

S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

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Window on white mentality

Political Correspondent **ISMAIL LAGARDIEN** tests the hot political waters of

Potchefstroom, where the white electorate goes to the polls today

Sowetan 19/2/92

354A

THE white electorate in Potchefstroom goes to the polls in a by-election today.

To black people in South Africa, a whites-only by-election in a small Western Transvaal town, has traditionally meant very little.

But things have changed somewhat. However unimportant it may seem, today's whites-only by-election in Potchefstroom is by no means meaningless, not in the grand scheme of things.

It is one of the very few white by-elections in South Africa in recent years which impinge directly on the spirit of the time, as well as on the political aspirations of black people.

It may be brushed aside publicly by political ideologues as meaningless, as it involves white people only. It could also be seen by the heavyweight liberation movement as apocryphal in terms of the big truth - Codesa and its satellite debates.

Abrupt halt

And, there is a great deal of merit in these dismissals. There is the profound argument that negotiations leading to the next South Africa should start with the present order coming to an abrupt halt.

Those who prefer this option must begin to realise that this will not happen. Someone has to table the Budget for the next financial year, take care of the mess in black education, black housing, health, pensions etc.

And at this point, only the present National Party is a big enough scapegoat to lead the country out of the bog of black misery...

Black perspective

If one then looks at the entire picture of the developing order in South Africa there is, from a black perspective, very little intelligence in wishing away today's Potchefstroom by-election.

It could give black people their first glimpse into the heart of the beast that has bridled them for centuries.

Looking at the past two years, black people, as a whole, have travelled a sometimes treacherous road in search of political freedom, and it can be argued that the white leadership under State President FW de Klerk has been firmly in the saddle alongside a marginalised liberation movement.

Political animals

Black people need not be reminded that this road is at the same time cluttered with dead political animals and bodies of thousands of black people.

It would be trite, could be regarded as contentious or even libellous, to repeat the notion that there is some

'It is going to be a race right to the end'

kind of a plot, perhaps in the form of a Third Force, seeking to stonewall the unfolding democracy.

The glimmer of hope as a counterpoint, or is it the other way around, has been the widespread acceptance that the present white-dominated political and economic order cannot continue.

One must add in haste that there has been an argument that it could, in a much subtler concept and form...

Nevertheless, the overt political manifestation of The Plot or the Third Force, in the grand scheme of things, is the Conservative Party, which is contesting the ruling National Party for Potchefstroom.

Real feelings

And both the CP and NP have said that this by-election would reveal the white ruling class's real feelings about the unfolding democracy.

It is in this regard that black people will, after tomorrow, have a window into the heart of white South Africa.

Leaving aside the likes of Helen Joseph, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils *et al*, there are among everyday whites only two mainstream schools of thought - those who support the present process of the democratisation of South Africa and those who oppose it.

So blurred have even the traditional lines between the NP and the more

liberal Democratic Party become that there is little to no distinction left between them on the issue of democracy.

And in fact, the DP leader, Dr Zac de Beer said in Cape Town on February 4 this year that his party would help De Klerk win any vote or referendum in favour of continued democratisation.

Thus on the other side of the white spectrum, there is the CP, and its fellow travellers of the right.

Going back then to the expressed ideals of the CP and the NP, mainstream white South Africa will today in Potchefstroom give its vote on power sharing.

White fears

The by-election in Potchefstroom and the possible victory by the CP is not an isolated event - and does in fact sum up white fears and uncertainties of the present process of democratisation.

In May last year the NP lost the Ladybrand seat to the CP. The latter quipped that their victory was a vote against De Klerk's reforms and in favour of "true nationalism".

Before Ladybrand, the NP said that this by-election would "show the world at large that whites in South Africa supported the present reform process".

After the loss in Ladybrand, De Klerk said the result "makes no difference to the political realities in South Africa".

Out of touch

Pretoria-based analyst, Professor Willem Kleynhans, warned at the time that the NP was out of touch with the majority of white Afrikaners...

But, the NP reacted by saying at the time that the November 28 by-election in the northern Free State town of Virginia would be the true yardstick of white support (or rejection) of De Klerk's reform process.

The NP candidate in Virginia, Mr Jac Kloppers said on the eve of the November 28 election: "CP claims that they are going to win by 3 000 votes are wildly exaggerated... it is going to be a race right to the end."

The CP won the by-election by an astounding 3 166 votes...

Very relevant

The NP then said that Virginia was nothing, "wait for Potchefstroom..."

The world is waiting, and black people too could have a very relevant insight into the white psyche by the end of today.

Report by Ismail Lagardien, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.



FLASHBACK: A National Party victory in Randburg over the Conservative Party. But how will things swing in Potchefstroom today?

Own territory not necessary to maintain identity as a Volk

BY ALLISTER SPARKS

SOME elements of the Conservative Party are said to be thinking more seriously about participating in Codesa.

The case for their doing so has been strengthened in recent days. Not only has the State President, Mr de Klerk, put the issue of "self-determination" on the Codesa agenda but the CP has also established a rapport of sorts with the Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei delegations.

In the past it has argued that participation would mean getting involved in a forum in which all other participants were committed to rejecting its case. That no longer holds true.

The CP has now established that these three delegations share at least some common ground with it on the issue of "regionalism". Enough for its official organ, "Die Patriot", to talk of a new alliance.

Self-determination

In essence, CP policy is to return to apartheid and that is simply not tolerable in the new South Africa. How, then, does one engage it in negotiations?

The answer, I suggest, is to invite the CP to present its own requirements. It insists it is not intent on preserving racial domination but on securing self-determination for the Afrikaner "nation". Very well, let it state how it wants to do this.

Does it want a Boerestat? The CP has not committed itself on this issue? At least a dozen other organisations have produced maps of proposed Boerestate but the CP has not identified with any of them. If that is what it means by self-determination, it should say so and clarify where it wants the borders of this Afrikaner state to be.

Since there is no part

of South Africa with a white — never mind an Afrikaner — majority it will also have to spell out what it proposes should be done with the large black majority living in the demarcated territory.

Long discussion

Does it propose a massive forced removal, far larger than anything attempted during the apartheid years? Or does it propose massive black disenfranchisement?

And will it be able to win the support of its black "allies" in Codesa for either of these?

I had a long discussion the other day with Professor Carel Boshoff, of the Afrikaner Volkswag. "No plan which involves a massive disruption of the population or of the economy stands any chance of being accepted," he told me.

His Oranje Volkstaat, located in the sparsely populated north-western Cape and centred on the Orange River basin, reflects that realisation and is the most reasonable of all the Boerestat proposals.

Small price

But still, by his own reckoning, the territory has a population of 125 000 whites, 400 000 coloureds and 100 000 blacks — little better than the one-to-five ratio of whites to non-whites in the rest of South Africa.

What would he do with the people of colour? "They must be moved."

he said. "It is a small price to pay to avoid a civil war."

A small price for whom? Can one really, in this day and age, at the end of the 20th century and in post-apartheid South Africa, contemplate the forced removal of a half-million people because of their skin colour?

And even if one were to do so, would it really avoid the civil war? How many Afrikaners would pack up and go to live in the desert around Upington and Potladder? Would it really change anything?

Afrikaner Quebec

In any event, the threat of violence does not come from Prof Boshoff's rather cerebral group but from the AWP and associated Rambo types who have far less reasonable demands.

The fact is, however, much some Afrikaners may want their own separate national existence, there simply is no Afrikaner Quebec, or Scotland, or Wales, or Basque Provinces, or Suisse-Romande, or Tierno — or for that matter, kwaZulu or Bophuthatswana.

They can have it only by committing an outrage against a majority of other South Africans, and that is unacceptable. It is also impossible. Apartheid was a massive attempt to do that and it failed.

If it could not be achieved during Hendrik Verwoerd's time of maximum government

power, it certainly cannot be achieved now.

But that does not mean the desire for national identity is either reprehensible or that it can be ignored.

Ethno-nationalism is as much a fact of life to be faced as the absence of an Afrikaner "homeland" and we must take care not to trample on it.

We do not want to create what Isaiah Berlin would call a wounded Afrikaner Volksgest, for if we do that we may turn the new South Africa into a suppurating Ulster.

A people does not have to have its own territory to maintain its identity as a Volk. The Jews have demonstrated that over two millennia, dispersed thinly around the globe and in the face of terrible adversity.

Cultural variety

What identifies a people anyway? Surely it is language, culture, religion, history and the perpetuation of these through education.

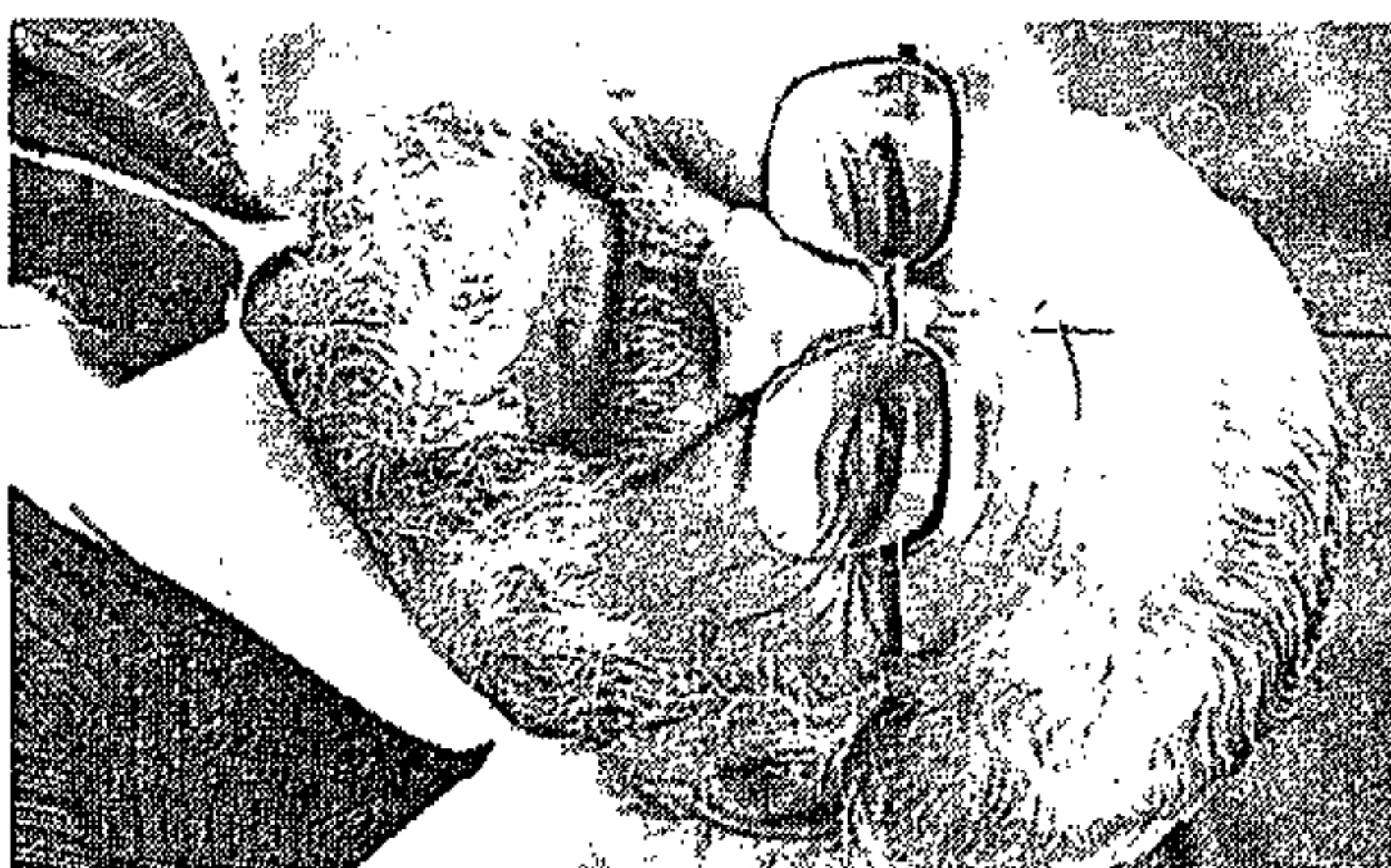
All those things can be preserved within a common society, which must respect and protect cultural variety.

The ANC and I think, every other Codesa party proposes the protection of these cultural determinants in an entrenched Bill of Rights. If that is not enough, then it is up to the CP to say what more it wants.

Everything can be considered, provided it does not impinge on the rights of others.



HENDRIK VERWOERD: Even in his time, a separate Afrikaner nation could not be achieved.



PROF CAREL BOSHOFF: Forced removals "a small price to pay to avoid a civil war".

Extracts from an address "Towards a new Europe and a New South Africa" delivered in Cape Town last night by Swiss State Secretary KLAUS JACOBI at a meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

TODAY, at the start of a new political order in Europe and in southern Africa, the essential question is: How should political decision-making in a deeply divided multicultural society be structured, and how should this decision-making be organised?

Caution is advisable in applying a model from one multi-cultural society to another. Those building a new Europe and a new South Africa may, in the light of Switzerland's experience, have to take into consideration the following points:

● All possible ways of distributing power between the central government and regional or local bodies are ineffective or null if the political will to remain together in one country is lacking. No Swiss model could have saved, in the past

Swiss and
S Africa
facing
need to
change
miracly

Henry Katzew comments on the demand for a 'white homeland'

Afrikaners must seek own region for right reasons

STAR 14/2/92

304A

THE intention of President de Klerk's government to introduce the idea of a white homeland into the talks on South Africa's future left me with an auspicious eye and a dropping eye.

Mr de Klerk has reservations about the idea, but his purpose is to entice conservative Afrikaners to take part in the negotiations. Reasons for my dropping eye:

The conservative case for a white homeland lacks cultural depth — and this will show. Blacks might well ask what bad joke is this. What kind of genuine right to self-determination (they might ask) was given to them when conservative Afrikaners strummed the political tunes?

By its nature and history, the conservative homeland case can have no resonance from those who suffered so from apartheid.

The conservative fear of black numbers is no argument. In Africa black numbers are a given under any dispensation. The desire to live aloof from the continent and its peoples is also not a recommendation. It is offensive.

Reason for my auspicious eye:

A case for an Afrikaner region may be inferred from essays of Afrikanerdom's greatest son, N P van Wyk Louw. They certainly pass the test of cultural depth.

But first: The term white homeland should be dumped. It clouds thinking. The debate is, and should be, about an Afrikaner region.

Van Wyk Louw endorsed by way of an epigraph the notion of a territory for the Afrikaner. "Lêplek" (a place to lie down) was left undefined, but it helps to know why he reproached the liberals of South Africa whose spokesmen at the time were the redoubtable Jannie Hofmeyr, deputy Prime Minister, and Professor R F A Hoernle of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Van Wyk Louw insisted that the true task of liberals in South Africa was "to develop a policy for the future that would be faithful to the great liberal principles of Europe without doing an injustice in our multi-national state: Perhaps even to the construction of a form of state unknown in Europe — if it comes to that, the total reconstruction of the artificial South African union."

Liberalism in South Africa, Van Wyk Louw argued, failed to develop such a policy. It was against "segregation" without wishing to acknowledge that it accepted the alternative which would leave the Afrikaner "as helpless as the Jews of Germany" and could pave the way to "the ploughing under of minorities".

The cultural depth that Van Wyk Louw was to give his thinking on these considerations start-

ed with questions he asked his fellow-Afrikaners in 1946 in 'Veg-party of Polemie'. The questions:

"What moral right has a small nation to wish to survive as a nation? Why is survival as individuals not enough?"

"How do we determine what God has in mind for a folk — survival or disappearance?"

"Why have we Afrikaners such limited intellectuality? (As always in South Africa, it is the Afrikaner who stands at the point of the flame. For him it is not a matter of win or lose, but of survival or extinction. And yet we have no polemic!) Why do we so often content ourselves with a shout instead of a reason?"

Tough questions. The main ones were answered for me by the United Nations resolution of November 29 1947 partitioning Palestine into a Jewish state and a Palestinian state. The state of Israel came into being on May 14 1948. To the Jewish dispersion had been added a Jewish homeland.

For me this was "lêplek" defined: An Afrikaner region for those who want it, the remaining Afrikaners to view themselves as diaspora Afrikaners, as in pre-apartheid days: The Afrikaners of Southern Rhodesia, the Afrikaners of Northern Rhodesia, the Afrikaners of Kenya and the Afrikaners of Angola, all contented communities until apartheid doomed them.

Now that apartheid is dying or dead, the Afrikaner diaspora is reappearing: Namibia's Afrikaners to be followed, certainly, by Azania's Afrikaners.

All that is now needed for the Jewish pattern in South Africa is a region for those Afrikaners who want it and are prepared to keep it by their own labour.

The conservative Afrikaners want a homeland for the wrong reasons. Van Wyk Louw sought a "lêplek" for the right reasons.

There is possibly more healing for South Africa in the idea of an Afrikaner "lêplek" than is generally appreciated. The idea should be judged not by the thinking of its shallow proponents, but by the classical quality of its best.

ANC acceptance of the idea would spell the triumph of Van Wyk Louw, the authentic survival thinker, over Hendrik Verwoerd, the inauthentic one. From his Afrikaans studies during his incarceration, Mr Mandela is exquisitely placed to appreciate the abyss between the two.

As for Mr de Klerk, this is an opportunity for him to steal the thunder of the conservatives. By the very nature of things, a "lêplek" for the Afrikaners can come about as a verligte creation or not at all. He should act on that. □



N P van Wyk Louw... authentic survival thinker

'Ransom' by CCB man

Mr Wronsley's report details the difficulties that the government is still experiencing in trying to bury the

The Agus Correspondent (1910)
JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal Provincial Administration has stepped in to avert clashes between the AWB and squatters at Swanville near Krugersdorp, and is to appropriate two portions of the farm which is now home to about 1 500 squatter families.

After a long dispute between the

farmer, Mr S G Swanepoel, and the squatter community, he (Mr Swanepoel) this week called on the AWB to destroy the squatter shacks of the "26 000 to 28 000" people who he said had barred him from his own land.

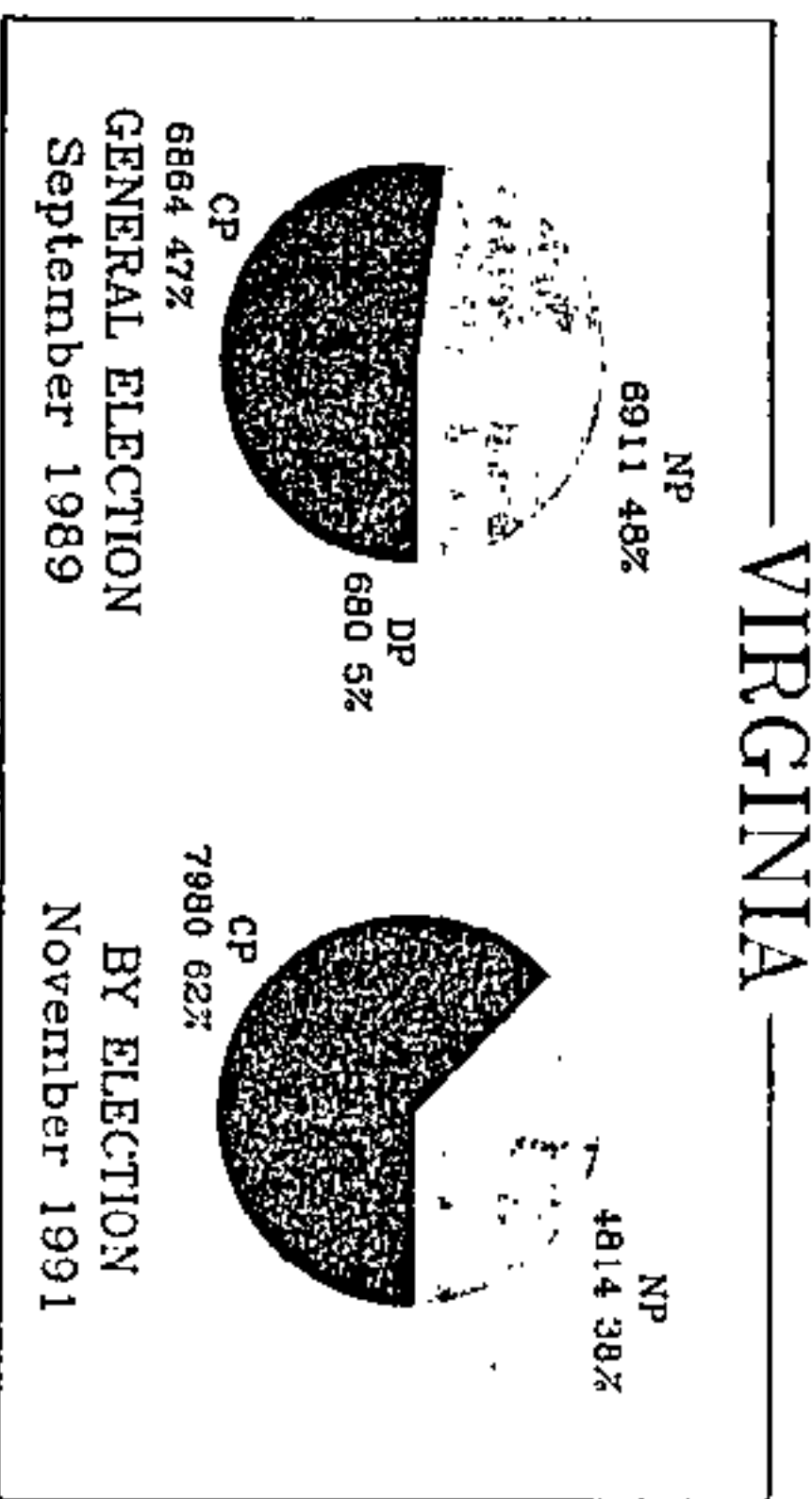
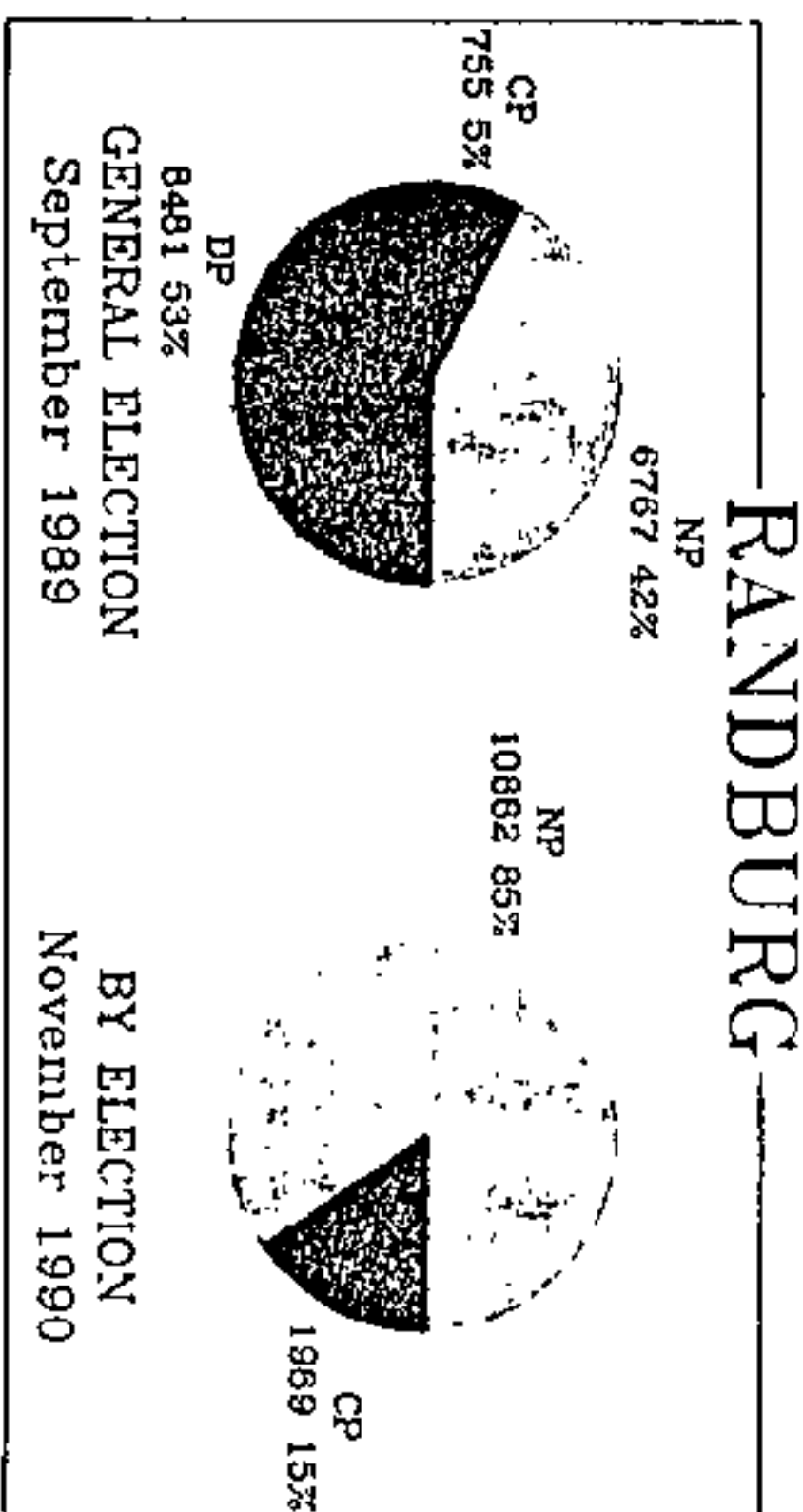
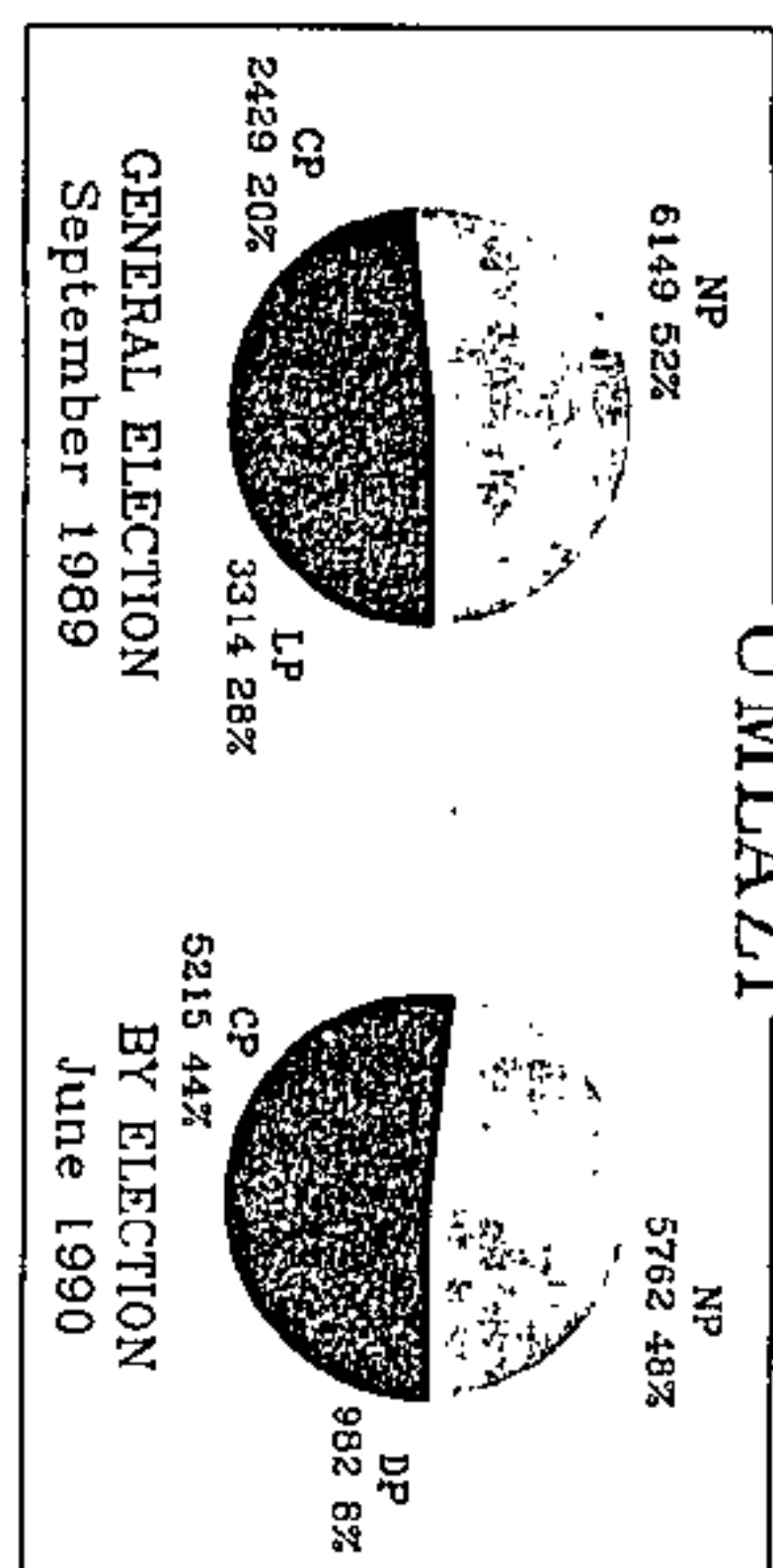
rapped over cash

HR 4202

DETERIORATING financial control over the multi-billion rand administrations in South Africa's six self-governing territories is a source of "grave concern," warns Auditor-General Mr Peter Wronskow in his 1990/91 report.

Constant rightwing growth since 1989 election
 CP had Nats on
 run from 1989
 (30114) ARC 26/2/92

The National Party now faces the task of informing and reassuring whites about reform. Although there will not be another all-white election for the House of Assembly, there is to be a referendum on proposed constitutional reforms.



Conservative Party in several by-elections since President De Klerk's far-reaching reform announcements on February 2 1990, but its biggest shock was yesterday in Potchefstroom.

By-election results have shown constant growth for the right wing since the September 1989 general election.

Worrying for the NP administration, especially in Potchefstroom, was that its canvassing figures were so inaccurate. It had expected to lose by only a few hundred votes. This means there is a bigger "lie factor" than expected. Many voters who promised to vote for the NP did not do so.

In contrast the CP calculations were spot on. Yesterday CP MPs were predicting that the party would win by 2 000.

In at least two of the five by-elections for the House of Assembly fought since February 1990 Democratic Party supporters have helped the National Party increase its votes in a straight fight against the CP. In Randburg in November 1990, although the number of CP votes also increased considerably, DP supporters helped the NP to scrape through. The same happened in Umlazi against the CP in June 1990.

In all the seats it stood for in the general election in 1989 the CP has substantially increased its number of votes in by-elections although the percentage poll in by-elections tended to be lower.

In Maitland, the one seat it did not contest in 1989, the CP polled a substantial 3 152 in the by-election in March 1991.

In Randburg its votes went up from 755 in 1989 to 1 969 in 1990 and in Umlazi, from 3 314 to 5 215.

In the Umlazi by-election in June 1990 the National Party had a narrow escape when it won by only 547 votes in a three-cornered contest against the CP and the DP.

The CP's votes increased from 2 429 in 1989 to 5 215 in 1990 while the NP's vote dropped from 6 149 to 5 762. The DP's vote dropped from 3 314 to 982.

It was clear from this result that, in the face of the CP onslaught, former DP supporters voted for the NP.

There was huge growth for the CP in Ladybrand in May 1991 when its majority grew from 70 in 1989 to 1 258.

There was an even greater swing to the CP in the Virginia by-election in November 1991 when a Nationalist majority of 47 in 1989 became a 3 166 CP majority.

It has become clear that the National Party has lost much of its traditional Afrikaner support to the CP.

President De Klerk's reform moves have gone too far and too quickly for these former Nationalists. At a time when clear alternatives, in a new constitutional dispensation, have yet to be worked out the right wing has been able to successfully exploit fears about the reform moves.

The National Party now faces the task of informing and reassuring whites about reform. Although there will not be another all-white election for the House of Assembly, there is to be a referendum on proposed constitutional reforms.

Boerestaat Party quickest off the mark

JOHANNESBURG. — Fax as fax can ... if elections were won on the speed with which a party poured out reaction, Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party would be the undisputed champions.

Only minutes after the results of the Potchefstroom by-election were announced at 10.30pm, the rightwing BSP statement calling for a general election hit the fax machine.

The African National Congress was next just under an hour later, dictating a statement saying that the Conservative Party result was not unexpected.

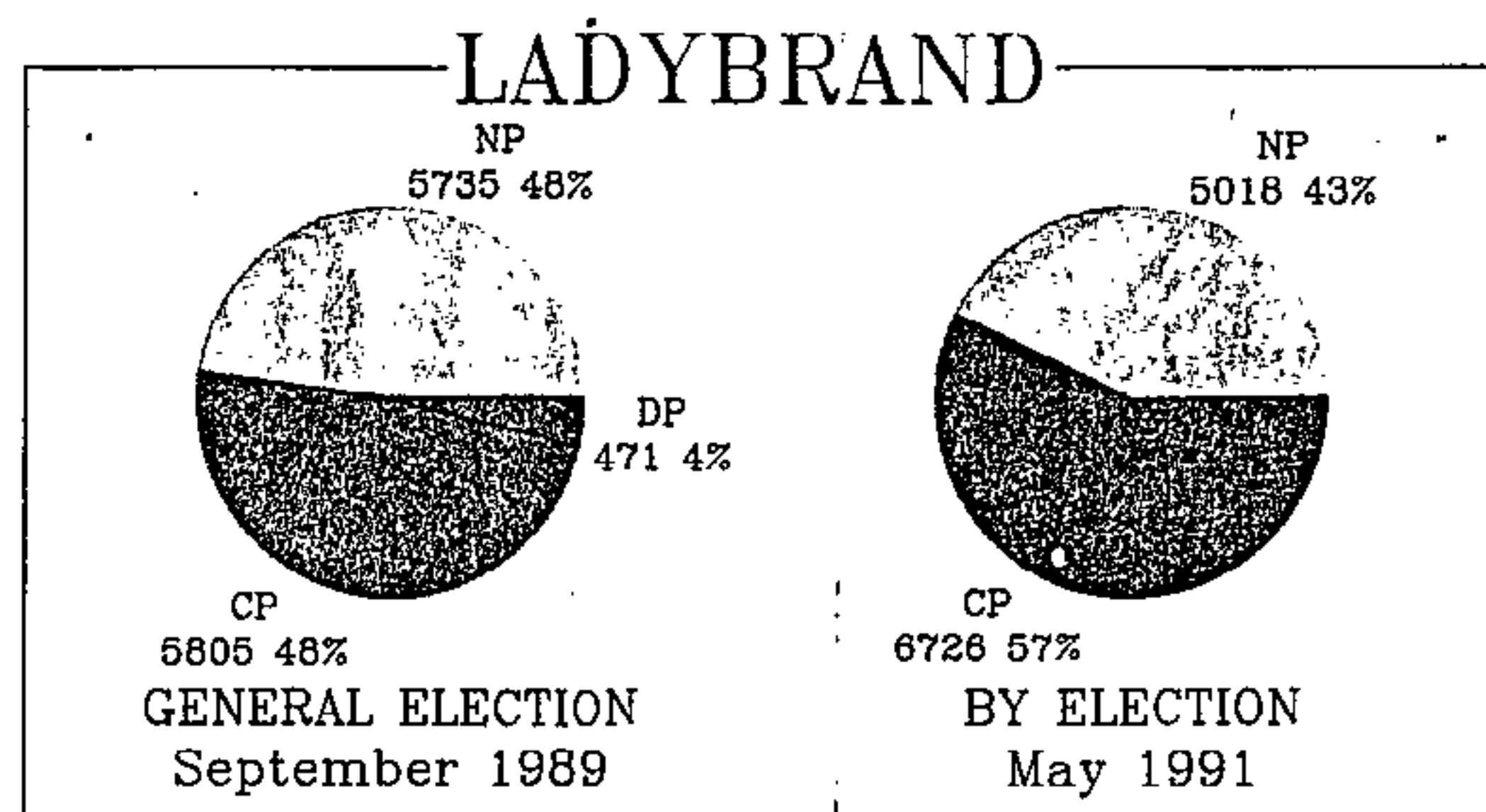
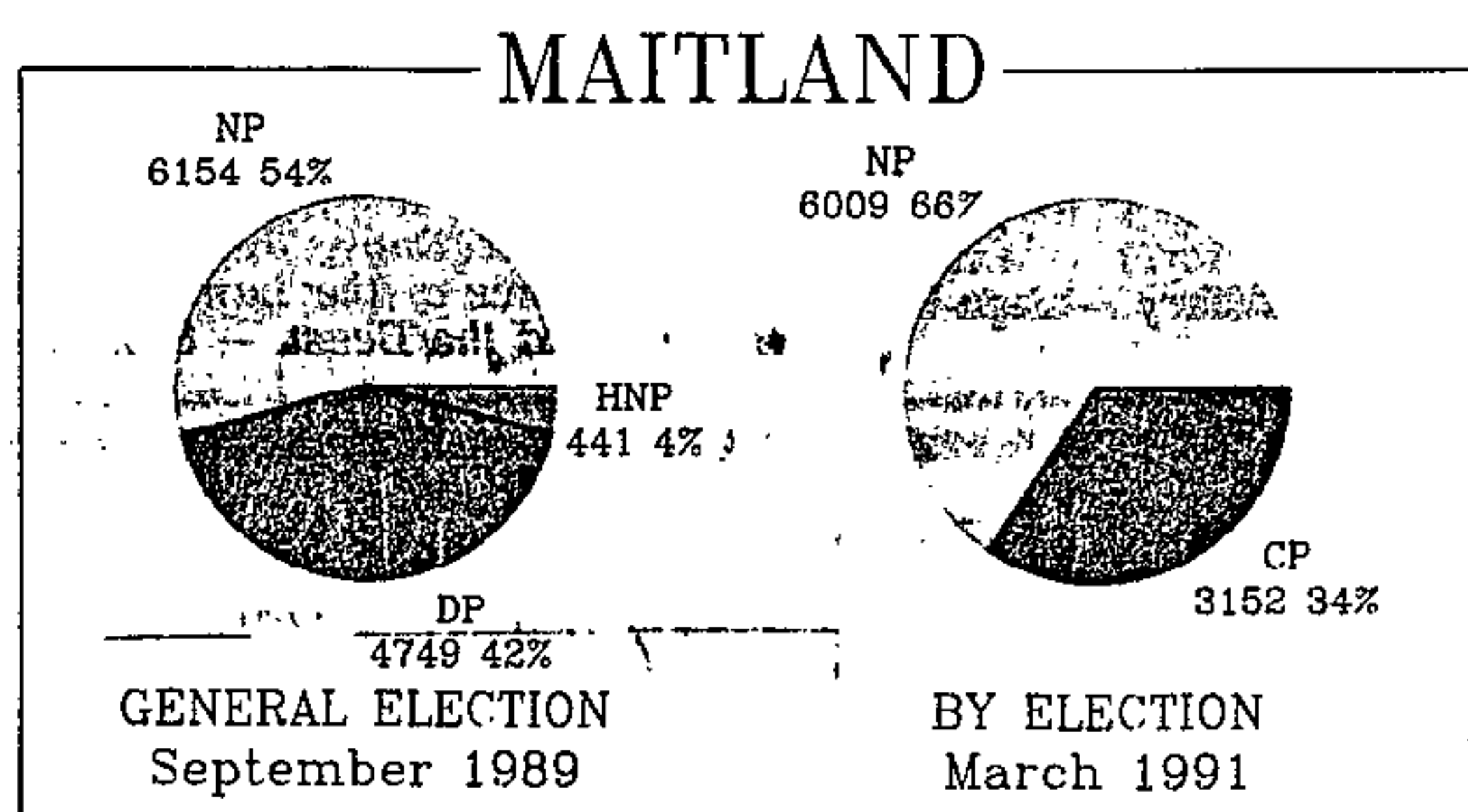
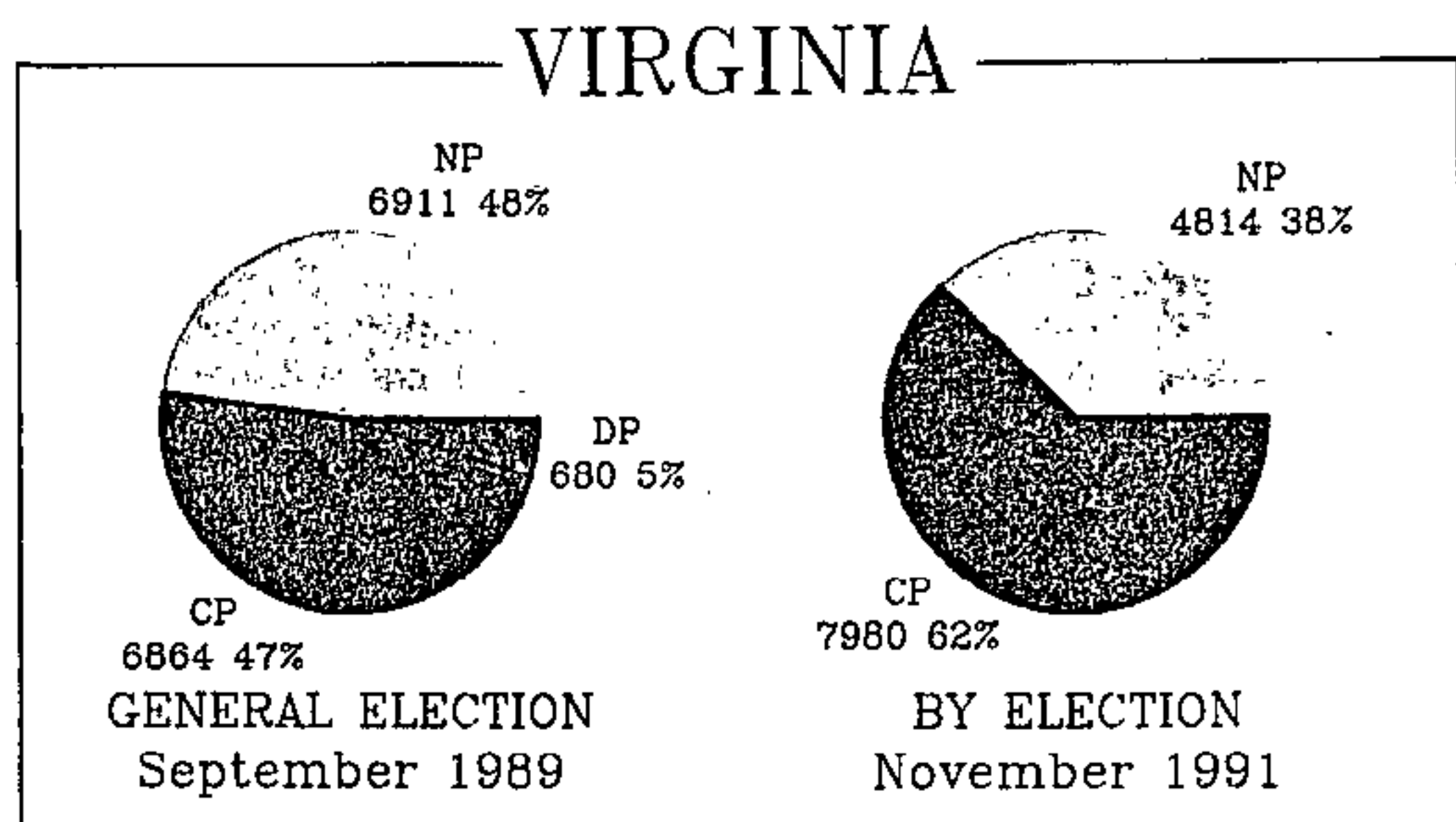
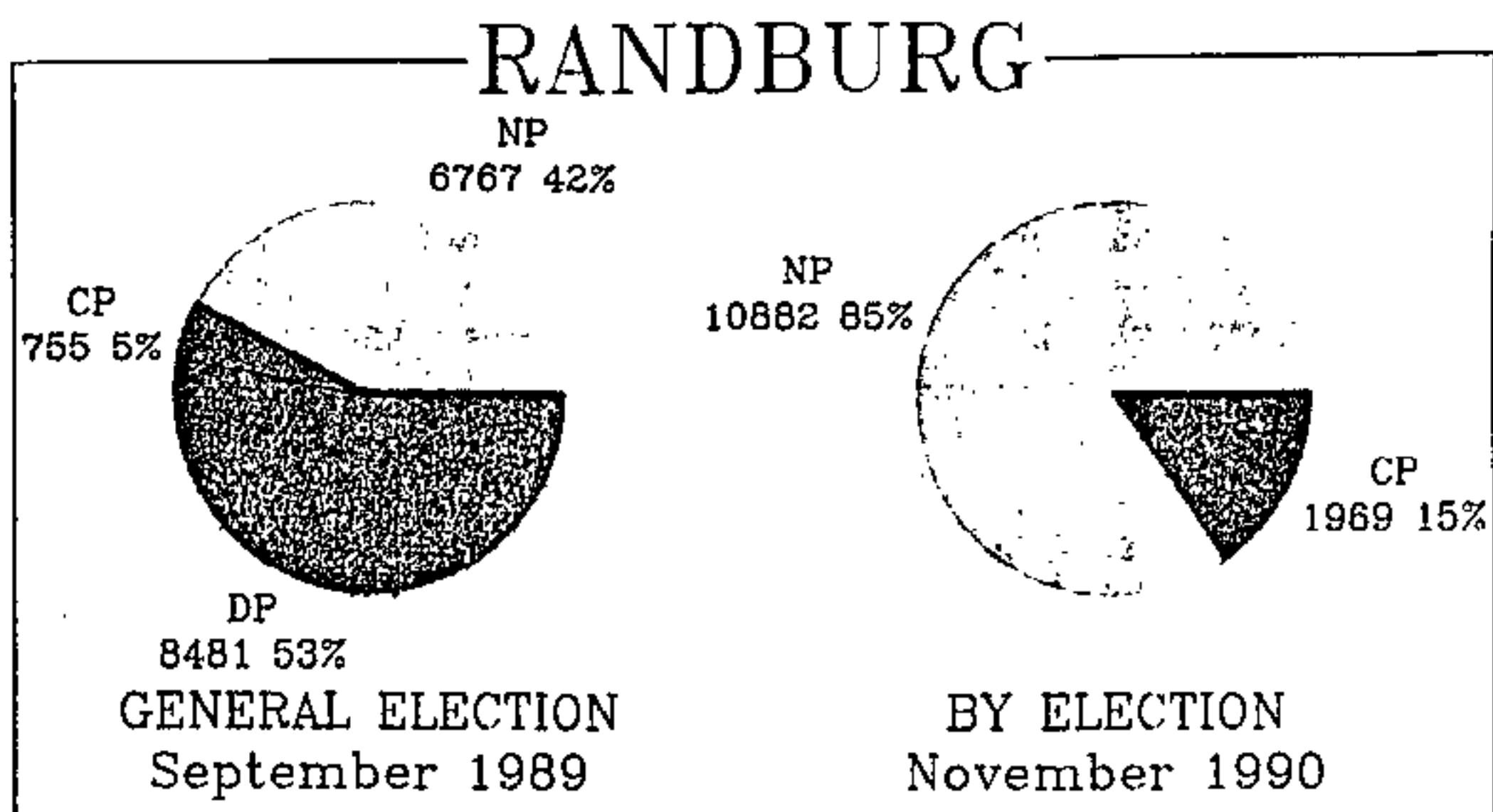
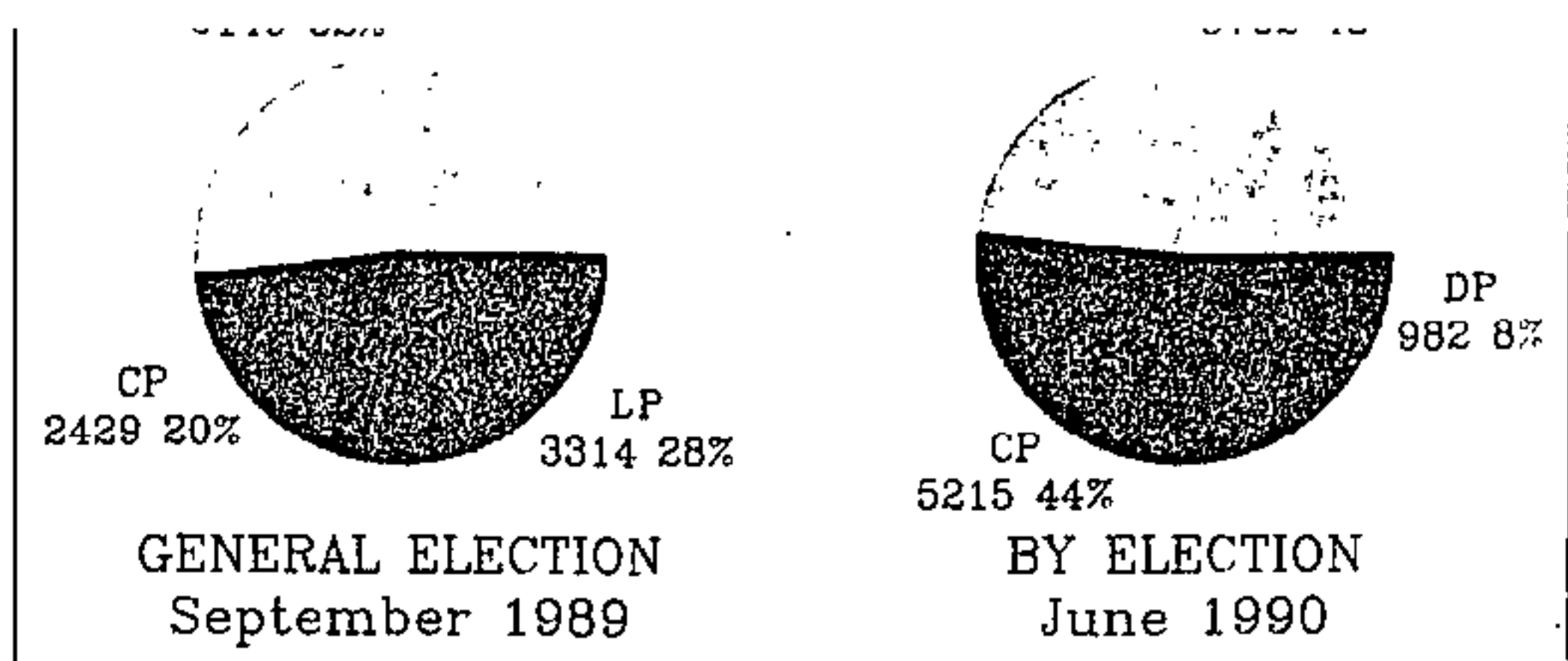
Then the long wait began for comment from the badly beaten NP.

The NP originally promised to have their statement ready within half an hour of the result being made known.

The party's Transvaal leader, Mr Barend du Plessis, eventually faxed through his statement at 12.33 am.

The Democratic Party remained silent, as did all other parties in the tricameral Parliament and militant leftwing organisations. — Sapa.

CP GROWTH: These charts show how support for the Conservative Party has grown in five by-elections since major reform moves were announced in February 1990.



US 'plans' for hostile new SA

(304A) 27/4/2/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The United States is said to be deeply involved in contingency plans to contain any political damage to the West that may result from a change of government in South Africa.

South African security sources claim that the US is moving now to counter the possibility of the new South Africa working against Western interests, because Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC — who could lead a new government — have close links with Libya, the PLO and other radical movements opposed to the US.

Recent publicity concerning a US air base in Botswana has touched on part of the alleged plan.

The United States Information Service (USIS) yesterday again denied allegations that it is involved in the air base.

"The US government is not involved in the construction of this facility, the US has no plans to use this facility and we have no access agreement," the statement said.

On allegations that the US was

involved in moves to contain or counter any growth in South Africa's military capability, however, the USIS would only say: "This is the substance of diplomatic discussions."

South African security sources, however, are making far-reaching claims concerning American plans. They include that:

- The US will occupy the air base in Botswana and could use it for direct US intervention if South Africa became an enemy of US interests.

Missile programme

- The US is demanding that South Africa run down its arms industry before the political transition takes place, so that it will not fall into the "wrong hands".

- The US is putting pressure on South Africa to abandon its satellite launch programme, because it could be converted into a missile programme.

- The US extended its arms embargo against South Africa as a warning to Israel of the sort of tough action it could take, and specifically to force Israel to

abandon arms co-operation with South Africa.

- The US intervened recently to force Saudi Arabia to abandon a massive arms contract it was about to sign with South Africa, to prevent Saudi Arabia from becoming less dependent on the US and to ensure that the South African armaments industry gets starved of business.

The USIS pointed out yesterday that on October 15 last year the US government had determined that Armscor had engaged in missile proliferation activities after the effective date of US sanctions introduced in 1990.

It had indicated at the time that it would discuss the matter with the South African government.

This had not altered bilateral relations, however. South Africa's accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was evidence of a positive evolution in South African government policy.

On other sanctions against Armscor, the USIS said it was long-standing US policy (reflecting UN resolutions) for the US to prohibit South African arms exports and imports.

Election on the knife's edge

304A
Soweto
17/2/92

IT is kiln-hot in the western Transvaal town of Potchefstroom, and as the sun beat down mercilessly last week and maize fields shrivelled in South Africa's worst drought for half a century, President FW de Klerk's political troubles mounted with the mercury.

The Potchefstroom by-election on Wednesday that will indicate whether De Klerk still has a majority of the white population behind him. If he falls short, it could jeopardise the negotiations with black leaders and plunge South Africa into a maelstrom of violence.

What is worrying De Klerk's campaign managers is that the drought, adding to the pain farmers and other platteland whites are feeling from South Africa's prolonged recession, could tip the balance against the government.

The result is on a knife-edge. De Klerk's National Party held the seat with a majority of 1 500 at the last general election in 1989. Ten by-elections since have shown an average swing of 7,5 percent to Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party. If that is repeated on Wednesday, it will wipe out the NP majority.

Alarming

In the most recent by-election, in the mining town of Virginia last November, there was a 15 percent swing to the Conservatives. If that is repeated in Potchefstroom, the Conservatives will win with a 1 500 majority - a signal Treurnicht could win the white referendum De Klerk has pledged to hold on the constitutional deal he negotiates.

The implications are alarming. Many people believe that if a new

FOCUS

Allister Sparks reports that President FW de Klerk's political troubles will be underlined on Wednesday in a knife-edge election in Potchefstroom that will indicate whether he has the majority of the white population behind him.

constitution is successfully negotiated and then blocked by a white veto, it could trigger an eruption of violence by infuriated blacks. Even before that, a Conservative triumph could trigger white extremist violence if De Klerk ignores the anti-settlement result and pressed ahead with negotiations.

New era

Professor Pieter Potgieter, a De Klerk supporter and head of the political science department at Potchefstroom University, believes that is a real danger. "A new era has started in the rightwing movement," he says.

"They are mobilising for war. I know people involved and they are caching arms and food. If there is a big CP win here and the Government goes ahead in the face of that, I believe there will be violence," Dr Johan Kirsten, a Conservative political scientist at the university, agrees. "It will increase the possibility of violence," he says.

"I say this cautiously because we don't want to advocate violence. But the rightwing is a snake with a

head and a long tail - and if the CP wins and De Klerk still does not heed what we are saying, that tail may lash out." In the pre-election guessing game, several factors stand out. One is that conditions in the Virginia by-election favoured the CP: it is a mining town where white racism is deep-rooted; the local gold mines had just laid off white workers, and there was an outbreak of violence among black miners.

Potchefstroom, though in the rural Afrikaner platteland, is a university town with a relatively liberal student and academic track record. It also has close ties with De Klerk - the university is his *alma mater* and he will be installed as Chancellor later this month.

Negative

However, Potchefstroom has large military and police establishments that strongly resent De Klerk hobnobbing with ANC and Communist Party leaders.

Another negative factor is that the previous MP, former Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, who died of cancer in November, had strong support among conservative whites because of his tough handling of black protesters during the State of Emergency in the 1980s.

The new candidate, local businessman Theuns Kruger, has no such credentials, while the CP man, Andries Beyers, is a demagogue with strong crowd appeal.

