands are not acceded to by the Government.

If Cosatu was admitted to Codesa, he argues, it would place new items on the agenda, relating to worker rights (including the right to strike and to co-determine national economic and human resources policy). Cosatu would possibly even demand such rights be incorporated in the new constitution in one form or another.

"These demands are aimed not so much at protecting workers from the present government as at protecting them from all future governments... The present ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance is unlikely to survive very long after a new government is constituted."

"Even today, within Cosatu, the ranks of those who give unqualified and uncritical support to the ANC are dwindling. Furthermore, the idealism with which so many unionists embraced the SACP... is also less pronounced than previously," adds Dr Innes.

Referring to Cosatu's demands, which range from the establishment of an interim government by June to the formation of a national economic negotiations forum (comprising labour, capital and the State), Dr Innes says they are aimed partly at expressing the federation's impatience with the pace of reform and partly at catalyzing Cosatu back on to the political centre stage.

The basis for the latter aim, he argues, is Cosatu's fear that the ANC and the SAPC "could be about to do a deal with the Government from which it is being excluded", and that such a dispensation would be at the expense of workers.

Despite Cosatu's potential power to disrupt the economy, as demonstrated by the anti-VAT protest five months ago, Dr Innes believes mass action by the federation to be unlikely. This is because substantial progress is being made towards meeting two key Cosatu demands -- the establishment of interim rule by mid-year and the formation of the economic forum.

Regarding the first, indications at Codesa suggest that, despite disagreements between the Government and the ANC, an interim government may not be far off. In the economic field, Cosatu and the major employer bodies have already agreed in principle to form a forum to address the economic issues of the day, although the Government has, for the moment, declined to join such a body.

Turning to this year's wage negotiations, Dr Innes says they will be dominated by the recessionary conditions, forcing unions to seek increases which, at least matched the inflation rate.

At the same time, unions will, in some cases, agree to moderate their pay demands in return for job security for members. Union concerns about recession-induced job losses have already been confirmed in sectors such as motor engineering and retailing, where unions are calling for a moratorium on retrenchments.