Corpse

The Conservatives pitched in to the campaign almost before Le Grange's corpse was cold, bringing in 240 party workers for the biggest drive ever mounted in a South African by-election.

The National Party began more

modestly and later.

Potgieter is sharply critical of its campaign performance.

He talks of De Klerk's "Jan Smuts syndrome", a reference to South Africa's wartime Prime Minister who travelled the world while his support crumbled at home.

De Klerk has become a frequent overseas traveller, as he tries to demonstrate that his reforms have ended South Africa's isolation. While the Conservatives were stepping up their campaign in Potchefstroom earlier this month, De Klerk was in Switzerland, Paris, Budapest and Warsaw.

Potgieter chides the President for failing adequately to explain his U-turn on apartheid to confused Afrikaner voters.

"There is a breakdown in communication between the leadership and the voters," he says. "The President should go on television regularly to explain what he is doing and why."

The reason De Klerk does not, Kirsten suggests bitterly, is that he has no clear vision of where he is going. "They are moving forward *feel-fee*," he says in Afrikaans. "They keep saying don't worry, we won't let you down, things will in many ways stay the same."

"But they are changing all the time, moving away from things they said they would never change. The truth is, they are estranged from the core of the Afrikaner *volk* and they are increasingly living a lie."

"Of course, we would all like to live in our own State," he said. "We would like a nice, neat homogeneous existence without all the problems and tensions of having to live together with other people," he said. - *Observer News Service*.

The President's Potchefstroom speech was two years too late, writes Allister Sparks

Where De Klerk has failed

Star 19/2/92.

(3047)

FROM the moment we entered this tricky transition from apartheid to democracy, it was clear everything would depend on the two principal players, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, being able to carry their respective constituencies with them into whatever deal was struck.

Failure by either would mean a failure of the entire process.

For the first year concern was focused on the ANC as it struggled to find its feet back in South Africa, to make the transition from the politics of protest and revolution to that of negotiation and compromise, and to integrate a leadership that had been scattered between prison, exile and surrogate organisations at home.

Now it is the other way around. While the ANC has become more coherent since its national conference last July and the latest opinion polls show Mr Mandela's ratings in the black community up from 55 to 69 percent, there is growing concern about Mr de Klerk's ability to carry the white population with him.

He is losing support steadily to the Conservative Party, a trend likely to be reflected again in today's Potchefstroom by-election.

Unless he halts it he will soon lose majority support among the whites. That would have serious implications for his negotiating position as the putative leader of the whites and for the whole Codesa exercise.

Now one hears that the National Party wants to turn this deteriorating position to its advantage, using it as a bargaining lever at Codesa to pressure the ANC into making more concessions.

I first got a hint of this at press briefings in Cape Town last month, when it became apparent that some Government members want to use Mr de Klerk's commitment to a white referendum as a kind of negotiating blackmail — "You'd better give us this or we won't be able to win the referendum."

This is both despicable and dangerous. Bringing the white constituency into the deal is Mr de Klerk's responsibility, not Mr Mandela's — just as it is not Mr de Klerk's job to keep the restive "comrades" in line.

If Mr de Klerk is failing in his role he must rectify that himself, not expect Mr Mandela to do it for him. For if Mr Mandela starts over-compensating to appease Mr

de Klerk's unhappy followers, he will soon disaffect his own — so precipitating a double crisis.

No, each must be responsible for his own bailiwick. Except for continuing discord on economic policy which he must rectify, Mr Mandela has got the ANC's act together reasonably well. Now it is Mr de Klerk's turn.

His problem is a failure of communication with his own people.

As Zacharia Malekane, the ANC's Western Transvaal chairman, put it when asked about Potchefstroom: "When De Klerk crossed the bridge, he didn't cross it with the white community. White voters are confused."

Just how confused is readily apparent to anyone visiting Potchefstroom and other parts of the platteland.

These hapless Nationalists have been led in one direction all their lives, saturated with apartheid indoctrination, and then in a single day their leader made a 180-degree turn and left them to follow.

He has offered them the minimum of explanation. He did not go on television after his February 2 1990 speech to explain how he, a hardline apartheidist who had built his reputation fighting for things like "own affairs" and "own

education" and was the man the NP used to counter Dr Andries Treurnicht in the Transvaal, came to undergo such a Damascus Road conversion and why they should follow him.

He did not go from town to town and farm to farm to explain the forces of political reality that had borne in on him as he became President and forced him, painfully and reluctantly, to realise that apartheid had led them all into a dead-end street from which Afrikanerdom had to turn around and escape in order to save itself.

He did this at Potchefstroom's Olen Park on Thursday night. He spoke of how he, his father (a Cabinet Minister in three Nationalist governments) and his grandfather had striven over three generations to realise the apartheid dream of a fair partition, and of how ultimately he had been compelled to acknowledge that it was unattainable and that there was no part of South Africa without an irreversible black majority.

"Of course we would all like to live in our own state," he said. "We would like a nice, neat homogeneous existence without all the problems and tensions of having to live together with other people."

"But it is meaningless to vote for what you would like to see. You must vote for what you think can work."

It was good. One could feel it sinking in to the 2500 crowd, like rain into thirsting soil. But it was two years too late.

This is the message Mr de Klerk should have stomped the platteland with in February and March of 1990, not thrown out as a last-minute addendum to a failed by-election campaign after half the constituents had already voted.

Mr de Klerk's belated entry into the Potchefstroom campaign typifies the failure. Potchefstroom is his town.

"I wasn't born here but I was bred here," he told the Olen Park crowd.

The university is his and his wife's alma mater, and in two weeks he will be installed as Chancellor.

Yet at the height of the campaign, when the Conservatives were beating on every door, Mr de Klerk was not there among his own people. He was in Davos, in Paris, in Budapest and in Warsaw.

His strategy, as it has been from the beginning, was to try to win votes at home by demonstrat-

ing that the new policy can end isolation.

It was misconstrued. Snide references to a "Jan Smuts syndrome" aside, Mr de Klerk's failure to communicate with his constituents has exposed him to charges that he is a turncoat and a man whose word cannot be trusted.

He does not seem to understand the basis of his credibility problem. He keeps saying he was given a mandate in the 1989 election to negotiate a new constitution, and in a strictly technical sense this is true. But no-one expected him to do what he did.

He sanctioned an NP campaign in that election that denounced the newly formed Democratic Party for meeting the ANC, labelling it untrustworthy and unpatriotic. The NP ran a smear poster showing DP co-leader Wynand Malan talking to Joe Slovo.

Five months later Mr de Klerk unbanned the ANC and began talking to it himself.

It was a brave leap, but one that placed an inescapable onus on him to explain himself to the people who were confused by such a turnaround. That he must still do, and not expect Mr Mandela to compensate for his failure. □

GP WIN POTCH record Vaal poll

POTCHESTROOM. — The Conservative Party crushed the National Party by more than 2 000 votes in a stunning by-election victory last night.

The CP candidate, Mr Andries Beyers, captured the seat from the NP with a majority of 2 140 in a 75,36% poll. The National Party's candidate was Mr Theuns Kruger.

The by-election came about after the death of the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange.

The poll was a South African by-election record, according to political analyst Dr Donald Simpson.

Raucous

Out of a total of 23 083 voters, he said, 17 546 voters cast their votes by the time the polling closed. It was the same percentage turnout as in the 1989 general election, said Dr Simpson.

Before the result was announced there was a festival atmosphere outside the town's only polling booth.

Most of those waiting were right-wingers, certain of victory for the Conservative Party's Mr Beyers.

A smaller number of National Party supporters and officials were subdued compared with the raucous right-wing presence.

Armed Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging

RESULT

Mr Andries Beyers (CP)	9 746
Mr Theuns Kruger (NP)	7 606
CP majority	2 140
% poll: 75,36	
Spoilt papers: 45	
1988 result:	
Louis le Grange (NP)	8 684 votes
B. van der Berg (CP)	7 101 votes
NP majority:	1 583
% poll:	76,3

VICTOR



members also made their way through the crowd.

Voters suspected of being NP supporters were booed by the large crowd of right-wingers and accused of being "traitors".

The right-wingers even shouted down SATV presenters when they came live on the 8pm news broadcast, and slapped "Beyers" stickers on the jacket of SABC political correspondent Mr Lester Venter.

He appeared on the air wearing them. Viewers telephoned a newspaper to complain about the CP labels on Mr Venter's suit.

A poster was hung at SATV reporter Ms Linda van Tilburg when she presented her report.

There were a number of incidents that highlighted the tensions around this crucial barometer of white voter sentiment.

Black post office employee Mr Johannes Lebise was punched in the mouth by a right-winger and right-wingers manhandled another black man. A confrontation between blacks and white conservatives was also narrowly averted when the blacks showed up to watch the events.

Mr Lebise laid a complaint of assault at the police station.

But as the right-wing presence grew last night, the number of blacks dwindled.

There was also a running row throughout the day about the National Party using a petrol station's blimp for its campaign. Charges are said to have been laid about damaged posters.

Voters had filed steadily through the polling booths during the day.

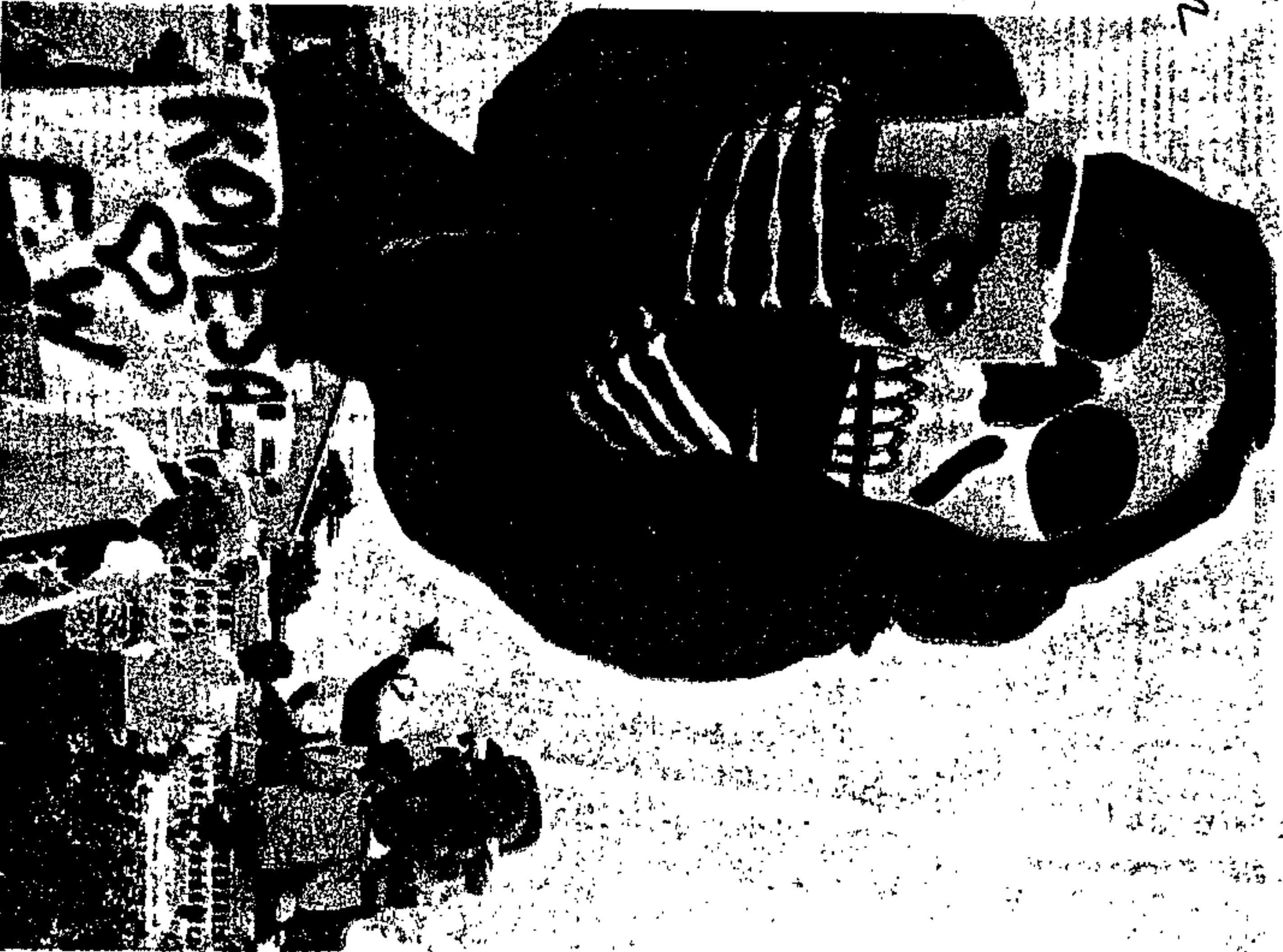
Rag float

Mr Kruger said after the polls closed: "We've worked hard — we now only need to break the tape. But we cannot determine the outcome — it will be what it must be."

Mr Beyers said before the result was announced: "I feel good. We are going to win."

Outside the polling booth hall, conservative University of Pretoria students assembled one of their rag floats depicting President F W de Klerk, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Nelson Mandela (with a bone stuck through his head to resemble a Frankenstein monster) rotating above a model of the Union Buildings.

— Sapa



DOOMSDAY ... Effigies portraying NP doom and gloom (front) and Mr Nelson Mandela as Frankenstein being paraded by the CP in Potchefstroom yesterday.

Pictures: AP

'If CP rules, SA will be cast out like Iraq'

3044
APR 21/2/92

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President De Klerk is likely to win a referendum despite the Potchefstroom result but if the CP gains power there would be a showdown with America and the world.

Analysts here said that South Africa under a CP government would be in the same category as the government of President Saddam Hussein in Iraq — an international outcast. This time there would be a concerted campaign of sanctions and other measures to topple the regime.

But a senior Congressional advisor said, "I don't know of anyone who accepts it as a serious possibility."

News of the referendum announcement was prominently featured by television networks and leading newspapers today, but there was little public reaction.

The State Department, which announced last year that it would not take sides with factions in South Africa, issued a brief statement today reiterating US support for Codesa. It did not refer to the referendum or the Potchefstroom result.

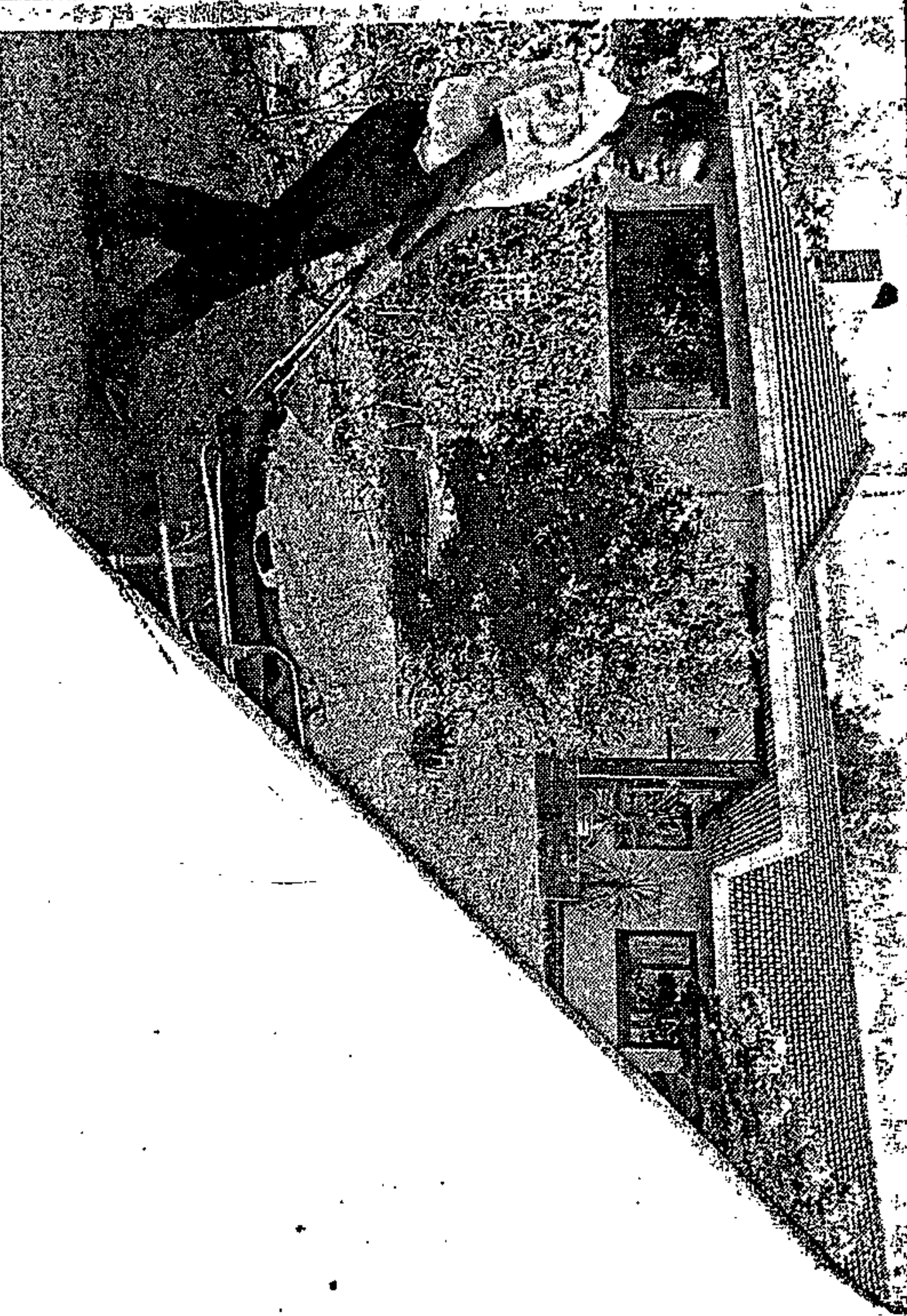
Privately, the announcement is seen by many analysts and advisors on South Africa policy as a shrewdly calculated risk which could provide the government with the mandate from whites which it is accused of not having.

In informal assessments of Nat chances in a referendum they calculate that the Potchefstroom result would not translate into a CP referendum majority. Depending on the question posed to voters and the response of other groups during the campaign, the government could win a sizeable majority.

Analysts point to the view expressed earlier this week by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, a white referendum on a new constitution was "realistic" because opposition from a major group would render it unworkable.

An advisor on South African policy to a senior member of Congress remarked today, "Mr De Klerk is pre-empting the CP, probably quite shrewdly, by seeking a mandate while he still has a good chance of getting it. If he gets it, the CP would either have to join the talks or keep quiet, and from what I've seen and heard they have trouble keeping quiet."

"A referendum will put many whites who have voted CP in a dilemma. It is very different from an election or by-election. In an election people vote on the economy and a host of other issues. In a referendum they face a single issue. In a local election it is safe to send a president a message of protest. But President de Klerk has made it clear that in the coming referendum, he and his government would resign if they lost."



MURDER SCENE: A body was found bound

Body

DON HO
Crime

THE

The Call for an Interim Government

New Nation (Learning Nation 21/21-27/2/92, (304A)

At the end of last year we ran a two part series on the All Party Congress. If you don't remember those articles and would like copies of them please write to us or phone to get a copy. This week's article focuses on the call for an Interim Government and next week we will look at the different views around the Interim Government.

The call for an interim government and the convocation of the constituent assembly, now occupies a central place in the struggle for the total transfer of power to the majority. The call for an Interim Government was first made in the Harare Declaration in August 1989. The declaration, in its Guidelines to the process of negotiations states the importance of forming an Interim Government which will supervise the process of drawing up a new constitution, govern and administer the country in the transition to a democratic order. The Declaration also states that the regime has a responsibility for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

We all know that the climate that exists now is not conducive to free political activity. Not all obstacles to talks have been removed. There are still political prisoners on death row. The regime has refused to allow the unconditional return of exiles. Violence in townships, trains, and places of work continues despite the signing of the National Peace Accord. Not all security legislation has been repealed. The cadre of MK, APLA and other liberation movements live in constant danger of their lives.

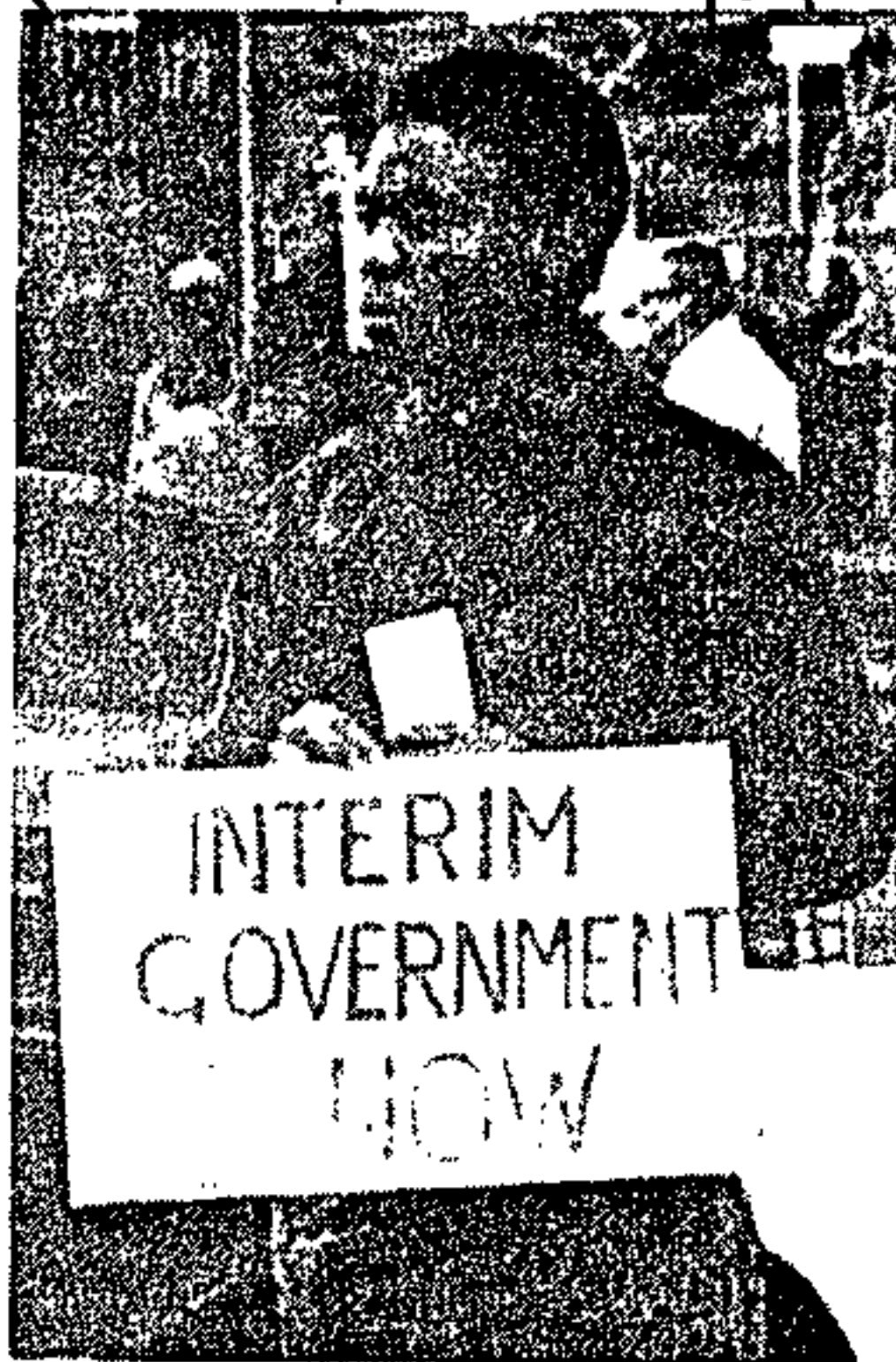
The convocation of CODESA (Conference for a Democratic South Africa) has brought the issue of obstacles more acutely to the fore. Sections of the mass movement, principally the ANC, have argued that although obstacles to negotiations still remain, it is important to convene the All Party Conference or CODESA. The ANC has argued that one CODESA's main tasks would be to install an Interim Government. According to the ANC only an Interim Government can remove the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

Why an Interim Government is necessary

The convocation of CODESA has ushered in the era of real negotiations. However the actions of the regime over the last few months of the pre-negotiations phase, have shown that it cannot be trusted to oversee a genuine transfer of power to the majority. In his February 2nd speech, De Klerk managed to convince a lot of people that the ruling class is genuine in its talk of a new South Africa. For many, freedom was just a step away. The signing of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and the D.F. Malan minutes, led many people to believe that political prisoners would be released and exiles would return. Today, the De Klerk regime's double agenda has become clear. The nature of the agenda has revealed itself over a number of issues.

The economy...

The government has shown that it will stop at nothing to preserve white minority privileges and the power of monopoly capital. It has started to change ownership of government companies, by selling them to private capitalists in anticipation of the election of a people's government. The government is attempting to change the economy in order to shift the burden of apartheid capitalism on to the working class and the oppressed in general. It has abolished subsidies on basic food and transport. Recently, the government with support from the bosses, forcibly imposed VAT (Value Added Tax) on to working people. The tax has caused the prices of basic food and transport to rise. Few can afford to even buy the basic necessities to survive.



Violence...

The government has not stopped at defending the privileges of the bosses. Its agenda also involves the smashing of people's organisations. Inkathagate revealed the regime's support for Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), in funding its rallies and training and arming some of its members. It was also found to have been responsible for funding and supporting UWUSA (United Workers Union of South Africa) as a challenge to progressive union federations. The state, through the SADF and the SAP, have also been responsible for fomenting violence. The Trust Feed massacre, revealed police involvement in violence and the arming of vigilante forces. Recently, more evidence was found by the 'Weekly Mail' of SADF involvement in supporting vigilante groups to encourage the spread of 'black on black' violence. It had created 'front companies', that is, companies secretly controlled by SADF officers, which were also involved in spreading National Party propaganda. The attack on the mass movement has also included the killing and harassment of layers of leadership. For instance, violence has been targeted at people in executive positions in branches, shop stewards and union organisers. It is not by chance that violence has occurred in areas where the mass movement is strongest. The effect has been to instil fear and demoralisation within the people. In the absence of strong mass organisations, the government intends to force compromises from the mass movement.

On social upliftment...

Out of this chaos and fear it has created, the regime intends to emerge as a peace-maker searching for solutions. The IDT's (Independent Development Trust) R2 Billion for social upliftment is an attempt at improving its self image. It is clear that this money will not solve the daily struggle for survival for the majority of the people. It will not resolve the questions of high rents and electricity nor the question of houses for millions of people. It will also not resolve the problems of over-crowding in schools and health facilities.

Television and radio are also powerful tools in the hands of the regime. The regime, through the people it has appointed in the board of directors, controls all access by the mass movement of TV and radio.

Clearly, the De Klerk regime intends to sow discord and enmity amongst the oppressed. Throughout the pre-negotiation's phase it has consistently and systematically attempted to weaken the mass movement.

The apartheid regime's record is that it will stop at nothing to entrench white minority power. It is for these reasons that the mass movement has decided that the

removal of De Klerk's government and the establishment of an interim government to oversee the election of a constituent assembly is an urgent task. The convocation of CODESA shows the urgency of addressing this.

How De Klerk sees the Interim Government

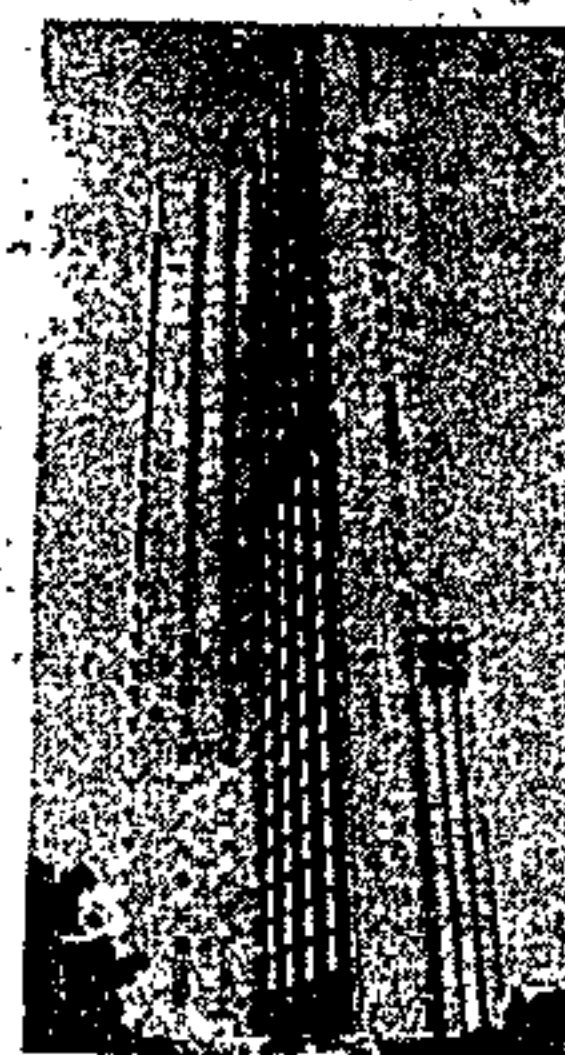
One of the issues that have emerged in the first phase of CODESA has been the governments proposals on the interim government or 'transitional arrangements' as De Klerk calls it. De Klerk's version of an interim government is a confirmation of the ruling classes' double agenda. The government's proposals are a variation of its idea of a 'super cabinet'. According to this idea, De Klerk intended to co-opt the leadership of the mass movement into the existing parliament. This idea was rejected by the mass movement. In this proposal the government argues that the process towards an 'interim arrangement' should take place within the framework of the present constitution. The De Klerk regime argues that separate referenda must be held for White, Coloured, Indian and Africans. This clearly means that change in the country will depend largely on the approval of the racist Tricameral parliament, especially the white electorate within it. This amounts to the right of whites to control the process of change. The government's 'transitional arrangement' will also exclude thousands of people from the bantustans. This is because according to De Klerk the referendum will not include people from the bantustans.

Clearly, the government is restructuring apartheid in such a manner that it entrenches group rights and this can also be seen in the governments' argument that the transitional arrangement would last for two or more parliamentary terms, ie. ten years or more. It is clear that De Klerk's view of 'transitional arrangements' means that the mass movement will only be responsible for implementing unpopular decisions. De Klerk's agenda is based on racism and the power of monopoly capital.

Challenges posed by the De Klerk agenda.

The record of the apartheid regime has clearly shown that it can never be genuine in its talk of a truly democratic South Africa. It is clear that it will take more than just talks to ensure the convocation of a democratically elected constituent assembly. The challenge that faces the mass movement is, how in the light of the regime's efforts to prevent the majority's struggle for freedom, can De Klerk's intentions be defeated? How will the mass movement ensure that negotiations do lead to a genuine

transfer of power? These questions are important in the light of weaknesses that have emerged in mass organisations. Despite the talk of mass action, very little has happened, besides the VAT strike. These questions need to be addressed as a matter of urgency, as the participation of the masses is key in the demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.



Next week we will look at different views on the Interim Government within the mass movement and how these views address the question of De Klerk's double agenda.

Who will dance with Ger

STAR 1/2/92

304A

Get into the rhythm of the National Party's moves towards transitional gove

DR Zach de Beer, the Democratic Party leader who has enjoyed political rebirth as a linchpin of Codesa, is not a man much given to using sarcasm against his political rivals.

That he chose to do so this week, and directed it at President de Klerk, is an indication of just how comforted the constitutional path has become.

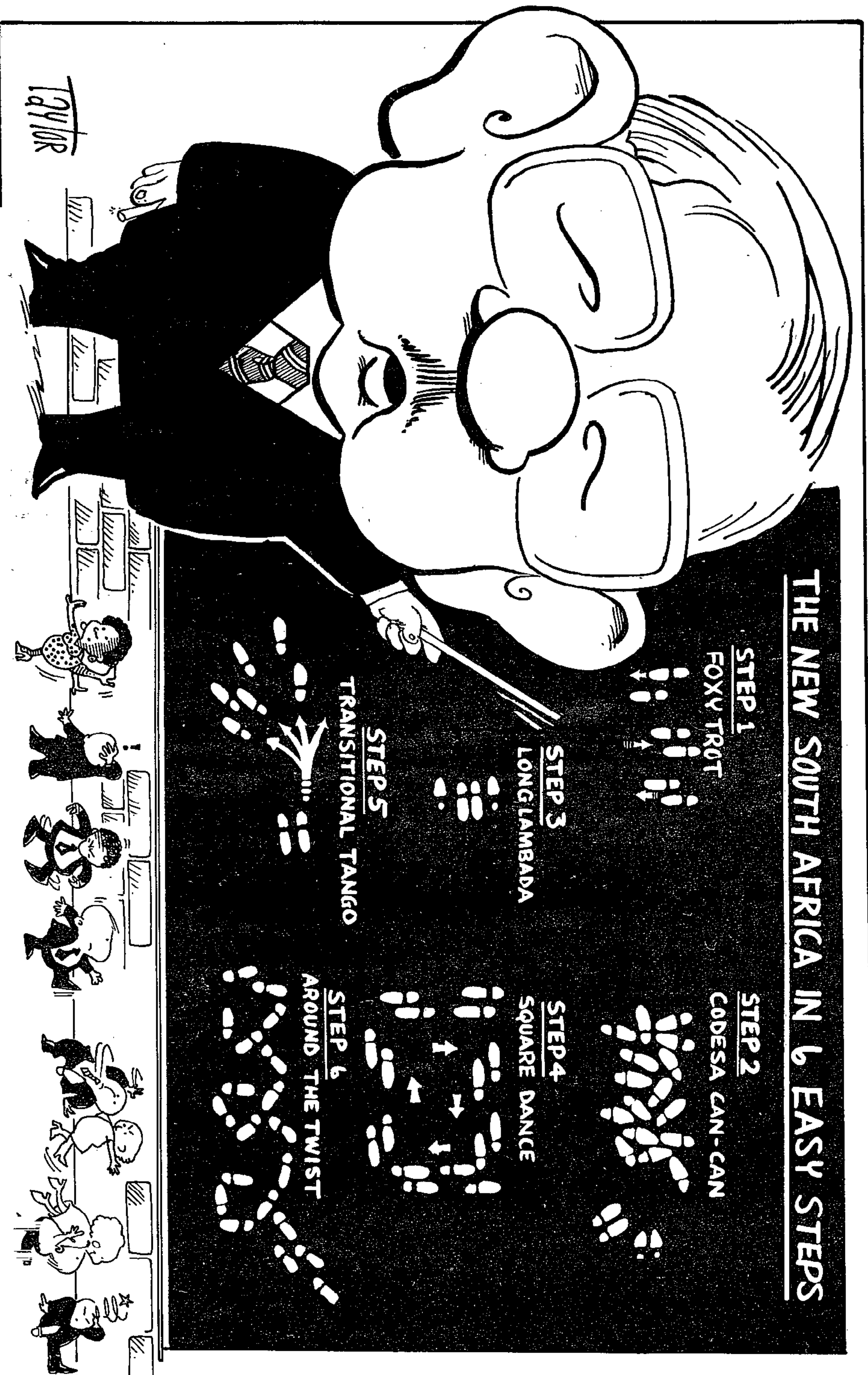
Dr De Beer said he was "not sure he was clever enough" to understand the NP's proposals for transitional government, as set out by President de Klerk in his speech at the opening of Parliament. He is not the only one feeling this way.

Those who are not privy to the inner workings of the mind of constitutional oracle Dr Gerit Viljoen — and that means every South African, bar about four — are faced with the task of trying to unwrap the package that has been presented and stripping away layers of infinitely flexible euphemism.

There is a definite sense among political observers that something of great importance is happening. But because it is so detailed and opaque, the public is hardly aware of it.

It is best to put it in blunt terms. The fact is that if the Government/NP proposals for a transitional government (TG) are accepted by Codesa, Parliament will disappear, and South Africa will have a new Government and president within two years, or even sooner.

Thus the old-style debate on interim government, whereby the NP used to argue that it should retain sovereign power up to and including the time of a final election for the new South Africa, is over. What remains to be sorted out are the



STRIPPED of euphemism and rhetoric, the first week of Parliament threw up one startling prospect: a totally new government — and president — could be installed as soon as next year. But getting there could require some nifty footwork. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON reports.

It is necessary to walk slowly through the NP's reasoning in order to understand what type of TG might emerge, and to assess the likely timetable for this.

This week Dr Viljoen and NP secretary general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe spelled out in the most precise terms yet the six steps they envisage on the road to the new South Africa:

1. Codesa will agree, hopefully within weeks, on the form a TG should take.
2. There will be a referendum, hopefully before the end of the year, in which all adult South Africans will be asked whether they approve of the Codesa proposals.
3. If approved, the existing Parliament will meet in special session to pass legislation facilitating the establishment of the TG.
4. Elections will be held for the TG, hopefully early next year.
5. The TG will take office, hopefully in the course of next year, and will administer the country while negotiations for a permanent constitution continue simultaneously.
6. There will be elections, at an unspecified date, for a fully-

fledged new Parliament.

So far, so simple.

But the broad scenario raises crucial, unanswered questions, the answers to which will materially affect the pace of the most fundamental political change South Africa has ever undergone.

The pivotal political hurdles are located at the first two steps. If they can be surmounted, steps three to six become largely technical and logistical.

For Step 1 to be taken, a compromise must be reached between the Government and ANC on the structure of the TG. It must be a reasonable compromise which satisfies the other members of Codesa, and the constituencies of the two main players.

Crudely put, whites must be convinced that it is the only recipe for stability and progress, and blacks must be convinced that it heralds co-operation, not co-option.

There is confidence in Government circles that this can be achieved. What would be

brought about is a bicameral structure in which power is shared out, and not transferred *in toto*.

The basis of the agreement would be that both the Government and the ANC should — as is the *de facto* case in Codesa — have equal veto powers. In other words, both accept that without the willing participation of the other, the TG cannot operate.

THIS is the principle, the details are still to come. It can be fairly safely predicted, however, that a high margin of consensus would be the mechanism employed: the TG could not undertake major initiatives without the agreement of two thirds — or even 75 percent — of participants.

Simple majoritarianism (for example, if the ANC won 80 percent of the vote in the election for the TG, it would wield 80 percent of the power)

will be ruled out.

It seems probable that voters would elect representatives to a national assembly (one person one vote via proportional representation), which would develop into a permanent house.

They would also elect delegates to a temporary "senate" — which would hold final power in the TG — and which was weighted to ensure the representation of minorities. The rotating presidency would be filled from this house.

For the purposes of the TG election, the country would probably be divided up, as a temporary measure, into many small geographical regions. Based on the number of voters in each, the number of representatives would be calculated.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week advocated a transitional bicameral parliament with one house elected one-person-one-vote on proportional representation, and the other on a regional basis. In this

house a party with more than a certain number of votes will be entitled to send the same number of representatives as other parties.

The question is whether such an arrangement will satisfy the ANC. It has not yet set out a detailed proposal for interim government, but an obvious difference in its perception is that it has appeared to favour an appointed interim structure, ruling by decree.

The Government's concession to the principle of shared transitional rule might, however, be good enough to tempt the ANC into it.

It is up to the politicians, therefore, to come up timeously with an agreed package. For as long as they haggle at Step 1, the process cannot move forward substantively. It is thought likely that this agreement could be achieved by June. Codesa 2 would meanwhile have taken place, simply providing progress reports. Assuming that agreement is

forthcoming by mid-year, the hurdle at Step 2 could then be confronted — and here the pace of change would lie in the hands of the people, not the politicians. The people would be asked to endorse or reject the TG package.

It seems certain that a referendum would be held — possibly in September — in which votes would be counted both universally (ie non-racially), and also in terms of the four existing racial categories.

The ANC has loudly opposed any form of "white veto", but it is now thought increasingly likely that the organisation will quietly soften on this demand. The Government fully expects the support of the international community on the question of keeping its promise to white voters.

But even if the ANC agrees to this formula, there is the very real possibility of a "no" vote from whites. Ministers have conceded that the NP would be "in trouble" if this

happened, but Dr Viljoen's deputy, Dr Tertius Delpoit, made it clear this week that a defeat in a referendum would provoke a "political dilemma" rather than a "constitutional crisis".

What this means is that the Government would not face a structural imperative to resign — but it would face a most acute political problem. For this reason, President de Klerk must keep his options open until the last minute.

His commitment to white voters is to consult them on the proposed constitutional change. Nowhere has he committed himself to acting in accordance with their wishes.

This raises the theoretical possibility that if whites return a "no" vote by a relatively small margin (say between 1 percent and 10 percent), and the rest of the electorate returns an overwhelming "yes", the Government could say "it is

proceeding in the national interest. Obviously this would be done at great political cost.

Alternatively, the Government could fashion an innovative means of "going back to the drawing-board" and resubmitting amended proposals without losing all credibility in the process.

A great deal therefore hinges on the result of the white referendum.

If it is a positive result, however, the way would be clear for the implementation of the TG. In the best scenario, Parliament could probably reconvene in November to pass the enabling legislation.

Some time would be required to implement the dismemberment of the existing structures, and to make arrangements for the country's first all-in elections. Nevertheless, it would be possible to hold the elections early in 1993, and have a new government functioning thereafter.

The magnitude of change contained in this scenario is breathtaking. It is almost unrecognisable from earlier NP formulations, and has therefore caused some suspicious observers to ask the question: has the Government really accepted the necessity for joint interim rule, or is it devising a scheme whereby it can retain ultimate power without being seen to do so?

Senior NP politicians, gathered in Cape Town, have been at pains to convince critics that the former is the case.

Prominent among these was Dr van der Merwe: "Some time ago we talked of bringing black people in (to the existing Parliament)," he told journalists. "This has mellowed. Because it is clear now that it is no use bringing in black people just because they are black, if they are cut off from their power bases."

"We have changed our position on an interim government, on a formula for transition. Non-responsible government is no good."

He went further: "The whole idea of a TG is that the NP would be a partner in Government but would not be that Government. We can discuss this much more concretely once the NP proposals are on the table."

"But we are dispelling the notion that the NP is trying to cling on to power at all costs. We are prepared to take our chances with the electorate of South Africa."

This view was reinforced by Foreign Minister Pik Botha who said: "I believe the sooner we have an interim government the sooner we will have investment, etcetera ... in my view an interim government in this country is essential."

The immediate future therefore hinges on whether the ANC accepts the Government's sincerity in this regard. If it does, 1993 could go down in the history books as the year in which non-racial government finally came to South Africa.

Codesa worth it – but it sure ain't cheap

STAR 1/2/92 (304A)

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

The price of peace, in hard cash, is going to be high.

This is indicated by the rising costs of the efforts by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to find a constitutional settlement for South Africa.

Already the bill for its first round of talks is estimated to stand at R3,5 million. And expenses amounting to many more millions are expected before a new negotiated constitution and an elected non-racial government are in place.

As things stand, the taxpayers will foot the bill. But at this stage there is no indication how much they will have to fork out because both the Government and Codesa's growing bureaucracy are being secretive about expenses.

However, in defence of Codesa's peace initiative, parliamentarians, academics and others say that no matter what the cost, it will be a worthwhile investment in future peace and prosperity.

This week another fat item was added to Codesa's expenses by its decision that its working groups will meet every Monday and Tuesday in Johannesburg. This will compel about 100 MPs and officials to travel from Cape Town at a cost to taxpayers of at least R140 000 a week.

In addition, taxpayers will also have to foot the bill for all the other Codesa delegates who have to travel to Johannesburg each week. There are reported to be 19 parties, each with 20 delegates and advisers. About 74 out of 308 MPs are involved.

Senior officials of Dr Gerrit Viljoen's Constitutional Development Service confirmed this week that their department was handling the finances that have been made available for Codesa's activities, but they declined to give details.

Dr Henk Fourie, chief executive director for constitutional development, said that the money came from the budget made specially available to the department.

He named constitutional advisor Fanie van der Merwe as the man to speak to about Codesa's finances, but before Mr van der Merwe could be approached, word came that he would not give any details.

Mr van der Merwe noted that



DR ZACH DE BEER: has not seen any budget or financial details.

hitherto the whole process of negotiation, including the Groote Schuur and Pretoria talks, had been financed through the Department of Constitutional Development.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who was chairman of Codesa's management committee and its steering committee until early this week, said that so far he had not seen any budget or financial statement showing details of Codesa's expenses.

Asked whether members of Codesa were being paid for their services, Dr de Beer said to his knowledge members were being paid only for out-of-pocket expenses. Advisors to Codesa's delegations were also paid for expenses such as accommodation and travel.

Codesa's staff were paid for their services.

Codesa officials, however, seemed to be even more cagey than government bureaucrats about money matters.

Codesa's financial manager Deon du Plooy declined to give details, saying this was a matter regarded as part of the negotiation process, and such information could not be disclosed "unilaterally".

There has also been a certain "sensitivity" about financial matters, possibly generated by the continual speculation in political circles about Codesa's rising costs.

The possibility has also been mentioned that additional money for Codesa will be requested in a supplementary budget to be tabled in Parliament next month.

Codesa management committee sources said the Government would have to pay all the travel and living expenses of Codesa delegates, including secretarial back-up.

When Nats get nervous

Star 1/2/92

PIK Botha, the unretiring Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in ebullient mood during the opening week of this Parliament that is, and is not, still in charge of the country.

In fact, he was downright bubbly. The nation's future, he told the assembled representatives of the world's media, lay in mineral water.

It transpired that in the course of his continental peregrinations, he had discovered that some African countries were ordering Perrier water from France at R94 per caseload.

But, he said, we could supply a similar product ("except even better"), at a mere R4 a throw!

The way was therefore open for the recarbonation of the economy.

This was a refreshing interlude in a week that was otherwise, politically speaking, flat. Nowhere was this lack of sparkle more evident than among Minister Pik's subordinates, the rank-and-file Nat MPs.

It has finally dawned on the bulk of MPs that the small pond in which they have been happily swimming is soon to turn into a mighty ocean. Nationalists, in particular, are



beginning to feel the sidewash — and it is doing nothing to enhance their sense of security.

The problem, of course, is Codesa which has at once changed all the rules and undermined all the old assumptions.

A member of the press gallery remarked this week, while listening to the address of a middle-ranking Nat MP: "He would have been a certainty for a Cabinet post within 16 years, under the old South Africa."

Now the man's future prospects are anything but certain and he, not being a fool, is only too well aware of this.

The NP's leadership is showing signs of beginning to take note of the warning signals from below. There was a tangible shiftiness among outnumbered NP delegates at Codesa in December. These are politicians unused to

being in a situation which they do not control and whose outcome is uncertain.

It is no longer unusual for top NP leaders, even, to concede that all is not exactly as they would like it to be.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the erstwhile Cabinet Minister who is now chief cheerleader of the party, exemplified the mood this week.

The NP felt fairly good about progress in national negotiations, he said, but would not pretend that support within the white community was running at record highs in the build-up to the Polcheistroom by-election.

"We are now in the position that the negative aspects of the reform process are uppermost," Dr van der Merwe remarked with disarming honesty.

He was pressed further: Given that the party has suffered a loss of credibility, could it be assumed that it had bottomed out, or was there worse to come before the crucial national referendum?

"If we are less popular than before..." he began, then paused. "It's difficult. But one is getting indications that the results of reform are beginning to come in,

slowly slowly.

"It will surely take a long time for people in the streets to feel the results of reform in their pockets. But at least in the sporting and cultural fields we have had some results..."

The situation, as you can see, is equivocal and indeterminate. NP assurances that Mr de Klerk will win a white referendum are given now more in a spirit of faith than conviction.

Pik Botha conceded, under pressure, that if a white referendum was lost, "then the truth is we would be in trouble."

"But there can be no change unless you take chances."

In the end he had to rely on faith alone: "We don't believe that the majority of whites have a death wish... we believe we will get a majority."

The cast-iron confidence of the Nationalists is eroding. This is a dangerous development, as even the party's rivals in Codesa will recognise.

The atmosphere in the NP is one of ironic uncertainty. Pik himself commented this week, with a smile: "Status quo is the Latin phrase to describe the mess we're in."



ON HIS WAY: President F.W. de Klerk waves goodbye as he and his entourage enter his private jet at the start of his European tour. Tomorrow he addresses a gathering of the world's leaders at the World Economic Forum in Switzerland.

Being seen with FW sends wrong signal, Major told

LONDON — An anti-apartheid group yesterday urged Prime Minister John Major to cancel plans to attend today's England versus Ireland rugby match with President de Klerk.

"They are going to be seen together as friends on the terraces," Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) executive secretary Mike Terry said, after delivering a protest letter to Mr Major's Downing Street office.

"It sends the wrong signals to South Africans, white and black."

AAM said 72 members of parliament had joined the call on Mr Major not to socialise with Mr de Klerk and to withdraw the invitation to Mr de Klerk immediately. It did not identify the parliamentarians.

Downing Street had no immediate comment.

Mr de Klerk arrives in London today for a one-day private visit at

STAR 11/2/92
(304A) ALAN ROBINSON
and SAPA-REUTER

the start of a European tour. He will hold talks with Mr Major before attending the rugby union championship match at Twickenham.

An anti-apartheid protest is planned outside the grounds.

● And the Azanian People's Organisation has warned the British Athletics Federation to call off its planned international athletics meetings against South Africa or face being marked down as an "unfriendly organisation".

In an angry faxed message, Azapo secretary-general Don Nkadimeng told BAF press officer Tony Ward: "Except for the ANC, all true black liberation organisations still call for the total sports and cultural isolation of this country."



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus.

FAREWELL WAVE: President F W de Klerk and members of staff say goodbye at D F Malan airport yesterday as he leaves on a 10-day trip abroad. **304A**

Private armies could signal Codesa failure

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has warned that the negotiations process at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) may fail unless political groups abandon their private armies.

He signalled that the government would not clinch a constitutional agreement with the African National Congress until it ended its armed struggle.

"These problems will have to be bridged. Otherwise Codesa fails," he told the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said in the No Confidence debate that the ANC must drop,

instead of suspending, the armed struggle before it could become a reliable and worthy contractor to an accord.

Reiterating his attacks on movements with military wings, he said: "No party can keep a private army — not the ANC, the AWB or the CP."

He said the ANC was part of reality and could not be ignored. It was 80 years old and enjoyed substantial support. A non-violent ANC had to be part of the solution with all the other non-violent parties.

Mr De Klerk beat off the vote of no confidence by 91 votes to 60.

Boesak refutes reports

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff

ARG 1/2/92

304A

DR Allan Boesak, Western Cape African National Congress chairman, has denied he called for the retention of parliament.

In a statement, he said the ANC had made a compromise by accepting that the "racist" parliament had a role to play in order to give legal effect to the decisions of Codesa.

"We did this as we believe the decisions of Codesa need the power of law. Otherwise, those opposed to the negotiation process would be able to reverse it by challenging these decisions in court."

The position the ANC would be taking to Codesa was that the government should be dissolved and re-

placed by an interim government of national unity.

"We believe that if Codesa agrees with this demand, then the racist parliament should give legal effect to this by dissolving itself."

Once parliament had been replaced by an interim government it would have no other role to play because a constituent assembly would undertake the task of drawing up a new constitution.

Neither Codesa or parliament could write or ratify a new constitution.

"The ANC continues to believe that the racist parliament is illegitimate and has no right to rule."

● The report published by The Argus yesterday was matched by similar reports syndicated by the South African Press Association.



OLD FRIENDS ... John Major gets re-acquainted with FW de Klerk yesterday

FW briefs Major on reform

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO, London

A BBC commentator yesterday referred to State President FW de Klerk's six-nation European tour as his swan song trip as the last white South African leader.

But British premier John Major still considers Mr De Klerk a crucial player in the South African political arena.

On hearing that the South African president was to be in Europe, Mr Major asked Mr De Klerk to visit England and brief him — unofficially — on progress in the dismantling of apartheid.

Mr De Klerk has said he is visiting Britain in a private capacity to see friends.

On his arrival in London, he rushed off to tea with former premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher. He then travelled the short

distance to No 10 Downing Street for an hour-long private meeting with Mr Major.

Mr De Klerk explained the implications of his speech at the opening of Parliament to Mr Major, while the British premier reiterated his country's view that the Codesa talks appeared to be going well.

Mr De Klerk also asked Mr Major for help in finding new investment for South Africa in the wake of the lifting of sanctions by the European Community.

As the heads of state talked, eight members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement protested outside.

Another small group of protesters gathered to greet the leaders when they arrived together at Twickenham for the rugby match between Ireland and England which England won 38-9.

I'll never go back

Split emerges in Nat camp

By MIKE ROBERTSON
and EDYTH BULBRING

A CLEAR division within the National Party over the interim government issue has emerged as parties prepare for the first round of hard bargaining when Codesa task groups meet on Thursday.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said plans for an interim government would draw heavily on the NP's constitutional proposals.

The government was keen that these proposals be detailed and that the interim government should last more than five years.

However, senior NP negotiators believed it would be impossible to negotiate an acceptable form of regional government this year and, as the government wanted to hold a referendum this year, the issue should be left to an interim parliament.

They believed an interim constitution would have to divert from the NP proposals and they would be prepared to accept as a minimum an interim parliament and executive for less than five years.

The interim constitution could be a "living document" that could be amended once agreement had been reached on specific areas, they said.

Another tricky area in the negotiations could involve the setting up of a body to oversee elections of an interim government.

De Klerk meets Major

C/Phen 2/2/92
STATE President FW de Klerk told British Prime Minister John Major yesterday of his determination to forge ahead with reforms that will lead to a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

A British official said De Klerk, on a private one-day visit to Britain at the start of a 10-day European tour, also told Major that progress was being made in stemming violence in South Africa's black townships and in desegregating sports.

"They discussed the constitutional talks . . . and De Klerk expressed his determination to see them through to a new constitution for South Africa," the official said. (304A)

Neither Major nor De Klerk commented in detail on their 50-minute meeting at Downing Street as they left together by car to watch England play Ireland in a rugby match at Twickenham.

Asked how the talks went, De Klerk said only: "Very well."

As the official car drove away, a small group of anti-apartheid demonstrators outside Downing Street waved banners demanding immediate majority rule in South Africa and chanted "Apartheid, murderer!" and "De Klerk, murderer!" — Sapa-Reuter

CP will talk - but not at Codesa

THE Conservative Party had said it would negotiate, but not at Codesa - although all the major political players in South Africa were represented there, State President FW de Klerk said in the House of Assembly. (Pren 2/2/92)

Speaking in the no confidence debate, he said the six self-governing states, the four homelands, the total chosen leadership of all political parties represented in parliament except the CP, made 16 of the 20 groups at Codesa. (304A)

The PAC and Azapo were the only two other groups De Klerk could think of outside Codesa and he did not think the CP wanted to negotiate with them.



Rattled Nats snatch at ersatz solutions

304A

S/Times 2/2/92

FOR 15 minutes this week Parliament listened spellbound to Mr Derek Keys, the newest Minister of the Cabinet, talk of faith, trust and confidence — confidence in business, faith in the future of this country, and trust in God.

His maiden speech was extraordinary: an inquiry into the heart of economic theory, a profession of faith, and a display of calm courage in the face of the uncertainty that torments his fellow-MPs. Afterwards, even political opponents confessed that they were deeply moved.

The effect, however, was to emphasise the cynicism and confusion that grips all three Houses. The confusion in the country at large, the uncertainties of the electorate, the futility of policy and the disintegration of government are all mirrored in the attitudes displayed in Parliament itself.

The Nationalists flee from historic challenges to engage in tawdry slanging matches with the Conservatives, whose main contribution to the sum of human wisdom this week was Dr Andries Treurnicht's reference to Codesa as "Condemn-sa". He had to explain the joke.

Meanwhile, the Representatives were obsessed with the impending shift of status and patronage, if not of power, from the Labour Party to the "brown Nats". Beneath the bitter invective of public debate runs a strong current of expedient private discussion: is it smarter now to hitch one's wagon to the Nationalist star, or to the ANC?

Codesa casts a shadow, of course. But the need to sit around, waiting for Codesa's instructions, merely underscores a greater uncertainty: who will govern this day a 12-month hence? I asked a senior Cabinet Minister whether his portfolio might not be filled next year by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa; he would not deny the possibility.

Everybody sees that the government's authority is crumbling. This week's fiasco over the squatters at Zevenfontein, which finally aroused a law-abiding white community to rebellion, confirmed that perception; it

caused no surprise. The thrashing of white teachers at black schools caused anger and dismay, but no surprise.

The day after a white teacher was set on fire, a senior civil servant told me there was no attainable solution to the problems of black education, barring a change of attitude among teachers and pupils themselves. He had no idea how such a change of attitude might be brought about.

These are minor symptoms of malaise. The government's anxieties focus mainly on two questions: the stagnation of the economy, and the spread of uncontrollable violence. They are seen, quite rightly, as linked in a vicious cycle: lack of legitimacy undermines law and order, anarchic behaviour undermines business confidence and destroys employment, and deprivation both spurs crime and further undermines legitimacy.

Pik Botha, in one of those flashes of reckless honesty that give him a special charm, observed publicly: "Status quo is the Latin phrase to describe the mess we're in."

Loss of faith in the government has reached the civil service. Senior officials rushed to offer resignations when they picked up a rumour this week that their gratuities might be taxed and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was compelled to put out a statement of reassurance, which not everybody believed.

HARRIED on every side, the Cabinet has begun to rush, to snatch for solutions. The idea that an interim government, or a transitional government, can be cobbled together in the next few months is little more than a desperate attempt to use the ANC to shore up the National Party's faltering legitimacy.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the chief constitutional negotiator, seemed to give a clue to what is happening behind the scenes when he spoke early in the week in terms which suggested, to many of his listeners, that the government wants quickly to contrive a joint administration with the ANC, leaving the "more difficult" constitutional questions to be settled later.

His remarks led to a flood of

rumours that Parliament would adjourn for a national referendum, and return briefly to transfer power to the transitional government. That's hardly likely — the technicalities of such a change would be unmanageable — but it does say something about the Nationalists: they are perilously close to a confession of inability to govern.

Constitutionally, it's 1983 all over again. The "difficult questions" are, of course, the central dilemmas of democracy: how to limit and control the power of central government, how to construct checks and balances; the content of a bill of rights; the relationship of the central government to the regions, and the regions to local government; the status of the courts and the mechanisms to preserve the rule of law; the limits on the power of the executive, and the location of taxing power.

TO cobble together another jerry-built structure like the tricameral system in an attempt to acquire an ersatz legitimacy, without first ensuring that the basic democratic safeguards are firmly in place, is not only vain, but terribly dangerous.

Such a structure, built on the shifting sands of political compromise and backroom deals, must be inherently unstable and I would, if it came to a referendum, vote against it as I voted against President Botha's "calamitously flawed" constitution. What we need, and want, and must have, is a sound democracy, not a quick-fix to lift the economy or to stimulate investment.

The question planted in my mind by a week of watching Parliament in a panic is whether this government has the confidence, the faith, the trust to continue governing quietly, as well as it can in the face of many difficulties, until it is satisfied that it has laid a sound basis for democracy. Or whether, its nerve stretched and its nights sleepless, it will be stampeded into some half-baked compromise which evades the "difficult questions".

KEN OWEN

An English dawn (3048)

PARLIAMENT reconvened this week. In strong contrast to Codesa, the language of discourse was overwhelmingly Afrikaans.

It illuminates a point: the language of the dissolution of the old order is primarily Afrikaans while the lingua franca for construction of a new order is English.

(Times 24/92)
A unique opportunity for the language lies ahead.

Shaping up to the new South Africa

S/Times 2/2/92

304A

WHILE white extremists tinker with plans for their own homeland, the government and the ANC are considering possibilities for regional authorities that transcend existing provincial and homeland boundaries.

A basic blueprint does exist — the nine regional economic development regions unveiled by the government more than a decade ago.

BRIAN POTTINGER looks at the plan and imagines what the regions would be like in three years as political statelets in a non-racial South Africa with 35-million citizens.

Western Cape (Region A)

THIS area, stretching from Cape Agulhas north-west to the Namibian border, south east to Knysna and bounded in the north by a line from the Namibian border to Graaff-Reinet, will be the real Afrikaner heartland of the country — forget Orania and Transvaal Boerestaats.

By 1995 it will comprise 933 000 whites, 2.3-million coloureds, 27 000 Indians and 747 000 black people — mostly Xhosas.

Western Cape, then, will be a predominantly white and coloured region with more than 70 percent of the inhabitants using Afrikaans as a first language. Twelve percent of fixed investment in the country is in this region and it ranks with Natal in its share of national GDP.

Although the ANC has strong support among Xhosa residents and younger members of the coloured community, polls show, it is a moderate alliance of coloureds and whites that will probably dictate the policies of this region.

Northern Cape (Region B)

This is a vast, sparse region ranging from the southern borders of the Karoo to the Botswana boundary in the north and from the Namibian border in the west to roughly the current boundaries of the Free State and Transvaal in the east.

Just over a million people live here — nearly 70 percent of them African. The coloured community is three times more populous than the white community which numbers barely 130 000 and is overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking.

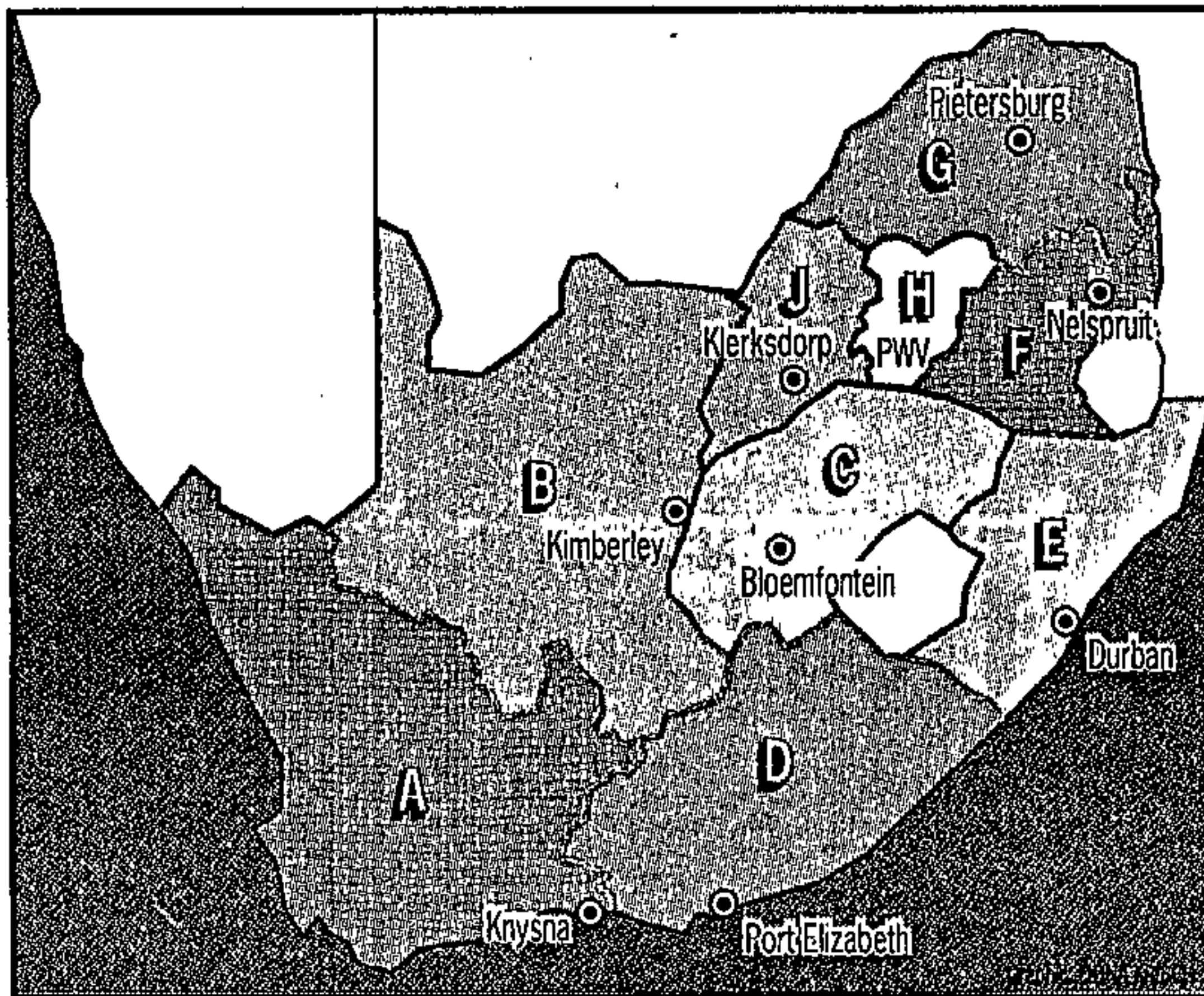
Northern Cape, apart from some urbanised black populations around the larger towns such as Kuruman and Vryburg, is predominantly rural. Less than one percent of the fixed investment in the country is in this region.

Religion and relations to the land will dictate the politics here.

Orange Free State (Region C)

The proposed Free State region will have a population of 2.9-million people in 1995 of whom approximately 380 000 will be whites, the majority living in Bloemfontein.

The politics of the Free State could well be volatile:



The economic development regions which could become the building blocks in a new constitution

there are some strongly politicised ANC-supporting areas in Bloemfontein and the smaller towns. Among the white farming community, meanwhile, there are some very conservative whites.

But generally, the Free State has a reputation for phlegmatism — its urban communities reasonably stable and its children industrious. There is strong ANC support among the black population.

Eastern Cape (Region D)

This region runs from Knysna north-east along the coast to the present Natal border and inland on a line from Graaff-Reinet, Middelburg, Colesburg, Bethulle and up to the Lesotho border. It would take in both the existing homelands of Ciskei and Transkei.

Eastern Cape would be overwhelmingly African, and indeed Xhosa. Only 30 percent of the region would be white, coloured or Indian. This, then, would be a Xhosa-dominated area with its main centres at Port Elizabeth and East London. It is, historically, a staunchly ANC area.

It is not, however, an economically buoyant area: only five percent of the country's GDP comes from this region.

Natal/Kwazulu (Region E)

The Natal region is an amalgam of the present Kwazulu and Natal. Not only is it the most populous region, it is economically the most powerful after the PWV region. If regions were to be represented in a central government in terms of population, Natal could claim nearly a quarter of the seats.

It has the largest concentrations of two of the major ethnic groups in the country: roughly seven million Zulus and more than 860 000 Indian South Africans. There are also 657 000 whites, predomi-

VOTER POWER

IF the nine political regions in a future constitution were allocated seats in a central parliament of 300 representatives on the basis of voters, the representation would look as follows:

Western Cape	27
Northern Cape	9
Orange Free State	21
Eastern Cape	42
Natal	72
Eastern Transvaal	18
Northern Transvaal	10
PWV	60
Western Transvaal	15

Source: Major Reuben Sive

nantly English-speaking, and just over 116 000 coloured Natalians.

It ranks with the Western Cape in terms of GDP percentage and has a slightly higher rate of fixed investment. Its one drawback is the considerable rural poverty in the north, an area with the lowest per capita income in the country.

The Zulu population is divided politically, some polls suggest evenly, between the Zulu-nationalist organisation Inkatha and the ANC — the former strong in the rural areas and the latter in the urban ones.

The most likely dominant political alliance in Natal will be between Inkatha, English-speaking whites and conservative Indians — and they will push hard for as much autonomy as possible from Pretoria.

Eastern Transvaal (Region F)

This region stretches from the Natal and Free State borders in the south to a line running east and west through Lydenburg in the north and from the huge Jo-

hannesburg-Pretoria conurbation in the west to the Swaziland and Mozambican borders in the east.

About two million people live in this area — 86 percent of them black South Africans, the remainder white.

It is not a wealthy region: eight percent of the country's GDP comes from this province.

Northern Transvaal (Region G)

This is a populous region with more than four million people living in the area bounded by Botswana in the west, Zimbabwe in the north and Mozambique in the east. Its southern fringe rests on the Johannesburg-Pretoria conurbation and a line running west through Thabazimbi and east through Lydenburg.

It is bushveld country taking in parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu and the whole of Venda. Whites are conspicuous by their absence: no more than one out of 40 Northern Transvaalers is white.

It is also poor — it contributes 2.4 percent of the country's GDP and comprises 1.4 percent of the country's fixed investment. The political temper of the region is hard to gauge: it is an amalgam of three different tribes and three former homelands. ANC support, meanwhile, is untested. The white community is strongly conservative.

Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (Region H)

Here is the industrial and urban heart of South Africa. By 1995 there will be nearly nine million people crammed into the area — 68 percent of them African.

Half of all the fixed investment in the country is in this region and it produces two fifths of the country's GDP. It could claim a fifth of all seats in a central government parliament on the strength of its population.

The two million white in-

habitants — equal numbers of English and Afrikaans-speakers and a high proportion of Portuguese-speaking people — range from the affluent to the direly poor.

The black community, meanwhile, comprises a number of different language and tribal groups — the largest single group are Tswanas who outnumber the Xhosas and Zulus combined. In the black community, as well, there are great class differences between settled residents and shackdwellers, the comparatively affluent and the destitute, the formally employed and the unemployed, under-employed and self-employed.

The pressure is compounded by a huge influx of illegal immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and further afield.

The politics of the region — like the society — is turbulent and unpredictable. Majority support, however, is likely to go to the ANC.

Western Transvaal (Region I)

This is a smallish region jammed between the PWV area, Botswana border, Free State and Northern Cape boundary. By 1995 it will have a total of just over a million people of whom four-fifths will be black. The white population of 256 000 will be found largely in the bigger towns such as Potchefstroom and Ventersdorp. The latter town is where the ultra right-wing resistance will remain centred and where it will, no doubt, continue plotting its serpentine plans for an all-white homeland.

Statistical sources: Regional Profiles and Development Guidelines produced by the Office for Regional Development and the Regional Development Advisory Committee and the Development Bank of Southern Africa's Inter Regional Profile.

SA leaders put their views to world body

S/Times 2/2/92

SOUTH AFRICA'S most senior politicians will today have 75 minutes to parade their ideas on how the country's economy should develop before 1 300 delegates representing the world's political and economic elite.

The occasion is the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum.

President FW de Klerk, who flies into Switzerland from London today after a meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, will open the session on South Africa with a speech titled: "The contribution of a post-apartheid South Africa to the new world order."

ANC president Nelson Mandela follows him to the podium, where he will address 35 heads of state, 150 senior cabinet ministers and more than 1 000 top businessmen on the subject of: "The integration of those on the fringes of society into the new world."

Listening

After the ANC leader's speech the two men will be joined by Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike for a panel discussion on "How to stimulate growth in the new South Africa."

Among the leading world figures attending the forum who could be listening in are US Secretary of State James Baker, UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, French Prime Minister Edith Cresson, European Community President Jacques Delors and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng.

Businessmen include Fiat president Giovanni Agnelli, Olivetti managing director Bruno D'Avanzo, Ford Motor Company president Philip Benton, Deutsche Bank senior vice-president Paul Grosse, Coca-Cola president Don-

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent
in Davos, Switzerland

ald Keough and Sony chairman Akio Morita.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr Mandela held private discussions at the forum on Friday — probably to ensure there would be no public bickering before such an august body.

Mr Botha said the issue uppermost in the minds of the businessmen who had quizzed him over the past two days was whether it would be safe to invest in SA.

Mr Mandela, in the text of his speech prepared for delivery today, calls for a global offensive for development, prosperity and human survival.

He says that in making the call he is fully aware of the general shortage of capital in the world, its sensitivity to economic imperatives and its mobility.

Demands

The prepared text adds that: "We also say this knowing that the under-developed countries have to continue addressing such issues as better utilisation of resources and management of their economies, better governance, human-resource development, including the upliftment and liberation of women, as well as protection of the environment."

Turning to SA, the speech says no force on earth can stop its march towards democracy.

But this would be accompanied by demands from millions of South Africans for an end to poverty.

In a section prepared for use in a panel discussion on achieving economic growth, Mr Mandela again reiterates that nationalisation is something the ANC will consider.

However, he adds: "Nationalisation in our view does not mean a universal, blanket policy or sticking rigidly to old dogma."

"It means examining selected major enterprises on a case-by-case basis. Our starting-point would be those bodies and corporations already in state hands."

In a section included as an optional insert, Mr Mandela complains that too many South African companies have gone on an investment strike or have transferred assets abroad.



BY THE RIGHT: The Ystergarde — 'It's no circus', says Eugene Terre Blanche — on the march in Ventersdorp yesterday

Picture: DAVID SANDISON



Major gets re-acquainted with FW de Klerk yesterday

Major on reform

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together at Twickenham for the rugby
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England won 38-9.

Terror warning as masked Ystergarde come into the open

THE AWB staged a show
of strength in Ventersdorp
yesterday as a senior po-
lice source warned that a
new wave of right-wing
terror attacks was expect-
ed to precede the next
round of Codesa.

In one of his most mili-
tant speeches to date, AWB
leader Eugene Terre
Blanche claimed that the
AWB could "bring the
country to a standstill".

"We could tell shift
bosses not to go under-
ground and leave 3 000
blacks stranded there. We
could also tell Eskom con-
trollers to switch off the
lights to leave the night as
dark as Africa," he said.

Yesterday's parade was
also the first public display
of the AWB's armed wing,
the Ystergarde, who
marched through the town
in black battledress and
balaclavas.

Mr Terre Blanche said:
"The Ystergarde is no cir-
cus. They are here to be
used and the AWB will not
be donned around."

Chief instructor Keith
Conroy said the Yster-

By CHARLES LEONARD

garde could be likened to
Adolf Hitler's SS, and could
be mobilised "tomorrow" if
necessary.

"Most of them have been
trained in the SADF's elite
forces, but they are more
committed to their cause
— that of white self-
determination — than any
member of the defence
force," he said.

After the display, which
included mock attacks on a
besieged farmhouse, Mr
Terre Blanche warned that
the right-wing was uniting
to destroy Codesa.

"We will form a joint
offensive with the CP and
the HNP to do so," he told
about 1 200 supporters.

The march through Ven-
tersdorp was led by 36
members of the Yster-
garde, followed by 400
Wenkommendo members
in khaki.

Racial tension was high
and AWB members in cars
and bakkies chanted racist
slogans and songs at black
shoppers.

Earlier in the week an

SAP officer investigating
right-wing activity said the
right-wing threat was
being viewed "in a serious
light".

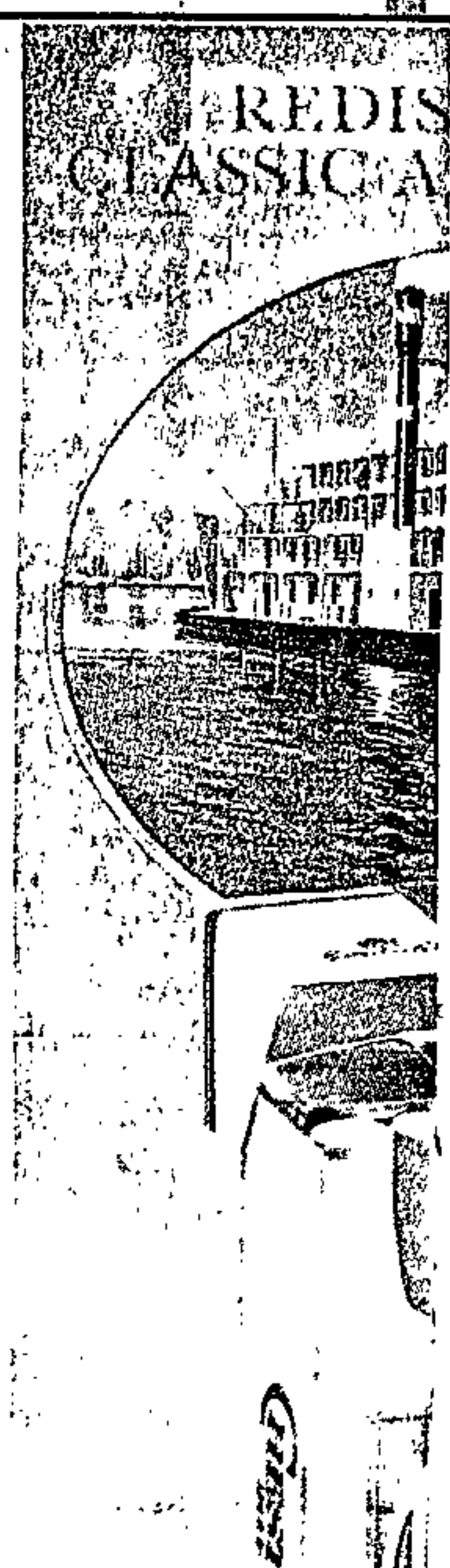
"They tend to link their
attacks to specific events,
and Codesa 2 is likely to
produce a new spate of
bombings," he said.

The officer said known
right-wing cells were being
closely monitored, and a
breakthrough was ex-
pected soon in respect of
two active terror cells —
one in the Western Trans-
vaal and the other in the
Eastern Cape.

"When that happens, a
number of cases will be
closed," he said.

He said estimates placed
between 9 000 and 10 000
members in the AWB's
Wenkommendo, with an-
other 4 000 right-wingers in
the Boerekommendo.

At the opposite end of
the spectrum, MK (ANC)
could muster an estimated
7 000 trained soldiers,
while the PAC's military
wing, Apla, had far fewer
members.



Mandela, FW to accept peace prize in Paris today

The Argus Foreign Service 3040

PARIS. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, who will present a Peace Prize to President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela here today, is regarded as the "Champion of Democracy in Africa".

He regards the Peace Prize, named after its founder President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, "as one way of thanking them for their efforts for what they are doing in South Africa, and at the same time encouraging them to continue".

The two leaders were chosen by a committee presided over by former US

ARG 3/2/92
Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger. President Houphouet-Boigny, 86, planned to present it himself, but delegated the duty to Mr Abdou Diouf.

Mr Diouf, the tallest head-of-state in the world at two metres is regarded as Houphouet-Boigny's "political successor".

He has always supported the Ivory Coast leader's call for dialogue with South Africa from the time he announced it in the 1960s.

Mr Diouf was the first African leader to meet De Klerk after he came to power during a stopover in Dakar.

De Klerk's Twickers

coup rocks

the AAM

STAR 312192

By Alan Robinson
Star Bureau



LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement suffered a stunning reverse at Twickenham on Saturday when it failed to mount more than a token protest against President de Klerk's presence.

Only about 20 demonstrators assembled outside the famous ground despite a rallying call to protest against the presence of Mr de Klerk and Prime Minister John Major.

But even more significantly, the AAM failed to dissuade Irish President Mary Robinson from sharing the VIP box with Mr de Klerk and Mr Major.

Mrs Robinson is a paid-up member of the Irish AAM, which on Thursday called on her to shun the British and South African leaders.

Britain's papers yesterday carried reports and photographs of the three at the big match between England and Ireland. Indeed, the Observer featured them smiling happily in a huge, six-column colour picture on its front page.

One report quoted an unnamed South African presidential aide as saying Mr de Klerk was hoping to see a South African team at Twickenham before long.

But if the AAM suffered a reversal of fortunes — last time the Springboks were at Twickenham, 23 years ago, it fielded thousands of demonstrators — South Africa's rugby team may find it hard to turn the tables.

They lost 11-8 to England in 1969, and judging by the way England thrashed Ireland 38-9 on Saturday, it will be a lot harder next time.

CP set to quiz Govt on 'spies'

CAPE TOWN — The spotlight in the House of Assembly tomorrow will fall on the Government's alleged spying on the Conservative Party.

The CP has challenged the Government to reply in Parliament as to whether it spied on it.

Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg Tom Langley is set to ask Kobie Coetsee, minister responsible for the National Intelligence Service, what the extent of spying activities were.

The CP last year claimed to have unmasked two spies in its ranks, but never identified them. (304A)

Mr Langley is likely to ask whether CP MPs were spied on during the parliamentary session. — Political Reporter.

FW, Mandela in harmony

STAR 3/2/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ANC chief nearly upsets the applecart

DAVOS (Switzerland) — An extraordinary public clash between ANC president Nelson Mandela and the chairman of the World Economic Forum came close to wrecking a carefully co-ordinated approach by the Government and the ANC aimed at inspiring investor confidence.

In an important breakthrough for South Africa's hopes of attracting foreign investment, President de Klerk and Mr Mandela — for the first time — presented a united front to the world's most powerful economic and political leaders.

But the moment was marred when Mr Mandela complained — before his illustrious audience — that he had been given less speaking time than Mr de Klerk.

Forum chairman Professor Klaus Schwab smoothed over the potential row, but Mr Mandela remained stony-faced as he left the podium. (See other report on this page.)

Before that the South African leaders had deliberately put aside their local differences to speak as South Africans to the 1300 industrialists and politicians in the World Economic Forum — one of the world's biggest concentrations of economic and political muscle.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi joined in the new spirit of accord with a speech of conciliatory gestures.

All three leaders sounded a common plea to the world's economic giants to divert their development funds and energies to South and southern Africa.



SA trio... President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi listen to World Economic Forum president Klaus Schwab yesterday. Picture: AP

They were addressing the forum on South Africa's place in the new world order, before taking part in a panel discussion with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Lebona Chief Minister Nelson Rantodike.

In an extraordinary dual performance which suggested they had compared notes beforehand, a conciliatory and moderate Mr Mandela often sounded like Mr de Klerk, and vice versa.

Mr Mandela took his softest approach to nationalisation so far, assuring the industrialists that their investments would not be endangered by nationalisation.

He was responding to Professor Schwab, who said that the one question which most industrialists at the forum were asking was "was the ANC still committed to nationalisation?"

be repatriated. Mr de Klerk complained — as an African — that the equipment was suffering because of the West's trade protectionism, while Mr Mandela joined him in arguing the Government's familiar case for southern African economic co-operation and integration, and for economic discipline and a safe investor climate.

"Despite our differences, we stand here today, my compatriots Dr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and I, together with distinguished political business and financial leaders from South Africa, with one message to the world: we are overcoming the antagonisms of the past; we have the desire and the will to face the future together, and together we will build a new South Africa," Mr de Klerk said.

Like Mr Mandela, he warned the industrialised world that it could not simply write off entire continents such as Africa. He raised the spectre of rich nations being swamped by refugees from the poor nations. Mr de Klerk said South Africa was looking to the international community for "constructive involvement" because it believed it could play a constructive role in its region.

SA would have to fight tooth and nail to win a place at the international trade table. It needed loans and investment, not as hand-outs, "but because we are a sound economic and financial proposition".

Mr Mandela struck several conciliatory notes which chimed with Mr de Klerk's address and offered assurances to the industrialists about the security of their investments in a future South Africa.

In an earlier press brief-
● To Page 3

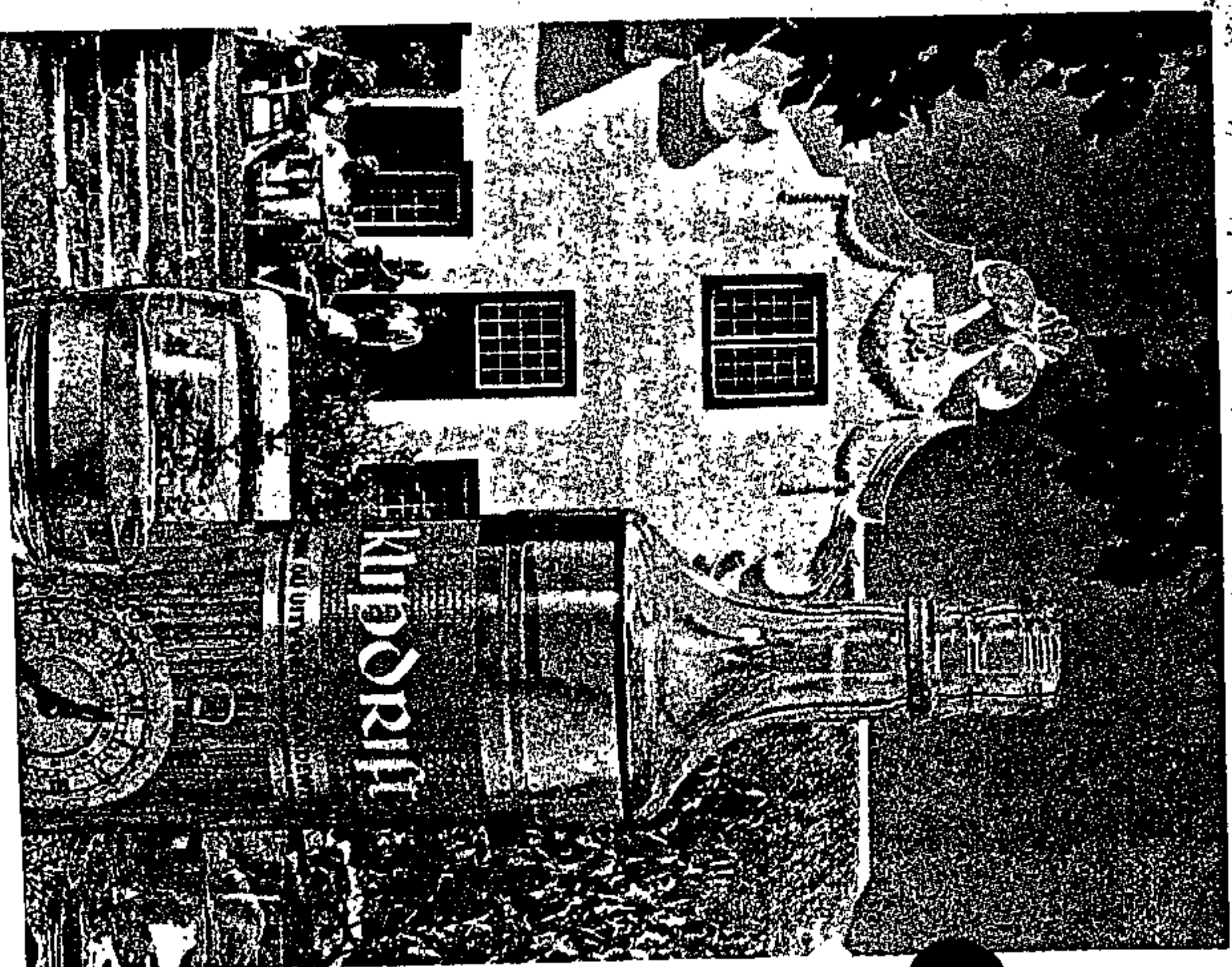
Alpine pique over minute detail

DAVOS — Nelson Mandela complained he had been allocated only a minute to reply to a panel discussion while Mr de Klerk had got five minutes.

While Professor Klaus Schwab was closing the panel discussion, Mr Mandela complained that by giving Mr de Klerk extra time, he may have given the impression he had not been fair in and Mr de Klerk had been

appointing time-limits. Mr Mandela said Professor Schwab had given the understanding that each panelist would have five minutes. "I didn't expect you to give anyone one minute."

The professor pointed out: "It was also our understanding that the introductory remarks should be for 15 minutes only. Yours were 47."



De Klerk, Mandela in harmony

From Page 1

ing, Mr Mandela repudiated recently repeated threats by some of his ANC colleagues to review the repayments of loans granted to the present Government.

These were merely the opinion of individuals.

"We can get into serious problems if the image we project is one of a country which is not prepared to honour its debts."

After calling for a global initiative to redress the imbalances of wealth, the ANC leader:

- Strongly stressed the need for higher productivity from labour and capital.

- Stressed that future economic policy would have to address such questions as security of investments, the right to repatriate earnings, the

need for realistic exchange rates.

- Appeared to be in accord with Government's federalist policy when he supported the idea of a "devolution of power" to regional and local levels of government.

- Asserted that the private sector should play "the central and critical" role in a mixed economy.

- Suggested that a future public sector would be no bigger than those in Germany, France and Italy where public enterprises constituted nine, 11 and 15 percent respectively of the economy.

The united front presented by the South Africans was carefully planned in order to avoid the disastrous public rows at international forums of the past which shook investor confidence.

Mr Mandela disclosed

at his briefing that he had co-ordinated the ANC's and Government's approaches in a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers at Davos at the weekend.

Mr Mandela told South African pressmen: "This is not the place to discuss our differences as South Africans, but a place where we are expected to put a picture that raises hopes that we have the leaders with the calibre and abilities to solve our country's problems."

If the South Africans attacked one another it would destroy investor confidence.

These remarks took on an ironic quality when Mr Mandela himself nearly upset the carefully contrived harmony.

February 3 1992 7

'White zone' map row

304ff
ET 3/12/92
Political Staff

A DOCUMENT outlining possible boundaries for an "Afrikanerland" has landed in the hands of National Party politicians and sparked heated exchanges with the Conservative Party.

The map excludes Potchefstroom from the Afrikanerland — a fact seized on by the NP and its supporters with the crucial by-election in the constituency only 2½ weeks away.

The CP has, however, distanced itself from the comprehensive and detailed document.

The document analyses various proposals for a Boerestaat or Afrikaner homeland and produces a map which amalgamates Afrikanerland into one country about half the size of South Africa. Its western border stretches from Somerset West up around Upington, under Bophuthatswana and up again to Zeerust. It cuts sharply across towards Pretoria and takes in a sizable chunk of the Northern Transvaal.

The Eastern border skirts Swaziland before slicing across to the northern Natal coast, where it includes Richards Bay before cutting inland, circling around Lesotho and dropping down to include Port Elizabeth.

**Another
Codesa
clash
averted
on panel**

Political Staff
DAVOS. — Strong chair-
manship from initiator
and president of the
World Economic Forum
Mr Klaus Schwab pre-
vented the panel discus-
sion on South Africa
from becoming a repeat
of Codesa.

Mr Nelson Mandela,
having been restricted to
limited time to respond
to a question from Mr
Schwab, intervened right
at the end of the discus-
sion after President F W
de Klerk was given four
minutes.

Mr Mandela com-
plained that it was unfair
that he had been restric-
ted to one minute but said
he was sure the move
had not been deliberate.

Stability

Mr Schwab apologised
but said it had been
agreed that the introduc-
tory remarks before the
panel would last 15
minutes and Mr Mandela
had taken 47 minutes.

Mr De Klerk spoke last
in the panel discussion,
which also included In-
katha leader Chief Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi, and
received prolonged ap-
plause.

Mr De Klerk said South
Africa had the potential
resources and infra-
structure that made it
one of the few countries
still to offer investors
tremendous growth. But
a climate would have to
be created to ensure
long-term political sta-
bility, with sound econo-
mic management.

Joint forces Invest in SA, ANC, FW tell World

From BILLY PADDOCK

**DAVOS. — Mr Nelson Mandela and
President F W de Klerk yesterday
joined forces to call on the world's
top businessmen to investigate
opportunities in South Africa now.**

With Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
they addressed a meeting of the World Economic
Forum at this Swiss ski resort.

Listening were 35 heads of state and the chair-
men, managing directors or senior personnel of
just about every major corporation in the world.

Mr Mandela deviated from his prepared
speech and seemed to soften his stance on na-
tionalisation after a meeting on Friday with Mr
Pik Botha.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela spoke glowingly



SA TRIO ... President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together at the World Economic Forum at the Alpine resort of Davos yesterday.

of the promise of reform in South Africa.

In an interview later Mr Mandela revealed
that he and Mr De Klerk had devised a joint
strategy for the World Economic Forum special
focus on South Africa.

He said he and Mr Pik Botha had discussed a
co-ordinated strategy to sell South Africa to
some of the world's most influential business-
men and political leaders.

Mr Mandela told journalists Davos was a
unique opportunity for South Africa's leaders to
show the world they had the ability to overcome
the country's problems and were in fact doing so.
It was an occasion that demanded of South
African politicians that they concentrated on
what united them rather than on their differ-
ences, he said.

In his speech, the ANC president said South
Africa's political transformation was part of the
"truly phenomenal process of renewal" being

experienced in the world today.

In the place of white dictatorship would be
built a new nation of "many colours", languages
and cultures, bound together by a common South
African patriotism, a shared spirit of nationhood
and bonds of mutual dependence.

"The new world that is being born foresees the
dawn of the age of peace, in which wars within
nations, between countries and among peoples
will be a thing of the past."

Mr Mandela said the ANC envisaged a mixed
economy in South Africa in which the private
sector would play a central and critical role.

The public sector would perhaps be no differ-
ent from that of Germany, France or Italy, where
public enterprises constituted nine, 11 and 15%
of the economy.

He also said that any statements from ANC
people that a future ANC government would
renew on loans transacted under the apartheid

government were the views of individuals and
not of the ANC.

"We are obliged to honour these loans or else
we will be in a great deal of trouble and we are
still dealing with this issue," he said.

The main concerns of businessmen and indus-
trialists he had spoken to were that there must
be a stable and safe environment to invest in;
profits had to be able to be repatriated; there
had to be a safe return on investment, and social
and economic stability was essential for invest-
ment.

"I accept this," Mr Mandela said.

He said the ANC had made it clear that a
political organisation that was unable to co-
operate with business in trying to stabilise the
economy could not succeed in generating
growth.

To page 2

From page 1

Therefore the ANC was busy discussing these issues with business in South Africa.

"We have no doubt that we will reach the decision that will make it easy for investors to invest in our country," he said.

In the private discussions they were having with businessmen and leaders, both the South African government delegates and the ANC were "concentrating on putting forward views and presenting a picture of those things that are uniting us rather than our differences", Mr Mandela said.

Optimism

In his main speech, Mr De Klerk said that despite their differences, he, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had only one message to the world: "We are overcoming the antagonisms of the past; we have the desire and the will to face the future together, and together we will build a new South Africa."

South Africa was faced within its borders by the same problems that confronted the international community on a global scale. CT 3/12/92

These problems included:

- The need to develop all-embracing strategies to reduce backlogs for less privileged communities.

- Finding resources to provide better housing, education and health services for all its people.

- Stimulating rapid and sustained economic growth.

The industrialised world was deluding itself if it imagined it was possible to ignore these burning issues, he said.

Problems

"The problems of some will soon become the problems of all. The poor of the world will beat a pathway to the lands of the rich whether they like it or not."

Mr De Klerk said that emphasis on Africa's economic decline tended to obscure the continent's enormous potential.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi said wise economic choices were unlikely to be popular in situations of national deprivation.

He said he and Inkatha looked at South Africa as the future development gateway to the whole of Southern Africa.

"We are the last on the sub-continent to be gaining our freedom from colonialism and racist rule. We have learnt a great deal from history. Ours in South Africa is a privilege of applying the wisdom that comes to us from those lessons."

The IFP chose the Western development model with free markets within which enterprise-driven dynamics exploited a large but competitive industrial base.

Calm is restored in Nat camp

Sowetan 3/2/92
CONFIDENCE has been restored in the National Party caucus after growing fears about the party's future caused backbenchers major anxiety in recent weeks.

Parliamentary backbenchers were unsettled because of

(304A)
the uncertain terms in which the arrangements for a transitional authority are shrouded.

However, successive meetings and an address by President FW de Klerk appeased the NP caucus, an NP source confirmed yesterday. This was followed by a resounding vote of confidence in De Klerk's administration.

The same can, however, not be said for the leader in the coloured House of Representatives, Dr Allan Hendrickse, who last week lost his confidence vote debate to the "brown Nats".

The vote of no confidence means that De Klerk will either have to appoint a new NP-led Ministers Council or call a general election.

De Klerk warns ANC over MK

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has warned the African National Congress that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would fail unless the organisation

disbanded its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking shortly before

his departure for Europe on Friday, De Klerk said the Government was doubtful of a peaceful settlement in South Africa while the ANC still had a policy of armed struggle.

"These problems will have to be bridged, otherwise Codesa will fail," De Klerk said in the House of Assembly.

He said for the ANC to be a trustworthy and reliable signatory to any accord on the country's political future, it had to abandon its armed struggle.

Reacting to this, an ANC source said the South Afri-

can Defence Force reported directly to the Government and indirectly to the National Party.

"They (the NP and the Government) are both part of Codesa," the source said.

304A

IN ONE of the classic understatement of history, Emperor Hirohito in August 1945 broke to his nation the news of Japan's defeat in the following words: "The situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage." By then, virtually every city in Japan was in ashen rubble.

One interpretation of the National Party's acceptance of an elected interim government which would draw up the final constitution is that it signals a similar sentiment — a recognition that the situation has developed not necessarily to the NP's advantage.

This interpretation would see the NP as finally abandoning the hope of carefully managing the transitional process by drawing representatives of the moderate wing of the ANC into government on a co-optive basis. Some people, among them some who were quite recently De Klerk supporters, even believe that he has finally come to allow the ballot box rather than the bullet to determine who will rule South Africa and under which rules. Dr Gerrit Viljoen's suggestion that the NP could actually win an election for an interim government is seen as so preposterous as to be hardly worth discussing.

No loss of nerve

This interpretation has only a limited validity. It is true that the developments over the past year were not necessarily all to the NP's advantage — the resistance to VAT, the failure of the Peace Accord to get off the ground, coupled with the ANC's refusal to terminate the armed struggle and abandon its arms caches and its perpetuation of exercises in mass mobilisation despite the fact that negotiations had begun. At the very least these developments indicate that the government is unable to manage the transition process in the orderly fashion that a large part of its constituency demands.

On the other hand there is no evidence that could lead one to believe that the NP leadership has suffered a loss of nerve and is now prepared to allow unfettered electoral competition to decide who would be in the interim government and would write the final constitution.

A sounder interpretation would see President De Klerk's speeches of last week as very much in line with the epoch-making moves announced in the parliamentary openings of 1990 and 1991. In all three cases the essential element was the attempt to seize the strategic initiative by appropriating the form of the adversary's main demand and giving it his own substance.

In 1990 the form was the unbanning of the liberation movements but the substance was their (temporary) acceptance of the bureaucratic and legal order of the regime. The abolition of the remaining apartheid laws in 1991 was made conditional upon their substitutes being negotiated in processes and procedures in which the government is playing a key part. Finally the ANC's concept of the mid-1980s of wrenching power from the regime in a negotiating context resembling two trenches has been replaced by the multi-party Codesa and the concept of sufficient consensus which is likely to be with us for quite some time.

Constraints

The standing ovation President De Klerk received in the NP caucus last week suggests that something similar is now happening. The government has conceded the formal demand for an elected body to write the constitution but has added the condition that such a body also has to accept responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the country. Locally and

internationally it will find strong support for its view that it is unwise to allow a constitution to be drawn up on the basis of abstract principles by people lacking experience in administering a complex industrial country such as ours.

President De Klerk's constituency would still want to be assured that an elected interim parliament would not produce a large anti-NP majority which will be determined to impose its will. Here the NP seems to rely on two constraints. On the one hand the interim government will be elected on the basis of the power-sharing principles on which the NP will be insisting at Codesa. On the other hand it appears that the NP is determined to ensure that it will not be in a weaker position in an interim government than it presently is.

Earlier this year the NP leadership was toying with the idea of two houses — the present Parliament consolidated into one house operating along with a newly elected assembly on the principle of concurrent majorities. Presently there is some support for the idea of reserving half the seats of an interim parliament for the representatives from Parliament and the homeland governments. There is also the suggestion of building heavy-weighted majorities into the rules for an interim government which would in effect mean that nothing could be enacted short of a 75 or 80% majority.

Losing De Klerk

All in all the interim government and interim constitution are meant to be a compromise, not a normal constituent assembly with a free hand to draw up a final constitution.

The question arises immediately: Why would the ANC accept such constraints? The answer is that it need not acquiesce — except if it believes that losing De Klerk and the rest of the NP leadership in the transition process would plunge the country in a protracted crisis which might well destroy the entire social fabric.

Losing De Klerk is in fact what will happen if the NP suffers a defeat in the referendum. For there can be little doubt that losing the referendum will leave the NP little choice but to write out another white election with all the dire consequences which may flow from this.

In essence, then, it is in the interests of all the parties at Codesa to devise the kind of constitutional principles which would allow the major parties to bring their constituencies along with them through the

NP aims to hold the strong cards in interim office

304A CT 3/12/92



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME



EMPEROR HIROHITO: Classic understatement in accepting defeat.



DR VILJOEN: His view that the NP could win an election is seen as preposterous.

process of transition. From this perspective it is as important for the ANC as for the NP to scale the referendum hurdle successfully. Otherwise the situation may not develop entirely to either's advantage.

□ Herman Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.



DP: Neither whites nor blacks can rule alone

CODESA represents the final admission by white and black political leaders that neither side alone can run the future South Africa.

This is the theme of the first of a series of report-back meetings on Codesa by the Democratic Party.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer was due to address the meeting at the St George's Cathedral Hall at 1pm today.

DP Cape Western region chairman Mr Jasper Walsh MP yesterday said the party believed "it is vitally important that the debate at Codesa be widely known and understood by all".

He said Dr De Beer, as former chairman of the management committee of Codesa, had been intimately involved in the process.

Dr De Beer said: "Codesa represents the final admission by white politicians that they cannot determine the rules of the game for the future, and the final admission by black leaders that they need the co-operation of whites if the new South Africa is to succeed."

He believed that groups who stayed out of Codesa were "blind to the facts".

"Those who are in Codesa are those who belong in a moderate centrist coalition government — whose who are out at the extremists of left and right — mirror images of each other."

Apartheid is dead but racism lives on, reports Patrick Laurence

Hate grows in soil of change

STAR 4/2/92

304A

THE birth of a non-racial South Africa is going to be a protracted and hazardous process, judging by the racial hatred which still festers on either side of the colour line.

Apartheid has been discarded as an ideology but the attitudes which it nurtured — arrogance and fear in the white community, hatred and resentment in the black populace — are more intractable.

The exhortations for tolerance and fraternity from President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela have pushed racism to the outer fringes of society and the darker recesses of the mind.

But it bursts forth sporadically, casting a pall of gloom across the land and smothering hopes that the violence associated with transition to the non-racial order has at last begun to abate.

The point is illustrated by juxtaposing two headlines from a recent edition of The Star: "Gunnman on the rampage kills man, wounds six people" and "Political killings drop by 28 percent".

The first headline related to a young white man who, jilted by his girlfriend, went on a homicidal spree, firing to kill at innocent black people. He hoped to assuage

his anguish by murdering black civilians. He killed one and wounded six.

Later, speaking from his hospital bed after he himself had been shot and wounded by police, the young man bared his distorted mind to journalists.

Talking after his badly wounded right arm had been amputated, he said:

"Everything went black when my girlfriend refused to have me back. That's why I zapped so many kaffirs."

He smilingly explained in Afrikaans: "I have hated kaffirs from when I was small. I thought that since I was on my way out I might as well take a couple of kaffirs with me and thereby solve a few problems."

The case of Cornelius Petrus "CJ" de Vaal, who hails from the Transvaal town of Middelburg, a stronghold of the right-wing Conservative Party, has been postponed until February 14.

The second headline, reflecting a more sanguine development, recorded a marked decline in overt political killings in 1991 compared to the previous year. As collated by the Institute of Race Relations, the totals were, in round figures, 2 670 in 1991 against 3 700 in 1990,

a drop of nearly 28 percent. The report was carried as a down-page item on an inside page.

The trial of the Middelburg man promises to be as dramatic as that of a 42-year-old black man, Gabriel Mahakoe, accused of murdering an elderly white farmer and his wife, Mr and Mrs Willie Engelbrecht, their daughter and granddaughter.

At his first court appearance in the Free State town of Brandfort, Mr Mahakoe admitted killing the four white people. He had wanted to "cut off the hand of apartheid" but had only succeeded in removing the fingers, he said.

At his second trial appearance, he turned to uniformed members of the neo-fascist AWB in the public gallery and, waving his finger at them, said: "Your day will come."

Police investigations into the death of five black men in a motor crash near the Transvaal town of Witbank may lead to another sensational trial with racial overtones.

Their deaths were a sequel to a decision by eight unemployed black men from Witbank — whose town council is controlled by the Conservative Party and its fascist cohorts in the AWB — to sign life

insurance policies; they were persuaded to do so by two white insurance salesmen, Jacobus Kruger and Cornelius Loubser, who promised to help them find work as clothes salesmen.

The insurance policies identified Mr Kruger and Mr Loubser as the sole beneficiaries if the black men died. The white men stood to gain R1-million.

On January 19 the eight men were loaded into a minibus driven by Mr Loubser. They were told they were en route to Pietersburg, another Transvaal town, to start working as salesmen.

The minibus did not arrive at its destination. It crashed down a steep embankment on a pass outside Witbank, bursting into flame as it careened down. Five of the occupants were killed. Three men survived, miraculously. They told their tale to the ANC, who put them in touch with the press.

Their account included the following details: the passenger windows in the minibus were painted white, making them opaque; the inside door handles of the vehicle had been removed; its load included two 25-litre containers filled with petrol and a 5-kg gas cylinder. Mr Loubser was not in the vehicle when it fell over the edge;

and the vehicle was pushed down the embankment.

The ANC secretary for information, Dr Pallo Jordan, minced no words in describing the events leading to the deaths of the five men as evidence of "a coldbloodedness that is the legacy of apartheid racism and contempt for human life". A Witbank-based ANC official, Jackson Mtembu, labelled the events a "crime against the black people of South Africa".

Mr Kruger and Mr Loubser have since been suspended by their employer, Sanlam. But the "Witbank swindle" — as the press have labelled it — should be bannished against a series of attacks on white teachers in the black township of Katlehong, east of Johannesburg.

In the latest attacks, six young black men burst into a classroom in the Kathorus College of Education, hit 53-year-old Schalk Dippenaar over the head, poured petrol over him and set him alight. Mr Dippenaar, who was rushed to hospital, suffered 40 percent burns to his head and body.

The attack on Mr Dippenaar came only days after an earlier assault by black youths on three white teachers and a principal. It led to the withdrawal by the

authorities of white teachers from Katlehong schools. One of the white teachers, Mrs Madge de Beer, said: "I was beaten all over my body as I sat there. It was a horrible experience. I am afraid to walk in the streets."

The attacks have been blamed on members of the radical Pan-Africanist Student Organisation, an affiliate of the vociferously militant Pan-Africanist Congress which has as its slogan "One settler, one bullet".

The Pan Africanist Student Organisation has distanced itself from the attacks but individual members have implicitly justified them by labelling the white teachers "rejects" from their own society who are keeping unemployed black teachers out of work.

Like the white farmer in Ladysmith who went berserk after quarrelling with his father, killing nine innocent people, including two black servants, a herd boy and a cattle buyer, these episodes can be characterised as psychotic behaviour. So, too, can the attempt by a black gardener in the same town to hack two white boys to death with an axe. The psychosis, however, is fed by racial bigotry and the ideologies which give them respectability. □



Presidents three . . . Francois Mitterrand plays host to F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after lunch at the Elysee Palace. Picture: AP

FW, Mandela show growing co-operation

STAR 4/2/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

PARIS — South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, President de Klerk said last night after receiving Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize jointly with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In a ceremony symbolic of the growing co-operation between them, the two leaders together received the award at Unesco headquarters from the organisation's director-general, Federico Mayor, and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Henry Kissinger.

Both men then addressed Unesco — marking the first time that a South African head of state had addressed a UN body in many years.

The two South Africans stood to receive the award before an array of flags of nearly every nation of the world — except South Africa which has not been a member of Unesco since it walked out in 1955. It was

the second time in two days the two leaders had appeared on an international public platform together.

On Sunday, they made their first joint public international appearance at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

As at Davos, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk struck similar notes in their replies.

Mr Mandela said it was a hopeful sign of the potential of South Africa that this year's prize was shared by two people who traced their respective political ideals to opposing poles on the political spectrum.

Convergence

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the growing majority of South Africans about the future directions of our country."

Mr de Klerk said that he and his "compatriot" Mr Mandela had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes but our pres-

ence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, just, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa".

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mr Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

Mr de Klerk said he was receiving the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders — including "real democrats like Dr Buthelezi".

He sounded one cautionary note to the UN and the international community not to allow its encouragement of change in South Africa to become interference.

But at a joint press conference with Mr Mandela afterwards, he said South Africa was "willing, able and

● To Page 3

SA leaders get award

STAR 4/2/92

● From Page 1

ready" to resume a constructive role in Unesco.

South Africa's relationship to the UN and its agencies needed to be looked at through the proper channels.

Mr Mandela then said that an interim government of national unity might consider asking the UN to admit South Africa.

In reply to a question, Mr de Klerk said he did not fear a civil war — unless negotiations broke down.

But because of the tremendous enthusiasm at Codesa, the risk of civil war was very far from his mind.

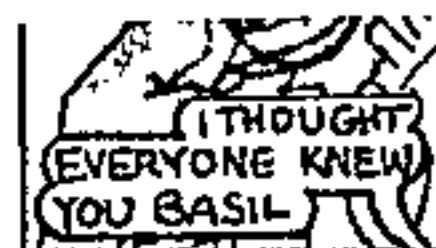
Mr de Klerk stressed

that the Government's proposals for an interim government did not include a fourth chamber of the present Parliament but a new Parliament representative of all.

He said an interim government could be in place "quite soon".

Earlier yesterday, Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela arrived in Paris separately from Davos and were the lunch guests of French President Francois Mitterrand.

Today Mr de Klerk receives an award for political courage from the prestige French journal Politique Internationale before leaving tomorrow for State visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.



BASIL ARRIVES HOME
(BASIL: WHAT HAVE)

IT'S QUITE

CP insight at R2,20/minute

By Martin Challenor
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — At last, all you wanted to know about the Conservative Party for just R2,20 a minute.

The CP believe they have a modern political message to offer — the notion of separate states for each nation, which is what the CP says is unfolding in eastern Europe at present. Now they have modern means to get their message across.

CP members will not take their case to the Convention for a Democratic SA, but they will tell you all about themselves if you telephone the CP's new call line 087-201-22-40.

You will then get the chance to get the CP's latest views on everything, from a parliamen-

tary report, to what is happening in the provinces, to words from leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, to party policy and the latest on the Potchefstroom by-election.

The service is run by Phone Media which approached all the political parties. The CP were the first to respond.

For some of the messages the CP brought in professional voice people, while other information will be taped in by CP spokesmen on the various portfolios.

CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder said that with this service people would get the "CP angle on news events", and learn of issues that would otherwise not be made public.

It is a fully bilingual service.

Nats take control as new Ministers' Council sworn in

By Esther Waugh
and Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — The House of Representatives is now under National Party control following the appointment of a new NP-led Ministers' Council.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party was defeated in a no-confidence vote at the end of last week. He and his LP colleagues were all fired as ministers by President de Klerk on Sunday night.

Duplicity

The new Ministers' Council, with the NP leader in the House, Jac Rabie, taking over the chairman's seat, was yesterday sworn in by the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Gerald Friedman.

Mr Hendrickse has accused President de Klerk of duplicity and vindictiveness.

He reiterated a charge that the NP had used "buy-offs" to secure votes against him. Mr Hendrickse said Mr Rabie



Ousted . . . deputy LP leader Miley Richards (left) helps ousted minister Tommy Abraham clear his office.

and the new ministers were going to be in as difficult a position as the LP had been in trying to administer a "budget of poverty".

The LP still has more MPs in the House of Representatives than the NP.

The NP in the House won

the no-confidence debate with the support of seven independents and the sole member of the Freedom Party.

The new Ministers' Council is: Mr Rabie — chairman; the Rev Andrew Jukes — Minister of Health Services and Welfare; Abe Williams — Minister of Education and Culture; Gerald Morkel — Minister of the Budget; Pieter Saarnan — Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture; and Cecil Herandien — Deputy Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Demanding

The appointment of Glen Carelse as Deputy Minister of Manpower and of Local Government and National Housing — a "general affairs" portfolio — has also been announced.

Welcoming the new ministers, the Acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said he wished them "success with the demanding task ahead".

Dr Viljoen said some of them had experience as ministers while to others it was "a new adventure".

De Klerk, Mandela steer clear of differences at peace prize ceremony

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela continued their double act at Unesco headquarters yesterday, sharing the first Unesco Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize.

De Klerk and Mandela steered clear of their differences and spoke positively of developments in SA. They told an audience of dignitaries SA was knocking on the door of democracy.

De Klerk said it was particularly symbolic that the first award to a South African from the UN family should be made through Unesco, which had led the campaign to isolate apartheid SA. He said he was donating his R400 000

share of the award "to a cause in keeping with the ethos and purpose" of the prize.

"The fact that it is a shared award reflects the international recognition being accorded the new direction most South Africans have embarked upon together."

SA had received a welter of negative criticism for earlier attempts to come to terms with its widely varied ethnic composition, so it was fitting that the first joint award should acknowledge the efforts of all South Africans to bring about peaceful change, De Klerk said.

He paid tribute to the Ivory Coast president after whom the award was named because he advocated dialogue as an instru-

ment of peace.

Acknowledging the international community's duty to encourage regional and national peace, he said it had to be remembered that it was not for the international community but the disputing parties to resolve their conflicts and live with them.

He said he was representing many SA leaders — "real democrats like (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi" and others who had joined hands for peace and justice. Despite the progress made in the constitutional field, SA faced many challenges.

While it had the technical resources to meet them, "the immediate need is quite clearly for economic involvement in SA if we are to generate the required jobs, skills, education and services to build a prosperous future".

Mandela said the fact that the prize was shared by two people who traced their political ideals to opposing political poles signalled SA's potential.

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the overwhelming majority of South Africans about the future direction of the country."

"We as South Africans must part company with policies that render human beings the objects of manipulation by political and economic powers for the benefit of the privileged few." SA had to develop a national commitment to create conditions enhancing the dignity of all.

An indispensable condition for this was the achievement of democracy, which the ANC considered a goal worthy of the international community's support.

Mandela stressed that each race group in SA had to be entitled to its own culture, language, schools and religion.

Cheering as leaders share prize

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were cheered and applauded when they walked into the Unesco conference hall last night to accept the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize.

The applause lasted for nearly five minutes when they shook hands after getting their prize.

Both leaders made their speeches from a podium directly in front of the UN flag flanked by the 120 member nations' flags.

De Klerk said he was representing many SA leaders who had joined hands for peace and justice.

BILLY PADDOCK

Mandela said it was not "the individual, Nelson Mandela, who is being honoured but the struggle for freedom and democracy".

Former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who was the president of the international jury awarding the prize, said the role of every great leader was to take his people from where they were to where they were not.

"This great virtue is symbolised by both men. They are contributing not only to the salvation of their country but also to the future of democracy."

De Klerk and Mandela were both former prisoners: Mandela's imprisonment was physical and De Klerk's philosophical.

The great thing was that they had transcended their respective histories and were moving down the same path for the good of SA.

Kissinger said he had first visited SA 30 years ago and had attended Mandela's trial. Mandela's address to the court was the noblest he had ever heard.

Among the South Africans present in the 600-strong audience were author Breyten Breytenbach and his wife Yolande.

TIM COHEN

INTENSIVE preparations are under way for the first working sessions of Codesa's five working groups, to start negotiations proper on Thursday.

All steering committees finalised their agendas yesterday. (304A)

The working groups will discuss issues such as a constitution-making body, transitional arrangements and the future of TBVC states.

Steering committees finalise agendas

B10 as 4/2 1992
The first meeting of the sub-committee on the participation of the Zulu king and traditional leaders takes place in Johannesburg today.

Committees will make recommendations to the daily management committee on what should be published about their activities.

Daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yes-

terday the committees were unlikely to want to publicise their discussions in detail, at least for the first few sessions. "They will probably want time to find their feet."

Codesa organiser Murphy Morobe said the agendas of each of the working groups would arise largely from the groups' terms of reference, which were agreed at Codesa I last year.

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New Ministers take their oaths

CAPE TOWN — The new Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives was yesterday sworn in by Judge President of the Cape Mr Justice Gerald Friedman.

The five new Ministers and one Deputy Minister are all members of the NP which, with the support of seven Independents and the sole member of the Freedom Party, Soheir Hoosen, won Friday's no confidence debate against the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

NP MP for Hawston Glen Carelse was sworn in as Deputy Minister in the general affairs portfolio of local government, national housing and public works.

Labour leader Allan Hendrickse and his party colleagues were fired as Ministers by President F W de Klerk on Sunday night.

Talks unite whites and blacks — Zach

CAPE TOWN — Codesa represented the final admission by white politicians that they could not determine the rules of the game for SA's political future, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer said Codesa also represented the final admission by black leaders that they needed the co-operation of whites in the new SA.

However, Labour still has more MPs in the House than the NP.

Jac Rabie, former Leader of the Opposition in the House, is the new chairman of the Ministers' Council.

Other Ministers and their portfolios are: Rev Andrew Julius (Minister of Health Services and Welfare); Abe Williams (Minister of Education and Culture); Gerald Morkel (Minister of the Budget); and Pieter Saaiman (Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture).

Cecil Herandien has been appointed House of Representatives' Deputy Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture.

Welcoming the new Ministers, Acting President Gerrit Viljoen wished them "success with the demanding task ahead".

He said some of them had experience as Ministers while to others it was "a new adventure". — Sapa.

POLITICS

Anti-Codesa front is in the pipeline, says Azapo

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A national united liberation front combining all "anti-Codesa and non-collaborationist" liberation organisations is in the pipeline, deputy president of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) Nchaupe Mokoape announced yesterday.

He said Azapo completely disassociated itself from the recent attacks on white teachers at schools "and unnecessary school boycotts perpetuated by some dubious elements at certain schools".

Addressing a news conference, Mokoape said Azapo had decided to call a conference of all organisations which had "a principled stance on non-collaboration and who have a proven record in their struggle to free black people, to form a liberation solidarity front".

He said the front would involve trade unions, community and civic organisations, church and sports bodies and other political organisations. Talks had already begun with the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) and the South African Congress of Sport (Sacos). Azapo had meetings planned with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

Mokoape said Azapo's fourth national council in QwaQwa over the weekend had officially resolved that plans on the front must go ahead.

"Our national council also resolved to make a detailed study of this country's tax system to enable the organisation to decide whether to embark on a comprehensive tax boycott or adopt a selective approach," Mokoape said.

He said Codesa was bound to fail because it was a creation of government and 90% of organisations participating in it had already been rejected by "the people". Mokoape said Codesa was "an alliance of reconciliation of the elite" which was "illegitimate because it does not have the mandate of the oppressed."

Political Staff

"Those who stay out of Codesa are those who are blind to the facts: the right-wing racists who still insist that whites have the right and the means to determine the course of the future, and the left-wing racists who are happy to shout 'one settler, one bullet'."



CP claims lead in early Potch voting

ET 4/2/92 Political Correspondent (304A)

THE Conservative Party is claiming a lead of more than 1 000 votes over the National Party in prior balloting for the Potchefstroom by-election.

According to the CP's 087 Infoline which became operative last night, almost 6 000 people have cast special votes since prior voting opened on January 16.

CP MPs yesterday were predicting a win in the key seat "by hundreds rather than thousands" of votes and emphasised that a tough fight lay ahead.

DP: 'Whites can't make the rules'

(304A) ET 4/2/92 Political Correspondent

CODESA represented the final admission by white politicians that they could not determine the rules of the game for South Africa's political future, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

The former chairman of Codesa's management committee said that the negotiation forum also represented the final admission by black leaders that they needed the co-operation of whites if the new South Africa was to succeed.

"Those who stay out of Codesa are those who are blind to the facts. The right-wing racists who still insist that whites have the right and the means to determine the course of the future, and the left-wing racists who are happy to shout 'one settler, one bullet'."

He said the DP was planning a series of report-back meetings on Codesa. Dr De Beer will address the first of these meetings at St George's Cathedral hall at 1pm today.

Mandela, FW get top peace prize

PARIS - South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in Unesco, a United Nations' agency, president FW de Klerk said here yesterday.

This was after he and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had jointly received Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny peace award from the agency's director general, Mr Federico Mayor, and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Mr Henry Kissinger.

This marked the first time that a South African head of state addressed a UN body in many years.

It was the second time in two days that the two leaders had appeared on an international public platform together.

Mandela said the joint award signified the "convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the growing majority of South Af-

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

ricans about the future direction of our country".

De Klerk said he and his "compatriot" (Mandela) had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes".

"But our presence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, just, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa."

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

De Klerk said he was receiving the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders - including like Dr Buthelezi."

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11A

FW to give away his R400 000 prize

From BILLY PADDOCK

PARIS. — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela continued their double act at the Unesco headquarters here to jointly receive the first Unesco Felix Houphouet Boigny peace prize.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela once again steered clear of their differences and spoke positively of the developments in South Africa telling the education assistance body that South Africa was knocking on the door of democracy.

Mr De Klerk said he was donating his R400 000 share of the award "to a cause in keeping with the ethos and purpose of the prize".

Following Sunday's act before some of the world's most powerful business leaders and politicians — where

the two were clearly making a bid to entice investors — yesterday's event was far more ceremonial and dignified.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had lunch with French President Francois Mitterrand yesterday.

Mr De Klerk said it was particularly symbolic that the first award to a South African from the United Nations family should be made through Unesco which had led the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa.

"The fact that it is a shared award reflects the international recognition being accorded the new direction most South Africans have embarked upon together," he said.

South Africa had received a welter of negative criticism in the past for earlier attempts to come to terms

with its widely varied ethnic composition so it was fitting that the first joint award should acknowledge the efforts of all South Africans to bring about peaceful change, Mr De Klerk said.

He paid tribute to the Ivory Coast president after whom the award was named because he advocated dialogue as an instrument of peace and was often consigned to being a voice in the wilderness. South Africans were similarly dedicated to this approach.

"We sincerely trust that we shall succeed in laying the foundations of a new nation of which all our citizens may be proud," he said.

However, he quickly indicated that interference from the international community was not being invited.

Acknowledging and encouraging the international

community's duty to encourage regional and national peace, he said it should be remembered that — in the last resort — it was not the international community, but the disputing parties' duty to resolve their conflicts and live with them.

He said he was representing many South African leaders — "real democrats like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi" and others who had joined hands for peace and justice.

It is understood that the government had urged World Economic Forum president Mr Klaus Schwab to allow Chief Buthelezi to speak at Davos, Switzerland, and had to pay the price of then conceding that Lebowa Chief

To page 5

Jobs.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Conservative Party: spying activities

1. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of the National Intelligence Service:†

- (1) Whether the Government is spying on the Conservative Party; if so, what is the extent of the spying activities;
- (2) whether members of Parliament who belong to the Conservative Party are spied on during sessions of Parliament; if so, why?

B115E.INT

*The MINISTER OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE: Mr Speaker, the answers to the specific questions are:

- (1) No.
- (2) No, not on the CP or on any other organisation or party inside or outside Parliament that engages in legitimate and normal political activities.

The following standpoint remains relevant, however. Security attention is paid to any institution, organisation or individual that has the objective of destabilising the Republic of South Africa . . . [Interjections] . . . and creating a security risk for the State, particularly if extraordinary and expensive governmental measures subsequently have to be adopted in order to normalise conditions once again. I am simply referring to the fact that no one would doubt that it is the task of the National Intelligence Service to monitor contributory causes to a state of emergency. Just think how expensive a state of emergency is, and by monitoring the contributory causes it may perhaps be possible adequately to prevent it.

The functions and duties of the service are statutorily defined in the Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act, Act 64 of 1972. When the service was introduced the policy in

regard to its activities was cleared with the late Mr Vorster, the former Prime Minister, with the United Party and the Progressive Party's leaders and they lent their support to all legislation applicable to the service, as contained in Hansard, 1972, col 7929. On that occasion quite a number of hon members of the CP as well as a few hon members of the DP were, I think, already in Parliament. The service is consequently compelled to devote security attention to any person who engages in violence or the sowing of unrest, or who is guilty of war talk and threats of violence, irrespective of such an individual's organisational or party-political connection.

Likewise the service is called upon to take cognisance of any attempt or activity originating either at home or abroad to endanger the sovereignty and integrity of the State.

That is the statutory brief and authorisation of the service. Parliament expects the service to give such attention. The public and the Government expect the service to devote attention to whatever is threatening the integrity of the State.

For this reason no individual or organisation is immune to or exempted from security attention if it becomes involved in any of the aforementioned objectionable activities.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister's denial is naturally not acceptable to us, particularly in the light of the report in the *Sunday Star* of 2 November last year under the heading, "F W admits NIS is spying on CP". [Interjections.] Then follows a complete exposition of the admission by the hon the State President that the National Intelligence Service is spying on the CP.

The hon the Minister must not now come forward with all sorts of clever little arguments, and manoeuvres and qualifications. He should rather tell us in addition whether the National Intelligence Service still employs members of Parliament, in either a part-time or full-time capacity. We know of a former MP whom they did, in fact, have in their service. [Interjections.] Yes, it was a member of Parliament, Sir. It was a member of the House of Assembly.

The hon the Minister is now qualifying what he says, but last Friday the Prime Minister of

Northern Ireland resigned simply because he had knowledge of monitoring between two journalists. I want to tell the hon the Minister that that is political integrity and political honesty. [Interjections.]

Here in South Africa, however, the Government spies on its political opponents. However they may qualify it, they use all such useful information that they are able to obtain. This Government is engaged in monitoring, and we know it. Certain Ministers of this Government pry into files in the possession of their departments. We know this.

They talk about violence and they shudder at violence, but this type of behaviour is thuggery. It gives rise, like nothing else, to rebellion and this Government must take cognisance of this.

† Apart from the Government and the Official Opposition, we have in South Africa a third component of the parliamentary family which, since the days of Fairbairn and Pringle, has seen itself as a brave and fearless defender of justice, equity and truth. Never would that third component close its eyes to any inequity, injustice and so on, or so we were led to believe. Both its morning and afternoon editions would shout it out and expose the culprits in bold type, or so we were led to believe. I am of course referring to the brave, upstanding, fearless press, the upholders of the purest of Fleet Street's traditions.

To the press, with one or two exceptions, I want to say this: "Your integrity is at stake now. Put your money where your mouth is, or rather your mouth where your money is! [Interjections.] Expose this Government for what it is as only you can, otherwise . . ." [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Speaker, we have listened to the hon the Minister of the National Intelligence Service so eloquently not answering either of the questions put to him by the CP, and the CP becoming very late converts to the cause of individual and press freedom.

I think it is an appropriate time to remind the House that in 1982, when the Protection of Information Act was passed in the face of PFP opposition, hon members now in the CP, including the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition, the hon member for Lichtenburg and the hon member for Soutpansberg, supported it and prevented the PFP from effecting suitable amendments which could perhaps have led to a

restriction on the practices they are complaining of today. [Interjections.]

The DP believes that we must have proper protection against internal subversion. We acknowledge that the State is entitled to prepare plans against such a possibility—indeed, it must do so—behind a veil of the tightest security. However, the limits of security have to be very carefully defined in order to avoid the situation which appears to prevail now, in which any and every action by the State is justified and hidden by a reference to security. The NIS and its predecessors seem to have bypassed this line often. That is because there is an extremely vague and general definition of national security in the 1972 Act.

The Government's justifications for spying on the CP, which they did acknowledge last November in a very half-hearted sort of way, are threadbare. They are rendered even less convincing by the appalling legacy of super snooping through a myriad of agencies in recent times: Boss, Dons, the JMC network of the State Security Council are the three most obvious examples. Most menacingly of all, however, the shadowy and sinister allegations about Military Intelligence and its role in fomenting violence and instability in Natal and the Reef makes one doubt whether the intelligence family is, not, in fact, involved in this kind of activity.

It remains unclear, however, whether the NIS crossed the line between national interest and the party interests of the NP in this particular instance. [Time expired.]

THE MINISTER OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE: Mr Speaker, in lighter vein I would like to say to my friend the hon member for Soutpansberg that obviously he is battling with a foot-in-mouth disease, and we cannot assist him with that. [Interjections.] I do not think the press will assist him in that respect either. [Interjections.] Nevertheless, in reply to his quotation from a newspaper in support of what he has brought here today as an accusation, I want to quote from the hon the State President's speech at Virginia:

Die Nasionale Intelligensiediens het met die KP as wetlike politieke party wat hom met tipiese politieke aktiwiteite besig hou, niks te make nie. NI het eger alles te make met daardie aktiwiteite van enige instansie—en dit is in beginsel suiver—insluitende die KP en

enige ander instansie wat die veiligheid van die Staat in gedrang sou kon bring.

*We say that surely the CP does not fit in there. [Interjections.] Surely they need only tell us now that they do not qualify. Why are they so sensitive about this? [Interjections.] Surely it is not necessary! The hon the State President has made it very clear that the NIS will not concentrate on typical political activities.

I want to tell the hon member for Houghton that his predecessor supported the 1972 Act.

† The hon member's predecessor supported the founding act of the National Intelligence Service in 1972. That was at a stage when this intelligence service was founded by Parliament in co-operation with the previous member for Houghton and the then leader of the United Party. [Interjections.] What is more, the hon member now also refers to the admission, but that was no admission. I quoted from the speech by the hon the State President . . . [Time expired.]

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has just contradicted the hon the State President, who said at Virginia last year that they were spying on the CP. They said they were spying because we were spying on them—which is not true. We are not spying on them. [Interjections.] What is true, is that we have caught out their agents. To date we have caught out three agents who were spying on us. We have previously announced two of them. We have caught yet a third one who is spying on the CP. [Interjections.]

I want the hon the Minister to tell the South African taxpayer today how many public servants they are using to spy on the CP. He must tell us how many agents they have planted in the CP and how many they have recruited in the CP. What is more, however, he must tell us how much money they are spending on this espionage. [Interjections.] We will tell him. I now know what salary scales they are paying. Those agents whom we caught, are earning approximately R6 000 per month. Then their travel and subsistence costs are paid and they are remunerated for services rendered. One month, one of them passed on the minutes of a CP constituency council as well as the member list of Toekoms-gesprek, for which he received R3 000.

I now ask the hon members—whilst the hon the Minister and the hon the State President say they

are not spying on us politically—what do the minutes of a constituency council represent if not politics? [Interjections.] Did they give those things back when they received them and saw that what they had was purely political? What do they do with the tapes if they discover that they are political? Do they turn them off and not listen to them any further? [Interjections.] I submit that they are spying on the CP mainly in a political manner. That is their objective and they must now tell the taxpayer what this costs per year. It is not necessary to pay a cent for that information which they want. If they want to know what goes on in a CP constituency council, they should come and ask my leader. He will tell them for nothing. [Interjections.] He will . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, I just want to tell the press of South Africa that they are duty bound not to assist in covering up this Government's misdeeds.

*HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

*Mr T LANGLEY: Furthermore, I want to tell the hon the Minister that it is not only here in Parliament that this is happening. In their constituencies they are trying to plant people on us in an effort to obtain information. [Interjections.] The former hon Minister of Defence is laughing about this. It is because I still do not wish to expose people that I am remaining silent on this matter. [Interjections.] In my constituency we have people who have come to me to discuss their problems.

*An HON MEMBER: You are dreaming.

*Mr T LANGLEY: No, it is not a dream; it is true. We simply want to say that this is scandalous, but there will be an end to this. Together with this Government an end will come . . . [Time expired.]

*THE MINISTER OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE: Mr Speaker, I immediately want to make a present of this point to the hon member for Waterberg. Member lists of the CP actually ought not to carry any weight. [Interjections.] I immediately concede that point to him.

*An HON MEMBER: This is Watergate!

*THE MINISTER: I can give him the assurance that if it landed up anywhere, it was immediately

shredded, because it has no relevant security significance.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: Why did you pay R3 000 for it? *Hansen 4/2/92*

*The MINISTER: I am now going to come to the point. I want to state the following policy standpoint to the hon members.

Our service does not give any planned, deliberate and organised intelligence attention to any party-political organisation.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: That is not true.

*The MINISTER: We do not pay any deliberate attention to a party-political organisation that practises normal politics. In the short time at my disposal today I want to invite the hon members of the House to discuss with me any substantive allegations that may exist in regard to irregularities in connection with the service, and I undertake wherever possible to ascertain the factual basis.

What is more, if the hon members have any complaints, such as the hon members now have, that the service has acted in an unauthorised manner, or that it has used taxpayers' money, they should rush off to the Ombudsman. Those hon members assisted us to put the Ombudsman in place. We have vested him with special powers to investigate the misuse of State funds and to report on this to Parliament. We invite hon members to approach him without delay if they have any complaints. I put it to them frankly that we will devote the necessary attention to any complaints they may have. We will not tolerate absurdities. I hasten to add that the service is not known for concerning itself with absurdities.

Debate concluded.

Kaolin mine in Noordhoek

2. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:†

- (1) Whether, in view of the opposition to the proposed kaolin mine in Noordhoek, he still intends allowing this mine; if so,
- (2) whether the commencement of mining operations will be made subject to certain conditions; if not, why not; if so, to what conditions?

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the answer to both questions is yes. However, before dealing with the conditions to be imposed I would like to sketch briefly the background to this much debated matter.

During the mid 1970s an investigation by the Geological Survey proved beyond doubt that the kaolin deposits at Noordhoek were of excellent quality and the only deposits of their kind in South Africa. Since developments proposed for Noordhoek at the time would undoubtedly have permanently sterilised these deposits, they were reserved in 1983 in terms of the Physical Planning Act of 1967, with the effect that a permit would henceforth be required before mining was allowed. *Hansen 4/2/92*

Having obtained the mineral rights in 1979, Serina was provisionally granted a permit in 1988 to mine the kaolin in a deposit situated on Chaplin's Estate, Noordhoek.

Kaolin is extensively used in the paint, paper, ceramic and other industries. High quality kaolin is an essential and extremely valuable raw material, the importance of which has been further accentuated by a recently discovered use thereof in catalytic converters for automotive exhaust systems.

The success of our mining industry can largely be attributed to security of tenure, that is to say that the basic rights of the holder of mineral rights pertaining to land are protected by law. The basic rights of the holder of the mineral rights in question, Serina (Pty) Ltd, are well entrenched in the new Minerals Act of 1991.

Although Serina has the legal right to enter upon the land concerned and to extract minerals of which it is the owner, it does not by any means have a free hand in this process.

The mining operation will be subject to a series of stringent conditions which are currently being finalised with the Departments of Environmental Affairs, Agriculture, Water Affairs and Forestry. Unfortunately the time available will not allow for details, but I can say that the conditions to be imposed will pertain to the mining operation itself, the abatement of noise, dust control, effluent management and soil erosion, protection of the ecological system, visual impact, road use, rehabilitation and the mine closure. I can assure hon members that these conditions will be

rigidly applied by the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs. *Hansen 4/2/92*
Another very important point that I would like to stress is that in terms of the Minerals Act, 1991, authority is vested in the Minister to cancel or suspend any prospecting permit or mining authorisation if the provisions of the Act are not complied with. However, the Minister will have no discretion if a provision in respect of the rehabilitation of the land concerned is not complied with. In such a case the Minister will be compelled to cancel or suspend the permit or authorisation outright.

Mr J H MOMBORG: Mr Speaker, for the past ten years the people in the southern Peninsula, especially in the Noordhoek area, have lived under the cloud of the possibility that there will be a kaolin mine against the slopes of Chapman's Peak.

Many people, especially those who come from overseas, often speak of the beauty of the drive from Hout Bay to Fish Hoek when using the road over Chapman's Peak. Many of these people react with total bewilderment when they hear that soon there will be a mine, forty metres deep, against the slopes of that very same beautiful mountain.

That is why concerned people, over the past three years, have flocked to sign a petition against this mine—approximately 60 000 of them. That is why concerned people have taken out advertisements in the papers to point out the dangers of the mine.

We have pleaded with the holders of the mining rights, Serina, we have pleaded with Federale Volksbeleggings and we have pleaded with Sanlam to stop this mine. Yet they have gone on with preparations to put bulldozers into the mountainside of Chapman's Peak.

I want to emphasise one point. This is not a personal issue. I have friends in Serina and I am a policyholder of Sanlam. [Interjections.]

Highly respected people like Dr Douglas Hey, Mr Ian Player, Mr John Róbert, Mr Gordon Oliver, as well as the National Monuments' Commission, have called on the Government and Sanlam not to go on with this mine.

There comes a time when even the Government must decide between what is good in the short term and what is good in the long term. This

mine will be a short-term economic benefit. Despite every possible rehabilitation guarantee, the damage done will outlive the short-term economic benefits.

My people in that area are dedicated to seeking a healthy unemotional balance between the two goals of development and preservation. Ideally it should be possible to achieve careful development while preserving that which we dare not lose in the environment. In this case in which it is proposed to enable the messiest form of mining on the fringes of established nature reserves and natural areas, the difficulties of obtaining any such balance are immense. I therefore call on the Government to use every possible bit of legislation to stop this mine.

*Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, environmental patriotism is inseparable from true nationalism, and it is a characteristic peculiar to First World Western World. It should therefore be clearly understood that the implementation of what the DP has stated would be its desired scenario after an election would result in a Third World government in South Africa which would neither appreciate nor understand this environmental patriotism. [Interjections.]

Similarly, having misled the voters in 1989, the NP's fervent desire to bring about a political coup on themselves in order to establish an ANC government in South Africa, would also result in a government which would not regard the conservation of our national heritage as a priority. Only a First World, truly nationalist, White government would have the patriotism to cherish our natural heritage jealously and to preserve it for posterity. [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! Hon members must come to order. The hon member may proceed.

*Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, throughout the Western World we are seeing the introduction of serious restrictions in respect of mining activities as a result of the awakening of environmental patriotism and this has naturally resulted in sharp price increases for minerals. That is the NP's reasoning. As a result of the NP's chaotic economic policy, South Africa has been a capital exporting country for five years now. Therefore they now want to use open-cast mining in a disgraceful manner to destroy the natural heri-

Continued
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

De Klerk hailed as 'man of courage'

The Argus Correspondent

304A

PARIS. — President De Klerk has been hailed here as a man of courage and conviction who will take his place in history. ARG 5/2/92

He was accepting the Politique Internationale-Hachette prize for political courage, on behalf of all South Africans, from Mr Patrick Wajsman, editor of the conservative journal Politique Internationale.

"I am but one among many who have contributed to the process now under way in South Africa," Mr De Klerk said.

"Consequently I wish to accept this award on behalf of all my countrymen and women who are showing great moral and spiritual courage in a period of fundamental change."

Meanwhile, it is reported from Melbourne that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is one of a group of world political figures who have agreed to television interviews with former Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke.

In the next few days Mr Hawke will sign a contract with the International Management Group for between 10 and 12 TV interviews.

Dr No calls for commonwealth in SA

ARC S/2/92

304A

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has called on white MPs who still believe in the freedom of their nation to "join hands with the CP to protect our own white nation".

Addressing a packed CP meeting at Kraaifontein near Cape Town last night, he said the CP believed that the only acceptable constitutional future for South Africa was a commonwealth in which each nation ruled itself, but the

member states co-operated on such matters as defence, economics and foreign affairs.

Dr Treurnicht, who received a number of standing ovations from the crowd of about 1 500, rejected the idea of a federation as this still had one central government.

He said the time had come for the government to "put its foot down" and state that there was only one police force and defence force.

The government should also "put its foot down" against the

African National Congress' armed wing Umkhonto we Siwze.

Dr Treurnicht said it was unheard of that President F W de Klerk could tell the Dutch on his current visit to Europe that he would be prepared to serve under ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I would not have (been willing) to receive a Freedom Award overseas together with a terrorist leader," Dr Treurnicht said.

He implored Kraaifontein inhabitants to take steps against squatting in their area.

The idea of a non-racial South Africa was an illusion — "there is no such thing as a non-racial nation".

The new trend in the world was away from unitary states and there was a growing nationalism among whites.

The CP was the only party in Parliament fighting for the rights of whites, he said. — Sapa

NP's revenge is bitter-sweet

STAR

5/2/92

304A

COMMON wisdom: shenanigans in the House of Representatives, eight-year-old home of "coloured" Parliamentary politics, have long been irrelevant and are now even more so given the imminent demise of the tricameral system.

Question: why, then, were no fewer than four National Party Cabinet Ministers spotted in said HoR on Friday, watching the no-confidence proceedings with keen interest?

Answer: things are not quite as simple as they might seem.

Deference to Parliamentary tradition precludes The Star from naming the Cabinet Ministers who regarded the doings in the HoR as unmissable (one reports on proceedings in Parliamentary chambers, not their galleries), but their presence is a key explanatory factor in trying to assess the significance or otherwise of the fall of the House of Hendrickse.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse's La-

bour Party has long been an unpredictable quantity in South Africa's politics; especially so since its controversial decision in 1984 to participate in the tricameral Parliament, and thereby confer on it a modicum of credibility.

That was the last unequivocal favour the Labour Party did for the Government.

Since then the LP/NP relationship has blown warm and very cold. The LP has been an irritant on numerous occasions, blocking laws, sporadically spouting anti-apartheid rhetoric worthy of the liberation movements, and generally refusing to go along quietly with the wishes of the baas down the corridor.

This history culminated in the NP's ruthless coup in the HoR on Friday. Seen at its most simple, the story runs thus: last year, senior NP politicians came to the conclusion that they could not woo Mr Hendrickse into meek subscri-

ption. Among these politicians were Ministers who nursed a particular grudge — they had been subjected to stinging personal attacks by the Labour Party and longed to see Mr Hendrickse get his comeuppance.

These NP strategists were also mightily annoyed by the LP's flirtation with the ANC, and its membership of the Patriotic Front. Having the LP inside the "system" — a shameless "mole" for opponents outside — was an unpleasant and ironic offspin of the tricameral experiment. The situation would be eased considerably if the LP could be reduced to the status of opposition party in the HoR.

They delved into the labyrinthine relationships and balances of power within the HoR, and found the prospects for encouraging dissent to be exceptionally good. First there was the matter of patronage: the Hendrickses' dynastical reign (dubbed the "unholy

trinity of the father, the sons and the son-in-law" by Bonteheuwel MP Patrick McKenzie) meant that many LP MPs felt hard done by in the "jobs for pals" stakes.

They also found that Mr Hendrickse's "autocratic" personal style had left deep scars among many MPs. Having once revered the man, these people were now eager to avenge slights of the past. An additional political element — although one cannot put it higher than that — was dissatisfaction among conservative "coloured" politicians about LP *toenadering* with the "Left".

Thus the NP set out — quite consciously — to engineer a haemorrhaging of LP support. It came close last year to reaching the critical point whereby the LP could be ousted, and succeeded finally on Friday.

The stormy three-hour no-confidence debate was most revealing of the underlying factors at play. Although NP leader in the HoR

Jac Rabie (like most of his colleagues, a one-time LP loyalist) was at pains to stress "anti-communism" as the primary reason for the attack on the LP, human nature soon proved otherwise. Personal grudges came to the fore as speaker after speaker could not resist the temptation of taking public, bitter revenge on Mr Hendrickse and his Ministers. It was an excruciating afternoon for those who observed the debate — an experience not unlike watching a painstaking, ritual slaughter.

Which brings us back to the original question: does any of this really matter? There can be no doubt — irrespective of claims to the contrary — that the defeat will do the LP short-term political damage. Besides the loss of comfortable jobs and a measure of budgetary discretion, the LP will no longer be able to annoy the Government as much as before.

But the implications go further than this — and they are a mixed

blessing for the NP, for the moment basking in the warm glow of a triumph in old-style political *verneukery*. The NP has adopted an unruly brood, and now faces long-term parental responsibilities. The MPs who crossed the floor were undeniably useful within the tricameral context, but there is serious doubt as to whether they bring with them voter support — and this, of course, will be the real test of usefulness come election time.

Then there is the simple fact that the NP has cured the LP of its political ambivalence, once and for all: it has driven the party into the arms of the ANC, because it is left with nowhere else to go.

The ANC has been struggling, as Mr Mandela himself admitted, to gain support among "coloureds". The LP, for all its flaws, might help the ANC to address this problem. The NP has thus won an equivocal, if not necessarily Pyrrhic, victory. □

Steady bleed from LP to Nats continues as chairman resigns

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The steady bleed from the Labour Party continues, with the announcement yesterday that the chairman of the House of Representatives, Philip Sanders, has resigned from the party.

Mr Sanders has applied to join the National Party.

He has also resigned his chairmanship.

This all took place on Friday, but was only made public yesterday.

Mr Sanders is expected to be replaced as chairman by Peter Mopp of Border.

His resignation puts Labour's strength in the House of Representatives at 40 seats, with the NP on 37.

There are also seven



Philip Sanders ... resigned from LP.

independents and a Freedom Party member.

However, there is talk in Parliament that one of the Natal Labour Members of the HoR is thinking of joining the National Party.

Mr Sanders sat as chairman in the no-confidence debate on Friday

that unseated the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party.

As chairman, Mr Sanders could not vote.

He said it had long been his intention to leave the Labour Party, and that practically all the OFS members of the HoR had joined the NP. He is the MP for eastern Free State.

Mr Sanders was chairman of the House of eight years.

Before that he was chairman of the Coloured People's Representative Council for seven years.

● Natal Member of the Executive Committee Clyde Pierce has resigned from the Labour Party and joined the National Party.

He will continue to serve as an MEC.

IFP calls for economic freedom

By Esther Waugh

CAPE TOWN The Inkatha Freedom Party will propose an economic constitution at tomorrow's meeting of the Codesa working groups.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos confirmed that the proposal would be made in the working group on constitutional proposals.

Democracy in Codesa meant, in addition to equality in the voting booth, equality of economic opportunity for all South Africans, she said.

"It means equal freedom to secure employment, to enter into contracts, to engage in business activities and to own property."

It was the future South African government's task to ensure these rights, she added.

Achievement of economic equality involved the maintenance of a strong currency by the government, the encouragement of capital formation and foreign investment, the promotion of exports, and the advancement of education and training.

In order to achieve an economic constitution, Codesa should endorse the following:

- The Government should pledge judicial enforcement of all contracts entered into, provided they were not discriminatory or inconsistent with public safety.

- A sovereign government should have the power to expropriate private property, but only after establishing there was no reasonable alternative. Fair and immediate compensation should be given, and the

owner of the property should have an opportunity to challenge either, or both, the expropriation and the amount.

- There should be no licensing restrictions on private business.

- Taxes should be designed to encourage business operations, capital formation, foreign investments and exports.

For example, it would be desirable to exempt saving bank interest from taxation," she said.

- A commission on privatisation should be mandated in the future constitution.

- An autonomous central bank should be constitutionally mandated. It should be given the power to control the emission of money and set interest rates.

- An independent, autonomous auditor-general should be provided for.

CP in new claims of NIS spying

Political Staff

The Conservative Party has intensified its charges of the Government spying on it, claiming that three National Intelligence Service agents had been caught.

Claims of political espionage emerged anew in the House of Assembly yesterday as senior Conservative MPs charged that they knew of a former MP being on the NIS payroll.

"It's worse than Watergate!" interjected Frank le Roux of Brakpan, the CP's Chief Whip.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the CP, said these agents received about R6 000 a month. They also received subsistence and transport allowances and were compensated for services rendered.

One of them had received R3 000 for producing the minutes of a CP constituency council meeting and a membership list.

"Did they return that stuff when they got it and saw it was pure politics? What do they do with those tapes when they realise it is politics? Do they turn it off and listen no further?" he asked.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) challenged the Minister responsible for NIS, Kobie Coetsee, to say whether the service still employed MPs, full-time or part-time.

He flatly rejected Mr Coetsee's denials that the Government was spying on the CP or Conservative MPs during sessions of Parliament.

But Mr Coetsee said in question time that security attention was given to any instance or individual aiming to destabilise South Africa or posing a security risk to the State.

The NIS had to give attention to any person busying himself with violence, sowing unrest, or war talk and threats of violence. Nobody was immune if he became involved in any of these activities.

"Here in South Africa the Government spies on its political opponents," Mr Langley said.

"This Government bugs and we know it. Certain Ministers of this Government ferret through files in the possession of their departments. We know it," he said. "It is thuggery."

Mr Langley appealed to the press not to allow this issue to be smothered.

Mr Coetsee said in November, President de Klerk had made it very clear that NIS would not concentrate on a typical political activity.

He invited MPs with any substantive allegations to discuss them with him. If MPs had charges, they should hasten to the Ombudsman.

Tony Leon (DP Houghton) acknowledged the need for internal security, but said the limits of security had to be carefully defined to avoid each and every State action being justified and hidden by a reference to security.

"The NIS seems to have often by-passed this line and the extremely vague and general definition of national security in the 1972 Act which established it," he said.

Government's justifications for spying on the CP were threadbare. They were rendered even less convincing by an appalling legacy of "super snooping" through a myriad agencies.

It remained unclear whether NIS crossed the line between the national interest and the party interests of the NP, Mr Leon said.

SA high on list of affordable places

STYL 5/2/92

304A

VANCOUVER — South Africa and two of its neighbours are among the world's most affordable countries, says a global survey in the latest issue of International Living, a monthly US magazine that monitors the world's investment opportunities, retirement havens and travel destinations.

Syria and Switzerland are the least affordable, the magazine found.

The countries are rated in six categories — cost-of-living, freedom, infrastructure, culture, prosperity and health.

South Africa scores 89 out of a possible 100 in the cost-of-living category, as do neighbours Zimbabwe and Swaziland.

The absolute top position in that category is shared by Ecuador and Venezuela, each scoring 100 points. Rock bottom Syria is rated

20. Switzerland, at 25, emerges as the world's second-most expensive country.

With a 62 rating in the freedom category, South Africa is placed ahead of more than half the countries including Zaire (14), Angola (17), Mozambique (23), Lesotho (29), Swaziland (29), and Zambia (50), but behind Botswana (92), Zimbabwe (70) and Namibia (79). The freedom score is a perfect 100 for Japan, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and all EC members.

Top place for infrastructure, which considers communications and transport, goes to Switzerland with a score of 99. The second-highest infrastructure rating, 90, is awarded to two countries, Japan and Monaco. South Africa scores a middling 57.

The US is judged the most cultured country, with a 93 rating. South Africa scores 81, well above average in this category. At the bottom of the list is Chad (four).

The most prosperous people on earth, according to the survey, are the Swiss (99), followed by the Japanese (90) and the Swedes (89).

The compilers give South Africans 57 prosperity points — about half-way down the list — but they caution that this is an overall average that disregards gaps between population "layers".

South Africa gets an average rating on health and health care — 71. Luxembourg leads in this category with 99, followed by Denmark (98) and the US, France and Finland (each with 97). Mozambique (26) is shown as one of the world's worst countries in terms of public health, life expectancy and health care.

On an overall rating, based on the average of the six scores, the US is the overall winner, with 89 points. Near the top of the list are Japan Australia and Canada. — Sapa.

Transitional government in sight, ^{304A}

pledges FW

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

PARIS — A transitional government was in sight "within a relatively short time", President de Klerk said last night when he received the Politique Internationale-Hachette prize for political courage.

He told the award ceremony he believed that South Africa was on the threshold of a new dispensation.

The Government was determined to see Codesa succeed, and he was encouraged by what had been achieved so far.

The prize was launched in 1982 and is awarded every two years by the conservative journal Politique Internationale and the publisher Hachette — if there is a suitable recipient — for exceptional political courage in the quest for peace and reconciliation.

Late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was the recipient in 1982 and former US ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick in 1984.

Mr de Klerk leaves today for a state visit to Budapest, Hungary, followed by state visits to Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Also in Paris, it has emerged that the ANC intends holding a conference in April to nail down its economic policy, amid growing signs of a conservative shift in ANC economic thinking.

It is understood that ANC President Nelson Mandela disclosed this in meetings with French politicians and businessmen in Paris on Monday.

At Sunday's World Economic Forum conference in Switzerland, Mr Mandela offered important assurances to foreign businessmen and seemed to soften the ANC's position significantly on nationalisation and honouring of foreign loans.

Government sources travelling with Mr de Klerk said many French businessmen were encouraged by the apparent shift.

De Beer (304A) 'bullish' STAR on talks 5/2/92 progress

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer feels "quite bullish" about progress being achieved at Codesa, and he thinks agreement on a transitional government should be reached "in the next several months".

Speaking yesterday at the first DP report-back meeting on Codesa, Dr de Beer said he had reached the conclusion that there was nothing in the National Party's constitutional proposals which was "offensive in principle".

Last week he had said he did not understand the NP proposals, but since then the NP had explained details of its plan.

"The ANC have, as it were, praised it with faint damns — no doubt that they will require some changes, but I doubt whether they are unalterably opposed. I think that Government and the ANC are talking about it," he said.

Spirit

Neither Government or ANC sources would yesterday confirm the talks, which The Star understands took place in Cape Town on Monday.

Dr de Beer said other Codesa participants would support an agreement between the ANC and the Government if it were reached. He believed compromise was needed for such an agreement. A "spirit of Codesa" was emerging, Dr de Beer said.

"It is the attitude that we do not go there to try to gain advantage over each other ... we go there to see whether we can agree, and to try mightily to reach common conclusions."

Dr de Beer also confirmed that the South African public would be invited "within the next 10 days" to make submissions to Codesa on the new constitution.

The door was still wide open for the PAC and the Conservative Party to join the talks, he added.

Individuals to put ideas to Codesa

CAPE TOWN — An invitation to individuals and organisations in SA to make written submissions to Codesa would be extended within 10 days, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer, co-representative on the Codesa management committee, said personal appearances by people might follow written submissions, adding that public meetings were planned to broaden Codesa's base.

Addressing the first of a series of DP public briefings on Codesa, De Beer said he was bullish about prospects for fairly rapid progress.

He suggested an interim government by the end of the year and a universal franchise election under a new constitution in the first quarter of 1994 was the likely outcome. He did not believe the extremes of left and right could derail the process.

"If things go well — and I think they are going to — then during the next several months we will agree on constitutional principles and the form of transitional government. The latter will be a broad-based, moderate government of the centre, in which I believe South Africans will feel confidence.

"The constitutional principles will include universal franchise, propor-

tional representation, a bill of rights, decentralised government and — I think — a form of power-sharing at the executive level."

There could, however, be lengthy negotiations on the content of a bill of rights and on property rights.

De Beer committed the DP's support to President F.W. de Klerk in getting majority support in a referendum on an interim constitution. He said there was nothing offensive in principle in the NP's plans and that if the NP and the ANC could reach agreement, the other parties would go along with this.

"I think government and the ANC are at present having talks about it," De Beer said.

He emphasised that economic uncertainty gave urgency to the process as it was vitally important to restore confidence by proving that the country had a stable and democratic government.

De Beer said while Parliament was illegitimate, it was necessary to legalise the decisions taken by the legitimate and representative Codesa. Both institutions were necessary until a new constitution came into being.

LINDA ENSOR

SA among most affordable countries

VANCOUVER — SA and two of its neighbours are among the world's most affordable countries, says a global survey in the latest issue of US magazine International Living.

The magazine monitors the world's investment opportunities, retirement havens and travel destinations. *8/22/92*

Syria and Switzerland are the least affordable, the magazine's research staff found in the annual 172-country survey.

SA scores 89 out of a possible 100 in the cost-of-living category, as do neighbours Zimbabwe and Swaziland, placing them near the top of the affordability list. *(304A)*

The top position in that category is shared by Ecuador and Venezuela, which each scored 100 points.

Rock-bottom Syria is rated 20. Switzerland, at 25, emerges as second-most expensive country.

With a 62 rating in the freedom category, SA is

placed ahead of more than half the countries, but behind Botswana (92), Namibia (79) and Zimbabwe (70). The freedom score is a perfect 100 for Japan, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and all EC members.

The most prosperous people on Earth, according to the survey, are the Swiss (99), followed by the Japanese (90) and the Swedes (89). The compilers give South Africans 57 prosperity points — about halfway down the list. — Sapa.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela's co-ordinated weekend strategy at the World Economic Forum was carefully orchestrated to lay a political foundation for SA businessmen and government officials to use to woo investors at Davos.

The industrial and trade focus of the forum was scheduled to run from Tuesday to Thursday this week.

Among the businessmen present are Premier Group CE Peter Wright, Eskom CE Johann Maree, SA Drugists executive chairman Johan van der Walt, Gencor executive director Naas Steenkamp, Sasol chairman Johannes Stegmann, Standard Bank MD Conrad Strauss and Gencor's Anton Roodt. There are also government officials from various departments including Public Enterprises.

Mandela worked hard publicly and privately to reassure potential investors. He said he had learned a great deal at Davos. He was hearing from foreign businessmen the same concerns that their SA counterparts had already voiced about the ANC's views on nationalisation and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's threat that an ANC government would consider reneging on loans granted to the NP government.

Mandela was at the forum from the start, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and their staff were there from at least Friday. This allowed all parties to gauge the mood of the conference and plug into it very neatly by Sunday.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi also plugged into the strategy. He is well known at the forum and the mostly conservative audience has come to respect his views on a free market economy.

Those of the 35 SA business leaders canvassed were pleased with the politicians' performances. They said the session appeared adequately to have addressed potential investors' major problems on issues such as nationalisation.

However, they said investors wanted to see tangible economic and social progress. Areas of continuing concern include:

- Social stability;

Politicians pave a way for business at economic forum

BILLY PADDOCK in Davos

□ The liberalisation of the economy through reduced state operations in the construction, industrial and commercial sectors.

□ Deregulation and an opening up of the market through reduced protectionism, and a greater emphasis on the provision of services, being farmed out to the private sector on a contractual or agency basis.

□ The peaceful transition to a democratic political system, and

□ Lower corporate taxes to make risky investment more attractive in SA than in Europe.

It is understood that the main thrust of the SA businessmen's and officials' work in Davos this week will be to urge investors to help

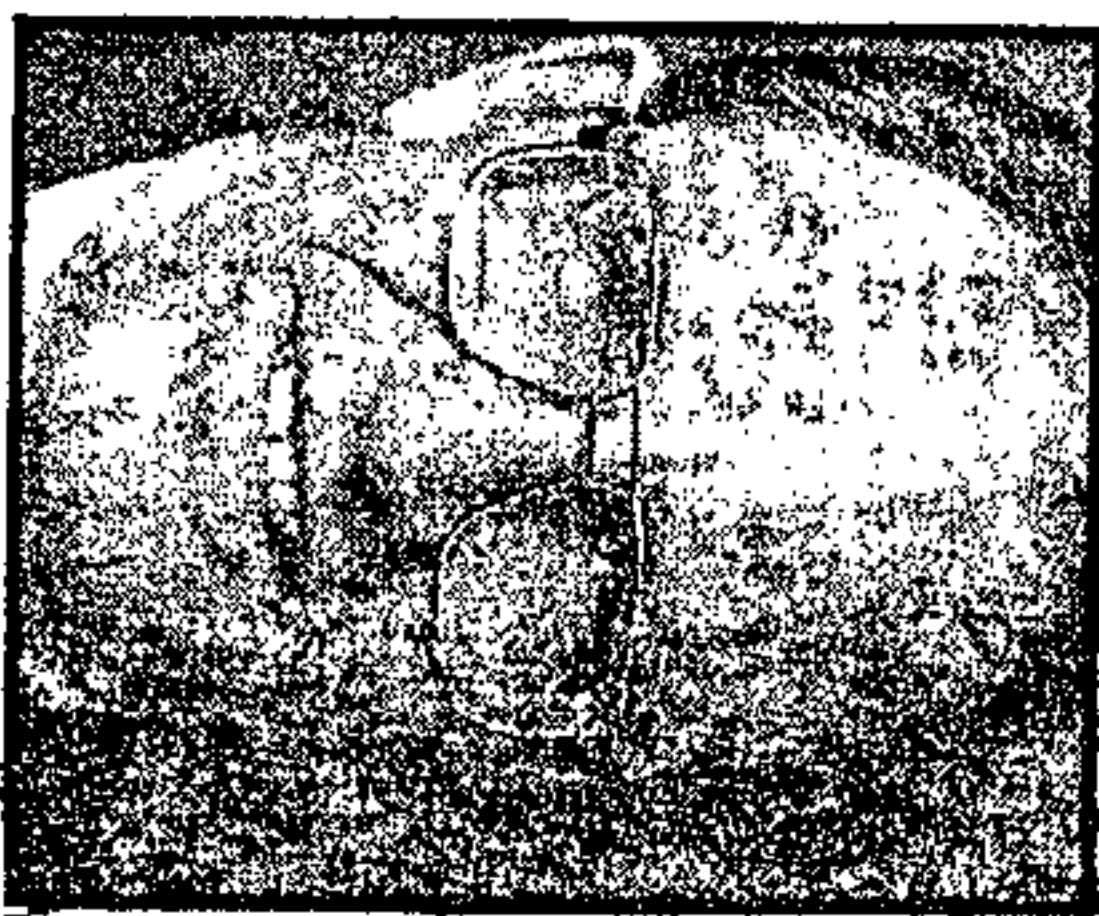
expand SA's productive base. There is concern that, with investors already operating at about 80% capacity, that capacity will be exhausted within a few years once economic growth resumes.

One official said they were attempting to explore recommendations by foreign businessmen at the forum that SA, while running government spending, should operate an expansionary budget, geared to encourage capital investment in industries aiming at the export market.

Botha and government officials are also seeking assurances from other governments that they, too, will liberalise their own international trade policies.

Mandela, the SA businessman, believe, emerged satisfied from a meeting on ANC nationalisation policy. Forum founder and president Klaus Schwab made a point of saying he wanted all 2 000 delegates and the public, through live television coverage, to hear the assurances Mandela had given in private groups and bilateral exchanges.

He asked: "Are you saying that new investments will never be needed by nationalisation?" Mandela's response, his strongest statement to date on nationalisation, was "I am very clear. We are well aware that you cannot co-operate with business growth. We are busy discussing this with



□ WRIGHTON



□ MAREE

SA businessmen said they were concerned that, except for the focus on SA on Sunday, Africa was becoming the forgotten continent. A growing north-south divide was leading to the further impoverishment of African countries.

They felt Africa had to force itself onto the world agenda again. They argued that SA had gone a great deal further along the road to democratising and liberalising its political and economic systems than many of the former East European countries, and was a better investment prospect.

De Klerk argued that government was already applying the economic policies that had proven successful elsewhere in the world. "We are curbing state expenditure, we are fighting inflation, in the ways that you all know it should be fought. We are spending money on priorities, be-

cessary for economic growth — in infrastructure and education, especially human infrastructure," he said.

In trying to convince investors of political and economic stability, he said the peace accord under the chairmanship of John Hall had been set up to prevent violence.

In negotiations a constitution based on the proven democratic principles would be brought into being. There was a growing consensus that the constitution would offer investors in SA and future investors a sense of security to enter into a long-term economic association.

This was capped by John Hall expressing confidence in the leadership of SA and saying that he believed SA had the intellectual capability to reach its goal.

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De Klerk emphasised this when he argued in his speech that the world ignored Africa at its peril.

Schwab reinforced on this issue in concluding the panel discussion. "The world needs a stable Africa and a stable Africa needs a stable SA."

He was positive about SA's prospects. He concluded that the SA presence at the forum had shown the country was irreversibly committed to a negotiated settlement. While there were still strong differences, he believed these would be overcome.

He also said all the South Africans present had demonstrated they were committed to the fact that "it is in the end only democracy, whatever framework is given to it, which creates economic and social progress."

□ The business of politics, co-operation of the African states will be the key to a peaceful and stable future. It is necessary to reach this point, and we must not regret the error.

Another Labour MP quits to join the Nats

Sanderson 5/2/92
THE steady bleed from the Labour Party continued yesterday with the announcement that the chairman of the House of Representatives, Mr Philip Sanders, had resigned from the party.

Sanders has applied to join the National Party.

Sanders is expected to be replaced as chairman by Mr Peter Mopp of Border.

This puts Labour's strength in the HoR at 40 seats, with the NP on 37. There are also seven independents and a Freedom Party member.

CAPE TOWN — A National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent had been paid R3 000 for providing the NIS with the minutes of a CP meeting, CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said yesterday.

He was speaking during an interpellation in which Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) asked the Minister responsible for the NIS, Kobie Coetsee, whether government was spying on his party or on CP MPs.

Hartzenberg said the CP

'Spy paid for CP minutes'

had exposed three NIS agents who admitted to spying on his party.

These agents earned R6 000 a month, a travel and subsistence allowance and a further fee "for services rendered".

Langley asked the Minister whether the NIS still employed MPs, saying his party knew of a former MP who was in the service of the NIS.

He alleged that government was spying on its political opponents, using the information the NIS gathered against them.

"Such behaviour is thugery. It is actions such as this which contribute to the uprising."

Langley called on the Press "not to help cover up the government's misdeeds".

Coetsee said government

was not spying on the CP or on CP MPs during parliamentary sessions.

The NIS gave attention to any individual or organisation who threatened the security of the state or engaged in violence, irrespective of his or her party-political affiliation.

He asked MPs to discuss complaints about the NIS with him or to approach the Office of the Ombudsman with allegations of irregularities involving state funds. — Sapa.

De Klerk in meeting with the cream of French business

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and his party met a high-powered group of French bankers and businessmen yesterday, including Paribas chairman Michel Franco-Poncet.

After his conference with the businessmen, De Klerk had a four-hour working lunch with senior politicians, before receiving the Prix du Courage Politique from the French political magazine Politique Internationale.

The prominent businessmen represented such organisations as the Confederation of French Industries and Services, Aérospatiale, Alcatel, Indosuez Bank, the National

BILLY PADDON

Bank of Paris, Banque Française du Commerce Extérieur, Cie Financière Agache, Cie Financière Edouard de Rothschild, Groupe Accor and Groupe Dassault.

A source close to the presidential party said the meeting was extremely successful as far as trade, business and economic links were concerned. "It was the most impressive and potentially the most profitable meeting of the past two years."

The businessmen were no longer just making encouraging noises but were show-

ing real interest and asking practical questions regarding, for instance, SA's transport and other links with the rest of Africa and Eskom's spare capacity.

The source said the group was not concerned about sanctions, believing these would be lifted within months. Their main concern was that there would be a constitution that guaranteed human rights for all and regular elections.

At lunch De Klerk met, among others, Ivory Coast President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, senate president Alain

Poher, Socialist Party national secretary Dominique Strauss-Kahn and central bank governor Jacques de Larosière.

At the prize-giving ceremony last night De Klerk said negotiations on a transitional government would be the main negotiating issue at Codesa's next meeting, which he thought would be in March.

In a relatively short time, he expected constitutionally based transitional structures to come into being through democratic elections. "The legitimacy of such a transitional government and newly constituted Parliament will be beyond dispute."

Codesa says no to 15 groups

304A

TIM COHEN

ABOUT 15 interest groups that had applied to join Codesa had been informed their applications had been rejected, daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

But the fate of the applications of about 11 political groups would be decided finally only towards the middle of this month.

The third group of applications, those of three organisations of traditional leaders, had been referred to the subcommittee on the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders, due to meet today.

Cosatu's application has not yet been considered. *Blom 5/2/92*

A process was under way to gauge the political support of each of the political groups which had applied, Gordhan said.

So far, the only criterion that had been accepted by all participants was that Co-

desa should be restricted to political parties, organisations and governments. The rejection of interest groups puts paid to the attempt by the Psychological Association and the Red Cross, among others, to join.

Codesa still has to discuss the inclusion of political groups such as the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, opposition parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, the Mighty Sothasonke Party and several right-wing parties. The latter include the Afrikaner Party, Boer-volk and Boerentia.

Gordhan said Codesa would take into account submissions from the parties themselves and from other organisations.

● See Page 10

CP phone-in line

Political Correspondent

30/4/92

THE Conservative Party is intensifying its drive for greater membership and wider support and has launched its own phone-in line.

The line is primarily geared at providing potential and existing CP supporters with party policy and propaganda, the CP's Dr Pieter Mulder said in Cape Town yesterday. More than 22 items are available on the tens of thousands of flyers which will be distributed over the next couple of weeks.

The menu options cover current affairs, the "latest news", party news, a report from Parliament, information on how to join the party and many others. A spokesman for Phone Media said most of the bigger political parties had been approached, but "only the CP had taken the initiative".

Codesa

Secret deals out, says Roelf Meyer

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

AS Codesa's five working groups started real negotiations, the government pledged itself not to make secret deals with the ANC or other groupings outside the structures of Codesa.

Determining the agendas is the main task facing the working groups that meet at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg today.

Codesa 2 — the next plenary session — is expected to take place at the same venue towards the end of next month.

One of the key figures in the talks, Minister of Defence and Information Mr Roelf Meyer, made it clear during a briefing yesterday that the government's first priority was to "ensure genuine consensus in the working groups and Codesa, and, failing that, sufficient consensus".

While it was natural and even helpful to have bilateral contacts between various participants, he said the government "would not wish to pre-judge the working of Codesa or decisions of the working groups".

Any attempt to seek agreements ahead of that process could bedevil efforts to achieve consensus, Mr Meyer said.

"It is not our intention to make deals outside Codesa structures."

The perception that the government has sealed deals with the ANC behind the scenes has gained currency among opponents of Codesa and even among some participants.

The PAC has singled this out as one of the main reasons why it pulled out of the talks process.

Mr Meyer also announced yesterday that the government had decided to appoint Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpoort as its spokesman on Codesa.

The deliberations of Codesa's working groups today were expected to focus almost exclusively on determining the agendas, identifying issues to be discussed and defining the terms of reference of sub-groups likely to be formed.

"This is the launch of a very important process, but it is doubtful there will be any opportunity for breakthroughs," said Mr Meyer.

He disclosed that the government would not table its proposals for the election of a transitional government just yet.

"President De Klerk has given an indication — at Codesa 1 and in his opening speech to parliament — that the government is working on proposals, but this is not the right time to put them."

On the question of who would oversee the election of a transitional government, Dr Delpoort said: "Whatever body is prescribed for the transitional government elections will have to be agreed in discussions."

It's down to

WORK

Codesa is underway

From page 1

erate at the sessions which start officially tomorrow and which will sit on Monday's and Tuesday's over the next six to eight weeks. National Party and Government officials who are expected to do duty at

Codesa have been granted leave of absence from parliamentary duty.

At the same time Parliament will sit on the remaining three days of the week only. This has been said to be indicative of the emergency significance of Codesa over Parliament.

Parliament will, however, serve to legalise Codesa decisions, but not to the detriment of its routine functions such as passing the Budget and everyday legislation. Five of the seven major parliamentary parties are involved in Codesa.

MORE than 200 men and women of all races will meet tomorrow at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg to begin serious negotiations towards a political settlement in this country.

The formal, public launch of Codesa with its pomp and ceremony, that was broadcast live on radio and television across the nation, is over. Members of Codesa's five working groups and their advisers go behind closed doors to start actual talks.

The working groups will work on projects in separate chambers: the creation of a climate for free political participation and the role of the international

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

community in the transition; the identification and formulation of constitutional principles and a constitution-making body and process; transitional arrangements; the future of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei and a time frame for the implementation of Codesa's decisions. The two major players in the present scenario, the ANC and the National Party/Government have called upon their highest ranking officials to delib-

To page 2

All over 18 urged to apply for IDs

ARG 6/2/92
The Argus Correspondent

(304A)

PRETORIA. — The Department of Home Affairs has asked all South Africans over 18 who do not have an identity document to apply for one immediately in case of a referendum this year.

The department warned that a last-minute rush might result in some IDs not being issued on time.

Identity documents were needed in order to vote in the mooted referendum which will precede substantive changes to the current constitution.

The pending referendum was announced by President De Klerk in his opening address to parliament.

He envisaged a referendum in which every South African would be able to take part and in which the result might be determined nationally as well as per parliamentary voters' rolls.

The department said the old-type identity document with a dark blue cover as well as the current smaller document with the green cover were valid.

No other documents, such as identity cards, reference books, passports and temporary identity certificates would be valid for voting purposes.

Fur hat thaws FW on visit to Hungary

304A

ARG 6/2/92

Political Staff

BUDAPEST. — President De Klerk donned a traditional Russian fur hat to ward off the freezing Hungarian winter as he arrived here on the first visit by a South African head of state behind the old Iron Curtain.

He immediately turned the occasion to political advantage after meeting Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

Mr De Klerk said that one had to listen first-hand to the experiences of communist rule to appreciate fully how disastrous central planning was for an economy.

SA dare not introduce even elements of such policies, he said.

Speaking at an international Press conference at which the main concern was the economic policy of a future South African government, he said he was convinced the ANC was fundamentally shifting its economic policy.

This gave him high hope that South Africa could continue with negotiations without fear of a disruption in the basic approach to the economy.

The South African flag flew from the majestic Gothic/Byzantine parliament, on the square fronting it and above the main approaches to it.

Possibly deterred by the cold — or jaded by too much inflated Communist pomp in the past — few Budapest citizens came out to watch the ceremony of welcome for Mr De Klerk.

Mr Botha signed an agreement with his counterpart Tamas Katona, waiving visas for diplomats and officials.

Earlier the South African anthem sounded for the first time in the old East bloc when Mr De Klerk inspected a Hungarian guard on icy Kossuth Lajos Square after arriving from Paris on a one-day state visit.

Later he and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha donned fur hats.

"How do I look without my bald head?" Mr De Klerk joked.

At a state banquet given by Mr Goncz in his honour last night, Mr De Klerk said relations between the two countries were progressing well.



seeks consensus



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

CP AND CISKEI: Chairman of the Ciskei Military Council Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, left, and Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht, right, after their talks in Cape Town. CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley is in the centre.

CP leader 'exploring Commonwealth forum'

MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has revealed that he is "exploring the possibility" of a forum with homeland and other leaders to advance the cause of a commonwealth of South African states.

This emerged after "cordial and constructive" talks in parliament yesterday with Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Dr Treurnicht's fifth meeting with a homeland leader.

The two men issued a joint statement saying they shared a commitment to self-determination.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We are exploring the possibility (of round table discussions on a commonwealth of self-ruled states), but in the meantime we are trying to find common ground on principles and approaches with other leaders."

He said the CP would not necessarily seek to launch a rival or opposing forum to Codesa, but would welcome a forum of leaders subscribing to the principle of self-determination.

Brigadier Gqozo and Dr Treurnicht told a press conference after their meeting that they both rejected a unitary state in South Africa. While they both supported the concept of a commonwealth of states, Brigadier Gqozo favoured a central government exercising control over items such as the economy and defence in a federation.

Dr Treurnicht endorsed voluntary co-operation

on these issues between politically independent states.

Brigadier Gqozo said he and Dr Treurnicht were "bound together" by conservative ideas and values.

It has also emerged that Brigadier Gqozo touched on the "sensitive and topical subject of Codesa" in his talks with the CP leader.

He said he believed that if South Africa was to resolve its problems and achieve a legitimate constitution, it would be necessary to have negotiations representing "each and every group or community".

However, he said he respected Dr Treurnicht's concern.

"I respect the fact that there are problems that should be cleared and guarantees that should be addressed to him before he can proudly feel he is part of Codesa ..."

He described his meeting with Dr Treurnicht as "part of the effort by the Ciskei government to close gaps between groups and cultivate a culture of listening to each other".

On Codesa, Brigadier Gqozo said it was "unfortunate" that the perception had been created of the National Party and ANC making secret deals.

He warned that if Ciskei or any other participant was "bulldozed" into an agreement at Codesa without proper negotiation, it would render the process a "failure" and a "farce."

CP, Gqozo find common ground

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht have agreed, after holding talks in Cape Town yesterday, that they have much in common politically.

"We found ourselves discussing, to our relief, a lot of common aspirations," Brigadier Gqozo said after the talks.

The talks follow similar recent discussions between the CP and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi of KwaZulu.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP and Brigadier Gqozo agreed that Christian values must remain in place; that there must be a free-market economy; that there was a necessity for the maintenance of law and order; that they both rejected communism as well as the control of security forces by



Gqozo ... shares many values with Treurnicht.

any parties other than the legitimate government; and on the necessity of self-determination.

They both rejected any form of domination, and demanded the recognition of the right to self-determination.

Brigadier Gqozo said although they both rejected the concept of a unitary state, he believed

in a federation with a strong central authority.

He had had qualms about signing Codesa's Declaration of Intent as it called for a united SA.

"But after consultations we were told a united South Africa does not necessarily mean a unitary South Africa, and we decided to sign."

It was too early to speculate on whether or not Ciskei would consider joining forces with the CP. Ciskei had "touched on the subject" of encouraging the CP to join Codesa.

"I think that if we are to have lasting solutions to South Africa's problems, all parties should be represented at Codesa," the brigadier said.

Dr Treurnicht said he did not envisage an alternative to Codesa, but would welcome talks with any leaders who subscribed to self-determination. — Sapa.

De Klerk fêted by Hungarians

304A

STAR 6/2/92
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BUDAPEST — The South African anthem sounded for the first time behind the old Iron Curtain when President de Klerk arrived here yesterday on a state visit to Hungary.

Mr de Klerk was received with full honours on this first leg of a three-nation tour of eastern Europe including Czechoslovakia and Poland.

While the South African flag fluttered alongside the green, white and red Hungarian flag from Parliament Building, Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha stood to attention on chilly Kossuth Lajos square while a military band



Honorary guest . . . President de Klerk chats with his Hungarian counterpart Árpád Göncz in Budapest yesterday.

Picture: AP

played "Die Stem".

It was the first visit by a South African head of state or government to a former east bloc nation.

After inspecting the guard with Hungarian President Árpád Göncz, Mr de Klerk entered the majestic Parliament Building for talks with him and Prime Minister József Antall.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha

and his counterpart Tamas Katona signed an agreement which further strengthened links between the two countries by waiving visa requirements for officials and diplomats.

Although the purpose of the visit is largely symbolic — to underscore the changes in South Africa and the world order — SA diplo-

mats are hoping it will achieve concrete results.

South Africa hopes that improving relations with Hungary, a key player in the Non-Aligned movement, will help SA's return to normal multi-lateral contacts.

Later Mr de Klerk was to lay a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Warrior on Hosok Square and then to meet the Speaker of Parliament György Szabó. He was also to be guest of honour at a dinner hosted by the Hungarian President and Prime Minister.

Today Mr de Klerk leaves for Prague to meet President Václav Havel and Prime Minister Marian Čalfa.

He completes his tour with a state visit to Poland tomorrow.

Secret deals 'not Govt's intention'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 6/2/92

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — It was not the Government's intention to make secret bilateral deals outside Codesa, Defence Minister and National Party negotiator Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

The Government did, however, recognise the usefulness of bilateral consultations.

Speaking at a press briefing in Cape Town, which was telephonically linked to Johannesburg, Mr Meyer said consultations were taking place on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's participation in Codesa and other consultations were a natural part of the process.

It is understood the Government and the ANC met in Cape Town on Monday, and that the Government met Inkatha on Tuesday night.

Mr Meyer warned that care should be taken not to pre-empt the processes in the five Codesa working groups. The first prior-



Roelf Meyer . . . consultations natural part of the process.

ity was to ensure consensus in the working groups and Codesa plenary sessions.

The Government yesterday announced the appointment of Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpont as its Codesa spokesman.

The working groups will be getting down to their real work today at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

The groups met on January 21 to determine their work and to elect steering committees.

Mr Meyer said the working groups would focus on determination of agendas, finding com-

mon ground on procedures and filling the terms of reference for sub-committees of the working groups.

It was not an opportunity to achieve or to expect great breakthroughs, he said.

Mr Meyer expected that all the participants had completed intensive preparations to state their viewpoints on the agendas.

The groups meet again on Tuesday and would thereafter meet every Monday.

Codesa 2 was expected to take place before the end of next month as a progress report-back meeting.

Mr Meyer said it was too early to publically state the National Party and Government proposals.

Dr Delpont said the criteria for new participants were clear: They had to be political parties or organisations with substantive support.

It was envisaged that all South Africans could make contributions to Codesa and a Codesa management committee would take a final decision on the matter on Monday.



NO VISAS REQUIRED . . . Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha (left) and his Hungarian counterpart Mr. Geza Jeszenski shake hands after signing an agreement on lifting visa regulations in Budapest yesterday as President F. W. de Klerk looks on.

Picture: AP



Today's business
ASSEMBLY: Motion on drought
REPS: Appoint new chairman
DELEGATES: Questions
Extended Public Committees: Legislation

CP, Ciskei agree on self-rule

304A
 5/2/92

Political Correspondent

EFFORTS by the Conservative Party to forge a loose alliance with homeland leaders supporting "self-determination" received a boost yesterday at its meeting with a Ciskei government delegation at Parliament.

The leaders of the two delegations, CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht and the Chairman of the Ciskei Military Council, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said afterwards that they rejected a unitary state and demanded recognition of "our right to govern ourselves".

After two hours of "cordial and constructive" discussions, the leaders also noted that they subscribed to the principle of "self-determination over our peoples" and rejected "any form of domination over our peoples".

After the meeting, Dr. Treurnicht told a press conference the CP was considering expanding the bilateral discussions the CP had held with six homeland leaders to a round-table discussions with all leaders who agreed with self-determination.

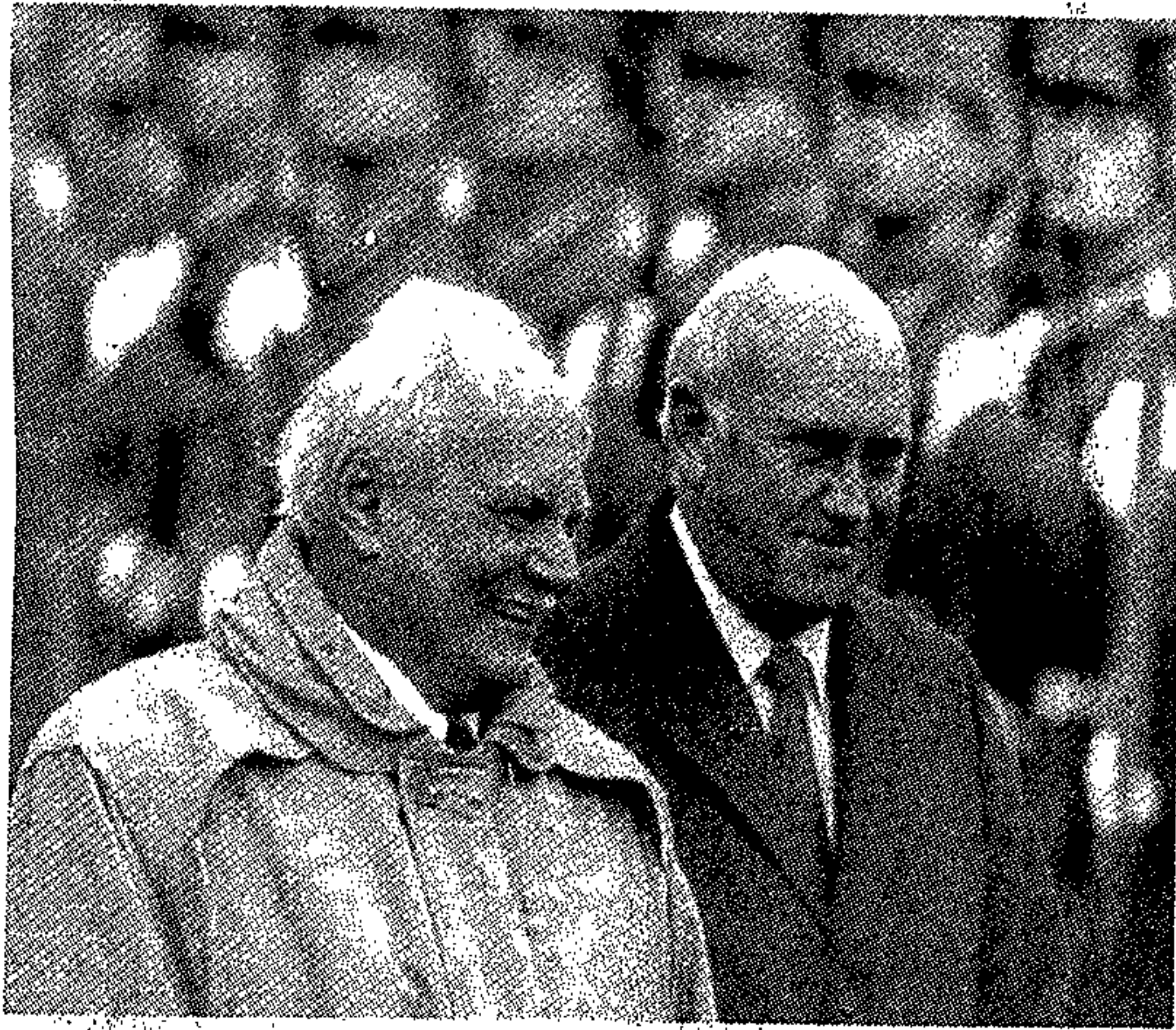
This would "serve as a strong argument against certain trends at Codesa" but should not necessarily be seen as a rival to the negotiating forum.

Brigadier Gqozo said it was "too early" to start talking about an alliance between the CP and the Ciskei government, but if the ANC or the government tried to "bulldoze" the smaller parties into accepting an agreement at Codesa, things could change.

He said the Ciskei government believed in a federation — under the control of a central government.

The CP, Dr. Treurnicht said, envisaged a confederation in terms of which the various "peoples" governed themselves but co-operated with others on a voluntary basis.

POLITICS



President FW de Klerk meets Hungarian President Arpad Goencz during the official welcome ceremony in front of the parliament in Budapest yesterday. SA and Hungary established diplomatic ties last June.

Picture: AP

Codesa 'needs Parliament' 304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Codesa's decisions cannot be vested with legal authority without obtaining that legal authority from the tricameral Parliament, ANC president Nelson Mandela has acknowledged. *Monday 6/2/92*

The ANC did not recognise this Parliament, considering it illegitimate and totally discredited, he said in an interview in the latest issue of ANC journal *Mayibuye*.

"In fact the UN security council, at our request, declared the existing constitution null and void. We stand by that position. Nevertheless, it is the highest legal authority in the country today," Mandela said.

Asked what would happen if Parliament did not approve Codesa's decisions, he replied: "If the NP and other parties in the tricameral Parliament are committed to the peaceful process... Parliament will have to give legal effect to Codesa decisions."

Codesa was the only organisation in SA that "enjoyed the support of the majority of political parties".

It was merely the culmination of an initiative the ANC began in 1986 when it outlined its stance on a negotiated settlement.

"We have forced the regime to abandon its ideological position of apartheid... and to embrace our position of a non-racial society."

This, said Mandela, "puts us ahead of the regime strategically".

The ANC was in a position to command popular support but was aware of a discrepancy between the commanded and the popular support it enjoyed.

Interim government by June - Mbeki

THE present Parliament should be dissolved and replaced by an elected interim government that would rule the country until the adoption of a constitution.

This was said last night by Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC's director of international affairs, on the Radio Metro Talkback Show which was sponsored by Tribute magazine as part of its fifth anniversary celebrations.

Mbeki said the ANC,



which was one of the major players at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, would press for the establishment of an interim government of national unity by June this year.

He said the interim gov-

ernment would then work towards the establishment of an elected constituent assembly, or a transitional parliament that would draw up the constitution.

"This will be constitution-making that has legal authority. It should, however, be accepted that the tricameral Parliament is still the legal body that has to pass those legislations drafted by the elected constituent assembly.

"It has been agreed at

Codesa that some of its decisions should be given legal force in order to draft legislation," he said.

Mbeki, however, conceded that problems such as the killings of innocent blacks by rightwingers could delay a new government.

Azapo's official Mr Mbulelo Rakwena asked Mbeki why the ANC was negotiating with the Government which he said was the enemy and aggressor.

Mbeki said when "people negotiate, they normally do so with their enemies."

Mr Mike Tissong, also of Azapo, said he was surprised why the ANC, which had regarded the Government as its enemy, was now talking to it.

He said the ANC was "going to negotiate on a position of weakness as it had given a lot of its access away, such as the suspension of the armed struggle."

FW gets rousing welcome

BUDAPEST — President F W de Klerk got a rousing welcome when he arrived in Hungary yesterday on his first official state visit to a former East bloc country.

All routes leading to the main airport road were closed for more than an hour to give the 20-car presidential motorcade the freedom of the road. People waiting at the roadblocks left the warmth of their cars to watch the limousines, flying the SA and Hungarian pennants, sweep by.

A huge SA flag draped across the road next to the Hungarian flag greeted De Klerk as his limousine drove up the road to Kossuth Lajos Square, where the Hungarian parliamentary palace is situated.

De Klerk was met by President Arpad Goncz with an honour guard and a band playing Die Stern. He took the salute before turning up the red carpet leading into the 19th-century buildings housing parliament and the offices of government.

De Klerk, accompanied by his wife Marika and the two governments' respective delegations, passed through the opulent palace with its solid marble walls and columns encrusted with gold leaf.

While De Klerk held discussions with

BILLY PADDOCK

President Arpad Goncz, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his counterpart Geza Jenzsky withdrew to the other side of the palace for talks.

Later Botha signed an omnibus bilateral agreement with State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Tamas Katona. Included in the agreement was a provision that the two countries scrap visa requirements.

De Klerk and the SA delegation met Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall before going on to an official luncheon. He then attended a wreath-laying ceremony at Budapest's statue for the Unknown Soldier before going sightseeing.

The De Klerks attended a gala dinner hosted by Goncz and Antall last night.

A Hungarian foreign ministry official told Sapa De Klerk's visit was "in recognition of the pioneering role that was played in this region by Hungary in opening ties with SA at the end of the 1980s".

Diplomatic ties between the two countries were established on June 2 1991.

● Picture: Page 6

TIM COHEN

SUBSTANTIVE negotiations on the future of the country begin today as Codesa working groups meet for the first time, but Codesa officials and participants have dampened expectations of a quick end to the negotiations process. (304A)

On the eve of the discussions, a four-delegation subcommittee met to resolve the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders. The committee's recommendations will be forwarded to the Codesa management committee for a final decision.

Delegates declined to comment on the content of the proposals yesterday, with Inkatha delegation leader Frank Mdlalose

Codesa working groups buckle down

6/2/92
saying only that he was satisfied.

Other officials would also not disclose the report's contents, but given the support of the participants in the subcommittee for traditional leaders, it is thought the recommendations could receive opposition at the management committee. Representatives from QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party and Lebowa's United People's Front form the subcommittee with Inkatha.

The four-man committee also discussed

□ To Page 2

Codesa 6/2/92

the participation in Codesa of three organisations of traditional leaders which have applied to join. The issue of the participation of traditional leaders is highly charged and led to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotting the first meeting of Codesa because the Zulu king was not allowed to lead his own delegation.

Nineteen delegations meet today at the World Trade Centre in five working groups. They will discuss the creation of a climate for free political participation, the international community's role, constitutional principles and the constitution-making body, transitional arrangements, the future of the TVBC states, and time frames for implementing Codesa decisions.

Officials said the meetings would be the first in a series of weekly working group meetings which could go on for some time. "Don't expect them to resolve all SA's problems in one day," an official said.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday that Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont would be

(304A) □ From Page 1
the government spokesman on Codesa. □ US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen said yesterday constitutional negotiations at Codesa should proceed speedily to demonstrate the political stability required for new US investments and bank loans to SA.

Sapa reports that Cohen, speaking from Washington during a Worldnet satellite link-up, said with the lifting of US sanctions last July, "nothing now prevents new investments or bank loans to SA provided there is stability". He said SA was the second largest recipient of US development aid in Africa, and he expected funding to "continue at very high levels after a new constitution comes into effect".

Referring to the Gramm Amendment, which requires the US Congress to approve SA loan applications to the IMF, he said: "I see no reason why SA cannot pass the test. My feeling is that SA should proceed normally with its economic development and growth and not worry too much about the Gramm Amendment."

Codesa set for concrete steps today

Political Correspondent

THE first concrete steps towards shaping the new South Africa will get under way today when the five Codesa working groups knuckle down to the first round of substantive negotiations.

As delegates and advisers of the 19 negotiating parties made final preparations for the start of real negotiations, bilateral meetings were arranged to fine-tune strategies for

today's talks.

Delegations from the government and the ANC met in Cape Town on Tuesday night to help smooth the way. A government delegation last night also held a preparatory meeting with Inkatha.

The working groups meet at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport. They will continue their negotiations on Monday and Tuesday of next week. Significantly, Parliament will probably decide to suspend de-

bates for 10 days.

Meanwhile, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has acknowledged that the decisions of Codesa could not be vested with legal authority without getting that legal authority from the tricameral Parliament.

The ANC did not recognise this parliament and considered it illegitimate, he said in an interview published in the ANC journal, Mayibuye. Nevertheless, it was the highest legal authority in the country today.

Asked what would happen if Parliament did not pass Codesa decisions, he said that if the National Party and other parties in the tricameral parliament were committed to the peaceful process, the present parliament would have to give legal effect to Codesa decisions.

● The government yesterday appointed the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Tertius Delport, as its official spokesman on Codesa.

No fireworks expected at Codesa talks

Sowetan 6/2/92. *304A*

TODAY'S meeting of the five working groups of Codesa was not expected to result in huge breakthroughs, the Minister of Defence and Communication, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

He told a media briefing in Cape Town that the working groups would concentrate mainly on issues within their terms of reference.

The five groups are scheduled to finally begin formal negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today.

Meyer said the first aim of the proceedings would be to determine the agenda of each working group and then find common ground on procedures.

The groups are to meet regularly on Mondays and Tuesdays from next week, while Parliament will sit on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays to allow MPs to take part in both forums.

Asked if the Government had been holding talks with other organisations since the inception of Codesa, Meyer said it was natural to expect such talks between Codesa's participants.

"It is healthy to consult on certain issues

but we have to be careful not to pre-empt the work of Codesa or its working groups."

One such issue was the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa.

He said the Government did not intend to "make deals outside Codesa's structures".

On the question of the Government's proposals on transitional arrangements, Meyer said these would not be put to the Codesa working groups yet.

Rumours

The second plenary session of Codesa was still scheduled to take place before the end of March, despite rumours that the date had been changed to coincide with the Easter recess of Parliament.

"Codesa's management committee may, however, come up with an alternative date," he said.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpont, official Government spokesman on Codesa, said on the question of participation in Codesa the Government wanted all political parties which could prove substantial support to be present at Codesa.

Meyer confirmed that the public would probably be invited to make contributions.

New government may not honour loans, says ANC

Sowetan 6/2/92
THE African National Congress yesterday again warned world financiers that a future democratic government would not be obliged to honour loans granted to the De Klerk administration.

This move poured cold water over ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's efforts this week to boost investor confidence in the country.

The organisation's department of information and publicity said a new government would be "compelled to weigh with great care" its obligations to service and take responsibility for the debts contracted by the present "illegitimate" government.

But on Sunday, Mandela told a critical World Economic Forum gathering in Switzerland that threats by some of his colleagues to review the repayments of loans granted to the present Government were merely the opinion of individuals.

"We can get into serious problems if the image we project is one of a country which is not prepared to honour its debts," Mandela said in Davos, where he shared a platform with President FW de Klerk.

A senior ANC source yesterday expressed surprise at the statement, describing it as "highly irresponsible".

The ANC's first warning on the repay-

ment of loans were issued by the organisation's general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, in October last year.

However, the organisation has subsequently reiterated its stance that it might renege on the present Government's foreign debt obligations once in power.

Yesterday's statement was issued in response to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's reported plan to issue 100 million worth of Deutschmark bonds on the European capital market.

"It is clear that the South African authorities are pursuing a systematic programme of foreign borrowing with a view to both breaking the existing range of economic, in particular financial, and investment sanctions," the statement said.

The ANC further believes that these borrowings are designed to impose a costly and heavy burden of international indebtedness on a future democratic government and the people of South Africa.

"This in turn, in our view, has the purpose of severely restricting the economic policy options available to such a government to overcome the effects of apartheid on our people, and the policies required to advance their living standards." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



Angry parents Mzimkhulu Primary School pupils in Duduza discuss the classroom shortage problem. This has forced them to stand guard outside the school following reports that pupils from newly-created schools were planning to evict their children.

Pic: VELI NHLAPO

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Rightwing draws up maps for homeland

CONCEDING that black homelands in a white South Africa cannot work, rightwingers are drawing maps of a proposed white homeland in a black South Africa.

A series of such maps has been published in newspapers in recent months to give practical shape to rightwing demands for partition of the new South Africa.

"Our plan could defuse the tension that is building up in the rightwing," said Mr Jan Groenewald, chief secretary of the secessionist Boer Liberation Movement (BVB) which drafted one of the plans.

"If the Government refuses to accept a separate white state, many lives will be lost."

Rightwing groups have threatened to go to war rather than be ruled by blacks and have refused to take part in negotiations on a new constitution which the Government, the ANC and other parties began last month.

The BVB proposal sets aside 20 percent of South Africa for whites, compared with the 87 percent claimed for them by the architects of grand apartheid. Blacks now outnumber whites by about five to one.

The BVB and other far right map makers do not claim the gold mines and industries of the Witwatersrand for whites, but say the area could become a kind of wealth-creating zone shared by all.

"We believe this is a realistic plan for a state that would be economically viable and easily defended," said Groenewald, who claims his party has "a few thousand" members.

The BVB white state would run in a thin strip along the Cape coast, excluding Cape Town but including the harbour city of Port Elizabeth.

From Port Elizabeth a narrow white corridor would stretch into the interior, branching out to cover much of the OFS and Transvaal.

"We don't want Soweto or Houghton," said Groenewald, referring to South Africa's biggest black township and the Johannesburg suburb regarded as a stronghold of white liberals.

The BVB says it drew up the map after intensive demographic research to define the area which best combined a high concentration of rightwing whites with a low density of blacks.

"Our task now is to persuade the Conservative Party to accept this map as the best basis for negotiations," said Groenewald.

The CP, estimated to have the support of at least 40 percent of whites, officially says its starting point for negotiating the borders of a white state is the present map of South Africa, with its huge white-black imbalance. - Sapa

Sorry Andries, South 6/2-12/2/92 wrong number

By Justin Pearce (304A)

THE Conservative Party has its lines crossed.

On Monday the "modern, dynamic political movement" launched its phone-in service, using the 087-numbers which have proved so popular in disseminating information from sex tips to movie reviews.

On Tuesday curiosity led me to dial one of the 52 Conservative Party lines (that's 26 in each official language). I was expecting information on how to join the CP. Instead I got the regional roundup for the Transvaal.

I tried the same number again. This time I got the question and answer service: the recorded voice asked me to ask whatever questions I had about the CP, the answers to which would be put on to the service at a later date.

Unfortunately I was at a loss for words.

To get to the (pre-recorded) heart of the beast you first have to dial a talking index, which gives you a run-down of the available topics. They include a personal message from Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the question "Are you eligible to vote in the Potchefstroom by-election?" A tricky one if you're black and live in Cape Town.

When I phoned the CP's national office to find out more, a spokesperson first tried to refer me back to the phonelines. When pressed, she said that the phone lines had been "overwhelmingly popular" in their first two days of operation.

The CP's motives for initiating the service are perhaps best expressed by the voice on the question and answer line. The CP is, says the voice, "a democratic party that wants to listen to you".



Issue: Will King Good-
will Zwelthini participate
in Codesa?

New Codesa bid to draw Right into negotiations

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

7/2/92
(304A)

The right to self-determination has been placed on the agenda of a Codesa working group in a further effort to draw right-wingers into constitutional talks.

The chairman of the management committee and daily management committee, Pravin Gordhan, said last night the working group on constitutional principles had unanimously agreed to put the application and implementation of the right to self-determination on its agenda.

He said "significant" progress on procedural matters had been made at yesterday's meeting of Codesa's five working groups.

All groups have also begun preliminary discussions on substantive matters.

All participants in the working group dealing with the creation of a free political climate have unanimously expressed their concern at the escalation of violence in the western Cape, Transvaal and Natal.

All organisations condemn this escalation in violence and call upon people and organisations throughout South Africa to do their utmost to end (it) and to support and enhance the peace process initiated by the National Peace Accord.

"Continued violence can only have a detrimental effect on the current negotiation process."

Further details of progress made by the working groups will be released on Monday.

Other issues for discussion on Monday are the consideration of new applicants, the working groups' operations as well as the outstanding issue of participation by the Zulu King. A sub-committee of the management committee met on Wednesday to discuss the matter and will submit a report to Monday's meeting.

IFP damper on interim govt issue

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(304A) STAR 7/2/92

The first day of the "real McCoy" in Codesa negotiations ended with progress in some working groups — particularly regarding the re-incorporation of the homelands — but there was an apparent setback to hopes for early agreement on the key question of an interim government.

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday released its proposals for transitional government — and served warning that the party's vision was poles apart from those of both the Government and the ANC.

There had been rapid convergence between the Government and ANC positions over the past week, leading to unprecedented optimism about the prospects for the installation of a transitional authority within six to 18 months.

Agreement in Codesa on a "package" for transitional rule is seen as an essential requirement for progress towards referenda, elections and a new constitution. The IFP bombshell has forced some negotiators to consider amending their optimistic timetables.

In its hard-hitting submissions made at yesterday's Codesa working group meetings, the IFP proposed that the present Parliament continue to govern and a new constitution be fashioned by a constitution drafting convention (CDC).

The IFP said it refused to take a "constitutional leap into the dark" and set out several conditions for its participation in Codesa.

Among these were an insistence on the right of "self-governing" territories to decide their own fate and a reiteration of the demand that King Goodwill Zwelithini be represented at Codesa.

The IFP also wants "private" and "liberation" armies to be disbanded and outlawed.

The IFP proposals include:

- There would be a transitional government of reconciliation, constituted under the State President and responsible to Parliament under the existing constitution.

- The existing constitution

would be amended to repeal "own" and "general" affairs legislation.

- The main function of the transitional government would be to organise the holding of an election and the adoption of a new constitution.

- There would be a representative multiparty Cabinet, including the self-governing territories.

The Democratic Party also produced written proposals for a transitional government. The DP suggestions include a council of leaders which, in conjunction with the State President, would form the executive.

The council would be appointed by Codesa. Each Minister should be assisted by a multiparty committee in the running of this portfolio, also appointed by Codesa.

The State President and the Council of Leaders should oversee the implementation of Codesa decisions and should a deadlock arise, the matter should be referred to Codesa.

Deliberations in other working groups yesterday were less controversial.

In the group discussing the future of the TBVC states, the majority of participants expressed support for the reincorporation of the homelands.

The Transkei called for the dissolving of the tricameral Parliament and homeland parliaments. The ANC said the TBVC states were part of South Africa and the Intando Yesizwe Party supported re-incorporation.

The Venda government said it wished to be re-incorporated and the Dikwankwetla Party called for the dissolution of the TBVC states.

The Inyandza National Movement said re-incorporation was an inextricable part of dismantling apartheid.

The Government and the NP said the right to choose whether or not to opt for re-incorporation into South Africa under an interim constitution remained the option of the governments and people of the TBVC states.

The Ciskei government said it was willing to be re-incorporated, but only when a new government was established.

Bophuthatswana, by contrast, favoured retaining its independence.

The working groups will hold further sessions next week.

Havel endorses FW's call for a free market

By Peter Fabricius ^{STAR}
Political Correspondent ^{7/2/92}

PRAGUE — Internationally revered Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel has given President de Klerk a warm welcome and implicitly endorsed his fight against the ANC for a free market-based future for South Africa.

And Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Marian Calfa is almost certain to visit South Africa later this month — the first by a European or Western head of government in three decades.

This emerged here yesterday after Mr de Klerk's lightning one-day State visit when he met Mr Havel, Dr Calfa and the presidents of the Czech and Slovak republics.

It was the first visit by a South African head of state.

The two governments also signed a new trade agreement and begun negotiations on others to promote investment.

Mr de Klerk was received with full honours by Mr Havel.

A military band played the South African and Czechoslovakian national anthems and then Mr de Klerk inspected the Castle Guard before he and Foreign Minister Pik Botha began a series of meetings with national and federal leaders.

Drumming up support for the Government's negotiating position versus the ANC on free-market principles and on interim constitutional proposals is emerging as an important theme of the tour.

Yesterday Mr de Klerk repeated his view that the Government was

adamant that it would not experiment with economic systems that had failed elsewhere.

Mr Havel said that Mr de Klerk had also explained the National Party's proposals for transitional government. The Czechoslovakian leader drew many parallels between the Czechoslovakian situation and the NP's interim government proposals.

At a state banquet which Mr Havel gave in his honour last night, Mr de Klerk said it was clear that SA would join other countries in some form of regional economic co-operation. This would open up an attractive market which countries like Czechoslovakia should begin exploring now.

Today Mr de Klerk will meet Polish President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and parliamentary leaders in Poland.

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FW, Mandela nominated for Nobel

OSLO — President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Russian President Boris Yeltsin are among nominees for the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize.

"So far we've received 105 different nominations — for 83 individuals and 22 organisations," Geir Lundestad, head of the Nobel Institute, said yesterday.

"This is slightly higher than recent years and we see it as a sign that interest in the prize is rising."

The winner of the prestige award will be announced in October. Nominations closed on January 31 but letters postmarked by that date will count and are still flooding in.

Mr Lundestad declined to name any nominees.

However, Nobel Institute sources said Mr Yeltsin, a key figure in the fight against the failed August coup, had been nominated. Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the now-defunct Soviet Union, won the 1990 award.

Mr Mandela has been a perennial nominee for



Proposed . . . (from left) F W de Klerk, Boris Yeltsin, Nelson Mandela.

the prize for opposing apartheid.

Individual nominees included former UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans — for his role in a peace plan for Cambodia, the sources said.

The Salvation Army, widely tipped as a favourite for the 1991 prize which went to detained Burmese opposition

leader Aung San Suu Kyi, was again nominated.

Other nominees include Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli language teacher Shulamith Katznelson, jailed South Korean pastor Moon Ik-hwan, Guatemalan peasant leader Rigoberta Menchu and Romanian bishop and human rights activist Laszlo Tokes.

Among organisations are the UN Environment Programme and international relief organisa-

tions Medecins sans Frontieres and Medecins du Monde.

The 1992 award is a gold medal, a diploma and \$1,12 million (about R3,1 million). It can go to one or more individuals or to an organisation — or not be awarded at all.

Mr Lundestad said the five-member Nobel committee, which can also add names, would meet later this month to consider the list. — Sapa-Reuter.

Codesa's new spokesman takes the floor

STAR 7/2/92

(304A)

The Government has named its official spokesman on Codesa — Dr Tertius Delport. But who is Dr Delport and where does he come from? Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH spoke to him in his office in Parliament this week.

AN ORDINARY man, with a very ordinary life.

This is the self-deprecating way in which Dr Tertius Delport, deputy to Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and just-appointed Government spokesman on Codesa, describes himself.

Dr Delport, regarded as an intellectually capable and disarmingly open man by colleagues, negotiating partners and diplomats, has emerged as a key member of the Government's negotiating team.

His appointment as Codesa spokesman is, according to observers, confirmation of the esteem in which he is held by President de Klerk — it is a highly sensitive job which calls for quick thinking, often without the benefit of consultation with his superiors.

Dr Delport's elevation to such a high-profile job is viewed as final proof that the Cabinet has decided to give him its backing in the face of recent allegations that he acted improperly in the Vito Palazzollo affair.

The amiable Dr Delport has taken it all in his stride.

"I am very thankful for the experiences I have had during my life," he said in an interview this week. "There is really no stage of my life or career I would want to wish away."

He says he feels "very privileged" to be involved in constitutional negotiations, and never expected, when he entered politics 4½ years ago, that he would come to play such a role.

"Constitutional development has always been my pet subject," he says.

Dr Delport, born in Humansdorp in 1939, resigned as Dean of the University of Port Elizabeth's Law Faculty to fight the 1987 general election as NP candidate in Sundays River.

Few academics make an easy transition from academia to politics, but Dr Delport says it was not a difficult move. "Perhaps I was not a good academic," he quips.

At the University of Stellenbosch, where he studied with the likes of Minister for Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers, he was president of the Student Union, Head Student of the residence Dagbreek and national vice-president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB).

He played rugby for Maties' first team ("when Dawie de Villiers was playing for the second team"), later captained the Eastern Province rugby team and also held various administrative positions in EP rugby.

Dr Delport is also a member of the South African Academy of Science and Art, was a member of the National Housing Commission and the South African Law Commission.

He says he "tries to be a



Dr Tertius Delport ... just an ordinary man.

good Christian", and was a Sunday school teacher while teaching at UPE.

He doesn't see any contradiction between his political background and current role: "Even in the ASB, we were convinced of certain shortcomings in the NP's policies."

"I remember distinctly that I had serious reservations about the handling of the coloured vote. But I was always loyal to the NP. I was never anything but an NP member."

He says that when he entered politics in 1987, his decision was based on a belief that dramatic changes were soon to take place.

"I wanted to contribute. I sensed a lot of things would mature."

A highly regarded Nationalist, who rose quickly since his days as a backbencher, Dr Delport plays down the importance of his role "as Codesa spokesman or otherwise."

"I am a backroom boy. As a backbencher I spoke my mind — sometimes to my own detriment."

He was appointed Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs in May 1990 and six months later was appointed Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs.

In August last year he focused exclusively on Constitutional Development.

He refuses to discuss reports about him having offered a journalist R75 000 on behalf of Sicilian businessman Vito Palazzollo's son — ostensibly to write Palazzollo's authorised biography. It was alleged that the offer was intended to dissuade the journalist from making revelations about the businessman.

"I am not going to comment. I commented at the time. As far as I am concerned, the matter is closed."

For the moment, it appears that in Government circles at least, this is the case — and Dr Delport's name is henceforth more likely to be linked in the public mind with Codesa, than with shady deals. □

Interim government by June, says Mbeki

By IKE MOTSAPI

PARLIAMENT should be dissolved and replaced by an elected interim government that would rule the country until the adoption of a constitution.

This was said on Wednesday night by Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC director of international affairs, on the **Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show**.

Mbeki said the ANC would press for the establishment of an interim government of national unity by June this year.

He said the interim government would work to-



wards establishing an elected constituent assembly, or a transitional parliament that would draw up the Constitution.

"This will be constitution-making that has legal authority. It should, however, be accepted that the tricameral Parliament is still the legal body that has to pass legislation drafted by the elected constituent

assembly.

"It has been agreed at Codesa that some decisions should be given legal force in order to draft legislation," he said.

Mbeki conceded that killing innocent blacks by rightwingers and security forces could delay the establishment of a new government.

Azapo official Mr Mbulelo Rakwena asked why the ANC was negotiating with the Government which, he said, was the enemy and aggressor.

Mbeki said when "people negotiate, they normally do so with their enemies".

IN FRANCE and Switzerland this week the De Klerk-Mandela team made an excellent impression, we are told, foreshadowing the formation of an interim government of national unity.

Their joint presence at the financial conference in Davos and sharing a major peace award in Paris sent a message to the world that these outstanding leaders acknowledge that their political fortunes are inextricably bound together.

It is plain enough that there can be no return to stability in the country until the ANC and the NP are agreed on the way ahead. Mandela and De Klerk need each other. Neither can succeed on his own. Mandela needs the steadying presence of De Klerk to reassure whites and the investment community. De Klerk needs Mandela to lend a transitional government the legitimacy it must have to keep the peace.

The symbolism of the De Klerk-Mandela mission to Europe expressed more eloquently than any words could have done that they are committed to work together to create an interim or transitional government as quickly as possible.

'Trust'

Their mission has reinforced the growing optimism about the Codesa process. When he spoke in Cape Town this week Dr Zach de Beer was remarkably positive about the chances of reaching consensus on transitional arrangements. Dr De Beer, with his DP colleagues, has played a key role in getting the show on the road. And he is confident that a plan can be put together which will command the loyalty and confidence of a majority of South Africans.

He believes the outcome will be a broad-based, moderate government of the centre. The constitutional principles to be adopted will include universal franchise, proportional representation, a bill of rights, an independent judiciary, a decentralised government and, he thinks, a form of power-sharing at the executive level.

What could be more reassuring?

Dr De Beer speaks with enthusiasm of a developing Codesa spirit. In place of the bitter adversarial atmosphere of Parliament, delegates

Can spirit of Codesa put SA back on track?

304A

CT 7/2/92



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

to Codesa are not there to score points or win victories. Important differences remain to be resolved between the NP and the ANC about the mechanics of an interim/transitional government but Dr De Beer discerns a gradual building of friendship and trust between people who until not so long ago were deadly enemies.

There is a darker side to this, of course, a dimension in which everything could yet go badly wrong, with chances of agreement fading.

The Codesa process could be wrecked if the malevolent right-wing forces now showing their hand are able to stir up enough mistrust among blacks and whites alike to make things tricky for De Klerk at a referendum. If De Klerk fails to take whites with him the whole process could be stopped in its tracks.

Sowing alarm

The wreckers seem to be gathering their resources for a last desperate effort to turn back the tide. They have in their favour the legacy of distrust left by a decade and more of dirty war between the clandestine arm of the security forces and the African National Congress. The worst aspect has been SADF Intelligence's use of divide-and-rule tactics, setting rival groups of blacks at each other's throats, arming and

training one group and encouraging it to launch a campaign of terrorism against its rivals. Horrors thus unleashed invariably develop their own momentum, as in Mozambique where Renamo is devastating the landscape to this day.

Apart from hampering the target group immeasurably as a political force, these barbarous tactics have created an impression of unbridled black savagery, sowing alarm in the white community and souring the climate for negotiation.

Worst of all, though, is the corrosive distrust which remains behind to bedevil the process of negotiation.

This can only be kept in check if all the parties at Codesa can be assured that the dirty war is really over, that UmKhonto we Siswe has really laid down its weapons, and that the shadowy assassins of the CCB and other clandestine units of SADF Special Forces have really been brought under control.

There is no absolute trust in politics or diplomacy. But there is such a thing as a working degree of mutual confidence without which no agreement can ever be reached or made to stick.

This is why the work of the Goldstone Commission is of such fundamental importance and deserves the co-operation and support of all South Africans as a cathartic exercise.

Whatever happened on all sides in the bad old days of the dirty war, all at Codesa need reassurance that those days are indeed over and that negotiations can proceed in good faith.

Without such assurance not F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Zach de Beer or anyone else will save South Africa.

Idasa claim

CAPE TOWN — A newly appointed staff member of Idasa was approached by the National Intelligence Service to spy on Idasa for them, Idasa's executive director Alex Boraine, said yesterday. (30/11)

Boraine has written a letter to President F.W. de Klerk to bring the matter to his attention. B1/10/11

He said an Alma Badenhorst started work at Idasa's Johannesburg office on February 3. The next day she was approached by a Mr de Walt King at her home. 7/2/92

Boraine said King wanted information about Idasa and asked her if she would, while working at Idasa, give information to the NIS. — Sapa.

POLITICS

More differences in transitional plans

310ay 7/2/92
304A

TIM COHEN

TWO Codesa participants, Inkatha and the DP, yesterday presented their proposals for the constitutional path forward which suggest that the already fraught issue of transitional arrangements will be one of the most difficult issues facing Codesa.

Inkatha and DP proposals have distinct similarities but both differ sharply with the ANC and NP's proposals.

Inkatha proposes that broad constitutional principles must be agreed on before a transitional mechanism is put in place.

This is in marked contrast to the NP's suggestion that an elected interim government should draw up the new constitution and also differs with the ANC proposal that a constituent assembly should perform this task.

Inkatha states that these constitutional proposals be the subject of a referendum but it rejects the NP's suggestion that white votes be counted separately.

According to Inkatha the next step would be for an expanded Codesa to draw up the final constitution.

At this point a dual referendum/election should take place where the population would simultaneously elect the legislature and also confirm the new constitution.

Any required amendments should be made by the newly elected legislature.

While this process is taking place a transitional government of reconciliation should be constituted under the president.

"This government would encompass generally recognised political parties and organisations, the portfolios of cabinet responsibility to be allocated in an equitable manner."

The Inkatha document places heavy emphasis on the regional devolution of power.

The document calls for an amendment to provide that the three Houses of Parliament sit and vote together.

The DP proposes the establishment of a transitional government of reconciliation. The key element of this government would be a council of leaders which would be appointed by Codesa and would represent significant political parties or groupings, including the president.

"The State President will exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution on the advice of the Council of Leaders in the same manner in which he normally acts on the advice of the Cabinet".

In the event of the council being unable to reach consensus on a matter of significance, the council could refer the dispute back to Codesa.

The council would give effect to decisions of Codesa and resolve deadlocks which may be referred to it by multiparty cabinet committees.

The DP proposes that the constitution should be drawn up by an elected constitutional conference.

Self-determination put on agenda

Codesa talks get off to a good start

(304A)
B/day 7/2/92

SUBSTANTIVE negotiations on SA's future got under way yesterday as Codesa's five working groups met and rapidly achieved significant consensus on constitutional principles.

The mechanism for an interim government, however, remains one of the trickiest points.

Virtual agreement was achieved on the principle of the reincorporation of the TBVC states, although Bophuthatswana's reservations remain a major stumbling block.

Daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said in a statement after a full day of discussion by all the groups that "significant progress" on procedural matters was made. All groups commenced preliminary discussions on substantive matters.

In a further effort to encourage the participation of right-wing groups, Gordhan said working group 2, which deals with constitutional principles, had unanimously agreed specifically to include the principle of self-determination of peoples.

Within its terms of reference the group would also discuss the application and implementation of the principle of self-determination in the SA situation.

Many of the key immediate issues concerning Codesa would be discussed by the management committee on Monday. It would decide on the participation of traditional leaders, applications from other political groups to join Codesa and the amendments to Codesa's declaration of intent proposed by Inkatha.

TIM COHEN

Gordhan said all participants in working group 1, which deals with the climate for negotiations, had decided to express concern at the recent escalation of violence in the western Cape, Transvaal and Natal.

"All organisations condemn this escalation in violence and call upon people and organisations throughout SA to do their utmost to end the violence and to support the peace process initiated by the national peace accord," he said.

Delegates said yesterday that many of the constitutional principles set out in working group 2's terms of reference, which include the need for a democratic, non-racial state and the rule of law, were agreed on. More problems were, however, expected when the issue of the constitution-making forum was addressed.

The DP and Inkatha presented proposals for the constitutional path forward, which differ from positions taken by the NP and ANC, although all agree on the need for some form of interim government.

The Bophuthatswana government stressed yesterday it would not agree to become part of a unitary state if it had only delegated authority at a regional level.

It called for the extension of Bophuthatswana's borders to meet its historic claims and for the territory to be part of a confederal arrangement of states. Alternatively, the territory proposed the maintenance of the present situation regarding its relations with the SA government.

● See Page 6
● Comment: Page 12

No interim rule *Sue Vos* this year IFP, DP 7/2/92

3048
BY IKE MOTSAPI

SEVERAL parties to Codesa yesterday rejected the Government and ANC proposal to hold elections for a transitional government sometime this year.

The groups, the IFP and the DP voiced concern over the move and said they needed clarity on the issue.

The IFP however warned that any constitutional process adopted by the Government and the ANC will be "revolutionary".

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos also blasted the Government for what she termed as "monopolising proceedings at Codesa by having two separate delegations, the National Party and the Government".

The IFP is not opposed to an interim government in principle.

But it must be "all-inclusive" with a wide representation. The IFP also insists on a major debate about future regional structures.

They also want the Zulu king to be represented at Codesa.

Some of the demands listed are:

- * Agreements on the IFP's reasonable amendments to the declaration of intent;
- * Proper consideration in Codesa to the issue of self-determination; and
- * Agreement on the composition of the transitional government of reconciliation to ensure its all inclusivity.



INKATHA'S SUE VOS

DE KLERK AND THE WHITE RIGHT

The last ditch approaches

FM 7/2/92
304A

The Conservative Party, buoyed by increasing evidence of white voter dissatisfaction over the deepening economic crisis and spiralling crime rate, is mounting what may be a last-ditch effort to resist reform peacefully.

For the time being, it is committed to opposing President FW de Klerk within available constitutional structures and, at least in public, rejects the war talk of allied groups such as the AWB. But in private attitudes have hardened. When a senior CP MP was asked recently if the party planned to give government a tough time in parliament this year, he said: "The time for tough talk is over; it's time for tough action."

In spite of bickering between rightwing splinter groups, and contrary to NP claims that the CP is riven with tension over non-participation in Codesa, there is little evidence of an impending split. At most, the CP's dissident MP Koos van der Merwe may leave the party and join a minor rightwing coalition to participate in Codesa and fight for white self-determination.

The CP, meanwhile, will rally support around demands for a white general election and, by implication, a promise to return to the relative stability and economic wellbeing (for whites) of the pre-P W Botha Sixties and Seventies.

How this will be achieved and what the consequences will be are dealt with in only the vaguest terms by party spokesmen and given little thought by the average CP supporter. It is a highly defensive policy. Developing a strong white support base is the priority; long-term policy issues have been sidelined.

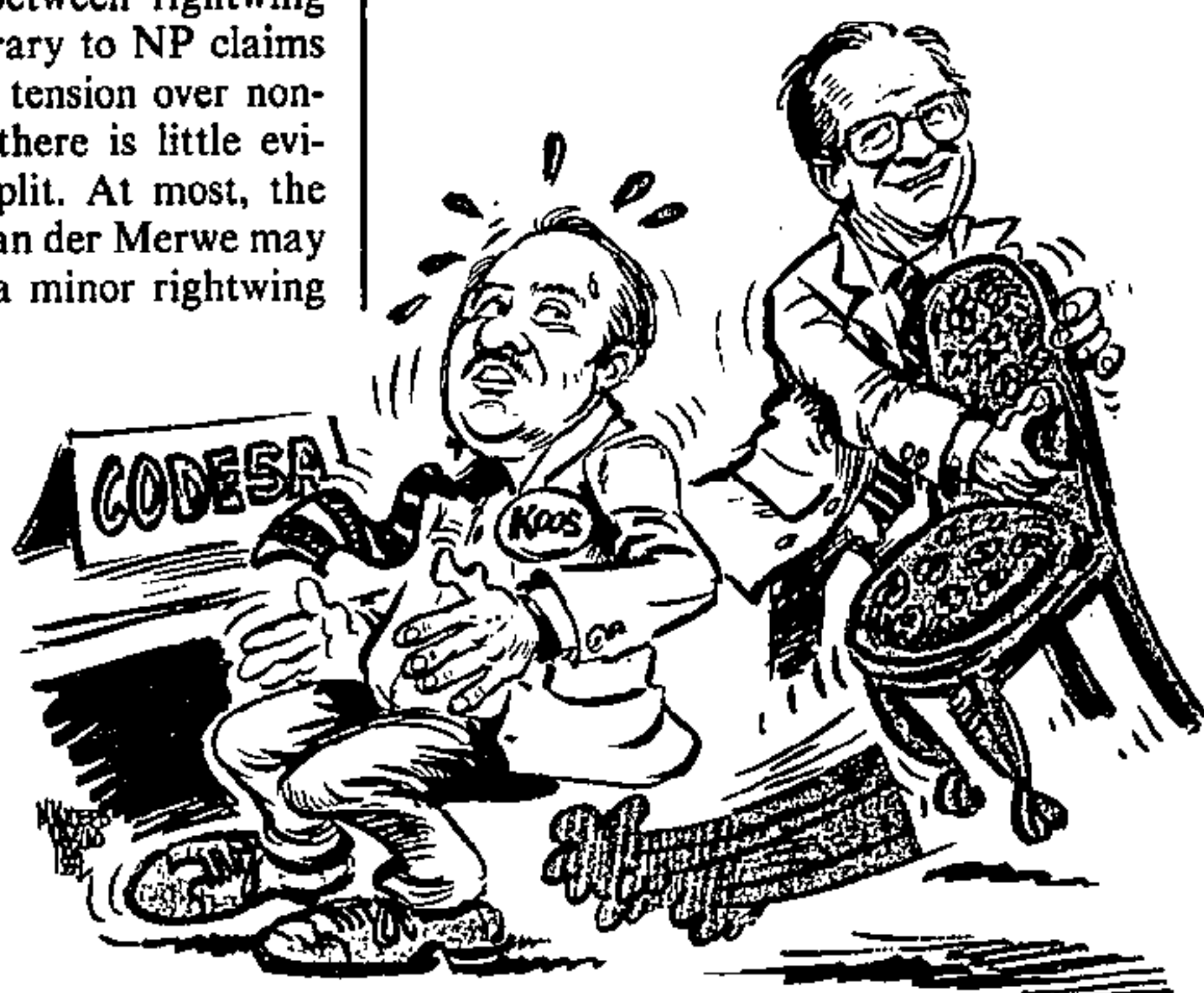
However, in spite of aggressive campaigning and superficially attractive slogans, it is highly unlikely at this stage that any Nat MPs will cross to the CP. The divide is far too wide and the NP caucus, though confused by the pace of reform, appears committed for now to the Codesa option. Most Nat MPs seem to realise they have come to the end of the political road and would rather negotiate a comfortable retirement through De Klerk than fight a losing battle for survival under CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

A major split in the NP is clearly the party's worst-case scenario. However, at least 48 MPs must cross to the CP to give Treurnicht a clear majority in the 178-seat House of Assembly. Even the most optimistic CP officials cannot identify more than

half a dozen Nats who may do so if pushed to the limit. The Nat caucus may not be entirely happy with the pace and nature of De Klerk's policies — but it also knows that the changes are irreversible.

The more likely course for disgruntled Nats will be to quit parliament (as did Piet Clase, former white own affairs education Minister) and effectively give their seats to the CP on a plate. But even this is not expected in significant numbers. For the moment, it seems, De Klerk can trust his MPs because they have nowhere else to go.

A minor upheaval in the CP will probably occur before a realignment in the NP. Van



der Merwe, one of the CP's most senior MPs, was uncharacteristically quiet during the first few days of the new parliamentary session. He is known to favour negotiation rather than boycott. But the party's leaders are determined to resist NP efforts to draw the CP into Codesa with promises that self-determination can be on the agenda.

Treurnicht believes all the major parties at Codesa have already rejected white self-determination, so there is no point in arguing its case; he is probably correct.

The bombardment of CP policy during a no-confidence debate in the (white) House of Assembly last week was embarrassing in its intensity, considering the wider national issues in which government is engaged.

Yet it emphasised the importance the NP places on trying to make Codesa as inclusive as possible. Apart from the PAC, whose support base is questionable, the CP is the only significant political player not taking part in the negotiations.

The CP realises it is in a strong position. It sees the Potchefstroom by-election on February 19 as a crucial test. Victory will confirm

a massive swing from the NP by white voters and add credence to CP claims that it now represents the views of most whites.

In reality it is not that simple. The recession and related crime have probably turned more people against the NP than political reform, which has hardly touched the life style of most whites — especially in conservative areas. An upturn in the economy, a reduction in crime and successful reform should bring white voters back to the NP — but the short-term outlook is grim and the CP will understandably exploit it to the full.

The party is also successfully evading questions about where it stands on key issues. For the moment, it is wedded to peaceful constitutionally-based opposition. But what will happen when that option runs out? "We will cross that bridge when we come to it," is the standard reply of most MPs. They are equally evasive on how a CP government will deal with the status quo. Will the ANC and SACP be banned and their leaders detained? Will trade unions be banned? Will apartheid laws be re-introduced?

MP Piet Gous says in the "final analysis" the party accepts that it can't rule the whole of SA and that there will have to be "give and take." He also accepts that while a return to the old days of high apartheid is impossible, whites must be allowed to determine their own future. The CP won't talk to the ANC in the current climate, but it may do so in future if it wins power "depending on the circumstances."

Gous believes the possibly shattering effect on the economy of a return to apartheid must be weighed against the "survival of the Afrikaner folk," whom he maintains are "willing to make sacrifices. I believe most (white) voters would rather have self-determination than be forced into a unitary state where they have no hope at all." The CP, he adds, is willing to negotiate with black leaders about the borders of a white homeland. The starting point would be the current RSA excluding the TBVC states.

The real test for the CP would be a white referendum to which De Klerk is committed. Gous is vague on how the party would react if it lost. "It would be a severe setback, but not the end of the Afrikaner nation."

What if reform rolls on and leaves the CP behind? Would the CP quit parliament if Codesa effectively takes over its role? "I hope we don't reach that point. But if we do, we will have to consider our options very carefully."

There seems little chance of De Klerk halting the reform process, which has developed a momentum of its own, so the time for the CP to "consider its options" may be very near.

cont - 0

P.T.O.

The tyranny of the vote

Martin Wolf, writing in the Lombard column in the London *Financial Times*, examines the paradox of a democratically elected government dedicated to suppressing individual freedom.

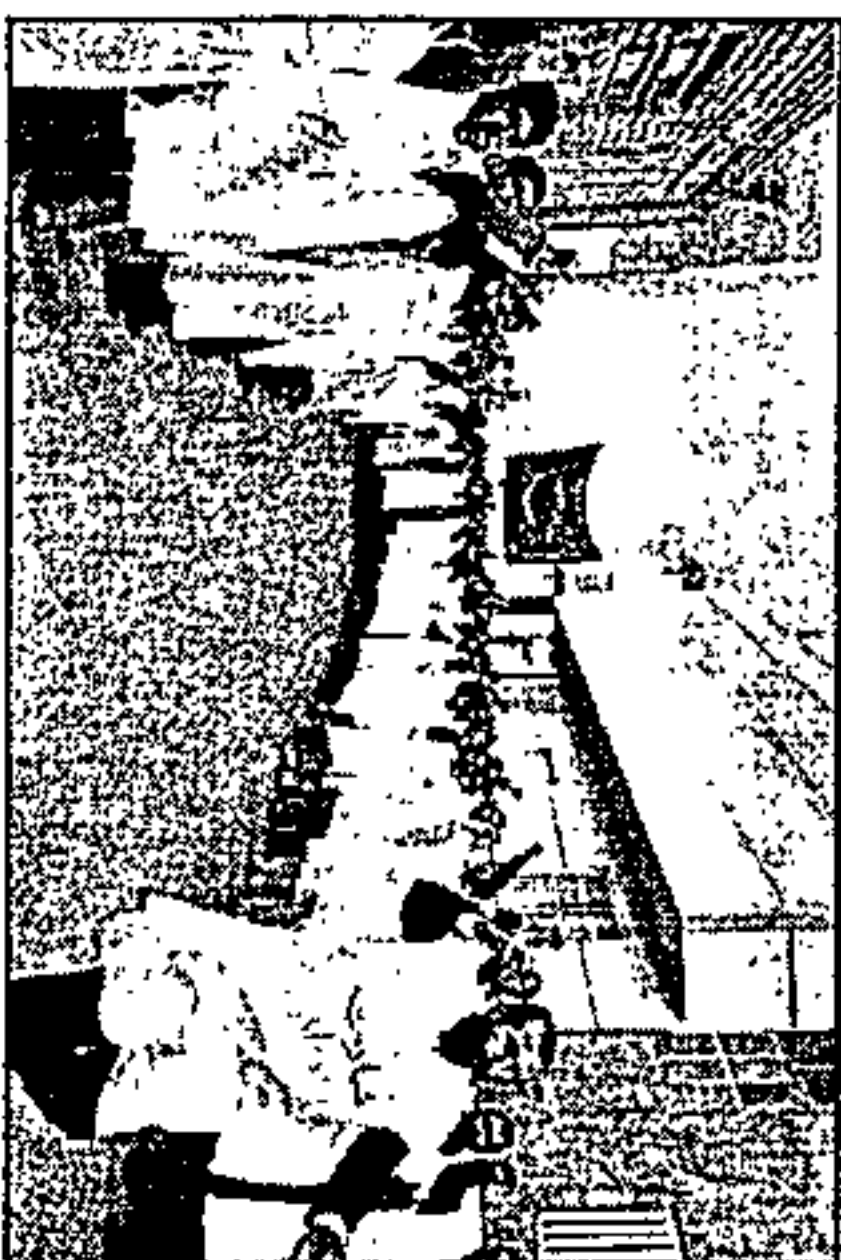
How should a liberal democrat react to the possible election of a government indifferent to individual human rights? Some of those who condemn the Algerian army's decision to prevent the election to power of the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front seem unaware that this is even a problem. But it is. The tyranny of the majority is still tyranny.

Suppose, for example, that a party dedicated to the physical extermination of a minority were on the verge of being voted into power. Would one condemn a force that prevented its election? The answer must be no. Nor is this an academic question. Though Hitler's National Socialists did not obtain an outright majority, they did obtain power through the ballot box; they did subvert the democratic process; they did exterminate several minorities; and, not coincidentally, they did start a war in which more than 50m people died.

Groups which intend either to subvert democratic politics or to suppress individual rights wholesale do not appear to be proper participants in such politics. This is the commonsense view, but it is one that can be given a deeper justification: rights of individuals are prior to those of the State, even if the latter is in the hands of a democratically elected government.

Among the reasons for defending individuals against democratically elected governments are the inherent defects of democratic

politics. No elected government can claim the informed consent of the electorate. Self-evidently, it does not possess the consent of those who voted against it. But it does not even possess the informed consent of those who voted for it. Many of the details of its programmes are, in practice, neither widely known nor generally understood, while many of the contingencies with which it has to deal are, in principle, unknowable.



Islamic fundamentalists ... claim to power is mandate from God

These points about democratic politics are at least as applicable to governments elected under proportional representation as to those elected under first-past-the-post electoral systems. Indeed, the programme of government is even more unknowable under prep, given the horse-trading inherent in coalition politics.

Yet there is a more fundamental reason for claiming the priority of the individual over even the democratic State. The case for democracy derives from that for the individual's right to choose how to vote. If a government is legitimate only if it reflects such

FM 7/2/92

3049

choices, it must be because a prior right of individuals to choose endows it with legitimacy. But that principle cannot be restricted to politics. It derives from the inherent capacity of adult human beings to make choices. This right must apply with greater force where what is to be chosen is closer to the individual concerns of the chooser than are politics.

If the case for democracy derives from that for individual freedom, the proper domains of government are where individuals cannot choose for themselves or where their choices will damage other individuals. A democratically elected government dedicated to the suppression of individual freedom is a constitutional contradiction in terms.

What then should be the proper response of a liberal democrat to Islamic fundamentalism? The question to answer, an empirical one, is whether the election of such a government would impair fundamental individual rights, including, not least, that to cast a vote ever again. If, as seems likely, the impairment would be severe, then suppression of the election is not wrong, even though a still better solution than suppression would be a constitution that entrenches fundamental rights against government.

Naturally, fundamentalists would see it differently. But this is because their claim to power is a mandate from God. Since democracy's is that of a mandate from the people, the two views are incompatible. It is doubtful whether any country in which a majority inclines towards a theocratic view of the State can be democratic. But this is not a problem that can be solved. It is a tragedy that has to be endured.

ANC sure Codesa will succeed soon

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC believes that Codesa will complete its work and Parliament will pass all agreements adopted by the negotiating forum in the next three to four months.

The five Codesa working groups began negotiations at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

According to the latest ANC estimates on the time frames required to complete the various steps on the road to a new democratic order, the formal end of apartheid rule — "Freedom Day" — would be reached by April or May next year. CT 7/2/92

In its February edition of the journal "Mayibuye", the ANC suggested an interim government to supervise the transition process could be set up by May this year. (South)

It would immediately start with the implementation of control over security forces, public media, the electoral process, the budget and finance and socio-economic reforms.

All should strive for the greatness of SA

Sowetan 7/2/92

304A

When Gulliver arrived at the island of the diminutive Liliputians, he discovered that they were at war with each other.

On inquiring what they were fighting over, he was informed that those who cracked their boiled eggs at the fat end were fighting those who cracked their boiled eggs at the thin end.

He persuaded them to declare a truce and take the matter to court. The court came back with the ruling that eggs should be cracked at the appropriate end.

In much the same way our South African battle of the last 40 years has been a battle of the blondes versus the brunettes.

This mighty matter is in process - we must hope - of being settled and perhaps our first national ambition should be to have emerged from the 19th century by the time the 21st arrives - to have left behind the various crooks and morons such as Karl Marx, Houten Stewart Chamberlain and Count Gobineau fostered.

Publishing

So let us address ourselves to the future. Publishing across South Africa for thirty or more years, I have encountered from one end of South Africa to the other - even during the days of the harshest repression - a great South African patriotism in every element of society.

In the early days of my publishing career before the isolationists had severed us from the rest of the continent, there was a fierce conviction that South Africa had so much to offer to the whole African continent.

So two themes to which we must now apply ourselves are: First, the greatness of South Africa: Second, and of special importance, the

FOCUS

MR JIM BAILEY, a publisher and owner of black publications, takes a philosophical look at today's politics and warns of the challenges that face the country.

greatness of Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

If this is accepted, what follows? First, greatness depends on morals and on brains, in that order. So the debilitating brain drain which set in 40 years ago with the exodus from South Africa of some of its brightest and best who were not white has now been followed by the exodus from South Africa of young South Africans who are white - in each and every case the disastrous loss of our greatest assets.

In a world becoming increasingly competitive, with the vast human resources of the Far East being more and more awake and on its toes, 40 years of South African governmental corruption, a vast overblown bureaucracy, the systematic destruction of the educational system, has condemned South Africa to remain a quarry for the rest of the world and systematically reduced us from a potentially first-world country to a potentially third-world country.

But we now have a chance - it is nearly too late but it is not too late - to save ourselves. Pretoria's troika has permitted this opportunity and we must grab it.

Politics has been defined as "the

organisation of hatreds". The simple facts are that we are nearly all decent people and, in our hearts, we nearly all know it. But in the power struggle for leadership, hatreds have been built up and cultivated over the years for the benefit of one group of individuals or another.

"When the elephants fight the grass suffers." So let us realise that we nearly all get on splendidly with each other - why otherwise did there have to be so much legislation to keep us apart? - but that we contain within our borders the greatest variety of peoples in the world and so are most readily exploitable by individuals greedy for political power.

Again, "Politics is the organisation or hatreds".

Greatness is achieved by individuals, in the humblest capacity as well as in the most eminent, but individuals need vision. "Without vision", the good book tells us, "the people perish." So we must all of us realise that our politicians and our political parties must cease to be tribal or racial groupings.

Individuals and groups who aspire to political leadership must be seen and be known to represent our country as a whole: which neither the Press nor our political parties come near to doing at present.

Achievements

The great success stories of the last 30 years have not been - despite what the Jewish intellectuals have been selling to the public - the beauties of communist Russia but the wonderful achievements of the maritime countries of the Far East - Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan.

And this derives from the development of technical and scientific skills. Polytechnics are more important to Africa than universities; hydraulic engineering is more im-

Three things come not back: the spoken word, the spent arrow, the lost opportunity.

portant than social engineering, while political science, a subject beloved of our universities, is simply a contradiction in terms.

South Africa can claim to be the only country in the world whose capital city, Pretoria, is presided over by the statue of a man, Paul Kruger, who at the start of this century was firmly and irremediably convinced that the earth was flat.

South Africa possesses the soil, South Africa possesses the minerals, but these countries of the Far East, without any of our wonderful assets, have totally outstripped us. They had honesty, they had brains.

And we must be clear that, year by year, our minerals are becoming less and less important to the outside world; they are fast being replaced by cheap substitute materials, invented by brains.

There is, they tell me, a Persian saying: "Three things come not back: the spoken word, the spent arrow, the lost opportunity."

Let us seize our opportunity - it is nearly too late - and now, Go for Greatness.

We can make it.

CP's dangerous liaisons

TWO major political factions in South Africa have chosen not to take part in Codesa: the far left and the far right. This much is common knowledge.

In true form, the far left has so far produced reams of rhetoric, tons of threats and has yet to produce a visible tactic or strategy to authenticate its seriousness about its plans to scuttle Codesa, or at least produce a convincing argument to discredit it.

On the other hand, the far right, represented by the Conservative Party has subtly, and strategically been spreading itself, its ideas and its influence among people who it feels would side with it against Codesa. The CP, as the sole representative of old-style apartheid, has literally gone back to the original idea and approached, in a very patronising way, the creatures of old-style apartheid - the homeland leaders.

The truth is plain. If the creatures of apartheid, such as the homeland leaders, initially agreed to accept nominal independence under old-style apartheid, they can have very little against the old-style apartheid regime - represented in essence by the CP.

The Government has quite obviously and by its own admission turned the future of the homelands over to Codesa, where the forecast is reincorporation.

On Wednesday, the CP met with the military leader of Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

This was not the first meeting between the CP and a homeland or self-governing state leader, the CP's Mr Tom Langley hastened to add on Wednesday.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has met with the leaders from Venda, Transkei and Bophuthatswana, and has held high-profile talks with the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The truth becomes clearer when one remembers that people like Buthelezi, and indeed Gqozo, have been either hesitant to sign or refused to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

It became clearer still when one compares the carrot that was dangled in front of the "independent" states - self-determination or government over one's own people. Suddenly there is absolute clarity.

The CP objects to joining Codesa on the grounds that it prefers self-determination over any other configuration of rule that the convention has proposed. And although people like Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Gqozo have not explicitly said they preferred self-determination, they have implied as much in deliberations in and around Codesa.

Addressing political correspondents in Cape Town this week, Gqozo responded to a question on whether the Ciskeian government and the CP had anything in common by saying that their points of view "complement one another".



Andries Treurnicht



Lucas Mangope

Treurnicht was in a state of mild elation. He also said that there was a growing confluence in the thinking between Gqozo and the CP. He said that he was "looking forward to co-operation with other leaders who approve of the same basic convictions".

He outlined the "basic conditions" as encompassing: The maintenance of Christian values and principles; a free market economy; belief in the freedom of the individual, the right to own property and free political participation; an emphasis on

the maintenance of law and order as a necessity and the rejection of communism and revolutionary organisations; rejection of control of the security forces by parties other than the legitimate government; recognition of the interdependence existent between the "various nations" and the need for mutual support in areas such as economics, defence, foreign relations; subscribing to the principle of self-determination for all "our peoples"; rejection of domination over "our peoples" and the demand for recognition of the right to self-government.

Although no formal statement after a meeting between the CP leader and the Bophuthatswana government was made last year, that homeland's government was emphatic at Codesa's launch that it was not prepared to give up its sovereignty.

Bophuthatswana's president spoke at Codesa's launch in historic detail about his country's deep-rooted "independence" and did not see it as a product of apartheid, on the contrary. "We are not creatures of apartheid... nor are we part of apartheid structures," Mangope said. And with this Mangope placed himself well within the ambit of CP thinking, and thereafter rejected Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

His expressed vision for the region was almost identical to that of the CP and indeed that of Gqozo. Mangope told Codesa: "My vision for the future is namely that all nations of Southern Africa commit themselves to grow into one powerful, prosperous interdependent and peaceful economic community." These words echoed through Parliament

last week, during Treurnicht's reaction to President FW de Klerk's opening speech, and again during the meeting with Gqozo.

Treurnicht said on Wednesday that his vision for the region was based on the "European Economic Community" example. At the same time during his speech in Parliament, Treurnicht defended the right of "the Zulus" to govern themselves, thereby creating for himself an automatic ally.

But what sort of an alliance can come out of the creatures of apartheid, and its former masters? One is tempted to ask. On the one hand Treurnicht fraternises with them because it is politically expedient and a great opportunity to build a coalition of conservative forces who object the concept of a unitary state. And on the other hand he criticises Codesa for being made up of tin-pot "military regimes that came to power by means of coups".

These were the exact words in his speech in Parliament last week.

Treurnicht also asked De Klerk if he would continue to put pressure on Bophuthatswana to sign the Declaration of Intent, while the homeland was a legitimate national entity.

"Will he (De Klerk) try to convince or perhaps blackmail Bophuthatswana to become part of a unitary South Africa, which would mean that the Tswana people would be dissolved into a non-racial nation (nie-rassige nasie), and reduce the homeland government to a regional authority?"

With this strongly worded attack, Treurnicht fought a valiant battle for the continued independence of the homelands.

Looking back then, to this week's meeting with the Ciskeian military leader, and previous meetings with other homeland leaders weighed up against the expressed ideals of the CP, points to a dangerous liaison between the homelands and the CP.

Gqozo himself said this week that the "silent majority of black people in South Africa were conservative" and that they were being forced to go with the tide of Codesa. "That's dangerous," he said.

From page 1

"strengthening of confederal arrangements between independent countries" CT 7/2/92

It proposed other alternatives, but was determined that a unitary South Africa would not entice it into reincorporation.

The IFP's pre-conditions will amount to a serious stumbling block for Codesa.

Although it now appears that King Goodwill and other traditional leaders will be invited to the talks, it is improbable that the 17 parties and organisations that have already signed Codesa's Declaration of Intent will agree to having it changed.

Yesterday's developments delighted the CP, which held a series of meetings with leaders of six homelands, including KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. (18) (30/11)

'Important'

After a meeting with Ciskei Military Council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week Dr Treurnicht said the CP was exploring the possibility of a conference of leaders committed to self-determination.

Yesterday he said the IFP pre-conditions were "extremely important".

The IFP also called for a transitional government of reconciliation constituted under the president and responsible to Parliament under the existing Constitution, with certain entrenched clauses amended to make this possible. It would have a broader base than Codesa.

Government urged to scrap Own Affairs

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

304A

THERE is no reason why the Government cannot abolish the concept of Own Affairs which entrenches apartheid education, the Democratic Party's Mr Roger Burrows said yesterday.

Own Affairs is the most awesome vestige of legislative grand apartheid. It makes room for blatant racism, the multiplication of services and resources and causes gross overspending in the national budget, Burrows said.

In terms of Own Affairs, Pretoria creates, funds and controls centrally no less than 15 education departments and at least 14 health departments.

Own Affairs also provide for multiplication of resources in areas such as agriculture, local government, housing and works as well.

There is a growing possibility that Own Affairs would be abolished between now and the end of the present session of Parliament, which is traditionally in June.

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Sweetan 7/2/92

'No elections yet'

FLORIDA - Citing the high level of violence in South Africa KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week said it was too early to start thinking about general elections. (3044)

Buthelezi claimed that the ANC had threatened to use "intimidation and violence" to establish a government that would draft the kind of constitution favoured by ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Buthelezi claimed the ANC had a private army with caches of arms and ammunition around South Africa.

He said Mandela's position was that if the "peace process fails and if the negotiation process fails, the ANC will resort to mass action and that means actions backed up by intimidation and violence". - Sapa-

Reuter Source 7/2/92

EX-SA diplomat in think-tank

W/Mail 7/2-13/2/92
By DREW FORREST

A MIDRAND-based political consultant, paid R7,5-million by the South African government to campaign against Swapo, has been named as Pretoria's pointman in a European centre-right economic think tank.

Former South African diplomat Sean Cleary, now managing director of Strategic Concepts at Midrand, has been named by *The Guardian* as a key figure in the International Association for Co-operation and Development (Acoda), an organisation founded by centre-right European politicians ostensibly to promote "balanced" economic development in southern Africa.

The Weekly Mail has also learnt that Cleary was associated with the government's internal "hearts and minds" campaign, addressing a broad staff meeting of Adult Education Consultants, a department of military intelligence-spawned "contra-mobilisation" outfit, in Pretoria, as well as sharing a platform with AEC's boss at a seminar for officers of the army's Communications Operations (Comops).

Cleary, once employed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and later director of the administrator general's office in Windhoek in the early 1980s, received R7,5-million from Pretoria to promote Namibia's South African-backed transitional government.

The Guardian says he helped found a lobbying company in London called Strategic Network International (SNI), which vigorously campaigned to discredit Swapo. Using the same offices in Westminster, SNI had become Acoda's representatives in London.



Sean Cleary

Photo: R BOTHA, Business Day

It adds that the same pattern has been repeated in Acoda's offices in Johannesburg, Windhoek, Bonn and Paris. Acoda's Paris office is shared by Interaction International, which renegade military intelligence officer Nico Basson claims is controlled by the SADF and South African Foreign Affairs Ministry to promote Unita in Angola. Cleary is known to have strong ties with Unita boss Jonas Savimbi.

Backed by a number of respected British politicians and academics, including Tory MP John Biffen and former European Parliament president Lord Plumb of Coleshill, Acoda has sponsored trips to southern Africa for European MPs, arranging seminars and hosting dinners.

It is seen by some MPs as part of Pretoria's broader push to win the lion's share of investment and aid for South Africa in the post-apartheid era.

This week *The Weekly Mail* learned that Cleary was a key speaker a five-

day seminar for all AEC members at the Espada Hotel in Pretoria in January 1988. AEC's mission was to mobilise against the ANC and its allies, and the seminar was designed to give staffers in front organisations additional information for use in their "training".

Former AEC chief Dr Louis Pasques denied any direct contact between AEC and Cleary, but admitted he had shared a platform with the latter at the Saldanha military college in 1988, at a training course for Comops officers.

Confirming that he had addressed the AEC seminar, on "South Africa: a First World within a rising Third World", for a fee of R300, Cleary said the course was one of scores he gave to corporate, parastatal and academic audiences between 1986 and 1991.

He knew Pasques from Namibia, and was aware of his SADF contacts, but did not know he was employed by military intelligence.

Cleary denied being a "key figure" in Acoda, saying his company was the latter's honorary representative in South Africa. Neither Acoda nor any member of its international advisory board received money from the companies with which he was associated, "nor were the companies paid by Acoda for the honorary services they rendered".

Cleary was also involved in last year's national peace process, apparently as chairman of the working group on a code of conduct for political parties. "He was nominally a business representative," said a business source this week. "But he was not part of the regular business crowd. Our impression was that he was keeping an eye on things for the government."

SA's 'lost' history is recovered

Decades of vital history omitted from official records are being restored in an ambitious project that is not only of importance to researchers, but is a poignant evocation of our past.

By GAYE DAVIS

FOR years Freda Levson tried to interest publishers in her late husband Leon's vast collection of photographs documenting African life in South Africa during the 1940s. But his thousands of negatives remained unseen in boxes under her bed in London.

South Africans will soon get a chance to see for the first time some of Levson's evocative images: the University of the Western Cape's newly established Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture is working on an exhibition featuring work by Levson and other "lost" photographers.

It's just one project among many planned by the centre in a bid to bring back history officially denied for decades. Only recently named, the centre is better known as the "struggle museum" UWC announced it would establish after acquiring the entire photographic, film, video and publications collection of the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf).

Levson's photographs form part of that collection, built up over the many years Idaf functioned as the nerve centre of the international solidarity movement. So do those of Eli Weinberg, a listed communist who spent much of his life under house arrest or in prison, but who nevertheless recorded key events in the history of the African National Congress before going into exile in 1976. Most of his negatives, left behind when he fled, were lost or destroyed; those salvaged have been seen only abroad.

The last of the Idaf crates — filled with some 100 000 photographs, 1 000 films and videos, equipment and countless books — have now been unpacked, comprising a resource not



Photographing the photographer ... A slice of life from Sophiatown recorded by Leon Levson

only vast but immensely valuable to researchers. A unique computer cataloguing system means anyone seeking material on forced removals, for instance, will immediately be able to see listed every piece of footage and every photograph in the archive.

But the Idaf collection is not all there is. Daily an assortment of boxes, crates and envelopes arrives at the centre, containing material ranging from an activist's treasured collection of "struggle" T-shirts to minutes of the Robben Island Recreation Committee. "There's so much to be done. We've been working 20-hour days, raising funds, collecting and collating material. Now for the first time we can say we've got a physical presence, this is what we've got so far," said historian Dr Andre Odendaal, the centre's co-ordinator.

Who, apart from his fellow prisoners, knew that the late Pan Africanist Congress leader Jeff Masemola was a deft woodworker? One of his creations was a trophy Robben Island prisoners' soccer teams would compete for and which now forms part of the archive.

There's a telegram Mao Tse Tung

sent to Bill Andrews, acknowledged as the grand old man of the South African Communist Party who died in 1952, wishing him well on the occasion of his birthday, and a framed front page of *The World's* last edition, which escaped confiscation by the security police the day the newspaper was banned in 1977.

This is the stuff of which not only memories but also history is made — and it has come from all over South Africa and abroad.

Some of it, like Ahmed Kathrada's 8 000 pages recording every letter he wrote and received during 25 years in jail or the archives of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and other anti-apartheid organisations, is of prime historical importance, a researcher's paradise. Other material is intensely personal, relevant for its poignancy and evocation of a time past and never adequately recorded.

Sometimes that relevance has to be explained, like the white cap donated by a former Robben Islander. "We only understood its significance when we found prisoners made these caps to set themselves apart, expressing an

individuality otherwise denied them," said Odendaal.

Despite the wealth of ANC material and Idaf's historic links with the organisation, the centre is intended to be non-sectarian and the PAC has already expressed its support. It was established to balance a badly skewed past: "We're not going to make the same mistake," said Odendaal. Hence the name Mayibuye (let it return), a slogan common to most liberation bodies.

"We're collecting all artefacts, papers and other material related to the struggle. We're not turning up our noses at anything. We're hoping to share any duplications with other institutions. There's a lot of enthusiasm," said Odendaal.

Just an idea five years ago, the centre's task is enormous. Three former Idaf staffers, all returned exiles, are in charge of the film, audio and photographic archives. Eventually, artefacts will be on permanent display, but a proper museum depends on space and funds. Said Odendaal: "Our immediate priority is collating all the documents and papers. We're taking things step by step."

The centre has copyright to about 20 titles, many banned and never freely available in South Africa. In May, the UWC Mayibuye History Series will be launched, featuring re-prints of these and some new publications, including ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrill's autobiography, written while he was on the run in the wake of the security crackdown on Operation Vula. It's tentatively titled "Armed and Dangerous", which is how he was described on an SABC broadcast.

"The most important thing about this archive, beyond the political importance, is to recover the history of the ordinary person," said Odendaal. "Until a year or so ago, people couldn't see or read any of this. A blank of 30 years needs to be filled."

To this end, the centre will be engaging in a variety of projects involving communities, institutions and organisations. It will also approach the government to arrange the retrieval of material confiscated by security police or used in evidence in trials. "There should be a mountain of it somewhere," said Odendaal.

Promised land, but who'll follow ^{304A}apartheid's Moses?

*W/Mail 7/2-13/2/92
Conservative Party ideologues
are still engaged in drawing up
funny maps for a white
homeland. They would be wise
to heed the lessons learnt by
those who would be Moses in
Morgenzon and Orania, argues
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK*

ANYONE who witnessed Dr Andries Treurnicht's dismal performance in the parliamentary no-confidence debate last week would find it difficult to stifle the suspicion that he is a paid agent of the National Party.

He resoundingly failed to rise to the occasion — the probable last no-confidence debate in an all-white parliamentary chamber and thus his own swan song as leader of the opposition — and allowed himself to be overshadowed by Allan Hendrickse's defeat in the House of Representatives.

Party officials' explanations of Conservative Party policy could be tape-recordings of last year's briefings and those of the year before.

Crudely, they want to partition South Africa into 13 black and white states, resegregate the country's toilets and public amenities and put Nelson Mandela back in jail.

CP MP and party spokesman Piet Gous defines the bottom-line policy of the party as the "right to an own government, to an own territory, an own budget, control over our own defence forces and our own police forces. The CP is irrevocably committed to the freedom of its own people in their own fatherland". For "own", read "white".

They are at pains to differentiate themselves from the radical extra-parliamentary right: "We are not a military force," says Gous. "We are going to fight our battles within parliament as long as the constitutional means are open to us."

"Once the constitutional way is totally closed for us, then we will have to look at what other options are available."

They have been saying that for two years.

Alone among South Africa's political parties, the CP has made no concession to the transformation that the political landscape has undergone since February 2 1990.

As the Convention for a Democratic South Africa sits down this week to start hammering out the form of an interim government, CP ideologues are still drawing up funny maps to define the geographical boundaries of the white homeland.

Yet those who would be Moses of the white homeland concept are having a hard time persuading more than a handful of whites to sell their suburban homes and dump their white-collar jobs and join the pioneer columns to Morgenzon or the desert of Orania.

The CP wants to reinstate apartheid under another name ("partition") without apparently having considered how they would cope with black protest, world pressure and economic collapse that would accompany such a move.

All they offer is the same empty bravado. "If we must make a choice between the survival of



Dr Andries Treurnicht ... one sometimes wonders whose side he's on

the Afrikaner *volk* and economic prosperity, there is no choice to be made. If sacrifices are asked of us, we would be willing," says Gous.

University of Cape Town researcher Johann van Rooyen believes no one should deny the strength and potential threat of the white right: "The belief that the CP will drift into obscurity and end up as a marginalised anachronism in a new, non-racial society is unrealistic."

But under its current leadership and with its current policy, it is hard to see how the CP can avoid being marginalised. The rules of politics are about to change — in many ways they already have. The reality is the CP, even with the support of half the whites, would represent less than 10 percent of a non-racial electorate.

Without adaption they will be as irrelevant to the mainstream of political power in South Africa as those whites who continued to vote for Ian Smith were in Zimbabwe.

Sure, the CP has staved off attempts by the NP, with the support of the Afrikaans media, to split the moderates and hard-liners in the party — though the cracks are still there.

And, despite its unimaginativeness, the party continues to pick up support among whites.

President FW de Klerk's promise that white backing for the Codesa constitution will be tested in a referendum means in theory that the CP could block a move to democracy.

In the September 1989 white general election, the CP got almost a third of the votes. Since then there has been an average 14 percent swing to the party in by-elections. That support is to be tested again in Potchefstroom this month.

Senior NP officials predict a 60-40 split in their favour in a referendum. However, some independent observers believe the CP already commands 45 percent of white support and, if

the swing continues, could pull off a surprise.

The CP itself appears none too confident of a win in a referendum and would prefer a white general election, where it would stand a better chance of winning with less than 50 percent of the vote.

If the CP does pull off a surprise and whites reject the new constitution, NP general secretary Stoffel van der Merwe says the party would have no choice but to call a white general election — where the CP could sweep into power.

A defeat in the referendum would undermine the NP, but it is unlikely that the only parties to Codesa will agree to another white election, or allow a tiny minority to take power in that way.

Why does De Klerk insist on a white referendum that could lead to the undoing of his party?

Perhaps by keeping the door open for a constitutional reversal of the process through a referendum, De Klerk is delaying the day that right-wing whites — with the exception of a few crazies — will feel that there is no option open for them but violent rebellion.

It keeps the CP preoccupied with the relatively harmless task of organising by-elections — and a referendum which, if it did win, would be only the beginning of its problems.

Treurnicht's dour "play by the rules" demeanour has demobilised whites during a tricky transition, which is why one sometimes wonders whose side he's on.

Treurnicht goaded De Klerk in the no-confidence debate by saying that if the NP lost the referendum, the CP would be the victors. If the NP won, power would go to the ANC.

The same dilemma could be turned around on the CP: given the problems that would confront them as South Africa's new rulers, the CP would be better off losing.

Issues that face a future SA

Weekly Mail 7/2 - 13/2/92

REFORM AND REVOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA
IN THE NINETIES edited by Gordon Naidoo
(Skotaville, R32,95) (304A)

THIS is not just another of those "new" South Africa books that have filled bookstore shelves in the aftermath of February 2 1990. This is a collection of well researched and well considered works collated by some sharp minds. It spans a wide range of subjects, all of which will present great challenges to the order that is to emerge from the ashes of apartheid.

Reform and Revolution emerged out of a group of foreign-based South Africans — most of them exiles — which called itself the South African National Working Group.

The man responsible for collating the book kicks off with a scientific analysis of the main catalysts for change and the political and social forces shaping the transition process. Of these he pinpoints the decisive battle of Cuito Cuanavale in the Angolan war, which forced the belligerents to the negotiation table. This battle, Gordon Naidoo contends, had far reaching implications for South Africa in that it undermined South Africa's claim to unchallenged regional superiority and led to Namibian independence — a forerunner of South Africa's reform process. It led to an alteration in Soviet policy towards southern Africa and to the removal of the African National Congress from Angola, making insurgency impossible. Thus the protagonists in the South African conflict were propelled towards the negotiating table and its concomitant compromises. Organised labour's role is also highlighted.

But can negotiations deliver the goods? Moeletsi Mbeki wrangles with this question in a subsequent chapter. Mbeki also examines the pressures which gave birth to negotiations and, while he casts some doubt on whether they will solve South Africa's problems, he states clearly that the country's political payers have little choice but to make negotiations work.

Looking beyond negotiations, other writers examine the issues that will confront the new state. Cape Town-born University of Zimbabwe law student Jeniffer Mohamed tackles the shape of the constitution and how it should deal with issues such as ethnicity and minority rights. Also addressed in this chapter are the contentious issues of workers' versus business rights, as well as women's rights.

But the book's strongest quality is that it gives ample space to the most intractable area facing a post-apartheid South Africa: economic issues.

A good half of the book is taken up by an analysis of South Africa's political economy and future options. Economists Selim Gool and Peter Ellis tackle the issues of nationalisation, privatisation and the concentration of economic power.

Other issues covered in the book include the future role of the trade union movement and the likely contribution of small businesses and co-operatives.

Although it tends to get very technical and rather clichéd in certain instances, *Reform and Revolution* certainly does not gloss over issues. It gives every issue an in-depth examination. Its only downfall is that the authors' opinions are more or less of a similar political cast, and one does not get a sense of the debate which a book of its calibre should encourage.

Mondli Makhanya



□ **MANDELA AT No 10:** British Prime Minister John Major meets ANC president Nelson Mandela for talks.

Mandela urges Britain to get involved in SA peace process

LONDON. — Britain and other Western nations should get involved in the peace process in South Africa, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told British Prime Minister John Major yesterday.

Mr Mandela, speaking after talks at Mr Major's Downing Street residence, said they had discussed foreign investment in South Africa and the country's return to international sporting competition.

"We consider it important that the Western powers, and in particular Britain, should be involved in the peace process going on in our country," Mr Mandela said.

But Mr Mandela, on a one-day "courtesy visit" to Britain on his way home from a European tour, did not explain what kind of involvement he sought. He gave no further details of the talks.

A British official said he believed Mr Mandela was keen that Western countries should support South Africa's reform process and the current talks on a new nonracial constitution, but did not mean to suggest a shift to more direct involvement.

"Much of the time was spent discussing the peace process, Codesa, the prospects for and

time to be taken over constitutional changes in South Africa, and sport, particularly rugby which is soon to be integrated," the official said.

There was no mention of the reprimand delivered to Mr Mandela by Washington over his remarks made in support of Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. But it is thought Mr Major would have almost certainly brought up the subject, especially since his Overseas Development Minister, Mrs Lynda Chalker, made her government's displeasure clear over the incident when she met Mr Mandela on her visit to Cape Town.

30477 ARG 8/1/92

Referendum rollercoaster

(3644)
ARG 8/2/92

EARLY signs are that a National Party/Democratic Party alliance will decisively defeat the Conservative Party and its rightwing allies in a white referendum.

This means the white right wing movement will virtually be swept off the table in a referendum involving all races.

The prospect of an NP/DP referendum line-up was highlighted by DP leader Dr Zac de Beer this week. He said the DP would help the government to get a majority in a referendum held to approve an interim constitution drawn up at Codesa.

And Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen told a briefing in Cape Town: "We're working on the basis of succeeding ... we are going to win."

Most election analysts consulted by Weekend Argus this week are confident — on the basis of recent and current voting patterns — that a referendum, as envisaged by the government, will produce an overwhelming Yes vote for constitutional reforms to go ahead.

They warn, however, there are many uncertainties and nobody can be sure of the outcome of the promised referendum — expected to be held before the end of this year.

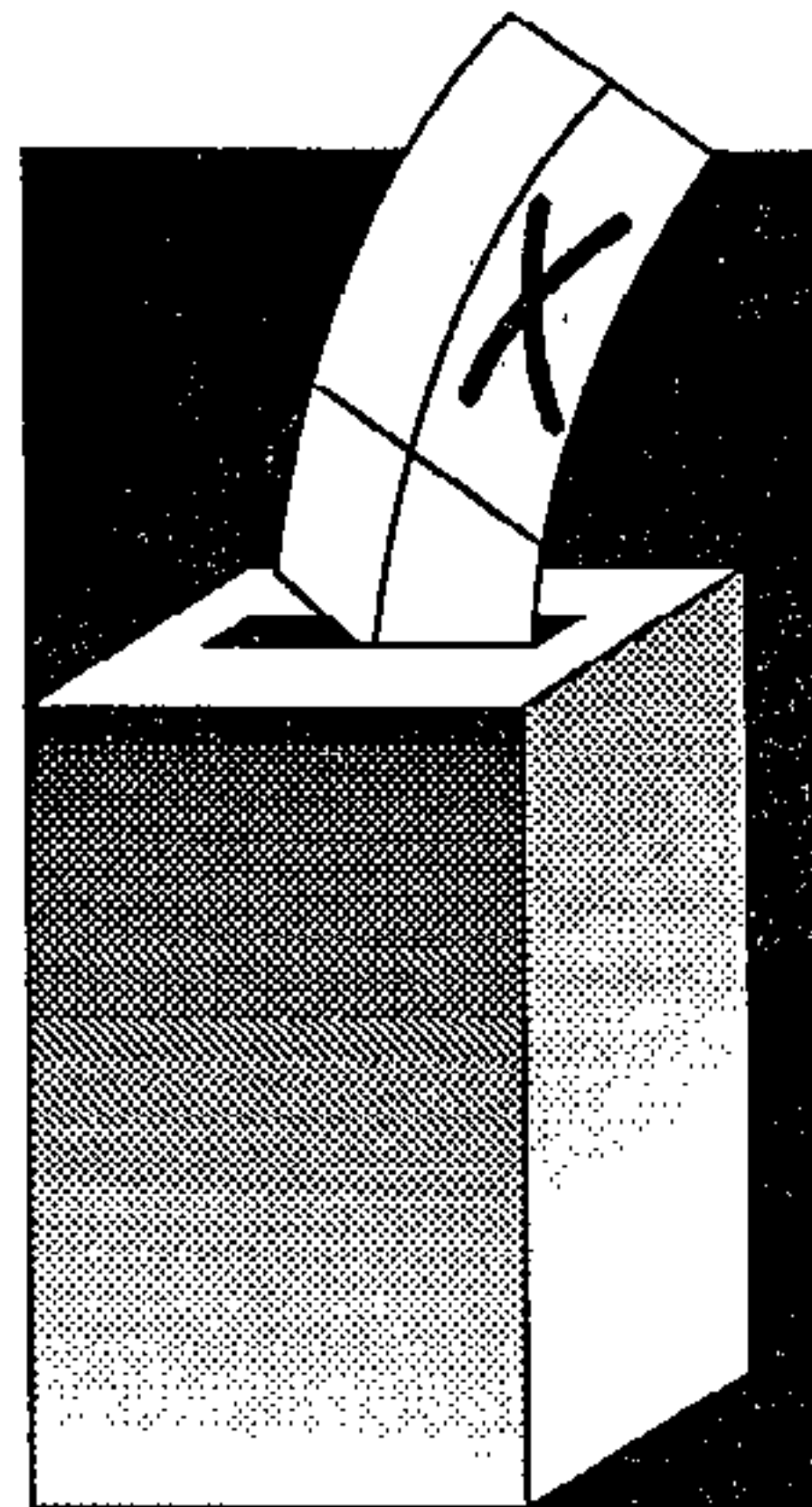
One major uncertainty is about just who commands the political loyalty of black South Africans, who comprise 70 percent of the adults of voting age.

The question to be asked in a referendum is likely to be a simple one — such as asking voters to say Yes or No to proposed changes.

President De Klerk and other government spokesmen have confirmed there will be a white referendum as part of a national multiracial poll in which votes will also be counted on racial lines to test transitional government plans.

Mr De Klerk has been quoted as saying that if white voters say No it will be a case of going "back to the drawing-board". This stand has drawn sharp criticism from the African National Congress and others on the grounds that it

PREDICTIONS



'THE right wing will be defeated in a white referendum and will virtually be swept off the table in a multiracial national poll.'

□ □ □ □

'ON the basis of current trends, Potchefstroom will be captured from the NP by the CP with a majority of about 1 500 votes in this month's parliamentary by-election.'

gives the white minority a veto right over the constitutional process.

Election analyst Mr Donald Simpson predicts a decisive victory for an NP/DP alliance in a white referendum.

He told Weekend Argus that his computer analyses of voting patterns — taking into account latest trends in the Potchefstroom by-election campaign — show a 58 percent combined NP/DP Yes vote for reform against a 42 percent No by the CP and other rightwing groupings.

However, Mr Simpson's shock prediction is that if a white general election were to be held now, the NP would be defeated by the CP and its allies.

The NP, he says, would be in much the same situation as the old United Party was in the 1948 general election when it was defeated by the NP of Dr D F Malan.

Like the 1948 NP, the CP of today would capture many marginal seats from the NP, especially in rural areas.

Mr Simpson estimates that about two-thirds of the DP's voters would vote for the NP in a general election held now.

On the basis of current trends he predicts Potchefstroom will be captured by the CP with a majority of about 1 500 votes in the by-election on February 19.

Such a result would represent a 10 percent swing from the NP to the CP and its rightwing allies — a voter swing which, according to Mr Simpson, would be in line with by-election patterns in recent years.

He notes that the NP is holding Potchefstroom with a 1989 general election majority of 1 583 votes.

Another election analyst, Professor Japie Spoelstra, a Potchefstroom mathematician, supports Mr Simpson's prediction of a 58 percent referendum victory for an NP/DP alliance over rightwing parties.

Professor Spoelstra says this prediction is based on the worst by-election performance by the NP in the recent times. This is the Virginia by-election, in which the CP captured the formerly marginal seat from the NP with a majority of 3 166 votes in November.

Other studies of election patterns since 1989 also point to the strong possibility of a decisive NP/DP majority in a white referendum.

Econometrix research analyst Mr Tony Twine notes that DP/NP voting strength in the 1989 white general election was twice as much as CP/HNP strength on the basis of votes cast. The rightwing parties (CP and HNP) then at-

tracted 32 percent of the votes, while the NP, DP and one independent candidate polled 68 percent.

When translated to proportions of total white voters, rather than votes cast, the right wing accounted for 22 percent of the voters' roll, with the NP/DP/independent bloc accounting for 47 percent.

However, Mr Twine also focuses attention on uncertain factors that could change the picture.

He notes that votes cast in the 1989 white election amounted to only 69 percent of voters registered. Far more registered voters (31 percent of total) did not vote at all than voted for rightwing parties (22 percent of total).

"This silent vote could easily wreck any projections of a referendum outcome should any of the parties attract a large proportion."

By-election results since 1989 have shown a swing towards the right. Added to this there is no guarantee that voters will support party lines in a referendum in the same proportions as in a general election.

Similarly, by-election results are often unrepresentative of national developments, as campaigns are often fought against a dominant local issue backdrop, rather than on national issues.

These are just some of many facets of a white referendum, but all this pales into insignificance against the giant reality of a 70 percent hitherto untapped black vote in the promised multiracial national referendum.

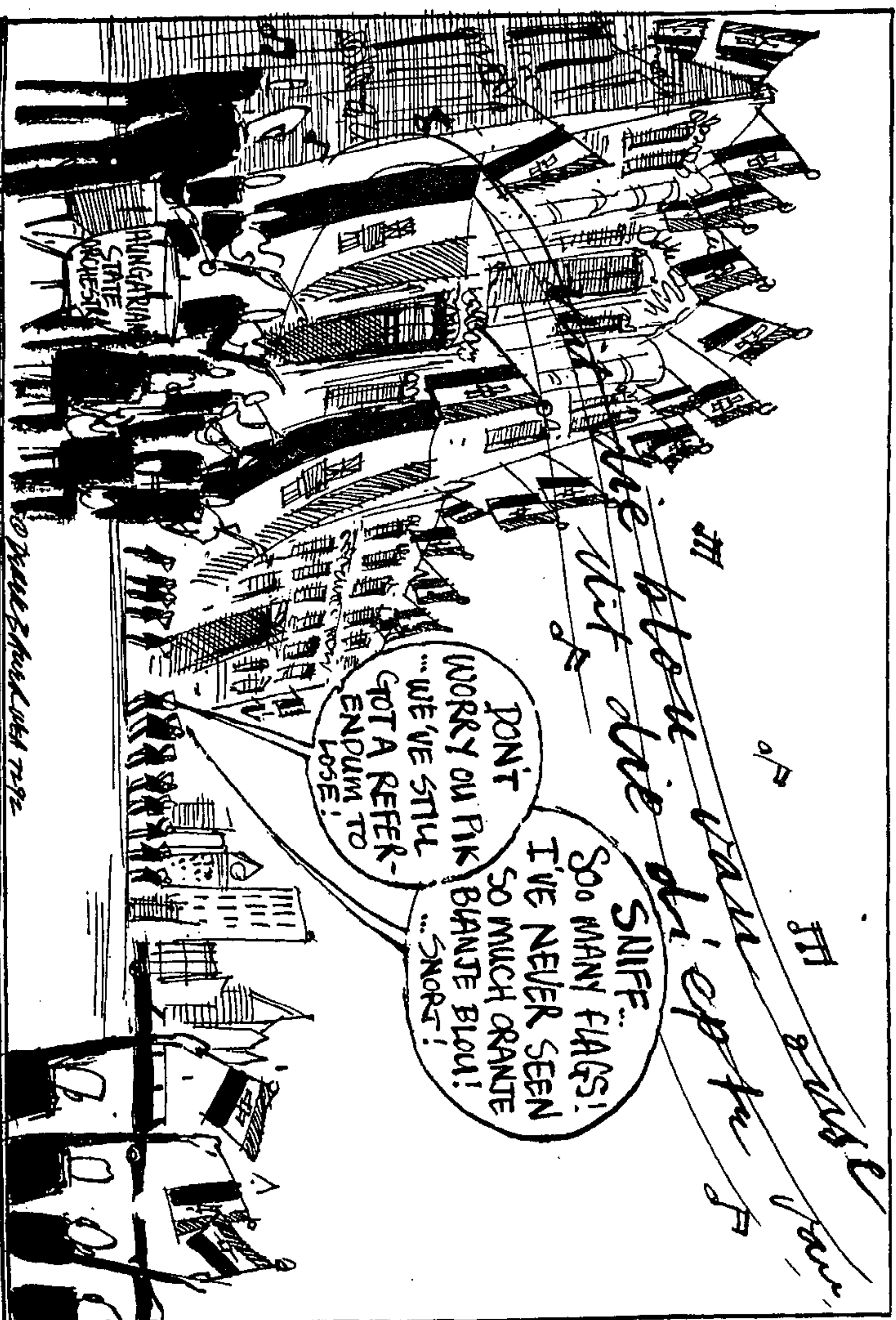
For whom will the majority of black people vote? Who commands their loyalty?

Recent statistics from a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey published last year show Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi commanding the loyalty of two percent of African voters and Mr Nelson Mandela 52 percent of Africans under 35, and 36 percent of those over 35. However, nearly 30 percent of these groups would not reveal their preferences.

Analyst Mr Rory Riordan, of the Human Rights Trust, says the most obvious trend is that seven out of 10 potential future voters are Africans, and all market research he has seen shows the ANC continues to dominate the political process in the black community. However, the organisation has little support among whites, coloured people and Asians.

WEEKEND FOCUS 1

A referendum — including a white poll — is on the cards, possibly before the end of this year, to consult voters on proposed constitutional changes. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** speaks to election analysts, some of whom predict surprises.



Parliament trims sittings

ns

Short week to

give MPs more

time for Codesa
STAR 8/12/92
(3044)

CAPE TOWN — Up to 80 percent of South Africa's people were sick of violence and had chosen the path of negotiation, the Leader of the House of Assembly, Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Introducing a motion, later carried, that the House not sit at all next week, and only on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays thereafter, he said the decision to do this had been taken only after very serious consideration.

Similar motions were passed in the other two Houses earlier in the week.

Opposing the motion, CP chief whip Frank le Roux said Parliament was being unashamedly shunted on to a siding in favour of Codesa, and the Government was showing how obliging it could be to its communist allies.

Mr Vlok said the shorter week would allow MPs to attend to constituency matters and allow those taking part in Codesa to perform those duties.

Parliament's activities would not suffer. Committees would still do their work, and Parliament would still be able to carry out its legislative programme.

South Africans had to keep up with changing times if they and their children were to survive.

"We, as representatives of millions of people, have an opportunity to create a chance to hold these negotiations," he said.

The talks could not wait for the second half of the year or some time in the future.

Mr le Roux argued that the taxpayer, who financed Parliament, expected MPs to sit five days a week and deal with legislation in the normal fashion.

Rampant inefficiency

The proposal to shorten sitting days was the latest in a long line of concessions made by the Government to its communist and ANC allies, including lowering the VAT rate and making the police responsible to the community rather than to the Minister of Law and Order and Parliament, he said.

DP spokesman Dave Dalling said that although he supported the motion, the Government's tardiness in preparing the legislative programme for the current session was evidence of rampant NP inefficiency.

The proper management of the relationship between Parliament and Codesa was essential. While it lacked legitimacy, Parliament remained sovereign and would have to give effect to decisions taken at Codesa.

The days of white Afrikaner control of the country's affairs were "gone for good" and the CP had no choice but to take part in constitutional negotiations.

"If the CP refuses to participate, there is only one road — that of inflammatory speeches, increased belligerence and tension which will lead to violence, sabotage and eventually to war," Mr Dalling said.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said the only reason the current parliamentary session started a week late was to enable President de Klerk "to fetch a prize in Paris".

Earlier, in a joint sitting for declaration of votes, 23 Bills debated in the past week were passed with only one requiring a division in the House of Assembly because of CP opposition. — Sapa.



RED-CARPET TREATMENT: President F W de Klerk reviews an honour guard with Polish President Lech Walesa during a ceremony at Warsaw airport yesterday at the start of Mr de Klerk's two-day visit to Poland. ● Photograph: AFP

WARSAW — Polish President Lech Walesa warmly greeted President de Klerk in sub-zero Poland yesterday, and declared that he would like to have better relations with South Africa "in every possible field".

Mr de Klerk was given full honours as he arrived in snow-covered Warsaw on the first official visit by a head of state since the colourful Mr Walesa took office a year ago.

It was also the first visit by a South African head of state to Poland at least since World War 2.

In the most moving moment of the day, the genial electrician-turned president Mr Walesa presented Mr de Klerk with 42 gold medals struck by the Polish Government to honour South African airmen who flew supplies into besieged Warsaw

Gold medals presented as F W, Walesa seal new friendship ties

STAR 8/2/92

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

during 1944 to support the Polish uprising against the Nazis.

Mr Walesa said the decorations symbolised the resumption of links of friendship between the two countries.

Mr de Klerk, in a speech at a state banquet given for him last night by Mr Walesa in Wilanow Palace, also referred to the Warsaw airlift as a bridge to Poland which South Africa helped build, as it was now building other links.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Polish counterpart Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski signed an agreement waiving visa requirements for diplomats

and officials and prepared agreements to be finalised later on such matters as avoiding double taxation and other forms of protection for investors, and to enable scientific and cultural exchanges.

Mr Walesa told Polish journalists before discussions with Mr de Klerk that he would concentrate on economic matters.

He intended discussing South African investment in Poland and would ask Mr de Klerk to try to resolve a problem of the

blocking of a R500-million credit facility offered by South African banks to Poland.

Mr Botha said afterwards that this matter was being attended to.

A senior Polish official said the most important issue was industrial co-operation and joint ventures between Poland and South Africa in areas such as shipping.

The two presidents seemed to hit it off well. Mr Walesa — who clearly likes publicity — told Polish journalists that in the car driving from the airport with Mr de Klerk he realised the SA president was an "active" man

who understood Poland's problems and one with whom one could work to solve them.

South African officials said Mr de Klerk had taken an immediate liking to Mr Walesa.

On Mr de Klerk's three-nation winter tour of three Central European nations it has become trite to say he received a warm welcome. But in Poland the weather was the coldest and the welcome the warmest.

Mr Walesa came personally to Okęcie military airport to greet Mr de Klerk as he stepped off his Falcon jet after the flight from Prague on to a red carpet on the snow-covered apron.

A military band played the anthems of both countries. Mr de Klerk then inspected a military guard and took the salute as it goose-stepped past with rigid precision.

Gruelling campaign to win hearts and minds



CONFIDENT: Andries Beyers who, at 24, became the youngest member of the Transvaal Provincial Council.

● Photographs: JOHN HOGG

THEUNS *

Potch: a battle for id

STAR 8/2/92

304A

JOHN PERLMAN

BETWEEN now and February 19, Andries Beyers and Theuns Kruger will address two dozen meetings, shake hundreds of hands, and smile so much that the corners of their mouths will ache — all to secure a job that they know will be made redundant within two years, probably sooner.

Mr Beyers, the Conservative Party candidate for the Potchefstroom parliamentary seat left vacant by the death last year of Louis le Grange, says it's been gruelling.

"There is now special voting from 8 am to 9 pm, so you have to be there. You must visit people, go to meetings — all in the worst heat I've ever known."

Mr Kruger, his National Party adversary, has an additional bur-

den. "Things change from day to day," he said. "With Parliament on the go, every time a Minister makes a policy statement I must try to explain it."

Difficult, one imagines, when the Minister is usually hard pressed

the Afrikaner in this country, who speaks for white South Africa.

"We see this as a constitutional opportunity to show our support and increase our bargaining power. But in the end, it is only one battle in the greater freedom strug-

"This election is really a test of who represents the Afrikaner in this country, who speaks for white South Africa," says Beyers.

to explain things himself.

But both men insist it matters not a bit how long they sit in Parliament. "Maybe I will spend only six months there," said Mr Beyers, who is also the chief secretary of the CP. "That doesn't matter at all. This election is really a test of who represents

gle of our people."

Mr Kruger sees it in a similar light. "This isn't about a seat in Parliament. What matters is that this town should send a positive message to the country. There are many young people in Potch. What they learn here will be spread across South Africa when they move on."

Two men, then, who insist they are campaigning not for office but for ideas and ideals.

The ideas and ideals on offer to Potchefstroom's 24 000 voters are a familiar mix.

The CP promises an independent white state in a larger commonwealth with full employment for whites, and protection of language and culture, and warns that a vote for the Nats is a vote for the ANC.

The NP speaks of "peace and growth through freedom from oppression", and dismisses CP segregationist ideas as both a dream and a nightmare.

"I asked Mr Beyers at the start for a positive campaign, but they have stressed the negative issues," said Mr Kruger.

"We have been very positive and concentrated on putting across CP policy, but they have been very negative and attacked me personally," said Mr Beyers.



IRON-FISTED MAN: the shadow of Louis le Grange looms large as the battle for Potchestroom heats up.

There are two things the two men do agree on, though. The first is that the shadow of Mr le Grange looms large. Mr Kruger concedes that many Conservative voters voted Nat pre-

viously because they approved of Mr le Grange's record as an iron-fisted law and order man.

"He was exceptional and I can't try to be him," said Mr Kruger. "I have to be myself."

Mr Beyers for Mr le Grange — the last thing binding voters to the "Those voters will across to us."

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NEWS

ign to win hearts and minds of the Afrikaners



Provincial Council.

● Photographs: JOHN HOGG

THEUNS KRUGER: impeccable, if somewhat different, credentials for an Afrikaner politician.

attle for ideas, ideals

STAR 8/2/92

304A

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"He was exceptional and I can't try to be him," said Mr Kruger. "I have to be myself."

Mr Beyers believes Mr le Grange was the last thing binding many voters to the Nats: "Those voters will come across to us."

The second is that both say they are not just looking to influence a white electorate. "If we win, it will show the blacks that there is little point in reaching a settlement with the NP," said Mr Beyers.

"That will be worth nothing. We are already meeting the leaders of other volke — Dr Treurnicht met Brigadier Gqozo of Ciskei this week and it's clear he understands our views."

Oddly, Brigadier Gqozo is someone whom Mr Kruger singles out as a likely ally for the Nats. "There are lots of blacks who don't want radicalism, and Brigadier Gqozo is a moderate among the Xhosas. There is also Bophuthatswana, where the people are restful, calm Christians. There is the Zionist Church and,

of course, Inkatha. With that we can form a moderate majority."

But those visions of broader alliances aside, both Mr Kruger and Mr Beyers are selling themselves strongly as Afrikaners. Mr Beyers signals this with the little

sites, including one near Ventersdorp where he killed three Englishmen. His tears flowed as he stood there. It had a big impact on me.

"My parents were also Nationalists all their lives — that is how I grew up," said Mr Bey-

"Things change from day to day," says Kruger. "With Parliament on the go, every time a Minister makes a policy statement I must try to explain it."

Vierkleur on his desk and with his pride at his family's fighting past.

"Both of my oupas fought against the British and both took part in the 1914 rebellion and were jailed for it. One of them in particular was very politically conscious. He taught me about their struggles and showed me the old battle

ers who at 24 became the youngest member of the Transvaal Provincial Council. But by 1981 he was disillusioned with the NP and left to join the Herstigte Nasionale Party. When the CP was formed a year later, Mr Beyers made that his political home.

Mr Kruger, too, has impeccable if somewhat

different credentials for an Afrikaner politician. He has been involved in the Voortrekker youth movement for 28 years, active in the NP and the church from an early age and in 1968 played for Western Transvaal against the British Lions. Yet his view of being an Afrikaner is very different.

"The CP represents the ugly side of the Afrikaner, that side connected to apartheid and its abuses. But I believe that the heart of the Afrikaner is realistic and willing to look the facts in the face."

Whether the heart of Potchefstroom is "realistic" remains to be seen. Some 7 000 votes have already been cast.

"There is a very big doubtful vote," said Mr Kruger. The Beyers family are on a bit of a roll — the candidate's brother, Cobus, recently won the Virginia seat for the CP. "We're already way ahead," Mr Beyers said.

What will this unpredictable politician do next?

Rabie is able to add colour to any House

SAK 8/2/92

JAC RABIE makes political speeches in the style of a revivalist preacher — mutton-chop sideburns aquiver, glasses low on his nose, and cadence so compelling it would make Eugene Terre-Blanche envious.

In the course of his blistering attack on the Labour Party in the House of Representatives' no-confidence debate, he denounced communism, praised nationalism, quoted C J Langenhoven at some length, and generally showed every sign of enjoying himself hugely.

Here is a consummate performer in strict parliamentary terms. But whether he proves to be an unalloyed asset to the National Party, his new political family, remains to be seen.

For a while at least, NP wheel-dealers will chortle over the chicanery that saw to it that the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the LP fell from power.

In the medium term, Mr Rabie and his "brown Nats" may hold out the promise of a measure of

The National Party's most senior "person of colour" has kicked the seemingly irrepressible Allan Hendrickse out of office. JOHN PERLMAN and SHAUN JOHNSON review the life and tortuous times of Jac Rabie.

sistency has often been more of a liability than a virtue in the world of "coloured" electoral politics.

Born one of six children in Middeburg, Mr Rabie's humble beginnings were made all the harsher by the fact that his family was torn apart by the race laws. His father was Indian, his mother coloured.

Some of his relatives jumped the fence and became white.

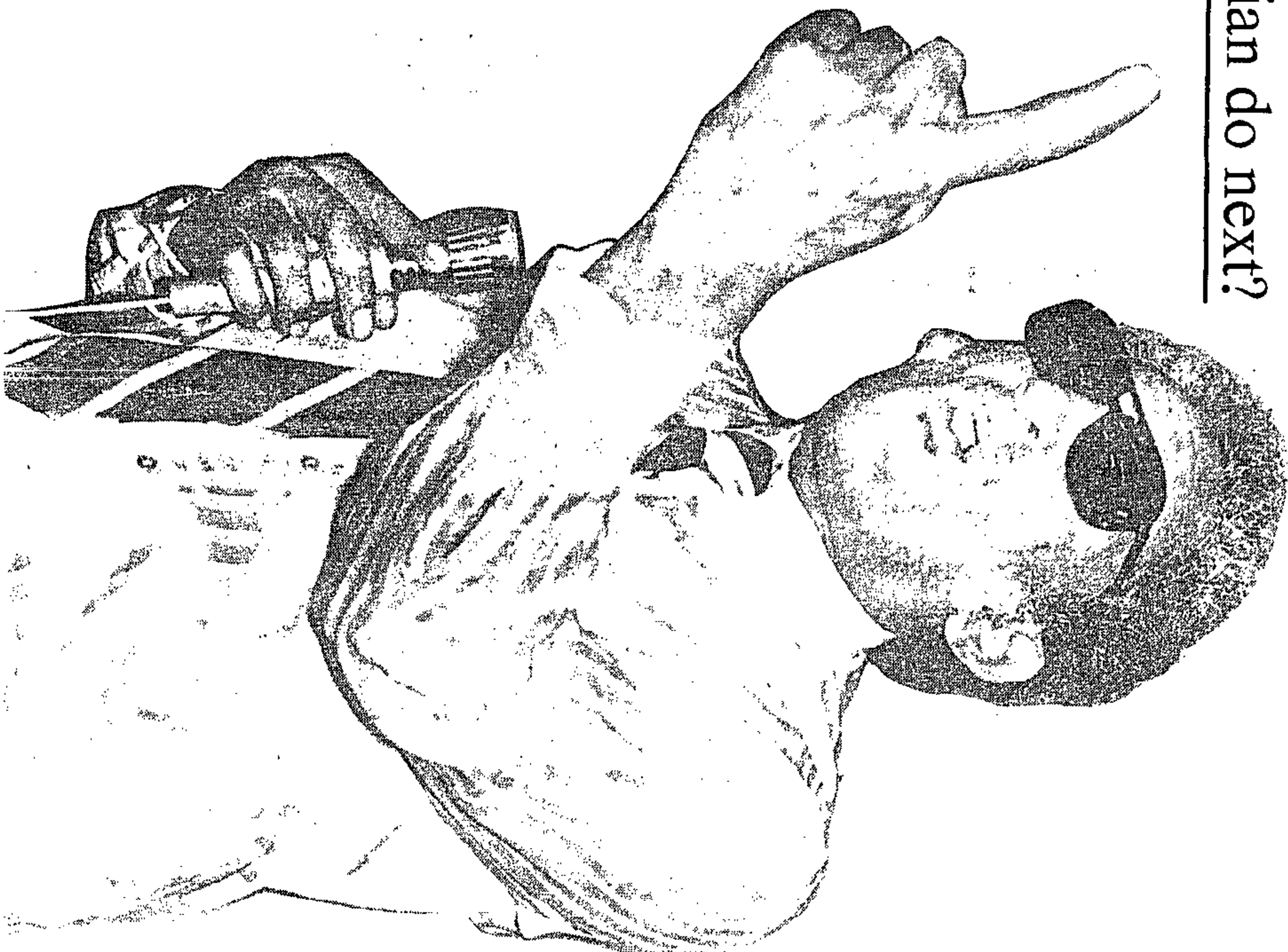
proven slave and Indian ancestry. Treurnicht, he said, was Bengali.

In a similar vein, he alleged in the House that another CP parliamentarian, S P Barnard of Hercules, had been seen dancing with a black woman in America.

All of this was a far cry from the man who became involved with the Federal Party as branch secretary in Potchefstroom, where he was a schoolteacher, and won a seat in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) two years later. In those days, Mr Rabie was the arch foe of the Labour Party, acerbically critical whenever it refused to enter into negotiation with the Government.

From then until the mid-1970s Mr Rabie called for a separate republic for coloureds, a "coloured-istan" — then later for separate representation for coloureds on a separate voters roll — and spoke of Black Power as "the worst thing that could ever have happened to the coloured people".

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In the medium term, Mr Rabie and his "brown Nats" may hold out the promise of a measure of future electoral and political support.

BUT IN the long term they will want to be rewarded for adding a little colour to the Nats. Mr Rabie, above all, will make it perfectly clear he intends being joint host, and not just house-guest. Yet it is far from clear how much electoral clout he will be able to bring to the party.

Jac Rabie has never been afraid to call a spade a shovel. But he would probably win more prizes for bluntness than consistency. Fortunately for him, con-

colour' was kicked the seemingly irrepressible Allan Hendrickse out of office. JOHN PERLMAN and SHAUN JOHNSON review the life and tortuous times of Jac Rabie.

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Some of his relatives jumped the fence and became white; one uncle even became an official in the Conservative Party.

Mr Rabie needed little prompting to hold out his past in political debate, especially in the late '80s when some Nats themselves were wallowing in prolonged rites of apology for apartheid.

Occasionally, though, there seemed to be an angry edge to Mr Rabie — which observers put down to deep bitterness at his family members who fled to "the other side". Nobody felt this more than CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, whom Mr Rabie taunted by saying there was evidence that the Treurnichts — as well as Meyers, Hoons and Snymans (all CP MPs) — were all families with

Jack woman in America. All of this was a far cry from the man who became involved with the Federal Party as branch secretary in Potchefstroom, where he was a schoolteacher, and won a seat in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) two years later. In those days, Mr Rabie was the arch foe of the Labour Party, acerbically critical whenever it refused to enter into negotiation with the Government.

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HE SAT on the Theron Commission and also met Prime Minister John Vorster to negotiate increased powers for the CRC. He came away saying: "We have got a hand on the knob of the door to full citizenship."

It was, said Mr Rabie, a victory for "confrontation through dialogue". Mr Vorster, he said, was a political giant, the best prime minister the Western world had produced.

Eventually all of that began to change. In 1975 he fell out with the Federal Party, of which he was Transvaal leader, and operated as an independent, resigned from Mr Vorster's Cabinet council with harsh words about its toothlessness and the man who set it up. In 1978 he joined Labour.

Now, said Mr Rabie, war would be declared on "apartheid-oriented coloured puppets". And as Labour finally swung towards participation with the announcement of the tri-cameral system, Mr Rabie had this to say about the former boycott strategy that he had vilified so frequently:

"The Labour Party, not as a matter of principle but as a tactical weapon and because it correctly gauged the prevailing conditions, also applied the boycott politically." Referring, among other things, to the CRC

SHOWMAN: Jac Rabie makes political speeches in the style of a revivalist preacher, with cadence so compelling it would make Eugene TerreBlanche envious.

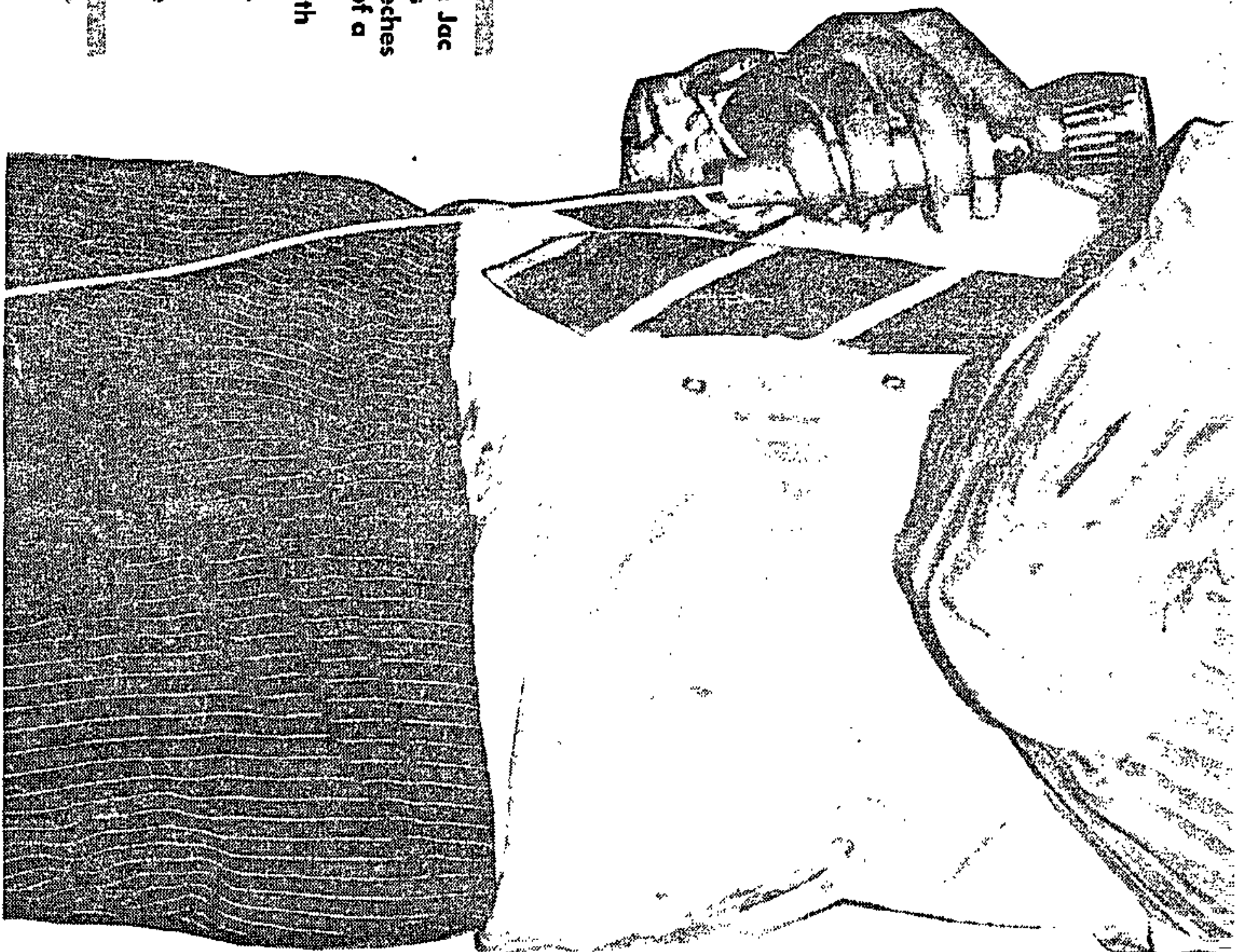
and the Theron Commission, Mr Rabie concluded: "This successful strategy damaged the influence of these sham institutions and discredited those who supported them."

Clearly Mr Rabie didn't think it discredited him, and as Labour came under flak from the Left for taking part in the new Parliament, their man from Reiger Park developed a reputation as one of the party strongmen. By 1987 Mr Rabie had had enough of Mr Hendrickse and "his authoritarian style". In the maiden speech he made as head of the United Democratic Party, which he formed with four other MPs, Mr Rabie accused Labour of becoming the junior partner of the Government — which, of course, is what Labour are accusing him of doing now.

All the somersaults notwithstanding, Mr Rabie has been consistent in three ways. First, he has always insisted on speaking for the coloured people and on putting

their interests first. "I do not propose to speak for Africans as they speak for themselves," he said. Second, he has always reacted angrily to whites patronising coloured people or speaking for them. And third, he has always had a knack for coming up with an unexpected cause. In 1977, for instance, he called on whites to "show the Government what they think" by applying to enrol their children in coloured schools. A few years later he

warned Britain to keep its "dirty finger" out of South Africa, blamed it for taking away the coloured vote and — with reference to Zola Budd — accused it of "even stealing" our athletes. What will this unpredictable — though always entertaining — politician do next? It is a question that might well weigh on the minds of the senior Cabinet Ministers whose cause he now espouses — once their pleasure at having ousted Mr Hendrickse wanes.



IMPORTANT PUBLIC AUCTION SALE

MELROSE PRESTIGIOUS HOUSE

A CHANCE TO ACQUIRE SOMETHING WITH CLASS FROM A PRESTIGIOUS HOUSE ORIGINALLY BUILT AND OWNED BY THE SCHLESINGER FAMILY

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VENUE: AT THE HISTORIC HOUSE 48 KERINCK AVENUE MELROSE NORTH

ON: SUNDAY, 9th FEB 1992

TIME: 11.00 am SHARP

VIEW: MORNING OF SALE FROM 10 am

THE HOUSE IS TO LET — IMMEDIATE OCCUPATION (low rent)

NP, CP clash over sittings

304/1

Political Staff

CT 8/2/92

THE National and Conservative Parties clashed vigorously in Parliament again yesterday — this time over the decision to shorten the Parliamentary week to accommodate Codesa.

Sharp exchanges were sparked by the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Adriaan Vlok's motion that the house adjourn from February 7 to 19 and then sit only on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

CP MPs, not kindly disposed towards Codesa, suggested that the

government was capitulating to its communist allies.

The party's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, said Parliament was "unashamedly" being shunted into a siding in favour of the negotiating forum.

The shortened sittings were the latest in a long line of concessions to the ANC and communists, he said.

These included the lowering of the VAT rate and making the police responsible to the community rather than the Minister of Law and Order.

The CP MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, said that the three-day-a-week sittings would waste MPs' time. "It will lead to a slowing down of the tempo of the activities of Parliament without an increase in production. The National Party now wants to fall in with the third world tempo for which it is striving," he said.

Mr Vlok responded by saying 80% of the people of South Africa were sick and tired of violence and had opted for negotiation.

The shorter week would allow MPs to attend to constituency matters and to attend Codesa.

Major quizzes Mandela on compromise hopes

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mr John Major yesterday subjected ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to intense questioning on what compromises were possible over President F W de Klerk's controversial "white veto" referendum.

After the meeting, which lasted over an hour at 10 Downing Street, Mr Major described the talks as "very successful".

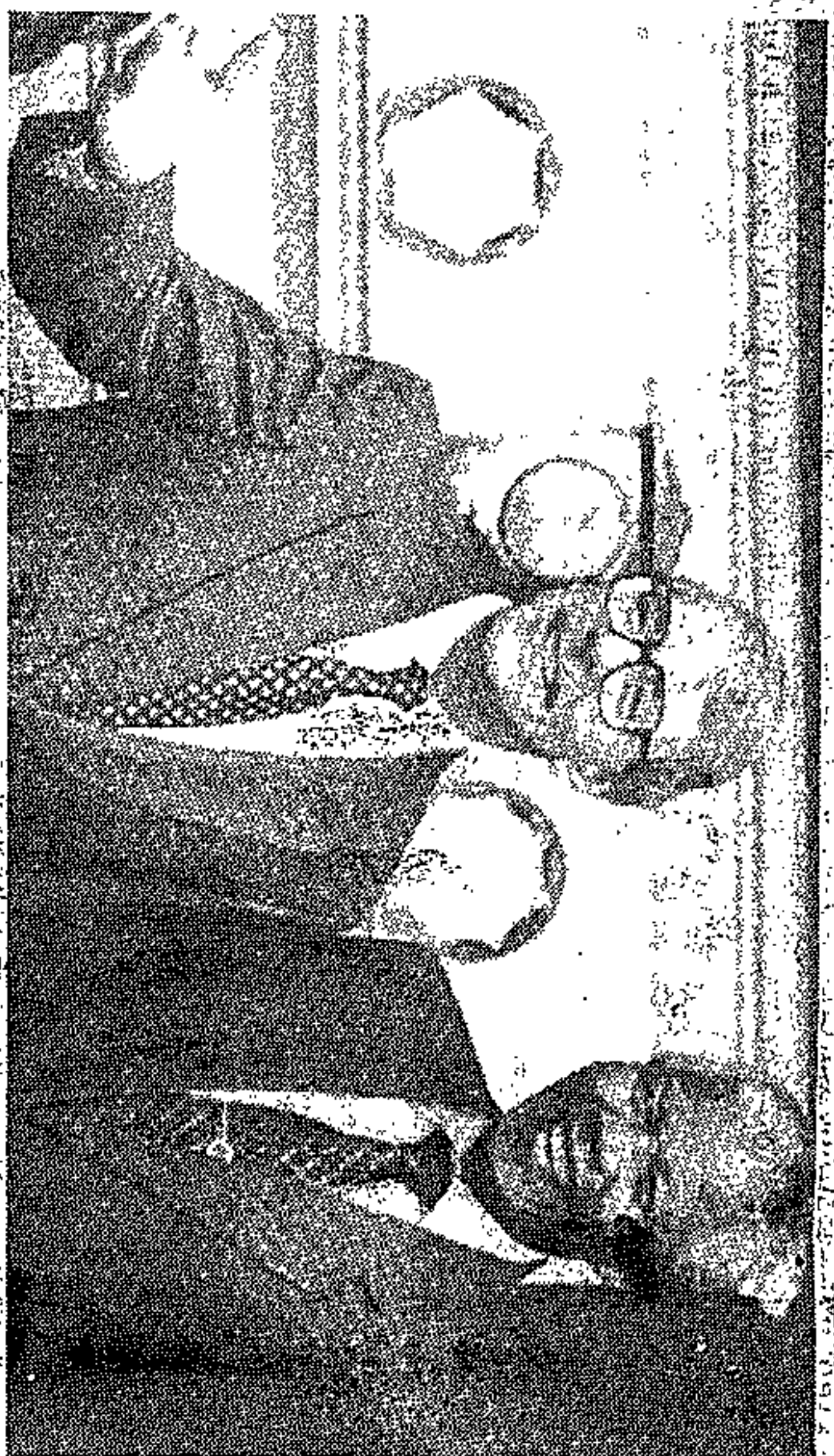
A spokesman for 10 Downing Street was reluctant, saying only that the talks centred on foreign investment, Codesa and sport, (particularly rugby), but

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma was more forthcoming.

He said Mr Major had honed in on what compromises were possible in the current impasse created by Mr De Klerk's 1989 election promise to consult his constituents over constitutional changes.

A large part of the discussion had centred on the mechanisms of an interim government.

When Mr Mandela arrived in Britain on Thursday night, he was just in time to watch himself on television with the queen at the Commonwealth Heads of State Summit in Zimbabwe last October.



AT 10 DOWNING STREET... Britain's Prime Minister, Mr John Major, meets ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for talks at Mr Major's official residence yesterday.

3047 ET 8/2/92

Picture: AP

Cry, the beloved country

Stimoes 9/2/92

(3044)

RANDOM violence by whites directed towards blacks has surged this year, leading many authorities to conclude that deep passions and tensions within the white community were leading to irrational outbursts.

Among the most gruesome:

● Kallie Delpert, 34, a lonely misfit, allegedly killed his father on January 20 over an argument about cattle and then took to the streets of Ladysmith, randomly shooting at black passers-by. Nine were killed and 19 wounded.

● On January 25 Johannes Wilhelm Saunders, 20, got drunk at a family braai and then allegedly walked up a quiet street in the Eastern Transvaal town of Kriel shooting at any black person in the way. Enoch Mthisi and Judy Silvia Koli were killed.

● Cornelius Petrus de Waal, 24, argued with his girlfriend in Middelburg, Transvaal, on January 30. After firing a shot at her, he, too, went on a street blitz, killing a black man and wounding five others. He said later he had "seen black" after the argument and had gone out to "kap kaffirs".

● A spate of "retaliatory" white-on-black attacks also took place.

In late January at Verkeerdewei in the Free State a posse of enraged white farmers apprehended four black

The second anniversary of President FW de Klerk's "New South Africa" speech came and went almost unnoticed this week. Perhaps it is because the public's attention is more firmly fixed on other things — like the spiralling levels of random and criminal violence. Here, in brief, is a month's chronology of mayhem

men suspected of killing local pensioners Willie Engelbrecht and his wife. One of the suspects was allegedly beaten to death.

Molatu "Lawai" Lebete was buried at Evaton on January 12. He had allegedly been beaten to death by a group of six white men. His offence: he had been in an argument with a local white couple who objected to a "kaffir's bitch" mating with a white person's dog.

● An equally sinister disregard for black life was alleged in a bizarre incident in which two white Witbank insurance agents, Lucas Loubser and Izak Kruger, allegedly made themselves the beneficiaries of the wills of eight unsuspecting black men and then drove the victims' bus off a cliff.

Five men died in the ensuing fire, but three escaped. Now, the two white men are charged with fraud — and murder charges are being investigated.

● Ordinary criminal violence also took its toll during this second anniversary of the "New South Africa".

Police reported massive increases in crimes of violence in the PWV area: pedestrians, shopkeepers, tourists, the elderly were all victims. Thirty-seven incidents of violent crime were reported in one national newspaper alone during the first five weeks of 1992.

The good news was the tracking down and killing of Brian Dongo, 33 — alleged to be South Africa's most wanted man — on Friday in his Sandton luxury townhouse.

● Racist violence against whites also occurred. In the East Rand township of Kaitleng a group of men claiming loyalty to the PAC attacked white teachers on February 3. Six men were later arrested for the burning of Mr Schalk Dippenaar, 53, at the technical college.

Though most political groups came out against the

action, groups of radical youths ran through the township on Wednesday shouting "Away with stinking whites".

● The guardians of law and order were in the thick of it.

Seven policemen appeared in the Maritzburg Supreme Court charged with murdering 11 people at Trust Feed outside Maritzburg in December 1988: insinuations of a police cover-up were made by the investigating officer. Six other policemen appeared in a separate trial on charges of kidnapping and murdering Mr Mbongeni Jama on February 24 last year. Fifteen policemen were killed in the first five weeks of the year — the military wing of the PAC claiming responsibility for some of the attacks. Police claimed that former members of the ANC's armed wing had been responsible for five attacks on policemen since October last year.

● And underlying it all was the toll of "routine" political and criminal violence.

Ninety-one people were killed in political/criminal violence in various places in Natal between January 1 and this week. Seventeen people were killed and many more injured in random attacks on commuters using PWV trains. The motives, as always, remained unclear.

You're invited to have a say on the new SA

CODESA has invited South African interest groups to make written submissions to its working groups. SITimes 9/2/92

The five working groups established by Codesa are:

Working group 1: According to its terms of reference, it will deal with:

- The creation of a climate for free political participation;

- The role of the international community.

Working group 2: This will deal with:

- General constitutional principles;

- The constitution-making body and process.

Working group 3: This will tackle transitional arrangements, interim government and transitional authority.

Sunday Times Reporter

Working group 4: Deals with the future of the TVBC states — Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

Working group 5: Deals with time frames and the implementation of Codesa decisions.

The full terms of reference for each working group are available from the Codesa secretariat:

Phone: (011) 397-1198

Fax: (011) 397-2211

Address: World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

Postal address: PO Box 307, Isando, 1600.

Submissions should reach Codesa on or before March 2 1992.

Codesa ups stakes to woo outsiders

Special Correspondent

304A

THE principle of self-determination for different population groups was this week formally added to Codesa's agenda.

This was done specifically to persuade certain organisations to take part in Codesa, said management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan in a statement after Codesa's five working groups met at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Thursday. C/PN 9/2/92

Gordhan said meaningful progress was made on Thursday with procedural matters.

However, very little progress was made on the key issue of an interim government.

In a surprise move the Inkatha Freedom Party submitted comprehensive proposals for an interim government to Working Group 2, including a proposal that the present cabinet should be turned into a representative executive authority subject to a single-chamber parliament.

The DP also submitted written proposals for an interim government which coincides in various respects with that of the IFP.

The ANC and the NP/government did not state their views in full. The issue will be dealt with further in sub-committees meeting from Tuesday onwards.

Considerable progress, however, was made in Working Group 1, which is deliberating on the creation of a suitable political climate.

In Working Group 4, which is deliberating on the future of the TBVC states, the Bophuthatswana government, as expected, stated it was opposed to Bop's reincorporation into South Africa.

All other parties stated they had no objection to the reincorporation of the TBVC countries. The Ciskei government caused a surprise with its statement that it was also in favour of reincorporation.

Write in 304A

your view

CP/MS 9/2/92
CODESA has repeated its invitation to South African interest groups to make written submissions to any of the five working groups.

Working Group One deals with creating a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community.

Working Group Two examines general constitutional principles.

Transitional arrangements and a transitional authority come under Group Three.

The fourth group is concerned with the future of the TBVC states and the fifth group with time frames and the implementation of Codesa decisions.

The address is: Codesa,
PO Box 307, Isando,
1600. Fax: (011) 397-
2211 - Sapa

Where they stand

SITWES 912192

304A

... in the interim

GOVERNMENT

THE government will draw heavily on the National Party's constitutional proposals for its version of a transitional government.

Elements of this model include an enforced coalition cabinet, a two-chamber parliament and a revolving presidency.

The first house will be elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote by proportional representation, while in the second chamber all regions will be accorded an equal number of seats.

The tricameral parliament, could be changed to include all sectors of the population and could act as a second house.

The government envisages a transitional government which will be subject to parliamentary control and which will have to submit legislation to Parliament.

No one should hold all power

The institution of any transitional government would have to take place constitutionally and be based on power sharing without domination, the government believes. The government wants this interim administration to last for at least one term of Parliament, but prefers two terms of between five and 10 years.

The role of the interim government is to govern and to draw up a final constitution. The government therefore envisages that the interim constitution will be a "living document" that would be amended as agreement is reached on other areas. It wants Codesa to state that any changes to the interim constitution would have to be approved by a significant majority in the interim government.

The interim constitution would protect minority interests.

The government is also considering an interim bill of fundamental rights as part of this constitution which could be amended as negotiations continue.

It has bound itself to a national referendum before this constitution is implemented.

THE ANC

THE ANC's position on an interim government is based on a simple argument: an impartial mechanism has to be in place to "level the playing field" while a body is elected to draw up a new constitution. It has no other purpose.

It can only be established once Codesa agrees on the process to be followed, the basic principles of a new constitution and on the election of a constituent assembly.

The body the ANC proposes is an interim government of national unity composed of a mix of political forces that replaces the present government.

It must not be constituted by adding new people to existing structures and it should last no longer than 18 months. It must have real powers to govern and must be sovereign.

A level field is the solution

The minimum functions of this interim government would be to:

- Create conditions in which all political parties would be free to campaign;
- Control the SADF and SAP and disband vigilante groups and hit squads;
- Regulate and supervise the election of a constituent assembly;

Codesa's working groups met this week for the first substantive round of talks. The four main parties agree that there must be some form of interim administration until a new constitution comes into being. But they differ widely on the detail. EDYTH BULBRING reports

- Place a moratorium on controversial projects;
- Dismantle apartheid structures such as own affairs departments and homelands;
- Control the state-owned media;
- Control the budget to prevent the use of state financial resources to favour a political party;
- Implement decisions made by socio-economic forums.

The ANC proposal thus stops short of calling for an interim government to replace all existing government functions.

During this period, the ANC wants an "interim government council" with powers to veto any policies and programmes decided on in parliament, thus giving the interim mechanism effective sovereign power.

INKATHA

INKATHA's position paper reflects two main concerns: that the adoption of a new constitution be unhurried and that the powers of the regions be protected.

It proposes that a transitional government of reconciliation be created as soon as possible under the present state president, responsible to the existing Parliament. This government would encompass all generally recognised parties. Cabinet portfolios would be allocated by mutual agreement.

The role, powers and policies of this transitional government would have to be decided prior to it coming into life and would have to be binding on all parties. Equally important, the different regions of the country would have to be identified and their

Call for rights charter

powers and sources of money spell out. There would also have to be agreement on a charter of fundamental socio-economic rights.

Parliament could not continue as it is. Inkatha proposes that the "own" affairs departments be scrapped and that all three chambers of Parliament sit and debate as one.

The main benefit of the proposal, says Inkatha, is

DEMOCRATS

THE Democratic Party puts its faith during the transition period in a Council of Leaders which would, in effect, replace the current cabinet but retain the present state president.

The council would be the transitional government of national reconciliation and its chief function would be to ensure even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions while Codesa continued with its job of negotiating a new constitution.

The Council of Leaders would be appointed by Codesa and would represent significant political parties or groupings.

It would advise the president. In other words, it would be a multi-party cabinet. Its functions would be to imple-

Leaders' council option

ment the decisions of Codesa and resolve deadlocks in the multi-party cabinet committees.

The cabinet committees, meanwhile, would be nominated by Codesa. Each cabinet minister would act on the advice of his committee and would have to consult it before any new legislation was proposed. If there was a deadlock, the issue would go to the Council of Leaders.

The DP also believed it was not necessary to wait for a new constitution to be in place before tackling major problems confronting the country. It would call, for example, for the establishment of interim local government structures.

Like Inkatha, the DP called for the immediate abolition of "own" and "general" affairs departments in favour of single, functional government departments.

Finally, the DP would call for the drafting of an interim bill of rights covering basic issues such as freedom of speech, assembly, movement and association. The bill of rights should also contain a code of conduct for political parties. Such a bill of rights would have to be endorsed by Parliament.



Slam brakes on that constitution bulldozer

(304A)

STimes
9/2/92

FATE has given this country a historic chance, which may not recur in a hundred years, to create a democracy, but its leaders risk squandering the opportunity in petty contests for privilege and power.

Not since President Botha produced his tricameral constitution have I been so alarmed as by the mad rush in Codesa to transfer power to an interim government.

To explain these misgivings, let me suggest what, in an ideal world, would be a proper sequence of events: Firstly, Codesa should negotiate, for as long as it takes, to draw up a democratic constitution, and a set of transitional measures to put that constitution into effect.

The draft constitution would provide for universal suffrage, without which neither peace nor democracy is possible; for proportional representation to ensure the representation of significant minorities; for a bill of rights, including especially a guarantee that nobody would be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; for an independent judiciary, with extensive powers to review executive decisions, to ensure that the government itself did not violate the constitution; for strong regional governments, and for a municipal charter. A constitution which did not include these basic features in some combination would be seriously defective.

Once agreement were reached, all parties would campaign vigorously to educate the population on the principles of the constitution, and to persuade them to support it. This would compel the ANC to reassure whites, and whites to reassure blacks, or risk rejection of their constitution by the people.

Meanwhile, the government might ease the transition by giving effect to any provisions of the draft constitution which could be enacted in terms of the existing constitution, and by eliminating laws that conflicted with the bill of rights.

A referendum would follow, with all adults voting together but with a separate count of any community (among them the whites, and perhaps the Zulus or the Tswanas) that might have the

capacity to wreck the outcome. A negative vote by any major portion of the population would require a reassessment of the draft, refinement of the agreement, further education and perhaps a second vote.

In the end, the majority might feel it necessary to override a dissident minority, but that would require a very careful political assessment of the risks, including the international repercussions. The prospect of igniting rebellion by trying to force a constitution on an unwilling community, even a minority, is so appalling that it is worth protracted negotiation to avoid that outcome. To rush would be simply irresponsible.

Once broad agreement were established, the transitional mechanisms would be set in motion, a transitional government would take power subject to specified controls, and, operating under the constraints of the agreement as sanctioned by referendum, prepare for free and fair elections.

CODESA, it would appear, is embarked on quite a different course. The idea is quickly to thrash out an agreement to form an interim government, even if it means leaving until later the task of establishing democratic safeguards. The electorate, apparently, is to be asked to approve the transfer of power to this interim government, and to entrust to an uncertain future the problem of establishing proper control of that power.

What would happen after the referendum? The National Party seems to believe that it will be able to maintain some kind of veto power which would prevent the ANC from abusing its new powers in the interim government.

It is hard to understand why the Nationalist harbour this naïve belief. As matters stand today, they have 100-percent veto power; yet they cannot properly govern the country without the acquiescence of the ANC. They must consult the ANC on budget matters, on housing, on health, on all sorts of questions. If they neglect to do so, they face boycotts, crime, calls for sanctions, mass action and a resumption of the campaign to make the coun-

try ungovernable.

This is an awkward situation, but what persuades the Nationalists they would be better off with, say, 40 percent veto power, or 60 percent? The ANC could still call up mass action whenever it wanted to override the veto, or indeed the ANC might prove as incapable of controlling the populace as the Nats themselves, or the ANC might decide deliberately to collapse the interim government.

What would the Nationalists do then? Their ability to govern, already shaky, would have been grossly weakened, they would face a new campaign of pressure, and they might be tempted to dump President De Klerk and replace him with, say, somebody like ex-President Botha or General Magnus Malan, to rule unfettered under the imperfect interim constitution.

OR what would happen if the Nationalists, having been persuaded by pressure to become partners in an interim government, then yielded constantly to further pressure? How would they be able to insist on democratic safeguards in the new constitution if they were unable to resist pressure from their new, more powerful, partners in government?

The ANC is known to be hostile to various elements of a democratic constitution. For example, its spokesmen are conducting a campaign to limit the powers of the judiciary to review and control the actions of the executive. They are fighting against a proper "due process" clause in the bill of rights. They want to delegate function, but not power, to the regions. They piously pretend to support free speech, even as they plan to control press and television. They offer the forms of democracy stripped of substance.

The only defence against tyranny is a vigilant citizenry. To ensure that South African democracy does not turn out to be an empty farce, the ordinary voters must insist on a referendum only AFTER they have seen the final constitution, not BEFORE they have seen it. Anything else is trickery.

KEN OWEN

By SEKOLA SELLO

CODESA's five working groups this week started putting together the first nuts and bolts of a new South Africa, while Azapo braced itself to launch a counter movement.

The five working groups knuckled down to discuss these issues, among others:

- Creating a climate for free political participation;
- Deciding on the role of the international community in the transition;
- Identifying and formulating constitutional principles; and deciding on a constitution-making body and process;
- Transitional arrangements;
- The future of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; and
- A time frame for the imple-

mentation of Codesa's decisions.

While the 20 delegates representing 19 organisations were getting down to fleshing out the main tasks of the new constitution-making body, Azapo announced this week that it would launch another political bloc aimed at aborting Codesa.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe was reluctant to disclose the launch date of this new movement — dubbed the Solidarity Front — and would not list its constituent organisations.

While Codesa is steamrolling ahead and most of its participants are a picture of confidence, threats by Azapo, the PAC and their allies to scuttle Codesa are dismissed as nothing more than rhetoric.

Commentators who are talking about Azapo, the PAC and others outside Codesa going the way of the dodo if they don't take part in this forum, are a

Can Solidarity Front

little bit premature.

Talk that non-participation in Codesa is going against the tide of mainstream South African politics is also flawed.

Codesa is indeed representative of a large constituency of South Africans.

But, apart from the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party, can the other 16 participants be regarded as representing the mainstream of our politics?

The Democratic Party, which could rightly claim to represent a certain constituency (liberal policies), has dwindling support among whites, most of whom have embraced the new-look NP.

Most of the homeland political parties and those from the houses of Delegates (Indian)

Scuttles Codesa?

and Representatives (coloured) participating in Codesa, are discredited institutions.

The legitimacy of Lucas Mangope's rule in Bophuthatswana is questionable, while the leaders of the other three independent homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda came to power through military coups.

Reducing Codesa to its essentials, it is nothing more than a two-man show between the government and the ANC — and to some extent Inkatha.

Kenneth Mopeli of the QwaQwa homeland whose party, Dikwankwella, is in Codesa, acknowledged this a few weeks ago.

Despite Codesa being dominated by the NP, ANC and Inkatha, can Azapo's envisaged

Solidarity Front muster enough support in the black community to pose a challenge to Codesa?

Azapo's supposed strength, is not known at the moment. Nefolohodwe says that at the time of the organisation's banning five years ago, their card-carrying membership stood between 150 000 to 200 000.

He admits that the exact size is not known at the moment.

The PAC is also expected to be part of the Front. Though probably slightly bigger than Azapo, its strength is not known.

There are also several smaller groups like the Trotskyite Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the Unity Movement, trade union federation Nactu and several inde-

pendent trade unions.

Collectively the strength of these bodies is not known but it would take a stretch of the imagination to believe the Front could pose a serious threat to Codesa in terms of numbers.

Nefolohodwe admitted as much when he said if Azapo and the PAC contested elections in the present format of Codesa, there was no doubt the ANC would win such elections.

When the ANC and PAC held protest rallies at the same time during the recent opening of parliament in Cape Town, the ANC rally attracted far more supporters. The PAC certainly lost that show of strength.

How the PAC and Azapo hope to render Codesa unworkable is difficult to fathom. It

would also be interesting to see whether the Front — composed of "all anti Codesa and non-collaborationist forces" as Nefolohodwe describes it — will get off the ground.

Will it not suffer the same fate as the Patriotic Front launched last year between the PAC and ANC?

For the Front to make real headway, Codesa will have to be a monumental failure.

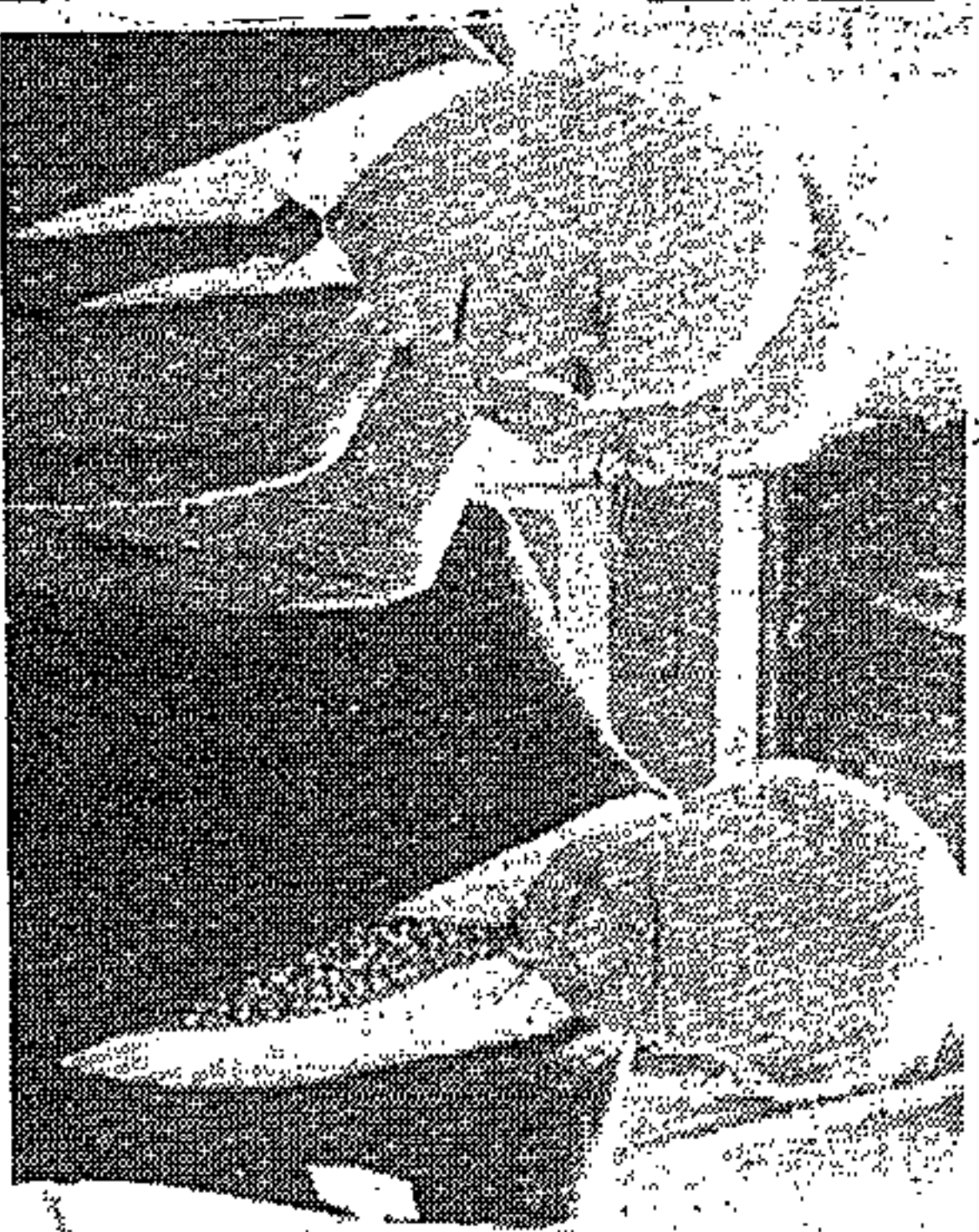
If Codesa delivers the goods and people see it to be doing so, the Front's plans may be short-circuited.

But if Codesa is a disguised way of maintaining the present order with credible blacks co-opted into it as Nefolohodwe sees it, then a new ball game will begin.

'Bullish' FW arrives home with good news

30419

ARG 10/21/92



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

WELCOME BACK: Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, right, welcomes back President De Klerk at D F Malan Airport today on his return from Europe.

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

THE international community was showing an ever-growing interest in South Africa because it regarded it as a country with a great future, President De Klerk said after returning from an overseas trip today.

At a Press conference held at D F Malan Airport he said there was growing investor interest in the country. Increased investment was already taking place and more would follow after some uncertainties had been cleared up.

He had gone overseas to normalise relations and open markets. This had been "a big success".

The world was becoming a smaller place and South Africa's best interests would be served by having the best relationships on the widest scale.

President De Klerk denied recent suggestion that he may be despondent. "I am bullish. We should guard against despondency. We must fight to preserve this country with its wonderful treasures."

What the outside world wanted was a new constitution that would ensure a good government that could be trusted to succeed. There was a

strong undercurrent of confidence that this would happen. The government would strive to achieve this.

South Africa was seen as the key factor in in dealing with the problems of Africa.

There was interest in the concept of Southern Africa, with its population of 110 million, as one co-operative entity or economic market.

Referring to recent ANC statements on issues such as loan repayments Mr De Klerk said there was some discomfort overseas about the actions and reliability of some role players in the efforts to achieve a new system.

Mr De Klerk said he attached great importance to his visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. They had the best potential for economic growth and an untapped market. It was natural for South Africa to become their business associate.

As far as investments were concerned he had a good reception in France. The message from prominent businessmen was that they were unhappy that so few French companies (80) operated in South Africa while 1 200 British and 1 000 German firms did business here.

RECOVERED: A salvage diver helps to lift recovered equipment.

NP 'not worried' about CP's lead in early voting

ARG 10/2/92 (20419)
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party's special vote lead in the Potchefstroom by-election was an artificial one which did not worry the National Party, NP election agent Mr Josef le Grange said.

NP candidate Mr Theuns Kruger faces Mr Andries Beyers of the CP on February 19 in a bid to retain the traditional NP seat which became vacant after the death of the Speaker of parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, last year.

In the 1989 general election the NP increased its lead in the constituency.

CP election agent Mr Chris Greyling claimed on Friday that his party was about 1 000 votes ahead after some 7 500 special votes had been cast.

Mr Greyling said this meant that about half of the voters expected to participate in the ballot had already voted.

"Not more than 50 percent of the 23 000 voters are expected to vote. The percentage voting poll for the 1989 general election was 77 percent but generally less people vote in by-elections than in general elections."

Questioned on the NP's position, Mr Le Grange repeated the refrain heard most often from the party in the weeks leading up to the by-election: "We are very satisfied, everything is going according to plan."

He said if the NP received all the votes it expected, it was not worried.

"They (the CP) are bringing in students registered here from far away to cast special votes. But when those students have voted they will have few people left to vote. Their lead is artificial," Mr Le Grange said.

Idasa team set to visit Angola

STAR 10/2/92

Staff Reporter

(304A)

A delegation from the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa is to visit Angola this week as part of Idasa's ongoing Africa Programme, the institute announced yesterday.

In its first visit to Angola, Idasa will make contact with a range of political players and observers, particularly with regard to the country's planned elections in September.

The delegation hopes to visit one of the camps where former guerillas are gathering for demobilisation. Talks will be held with the Joint Political Military Commission which was set up in terms of the peace accord.

Shelagh Gastrow, co-ordinator of Idasa's Africa Programme, said the aim of the programme was to build links with people and organisations involved in the transition to democracy in Africa.

"We want to observe how other countries have managed the post-colonial period, gain from their experience and learn from their mistakes," she said.

The Idasa delegation will comprise executive director Dr Alex Boraine; Mrs Gastrow; Moira Levy from the media department; Professor Jeremy Grest from the University of Natal; Sydney Kubheka from the ANC; and journalists Chris Gutuza and Dale Lautenbach.

More proposals on transition to be thrashed out

STAR 10/2/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A

The Codesa working group on transitional arrangements will tomorrow continue thrashing out the 19 groups' proposals for the road from apartheid to an interim government.

The five working groups meet tomorrow at the World Trade Centre for the third time.

It is understood that time allowed for only some of the groups to make their submissions at Thursday's meeting. The other groups will put their proposals tomorrow.

The Inkatha Freedom Party transitional proposals appear to fly in the face of both ANC and Government options.

And, with the acceleration during the last few weeks of ANC and Government timetables for the transitional period, they appear to have been pulled back by the IFP proposal that the interim period last until the expiry of the existing Parliament's life in 1994.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last week expressed optimism that a transitional government could be in place within between six and 18 months.

The main difference between

the three sets of proposals is that the IFP wants the existing Parliament to govern during the transitional period with a multiparty Cabinet.

In terms of the IFP proposals, the IFP wants a transitional government of reconciliation, constituted under the State President and responsible to the existing Parliament under the existing constitution, which should be amended to repeal own and general affairs legislation. It proposes an all-inclusive multiparty Cabinet in which extra-parliamentary groups and self-governing states are represented.

Political observers have expressed surprise at this aspect of the IFP proposals as the extra-parliamentary groups, which include the IFP and ANC, would be excluded from Parliament but would be included in the Cabinet, and most IFP supporters are disfranchised.

In terms of the IFP plan, Codesa's last meeting should compile a document comprising general constitutional principles. This would be put to a referendum, and a constitution-drafting commission would be established to draw up a new constitution.

An interesting spin-off of the IFP proposals is that it retains the structural role of the Con-

servative Party in Parliament.

The ANC's foresees Codesa agreeing on constitutional principles, Parliament dissolving itself, a nominated interim government being appointed to oversee elections for a constituent assembly, and an elected constituent assembly compiling the new constitution.

The IFP has rejected an elected constituent assembly because South Africa did not have a democratic culture which would render elections free from intimidation.

Other objections were that it would effectively exclude minority parties from a meaningful say in the constitution-making process and it would place such a process in a constitutional vacuum.

The Government, on the other hand, proposes Codesa agreeing on a transitional government package which would be put to a referendum in which the white vote would be counted separately. Should the measures be approved, Parliament would pass legislation to dissolve itself, and elections would be held for a transitional government to compile a constitution.

The IFP has rejected these proposals because it envisaged the holding of elections or referendums under an interim constitution on the way to the final constitution.

Codesa to meet over Zulu king

STAR 10/2/92

304A

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Codesa's management committee will meet today to consider the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his delegation.

A subcommittee, appointed to discuss the matter, will today report its findings to the management committee.

Other issues on the agenda are the applications of at least 20 groups to join constitutional talks as well as the operations of the five working groups.

Crucial

Last week, real political bargaining began, but it immediately became clear how difficult it would be to reach consensus soon on a transitional government.

The Inkatha Freedom Party does not, as the Government does, want an elected interim government.

It also does not, as the ANC does, want a nominated interim government.

The IFP wants the existing Parliament to rule with an all-inclusive multiparty Cabinet until the expiry of the current Parliament's life in 1994.

The IFP proposals, submitted last week at the meeting of the working groups, could also provide a crucial test for the principle of sufficient consensus, on which agreement is reached at Codesa.

On the face of it, it appears

that the Government and IFP have less in common on transitional arrangements than the ANC and the Government.

The key difference between the three sets of proposals centres around the IFP demand for the existing Parliament to remain in place.

In what is widely regarded as a major breakthrough in the negotiations process, the Government has accepted the need for an electoral body to draw up the new constitution.

This development might leave room for compromise between the ANC demand for an elected constituent assembly and the Government's option of an elected interim government to fashion a new constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The chairman of the management committee and the daily management committee, Pravin Gordhan, said significant progress had been made at the meetings of the working groups on Thursday.

It is understood that the steering committee of the working group on constitutional principles is compiling a working document for tomorrow's meeting of the working groups.

Participants in this group last week spelt out perceived common ground and differences on constitutional principles between the 19 participating groups.

The document will be based on these discussions.

● More proposals on transition
— Page 6

NP not worried by CP's 'artificial' lead

By Carina le Grange

304A

STAR 10/2/92

The Conservative Party's special vote lead in the Potchefstroom by-election was an artificial one which did not worry the National Party, according to NP election agent Josef le Grange.

NP candidate Theuns Kruger faces Andries Beyers of the CP on February 19 in a bid to retain the traditional NP seat which became vacant after the death of the Speaker, Louis le Grange, last year.

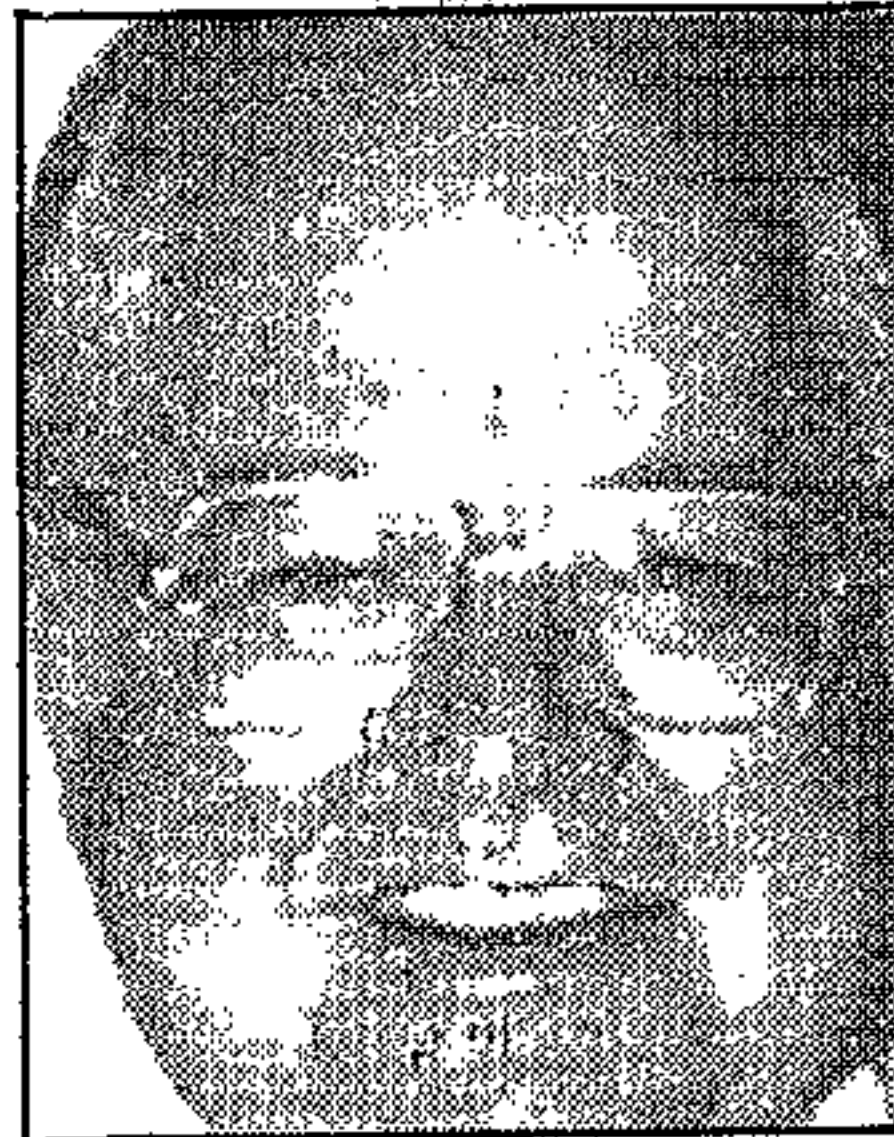
In the previous general election in 1989, the NP increased its lead in the constituency.

CP election agent Chris Greyling claimed on Friday that his party was about 1 000 votes ahead after some 7 500 special votes had been cast.

Mr Greyling said this meant that about half of the voters expected to participate in the ballot had already voted.

"Not more than 50 percent of the 23 000 voters are expected to vote. The percentage voting poll for the 1989 general election was 77 percent but generally less people vote in by-elections than in general elections."

Questioned on the NP's position, Mr le Grange repeated the refrain heard often from the party in the past weeks: "We are very satisfied; everything is going according to plan."



CP candidate Andries Beyers ... party claims it leads with casting of special votes.

He said if the NP received all the votes it expected, it was not worried.

"The CP was very certain it would win in 1989 but we increased the lead. We do not detect any swing even though the CP is working very hard. They have people from all over the country helping here. They are panicking. The CP also believed in last year's municipal election they would win but didn't."

"They are bringing in students registered here from far away to cast special votes. But when those students have voted they will have few people left to vote. Their lead is artificial. We are certain we will do the



NP candidate Theuns Kruger ... bid to retain the traditional party seat.

trick," Mr le Grange said.

Mr Greyling said: "A great number of people, especially civil servants, do not wish to show openly who they vote for — but they vote for us. There is also a considerable number of intellectuals who vote for the CP. There has been a big swing ... towards the CP."

"Among the students support is good, especially after the debate on the campus a week ago between Mr Beyers and Mr Kruger and (Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis. Mr Beyers was like a lion roaring at two yapping lapdogs."

(Report by C le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Rightwing talks soon?

JOHANNESBURG.

The organising committee for rightwing negotiation and action will be organising a rightwing leaders' conference soon, spokesman for the committee Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said at the weekend. (Sapa)

Mr Derby-Lewis said in a statement that more than 80 rightwing organisations had contacted the committee to express their support for a combined rightwing strategy. (Sapa)

He said it was believed that those "few" rightwing leaders who had applied to attend Codesa would attend the leaders' conference instead. — Sapa (Sapa)

FW urges ANC to drop SACP

3044

cr 10/2/92

WARSAW. — President F W de Klerk urged the ANC at the weekend to break its links with the Communist Party, saying communists had wrecked the economies of all countries they ruled.

Mr De Klerk issued the call on the last day of a six-nation European tour, which included visits to former Soviet satellites Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

He said the message he was taking home was that all political and business leaders he met would support South Africa if it followed the "right path".

"We must build our economy on very sound foundations of private enterprise, of

the recognition of private ownership, of offering security to investors," he said. "We intend to do that."

Mr De Klerk said leftist parties in South Africa were learning moderation and realism and the need for private enterprise.

"Fortunately throughout Africa there is also the realisation that they must also restructure their economies and build upon the foundations of private enterprise," he said.

A similar shift had begun in the ANC, but its links with the communists still caused concern. This would be the main issue if he fought an election against the ANC. He cited Mr Nelson Mandela's speech

last week at the World Economic Forum as clearly indicating that Mr Mandela accepted the ANC would have to revise its economic policy and was already doing so.

"We have an inherently strong and sound economy that has not been reduced to a shambles through communism," he said.

Polish President Lech Walesa's decision to decorate more than 50 South African pilots who had brought supplies to Warsaw in World War II was an incident of special significance on his European tour, Mr De Klerk said. He would take the decorations back with him and a suitable time would be arranged for them to be presented. — Sapa-Reuter

Row looms over bid to alter declaration

6/Day 10/2/92

304A

TIM COHEN

THE thorny issue of Inkatha amendments to Codesa's declaration of intent is expected to be the most hotly debated issue at the body's management committee meeting today.

Daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday that there would be four main issues on today's agenda.

There would be progress reports from the working committee meetings held on Thursday last week, progress reports on investigations into the applications of new members to Codesa, a report back from the subcommittee on the participation of traditional leaders and a debate on Inkatha's proposed amendments.

Inkatha refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa's opening last year because no agreement had been reached on the participation of the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini.

Inkatha also objected to the words "an undivided SA" and the "sovereign authority ... over the whole territory" in a section which refers to the new constitution, because it said the words implied a commitment to a unitary state.

Inkatha members will be called on to argue their case at today's meeting, after

which it will decide whether sufficient consensus has been achieved.

Some delegates expressed concern on Thursday about the recommendations of the sub-committee on the participation of traditional leaders, and speculated that the recommendations would be referred back to the sub-group.

The management committee is not expected to decide finally on whether new applications to join Codesa have been accepted, but progress reports on investigations into the support of the applicants would be heard.

The committee will also hear reports on the discussions which took place last Thursday, when working groups met for their first round of substantive talks.

Cosatu president John Gomomo yesterday reaffirmed Cosatu's application for membership of Codesa, following speculation that the federation would not pursue its application.

Gomomo said the decision to join was taken at congress level and hence remained the official position.

Cosatu, and other unions, needed to be present because worker rights under a new constitution would be discussed, he said.

Commission told of intent

De Klerk confident of world support for SA reform

3/10/92 10/2/92
BILLY PADDOCK

WARSAW — President F W de Klerk, fêted at every step of his European tour, said at the weekend he was confident international businessmen and politicians would encourage and support SA's reform process.

The rapturous applause at Davos, the warm and encouraging support he got in Paris and the showcase red carpet treatment in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and especially Poland had shown that two years of struggle for international recognition had paid off.

De Klerk was speaking at a news conference before leaving Poland for Athens on Saturday. He was due to travel to Cape Verde yesterday for talks with Prime Min-

ister Antonio Montorio.

"The world has opened its hearts to us," said De Klerk. SA would get support if it continued on the road of democratisation and ensured that it liberalised its economy and did not experiment with getting rid of a free market.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was more optimistic: "Never before have we had greater support".

Government and the NP were in step with the rest of the world while the ANC was running into difficulties, he said, adding SA's relations with the rest of the world

had now been completely restored.

De Klerk made full use of the opportunity of the trip to win support for the NP's ideas of a free market and power-sharing, while at the same time criticising the ANC policy of nationalisation and strong leanings towards central planning. In discussions, he put forward as fact his interpretation of the ANC's policy.

De Klerk said there was widespread support for the idea that there had to be checks and balances enshrined in the constitution to ensure no domination of minorities or misuse of power.

He said that during his meetings it was clear "there is a conviction that our eco-

nomy must be allowed to grow and not be subjected to any experiments with socialist Marxism or central planning".

He said that since the World Economic Forum at Davos in Switzerland the ANC had been forced to rethink its policies, especially its economic policy and nationalisation.

De Klerk made it clear government would do all it could to assist and support Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia in their attempts to restructure their economies.

But he ruled out any form of loans or

De Klerk

loan guarantees from government because "we are a developing country with our own development needs to attend to".

SA had already assisted the three countries in their bilateral trade ties with SA by dropping the import surcharge on goods from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, he said.

He said it was the private sector in SA that controlled investments and the market and it was up to them to get involved in the former east bloc countries to see if these were viable investment areas.

Polish President Lech Walesa said he would ask De Klerk to ask SA businessmen to invest in Poland and set up closer economic ties.

Relations with Poland and the other two countries in the areas of science, technology and culture would expand rapidly, De Klerk said.

The SA government had to concentrate its attention on Africa and he would return

home today more convinced than ever that SA had to regain its rightful place to prevent Africa from becoming marginalised.

Sapa-Reuter reports that, shortly before leaving Europe, De Klerk urged the ANC to cut links with the SACP, saying communists had wrecked the economies of all countries they had ruled.

He said he had detected a shift in the ANC's thinking on economic issues, but its ties to communists were cause for concern. If he ever had to fight an election against the ANC, he would make these ties a central issue of the election campaign.

Communism had little support in SA and the ANC was constantly moderating its position, De Klerk said.

He cited ANC president Nelson Mandela's speech in Davos last week as clearly indicating that Mandela had accepted the ANC would have to revise its economic policy.

From Page 1

To Page 2

Comment Page 8

Codesa's test has begun

Codesa is now getting into full swing. IKE MOTSAPI covered last week's sessions and found that strong differences were already emerging on some issues.

LAST Thursday afternoon Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Housing said: "There is a lot of mistrust among delegates at Codesa and this creates a lot of tension."

Wessels added: "What we have to do here is remove this and work towards the establishment of a new country."

His words could hardly have been more apt, for serious differences between the participants are beginning to emerge as this assembly now gets down to the real work.

Today and tomorrow some working groups of Codesa meet at the World Trade Centre to continue the negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party rejects an interim government, which the ANC and Government hoped would be in place before the end of the year. There are other disagreements on various issues.

Some of the delegates spoke to us on condition they are not quoted as a ban had been placed on individuals not to make known to the Press what was being discussed.

Opposition

Firstly, delegates could not agree on the holding of elections for a transitional government.

While the ANC and the Government are in agreement on the issue, serious opposition came from other delegates.

The IFP also says such a move will be revolutionary.

The Democratic Party's Dr Dennis Worrall says: "We are surprised that the Government has now announced that it was going to hold elections for such a temporary authority."

"We at the DP have not as yet discussed the formation of a new Government."

Other parties, in addition to the DP and IFP, also do not want this to happen.

For some it will mean the end of the road for they are not likely to gain a single seat in the proposed structure if elections are held.

Worrall said he was also shocked because members of the public have not been given a chance to submit their recommendations on the type of Government they want in the new South Africa.

"I think this would be the right step in the right direction," he said.

Many of the smaller groups fear they are being used by the ANC and Government, a claim made by the PAC, and denied by the ANC and Government, when it pulled out of Codesa.

These organisations say they are always asked to "rubber-stamp" agreements reached between the ANC and the Government.

Why, they ask, should the Government

agree to the ANC's demand of elections for a transitional government without consulting other participants?

Inkatha has now attacked the Government by saying: "The foundations for the future multiparty democratic order need to be carefully laid down and sufficient time should be allowed for reconciliation."

"The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there."

"The current Parliament is the only legal authority capable of changing the current constitutional dispensation. Any other approach would in effect be revolutionary."

"The IFP's position and proposal in short is that it is willing in principle to the establishment of a government of transition for two reasons."

"First, it is important that the transitional authority be established without delay to create an all-inclusive constitutional forum or negotiating body with a much wider representation than is present at Codesa."

"Secondly because the IFP strongly believes that no major changes should be made to the present constitution without at the same time dealing comprehensively with the question of a future regional structure."

The IFP also insists that King of the Zulus Goodwill Zwelithini be allowed to take his place at Codesa.

There is strong opposition from Transkei and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa regarding the move.

They maintain that if he is allowed to take part they will be forced to bring chiefs as well.

This move was backed by the ANC which said traditional chiefs have a role to play in the future of the country.

Ethnicity

Further support came from Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, who said ethnicity was going to play an important role in the shaping of a new constitution.

Input by members of the public are vital when drafting a new constitution.

On the question of the homelands, Bophuthatswana said it wanted to remain independent while Ciskei said it would join the new government once it was in power. The rest committed themselves to being reincorporated into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, like the NPP, Inkatha and DP favour a federal government. The Government also supports this idea while the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and other black organisations demand a one-man one-vote majority rule government.



LEON WESSELS ... to build a new country.

'The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there.'

Will of nation the key to democracy

Sowetan 10/2/92

A FUTURE democratic system in South Africa would face serious challenges were there no reconciliation, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.

Speaking in Florida in the United States, Buthelezi said there was no national will in South Africa yet for democracy to work.

"Reconciliation between the centre and the right must be balanced with reconciliation between the centre and the left," he said.

Reconciliation was crucial to drawing up a good constitution, developing a national will to make it work and to keep democracy functioning, he said.

Referring to the uneasy relationship between the IFP and the African National Congress, Buthelezi said reconciliation was needed at grassroots level to end the feuding.

He again demanded the disbanding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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"There can be no normalisation of relationships between the IFP and the ANC unless the ANC does the politically honourable thing now of disbanding its private army and putting itself at the mercy of constituency politics and the opinions that will prevail in a future election.

"There is a desperate need for reconciliation at black grassroots levels before we can even begin seriously tackling the curbing of violence and the reconciliation between black and white," he said.

Buthelezi made it clear that white rightwing extremists posed a greater danger to a future democracy.

While "we cannot be held to ransom by fear which has no basis in fact" he urged the provision of "every possible protection of individual and group rights that is commensurate with democratic principles".

"It is the size and vehemence of the white backlash that is the consideration," he said. - Sapa.

Codesa: No clarity on King Goodwill



King Goodwill

Political Staff

THE Codesa management committee has failed once again to resolve the perplexing problem of how Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini should take part in Codesa.

And a proposal that the king and senior traditional leaders each lead a delegation from their region has been referred back to a sub-committee for further investigation.

Codesa management committee and daily management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said yesterday that another step forward had been taken on the participation of King Goodwill.

The terms of reference of the sub-committee were "not sufficiently elaborate" and had been clarified and extended.

The membership of the original sub-committee comprising Mr T J Mohapi (Dikwankwetla Party), Mr N J Mahlangu (Intando Yesizwe Party), Mr M J Mahlangu (United Peoples' Front) and Dr F Mdla-lose (IFP) had been extended to include Mr J Zuma (ANC), Mr J Slovo (SACP), Mr C Eglin (DP) and Mr T T Matanzima (Transkei Government).

They were to report their recommendations to the management committee as soon as possible.

Mr Gordhan said he did not think the problem was insoluble.

The sub-committee's report submitted yesterday suggested that the king and one delegation per region, headed by a senior traditional leader, be given full participation in Codesa.

The management committee had also established a sub-committee to consider the amendments to the Codesa Declaration of Intent proposed by the IFP at Codesa 1.

This sub-committee was to consider mechanisms to facilitate the signing of the declaration by the IFP, Mr Gordhan said.

The sub-committee — Mr Eglin, Dr Gerrit Viljoen (South African government), Mr Slovo, Mr Zuma, Dr Mdla-lose and Mr Rowan Cronje (Bophuthatswana government) — was to submit its report at the next meeting of the management committee on February 24.

The Bophuthatswana government was asked at yesterday's meeting of the management committee to announce its views on its proposed amendments to the Declaration of Intent.

The management committee has also formally invited South African interest groups to submit

written submissions, accompanied by a brief summary, which are related to the different terms of reference of the five Codesa working groups.

The working groups will then decide whether it should hear oral submissions in addition to the written documents.

The closing date for submission is March 2.

This was an invaluable opportunity for Codesa to become a public process, Mr Gordhan said.

Applications from prospective participants were still being considered by the daily management committee and it would soon make its recommendations to the management committee.

Codesa has received 33 such applications which include Cosatu, three rightwing groups — the Afrikaner Party, the Boervolk Secretariat and the Boerentia Party — Fida, the Unemployed Silent Majority and Contralesa.

Codesa has turned down the application from the World Council of Churches as it was an international group.

There was overwhelming consensus, except for the Bophuthatswana government, in the working group on the future of the TBVC states that they should be reincorporated should that be the will of their citizens.

The group accepted this principle but noted the reservation of the Bophuthatswana government.

The group yesterday formed four sub-committees to discuss the detail of incorporation.

One such committee will investigate the financial, administrative, political and constitutional implications of reincorporation while another will consider the implication of reincorporation and of non-reincorporation.

The third sub-committee will investigate the implications of South African citizenship being extended to TBVC citizens and the fourth sub-committee will look at mechanisms to test the will of people in the TBVC states.

The ANC yesterday proposed that the South African citizenship of people in the TBVC states be reinstated immediately.

Four working groups — on constitutional principles, on transitional arrangements, on the implementation of Codesa decisions and the creation of a climate for free political activity — meet today at the World Trade Centre.

Codesa can't agree on king

Star 11/2/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Codesa management committee yesterday failed again to resolve the problem of how Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini should take part in Codesa.

And a proposal that he and senior traditional leaders each lead a delegation from their regions has been referred back to a sub-committee for further investigation.

Codesa management committee and daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday that another step forward had been taken on participation by the king.

The terms of reference of the sub-committee were "not sufficiently elaborate" and had been clarified and extended.

Its report submitted yesterday stated that the Zulu King and one delegation per region, headed by a senior traditional leader, should be given full participation in Codesa.

The membership of the original sub-committee was

T J Mohapi (Dikwankwela Party), N J Mahlangu (Intan do Yesizwe Party), M J Mahlangu (United People's Front) and Dr F Mdlatose (IFP).

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Unresolved: Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini.

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There was overwhelming consensus in the working group on the future of the TBVC states that they should be reincorporated should that be the will of their citizens. The Bophuthatswana government, however, noted its reservation regarding reincorporation.

The group yesterday formed four sub-committees to discuss the details of incorporation.

Charming once-verboten world

STAR 11/2/92

(304A)



TO SOUTH Africans, long isolated by the double ideological barriers of apartheid and communism, visiting Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland was like discovering lost civilisations. More so than the rest of the world, we tended in the past to think of these three Central European nations as nothing more than cogs in the machine of Soviet communism.

Just as the world was inclined to judge all South Africans as racists because of the apartheid policy of their government, so we unconsciously regarded these people as all hardline, brutal, mindless communists.

Their individuality simply disappeared behind the Iron Curtain; Eastern Europe eased to exist and became part of the Soviet Union. It comes as something of an unconscious shock, then, to discover that these are individual countries, each with its own architecture, culture and character.

In many ways, now that the grey blanket has been withdrawn, one discovers more individuality here than in Western Europe.

Because these countries, stripped of the artificially imposed uniformity of Marxist ideology, reveal much of the character they had before World War 2 — more so than do the European Community countries, which have voluntarily drawn together and advanced further technologically.

"This is the old Europe," Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden remarks as he strolls into the 1930s Viennese ambience of the Gerbeau coffee shop, one of the finest in Budapest.

That is true.

By throwing off the yolk of communism, these countries have gone back to the character they had before the war — back to old Europe.

Take Czechoslovakia. South Africans inevitably think of it as little more than the place which produced many of the weapons that supplied the ANC armed struggle.

Going there, one realises that that militant character was imposed upon it by the Soviet Union, which ruthlessly exploited Czechoslovakia's technological expertise.

Visiting Prague, one experiences the complete opposite. It is easy to believe that this is the heart of Bohemia.

These are clearly peace-loving Bohemians, if left to their own devices. The central squares of Prague are filled with buskers and long-haired

President de Klerk and a party of officials and South African journalists discovered on a pioneering voyage to Eastern Europe last week that behind the old Iron Curtain lies a fascinating world, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS from Warsaw.



Neil van Heerden . . . this is the old Europe.

youths, perhaps going through a stage already long past in the West but suppressed here.

And just at the time Mr de Klerk is visiting here, the Club Erotique, somewhere down the back alleys, puts on "Europe's first live sex performed on stage" — to the delight of accompanying South African journalists, one of whom loses his pants on stage.

The producer discloses that he is going to stand for parliament on the anti-censorship ticket. This is throwing off communist thought control with a vengeance.

Czechoslovak author-president Vaclav Havel, whose "Velvet Revolution" toppled communism without smashing a window, lives in a two-room apartment. In his office is a child's scooter given to him by former child-star Shirley Temple, now US ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

He uses it to scoot around the interminable corridors of centuries-old Prague Castle, the seat of his government.

He apparently also has a motorised golf-cart for the same purpose.

Did we know before that the "good king Wenceslas" of the Christmas carol was a Bohemian king and now the patron saint of Czechoslovakia?

President de Klerk laid a



Vaclav Havel . . . lives in a two-room apartment.

wreath at his monument on the square that bears his name — the one where the 400 000-strong mass rallies, which forced the communists to resign, gathered.

And did we recall that Czechoslovakia before the war had a bigger economy than Britain's and a standard of living equal to that of the Swiss?

Budapest for 40 years meant nothing more than another outpost of world communism; the very name reeked of stale totalitarian bureaucracy.

The South African party discovered instead a charming amalgam of the old cities of Buda and Pest facing each other across the Danube which still boasts such ideologically incorrect architecture as the ornate Gothic/Byzantine parliament buildings, standing on the river like a fanciful Westminster.

By night, local diplomats say, it is rapidly replacing Amsterdam as the erotic capital of Europe.

The centres of all three cities — Budapest, Prague and even Warsaw — are beginning to acquire some of the touristy quality of their Western counterparts, with cobbled streets, horse-drawn carts and bright shops.

In Budapest especially — the most prosperous of the three, largely because it had the least

traumatic transition — the familiar stores of the West are beginning to appear. Of local tourist ware there is little, but there is beautiful crystal and glass in Prague and Warsaw, and imported Beluga caviar, vodka and matrushka Russian dolls, all at reasonable prices.

The people here are not exactly cheerful but they are no doubt happier than they were three years ago.

They seem patiently resigned to wait for the fruits to ripen of throwing out communism and introducing free-market democracy.

They have a wry, rather self-deprecating, way of looking at their predicament. One recalls how Czechoslovak President Jiri Dienstbier was asked last year about the prospects of SA tourism to his country.

"What would they want to come and see?" was his unduly harsh judgment of Czechoslovakia's attractions.

The gallows humour which flourished under the heel of communism is still evident, even in official publications. The government's guide to Hungary, for instance, discusses the lack of visible success of the economic reforms.

The difficulties of reforming the old system reminds the writer of the joke about the galley slaves rowing in the doldrums. Their chief approaches them and says: "I have good and bad news. First the good news — all of you get double rum. The bad news — the captain wants to water-ski."

Although these countries seem to be succeeding slowly in turning back the clock, there is some concern here that the spirit of free enterprise and individual initiative may have been so damaged by four decades of authoritarian communism that it will not take shoot.

Old habits die hard. In parts of the security establishment, for instance — as in others one could mention — tough residues of old thinking remain.

Some of the officials manning Hungarian customs sent shivers down the spine of even hardened South African security officials.

And — with a typically communist mixture of rigidity and incompetence — they put the South African agents through metal-detector scans, missed four weapons out of five and then tried to detain the fifth.

But in the context of the bright new world emerging from under the layers of communist grime, that was merely a quaint memento of the bad old days. □

Any new government will have few harsh laws to press into service, says Alan Dunn

Now the Nats are rapidly spiking their own guns

STAR 11/2/92

(304A)

PARLIAMENT has approved the repeal of Section 27B of the Police Act, a Darnocles-like censorship clause intended to intimidate editors.

The bill axing the 13-year-old law awaits President de Klerk's signature as he settles back this week from another overseas tour to his desk routine.

While the reform has been generally hailed, it is the latest in a series of changes which exceed the De Klerk pledges of granting a vote to every adult.

It is part of a pattern. The National Party is stripping the stat-

ute books of legislation it has abused to its own ends and is inserting new laws, codes and practices as the country edges closer to transitional government.

Moves such as this, positive though they are, display no small measure of arrogance among Nat strategists — and casts considerable doubt as to their faith in a new, just dispensation.

"We used our administrative powers, laws and regulations judiciously," they appear to be saying, "but we can't be sure that a future government will."

So the De Klerk government is going beyond well-intentioned re-

forms, trying now as much as it can to shape a new South Africa and ensure that the methods and tools of government over four decades are not revisited and exploited in the reverse.

"I think De Klerk has learned from history that the mistake (Jan) Smith made was leaving his security legislation behind," said Professor Vincent Maphai, head of political studies at the University of the Western Cape.

"Mugabe has not hesitated to use those laws when necessary," he said. "De Klerk wants to force any new government to do its own dirty work."

Mr de Klerk was also setting in motion all kinds of treaties and development processes. "It goes beyond simply a life insurance policy for himself," Professor Maphai said. "He is clearly tying the hands of a new government — it will only be left to manage those things."

"My own feeling is that he wants to say 'If I'm not part of the government, I'm going to make sure they are doing my job.'"

Other examples of the Government's strategy include a law forbidding police from political affiliations, energetic efforts to deregulate broadcasting and set up an

Independent Broadcasting Authority, a willingness to establish codes of conduct for the security forces, and privatisation.

The pattern is evident also in the NP's constitutional proposals which dilute the powers of central government shedding a single-party Cabinet and a strong executive president, representing a refutation of the present system.

"They rode roughshod over the rule of law and tried to shut the Supreme Court out of any form of constitutional interpretation," Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said. "They packed the Senate to cir-

cumnent the courts on the issue of the Coloured vote in the 1950s.

"Now they discover in their political decline the virtue of having the courts reigning supreme over Parliament," he added, referring to the NP's preference for a inalienable Bill of Rights.

Professor Robert Schrire, of Cape Town University's political studies department described the Government's strategy as "an exercise in risk minimisation."

The NP's idea was to allow others in the control room but make sure that the buttons and levers had been disconnected. E-

Patrick Laurence analyses the issues, especially for the NP, in the Potchefstroom poll

Fearful whites must be assured

STAR 11/2/92

304A

ONCE in a generation — or perhaps even more rarely — a by-election assumes a watershed significance in the political life of a nation.

The Wakerstroom by-election which heralded the defeat of the Smuts government in 1924 clearly falls into that category, the pending by-election in Potchefstroom on February 19 may do so as well.

The by-election — caused by the death of Louis le Grange, the former Speaker of Parliament — comes at a critical time in the battle for dominance in the white community between President F W de Klerk's ruling National Party and Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

A defeat for the NP will confirm and, more critically, may accelerate, the steady swing to the CP in the series of by-elections since February 2 1990, when Mr de Klerk began his quest for a settlement with formerly outlawed organisations.

A CP victory will call into question the assumption that Mr de Klerk will win a referendum in the white community on whatever settlement emerges from the negotiating table at Codesa.

The assumption is based on the arithmetic of the white vote in the 1989 general election where the pro-settlement parties won 70 per-

cent of the vote (48 percent for the NP, plus 22 percent for the Democratic Party) against 30 percent for the CP.

But a CP victory in Potchefstroom could enable it to reach the "critical mass" necessary for it to triumph in a white referendum.

The DP leader, Zach de Beer, reckons that right now, the division is closer to 50-50.

His appraisal is supported by Lawrence Schlemmer of the Human Science Research Council. Writing before the CP victory in the Virginia by-election, Professor Schlemmer warned that levels of support for the CP had, on occasion, reached an uncomfortably high 45 percent.

At best a CP victory in Potchefstroom next week would seriously delay implementation of a settlement. At worst it could precipitate widespread mass protest action against the "white veto" by the black majority.

Mr de Klerk has himself underlined the importance of Potchefstroom. After the Virginia by-election last November, he explained the NP's defeat away as the product of local factors — resentment on the mines and racial tension — and proclaimed that Potchefstroom would be the real test.

History underlines the importance of the by-election.

Potchefstroom has been held by the governing party for all but two of the more than 70 years since 1920.

An NP defeat will thus be most inauspicious historically.

The two candidates, Theuns Kruger for the NP and Andries Beyers for the CP, are both confident of victory in their contest for the support of Potchefstroom's 24 000 voters.

Mr Kruger predicts a National majority of 500, against the large 1 500-plus majority chalked up by Mr le Grange in the 1989 election. Mr Beyers predicts a "comfortable victory" for the CP.

Mr Kruger's main problem is to assuage the anxieties of white voters.

He admits frankly: "There are lots of doubts. Whites' apprehensions over their future are compounded by the economic recession and the rising rate of crime."

His message is simple: old-style apartheid simply did not work, and South Africa must move forward to a new power-sharing deal in which whites link hands with the "positive" forces of nationalism and Christianity in the black community.

By "positive", black nationalism, Mr Kruger means tribalism.

He speaks of "the Tswanas and the Zulus," insisting that Zulus will never agree to rule by Xhosas and vica versa. He sees the Zionist Christian Church as an important ally in the task

Mr Kruger tells voters that the CP is trying to revive the moribund and hated doctrine of apartheid, wilfully ignoring both the resistance that it evoked in the black community and its economic inviability.

Mr Beyers accuses the NP of "handing the country over" to the African National Congress.

The CP, by contrast, offers "self-determination" to South Africa's different peoples, not surrender to the ANC.

The borders of the territory within which the whites will exercise self-determination will be negotiated by the CP with "legitimate leaders" after the CP comes to power, Mr Beyers says.

The CP does not want to be "prescriptive" by pre-defining the borders of the white fatherland, he explains.

Hendrik Verwoerd's vision of a Commonwealth of Independent States did not fail but was prematurely abandoned, he reasons.

"Verwoerd died too early," he says. "Co-operative self-determination. We say that is the answer."

Mr Kruger states that he has the support of many black people. There is no sign, however, of black support for Mr Kruger in the neighbouring black township of Ikageng.

Zacharia Malekane, ANC western Transvaal regional chairman, thinks that there is not much to choose between the NP and the CP. But he predicts a CP victory. Mr Beyers was a "good candidate for the CP" who has successfully played on white fears by getting across the message that the "ANC will take over from De Klerk".

He cites one central reason for his prediction: Mr de Klerk has not prepared white voters for the pending changes.

As he puts it: "When De Klerk crossed the bridge, he did not cross it with the white community. White voters are confused."

Judging from the views of a random sample of Potchefstroom University students — who together with student teachers and nurses comprise 5 000 of the 24 000 voters — Mr Malekane is right.

"We feel very scared and confused about the future," a young woman student says.

"Likewise," comments her friend. "We are afraid of the future."

They are not hostile to Mr de Klerk but they are patently vul-

nerable to the appeal of the articulate Mr Beyers.

"I feel very sorry for him," the first student says of Mr de Klerk.

"I wouldn't like to be in his position. I think he is doing his best."

Her friend chips in: "Ja, likewise, I think that ... what is the name of the ANC leader ...?"

"Mandela," prompts a journalist.

"Ja, Mandela," the student says. "He is trying to rule. I don't know what life is going to be like because there are so many blacks. What's going to happen to the whites?"

The first student intervenes: "I think they deserve what I deserve. But you can't give them the vote. That won't work. There are 25,000 many of them. You have to try something like elections where (only) some of them can vote."

Not far from the university, posters put up by the World Apartheid Movement quote Paul Kruger, last president of the South African Republic: "They want the vote — they want your land."

President Kruger's words refer to the Uitlanders who flocked to the Boer Republic after the discovery of gold.

They encapsulate the fears of many white voters. This is an issue which Mr de Klerk seems not to have addressed successfully. □

Codesa can't decide on king

Sowetan 11/2/92

30LIA

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and other traditional leaders at Codesa was referred back to the sub-committee of the daily management committee after serious differences emerged among delegates yesterday.

What angered most delegates was that Zwelithini was supposed to have been

invited immediately.

The traditional leaders and paramount chiefs, who are members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, were supposed to have elected representatives from their separate regions to take their places at a later stage.

After a day-long debate the matter was referred to

the sub-committee, which has been increased to eight members from the original four.

Opposed

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, said oral evidence and documents would be presented to the committee on the matter.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party in the House of

Delegates, said most people were opposed to the inclusion of the king and traditional leaders.

He said if the move was accepted this would mean that 11 new delegates would take their places at Codesa, raising the figure to 30 from the present 19.

Mr Mac Maharaj of the Codesa secretariat said the daily management committee would have the final say.

Setback for IFP Codesa drive over king

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha's drive to see Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini participate fully in Codesa suffered a setback yesterday when the issue was referred back to an expanded subcommittee.

The Codesa management committee referred the matter back to the subcommittee despite the original four-person subcommittee's recommendation that traditional leaders and their delegations be full participating members of Codesa.

The management committee made known for the first time yesterday the full list of applications to join Codesa.

The expanded subcommittee on traditional leaders, which includes organisations which oppose the full participation of traditional

leaders in Codesa, was given wider terms of reference.

Inkatha repeatedly insisted its participation in Codesa was dependent on the full participation of the king in the talks.

Inkatha delegation leader Dr Frank Mdlalose put on a brave face yesterday, describing the management committee's move as "progress" and pointing out that no final decision had been taken.

Codesa management committee chairman Mr Pravín Gordan told a news conference the subcommittee's earlier terms of reference were vague and insufficient and had been extended to allow a more in-depth look at the sensitive issue.

The political groups that applied to join

Codesa are the Afrikaner Party, Boerevolk Party, Boerentia Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, the Freedom Party of South Africa, the Insika National Party, the Mighty Sotho Party, the National Seoposengwe Party, the PAC of South Africa (a breakaway faction of the PAC), the People's Party of South Africa, the People's Progressive Party and the Reform Party of South Africa. Two new applications were received from the United Conciliation Party and the Venda National Party.

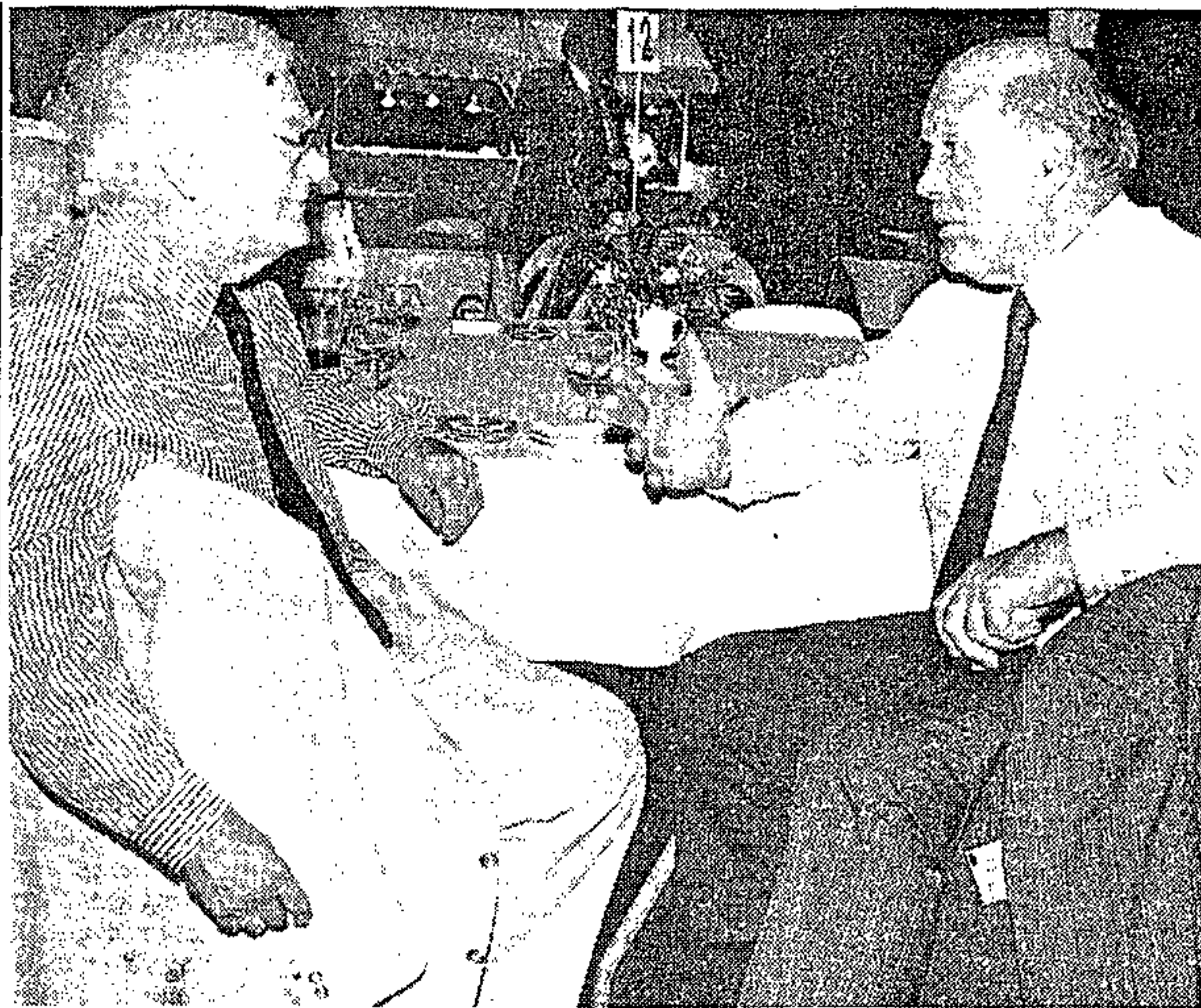
A Codesa working group recommended yesterday the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress

yesterday predicted rebellion in Codesa that would trigger walkouts by some of the participants.

Political affairs secretary Mr Mahlabi Mbandazayo said at a news conference here the PAC believed some of its partners in the Patriotic Front would pull out in favour of a more radical approach.

Mr Mbandazayo said the PAC would convene its national congress in the Transkei in April, where Codesa would top the agenda. The PAC would stage a rally at the weekend where key figures were expected to outline its programme to attack Codesa in a bid to crush its credibility and its capability to usher in a democratic future. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo and DP MP Colin Eglin during a break in yesterday's meeting of the Codesa sub-committee which discussed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's participation in the forum. The issue was later referred back to an expanded sub-committee.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Issue of king's Codesa attendance not settled

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The management committee made known for the first time yesterday the full list of applications to join Codesa, which shows that the World Council of Churches' application has been turned down.

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TIM COHEN

Inkatha's proposed amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent were also referred to a subcommittee.

Gordhan said the committee would also deal with Bophuthatswana's proposals for an amended declaration of intent, which are due to be made public soon.

The management committee yesterday stressed that it would welcome written and oral contributions to Codesa working groups, but asked that submission should reach Codesa by March 2.

The political groups that have applied to join Codesa are the Afrikaner Party, Boer-volk Party, Boerentia Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, the Freedom Party of SA, the Insika National Party, the Mighty Sofasonke Party, the National Seoposengwe Party, the PAC of SA (a breakaway faction of the PAC), the People's Party of SA, the People's Progressive Party and the Reform Party of SA. Two new applications have been received from the United Conciliation Party and the Venda National Party.

Lesotho's Basotho National Party application has been turned down.

Applications have also been received from nine interest groups, including the National Committee of Local Government Associations and the Returned Exiles Committee.

Cosatu's application still stands and a new application has also been received from Christians for Truth.



Interim rule: ANC shows 'flexibility'

ARG 12/2/92

304A

ESTHER WAUGH and PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

WHAT delegates called "nitty gritty" negotiations have started at Codesa, with the ANC offering an olive branch to the government on the fraught question of interim rule.

This marked convergence between the major players came as four of the five Codesa working groups assembled at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The ANC released detailed proposals for an interim government which showed important signs of flexibility and convergence with the government's approach.

A transitional government "package" is the most urgent task facing Codesa, as the negotiation process cannot move forward substantially without agreement on this issue.

In its proposals the ANC said it was prepared to consider the idea that an elected constituent assembly could perform as a legislature during the interim period. Previously the ANC favoured an appointed interim structure, ruling by decree.

Insistence on an elected, rather than an appointed, transitional legislature is a key element in the government's proposals.

There is room for compromise between the two sides as the government now accepts the need for an elected body to draw up the new constitution.

But the ANC's favoured scenario would involve an "Interim Government Council", appointed by Codesa, which would administer key aspects of government in the interim period. Crucially, the council would also supervise elections for the constituent assembly.

The ANC said its proposed Interim Government Council should co-ordinate and supervise the existing government administrations and should be "vested with legislative and executive functions to be exercised in accordance with procedures and structures to be determined by Codesa".

"The interim government should have legal form which means that the structures and powers of the interim government must be defined in legislation and that where necessary amendments should be made to the existing constitution," the ANC proposals said.

It proposed that no contentious legislation should be enacted and no contentious executive action should be taken during the transition period.

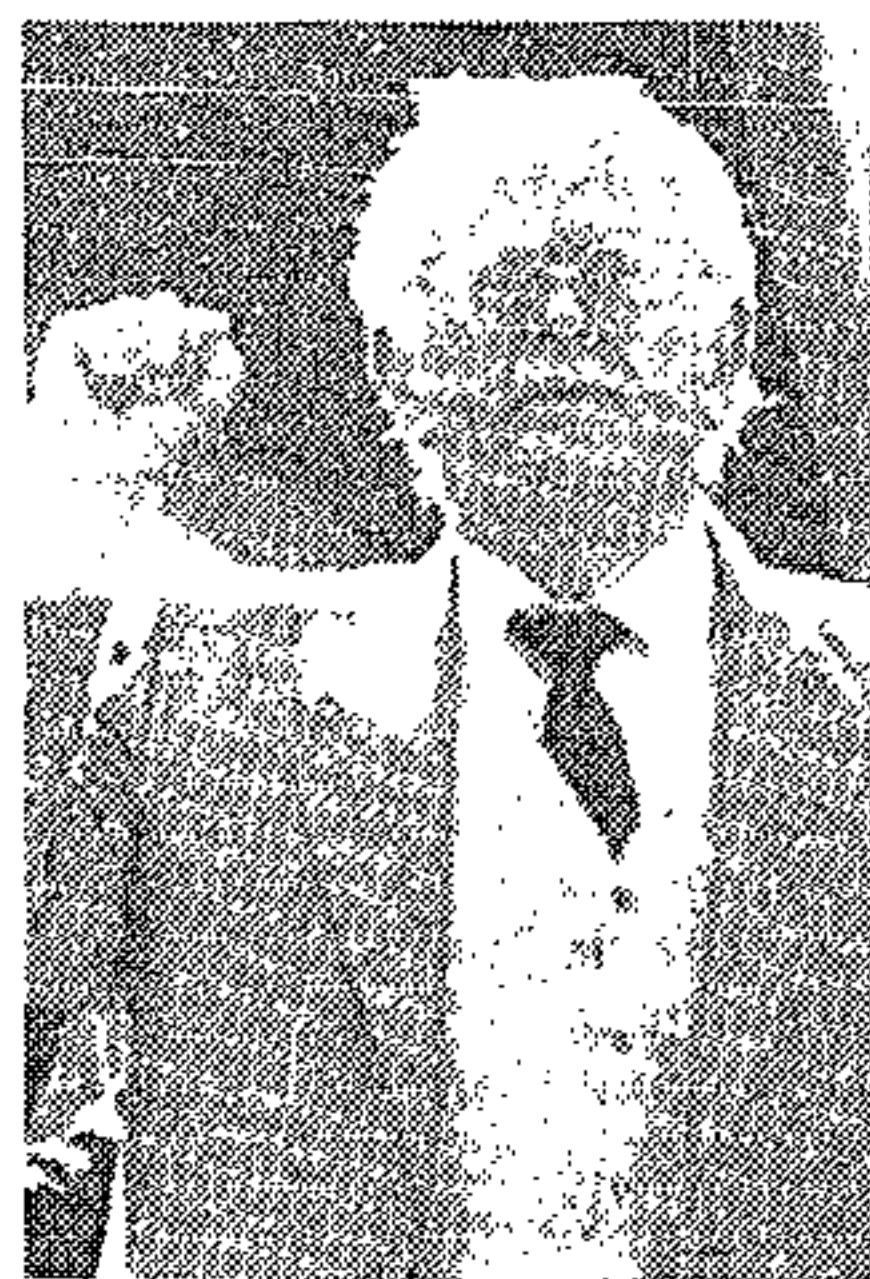
"We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the ANC said.

The interim government would fall away as soon as a new government was installed in terms of the new constitution.

During the transition phase all apartheid structures should be removed. This was the reason why the proposals were linked to the reincorporation of the homelands and an end to the tricameral parliament and other apartheid legislatures.

Some delegates said in interviews that they also detected convergence on the controversial question of federalism in yesterday's meeting of Working Group 2 on constitutional principles.

They said SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo had appeared to soften opposition to the idea of considerable powers being devolved from the central



Mr Joe Slovo

government to regional governments. Substantive devolution of power is a key demand of groups like the IFP and the Democratic Party.

Previously the position of the ANC/SACP alliance had been that powers devolved to regions should be severely curtailed.

In his submission, Mr Slovo yesterday said "defined powers" should be devolved to regional entities. But these regions would not have the right to secede or separate from a united South Africa.

Government sources said that although Mr Slovo had proposed only limited devolved powers for regions, they felt it was important that he had accepted the principle of genuine devolution.

In spite of the progress made yesterday it was clear that much hard bargaining lies ahead on contentious issues such as the merits and demerits of affirmative action, the question of whether power-sharing should be entrenched in the constitution and who should supervise elections for a constituent assembly or interim legislature.

Traditional leaders want action

JOHANNESBURG. — All South Africa's traditional leaders should meet as a matter of urgency to force Codesa to yield to demands by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) to be fully represented.

In a statement, Contralesa said it seemed the only issue occupying the mind of the Codesa management was the participation of the Zulu king.

It said the Codesa management committee had failed dismally in its attempts to resolve the question of participation by traditional leaders. — Sapa.

(3014) APR 12/192

Government cool on 'optimism' (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS and ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

ARG 12/1/92

THE government has cautioned against undue optimism over political convergence between the main players at Codesa, warning that the crunch issues still lay ahead.

Reacting to ANC constitutional proposals published yesterday, the government's spokesman on Codesa Dr Tertius Delport said: "There is general movement towards one another, but I don't think we must be over-optimistic."

"It's easier to move towards one another on the more neutral aspects."

He predicted tougher negotiations on two key issues — minority representation in a future parliament, and the extent of regional autonomy.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who acknowledged that it had become "progressively apparent" over the past 18 months that there had been convergence between the ANC and the government, but this had focused more on the "ultimate constitutional objectives", rather than on details.

"On the matter of procedure and structure there are important gaps on which there may be fights."

Dr De Beer predicted considerable argument about the extent of the decentralisation of power to regional governments, and clauses in a Bill of Rights on property and affirmative action.

But the two sides appeared to be moving closer on the two critical issues of an interim administration and the details of the constitution-making body.

Commenting on a suggestion that negotiations could be completed within six weeks, Dr De Beer said: "I do not believe that for a moment."

Dr Delport said he believed the negotiation process was doing "exceptionally well".

car could be about R33 000.

Buthelezi says elections would split country

SAN FRANCISCO. — Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi opposes a free election by both white and black South Africans soon because it would further split the country.

"We say that there can be no elections this year or indeed next year," Chief Buthelezi told the World Affairs Council of Northern California yesterday.

"Political parties are just not free to campaign in all communities or among all race groups for support."

Chief Buthelezi, on a US

speaking tour, told the council that jumping into all-or-nothing political battles now would "set South African against South African".

He said he opposed ANC efforts to press for an early vote and an interim government during the transition from white supremacist government to black majority rule.

"So many areas of the country are dominated by one black political party or another that they are off-limits to free and

open election campaigns," Chief Buthelezi said. "The ground is not equally level for all political parties when it comes down to political campaigning," he said.

"There are areas which are dominated by the ANC where no other political party dare attempt to hold a meeting."

During a question-and-answer session, Chief Buthelezi played down his differences with Mr Nelson Mandela, saying that although their organi-

sations differed on strategy, they had the same objectives.

"The problem is not with Mr Mandela," he said. "It is with the people around him."

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party held talks in South Africa yesterday with representatives of the ANC aimed at ending years of political violence in which more than 5 000 have been killed.

The talks were held after nine people died in weekend fighting in of Soweto. — Sapa-Reuter.

Venda calls for 'obvious choice'

JOHANNESBURG.

An interim government must be constituted within six months and must have a life-span of not more than 18 months, the Venda government has said.

Venda was submitting its proposals yesterday to Working Group Three on Transitional Government at Codesa.

"Only an interim government becomes an obvious choice not as an end in itself but as a process towards a new constitution which will usher in a new political dispensation," the Venda government said.

It also recommended that the TBVC states and self-governing states be dissolved.

The Ciskei Government said any interim arrangements must not pre-determine the nature of the ultimate outcome of Codesa.

It emphasised that the Ciskei was a constitutionally independent and sovereign state.

"Re-incorporation and transfer of authority can only take place along a constitutional pathway."

All interim and final arrangements for transfer of authority should be arrived at constitutionally. "These arrangements should not be on the basis of arbitrary selection of participants nor leave room for domination of any group or abuse of power." — Sapa.

ANC Olive branch to Govt

STAR 12/2/92

(304A)

The ANC released detailed proposals for an interim government which showed important signs of flexibility and convergence with the Government's approach. A transitional government "package" is the most urgent task facing Codesa, as the negotiations process cannot move forward substantially without agreement on this.

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

What delegates called "nitty-gritty" negotiations got under way at Codesa yesterday with the ANC offering an olive branch to the Government on the fraught question of interim rule.

This marked convergence between the major players came as four of the five Codesa working groups assembled at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

appointed interim structure, ruling by decree. Insistence on an elected rather than appointed transitional legislature is a key element in the Government's proposals.

There is room for compromise between the two sides as the Government now accepts the need for an elected

body to draw up the new constitution.

However, the ANC's favoured scenario would involve an "interim government council", appointed by Codesa, which would administer key aspects of government in the interim period. Crucially, the council would also supervise elec-

tions for the constituent assembly.

The ANC said its proposed interim government council should co-ordinate and supervise the existing Government administrations and should be "vested with legislative and executive functions to be exercised in accordance with procedures

Convergence between major Codesa players on interim rule

and structures to be determined by Codesa".

"The interim government should have legal form, which means that the structures and powers of the interim government must be defined in legislation, and that where necessary, amendments should be made to the existing constitution," the ANC proposals said.

It proposed that no contentious legislation should be enacted and no contentious executive action taken during the period of transition.

Parliament and other apartheid legislatures. Some delegates told The Star they also detected convergence on the controversial question of federalism in yesterday's meeting of Working Group 2 on constitutional principles.

They said SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had appeared to soften opposition to the idea of considerable powers being devolved from the central government to regional governments. Substantive devolution of power is a key demand of groups like the IFP and the Democratic Party.

Previously, the position of the ANC/SACP alliance had been that powers devolved to regions should be severely curtailed.

In his submission, Mr Slovo yesterday said "defined powers" should be devolved to regional entities. However, these regions would not have the right to separate from a united South Africa.

The SACP envisaged such "entities" being defined in terms of geographic and economic considerations.

Government sources said that although Mr Slovo had proposed only limited devolved powers for regions, they felt it was important that he had accepted the principle of devolution.

In spite of the progress made yesterday, it was clear that much hard bargaining lies ahead on many contentious issues. Among the more obvious areas of difference which emerged were the merits and demerits of affirmative action, the question of whether power-sharing should be entrenched in the constitution, and who should supervise elections for a constituent assembly or interim legislature.

The steps to a final new government envisaged in the ANC's interim government proposals are:

Supervision

● Codesa agrees on an interim government council to be the supreme executive during the transition and agrees on legislative and executive functions.

● Parliament changes the present constitution accordingly.

● The interim government council takes over the co-ordination and supervision of existing Government departments — at least the security forces, the public media and the Budget.

● Its main function is to supervise elections for a constituent assembly.

After such elections, the ANC proposes two possibilities. Either the interim government council continues to run the country until the con-

stituent assembly has completed its work and a new parliament is in place, or the constituent assembly is vested with sovereign powers so that it functions both as a constituent assembly or as an interim legislature until the new constitution has been adopted.

"We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the ANC said. The interim government would fall away as soon as a new government was installed in terms of the new constitution.

During the transition phase all apartheid structures should be removed. This was why the proposals were linked to the incorporation of the homelands, and an end to the tricamer-

● To Page 3

The ANC said it was still considering the implications of the suggestion that the constituent assembly be vested with sovereign powers, and did not yet have a firm position on the issue.

This was the most important area of convergence between the ANC and the Government's interim proposals.

"There is possibly a way in which our proposals and those of some of the parties who have already stated their positions can be brought together so as to meet the purposes that we have identified as the essential purposes of an interim government," the ANC said.

"We are willing to explore such possibilities." In a subcommittee of the working group on the creation of a climate for free political activity, the ANC said bilateral discussions between it, self and the Government on political prisoners had been unsuccessful. The political prisoner issue should therefore be referred to Codesa, the ANC proposed.

Nats wheels in big guns for big Potch showdown

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

National Party politicians are beginning to express cautious optimism about chances of avoiding a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in next week's Potchefstroom by-election.

One source said yesterday that the odds were now running at 50-50 and that the crucial student vote — observers believe that the 4 000-odd students could determine the result — is turning in the NP's favour.

This follows a "blitzkrieg" operation by the NP, which saw no fewer than 10 ministers and three deputy ministers doing the electoral rounds in Potchefstroom on Monday in an attempt to bolster the party's flagging campaign.

Observers said they could not remember the NP ever having thrown such a concentration of political heavyweights into a by-election.

Earlier this month, many NP insiders were privately conceding that defeat in Potchefstroom was inevitable and devising damage-control measures. Now NP strategists have decided to

make a final effort to hold on to the seat which has been in NP hands for decades.

Sources close to the NP concede that the "final push" is a high-risk strategy — defeat would be all the more telling once the party had publicly thrown all its resources into the battle — but they express relief that the NP is finally acting unequivocally in the contest.

The NP's biggest gun of all, President de Klerk, is scheduled to address a meeting in Potchefstroom tomorrow night.

NP offices in the town were buzzing with activity yesterday in preparation for the arrival of Mr de Klerk. His speech will come after the rounding off of the CP campaign tonight, when deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg addresses a meeting in the City Hall.

For the first time, senior Nationalists from the House of Representatives were brought into the campaign: Abe Williams, Minister of Education and Culture in the HoR, and Ministers' Council chairman Jac Rabie were brought into Potchefstroom.

About 7 000 special votes have already been cast in the constituency, and the CP claims to have a lead of 1 000.

NP officials claim this will be eroded before polling on February 19. Theuns Kruger is the NP candidate, and Andries Beyers is standing for the CP.

Carina le Grange reports that there was no confirmation yesterday that the AWB was planning to attend President de Klerk's meeting.

NP election officer Josef le Grange however confirmed that all people — including the AWB — would be welcome to attend the NP meeting.

He said the usual safety precautions which apply to the State President had been made.

Mr le Grange said the venue had been changed from the Potchefstroom City Hall to Olënnpark because it was clear the City Hall would be too small to accommodate all who wanted to attend.

A CP spokesman said his party would not attend Mr de Klerk's meeting as the Conservatives were "not interested" and did not normally attend NP functions.

(Report by Shaun Johnson and Carina le Grange, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Faith in the new SA plummets

Political Staff (304A)

STAR 12/2/92

CAPE TOWN — Optimism in the new South Africa is waning dramatically and an increasing number of people think good will between the four main population groups is diminishing.

These are among the key findings of the latest Human Sciences Research Council survey, conducted by Mark-Data by means of personal interviews with 2 000 South Africans — 400 Asians, 800 blacks, 400 coloureds and 400 whites — in October and November.

Just less than half (46 percent) expect that life in a new South Africa will improve, while 29 percent believe it will become worse.

The optimistic expectations among blacks in particular declined markedly during 1991 — from 61 percent in April to 39 percent in September/October.

Only 15 percent of whites expect a better life, but 53 percent of coloureds and 41 percent of Asians regard the future optimistically.



Poll popularity . . . black support for Mr Mandela came to 65 percent, with 9 percent supporting President de Klerk. Chief Buthelezi drew 3 percent of black support.

Almost half the respondents (46 percent) feel unsafe, especially blacks.

Only 47 percent believe there is enough mutual goodwill to make a peaceful and happy future possible, while 27 percent do not believe this.

The survey reflects deep concern about the possibility of political violence and anarchy. A total of 73 percent believe this possibility is increasing.

A report on the survey says the "most obvious trend . . . can be described as a sober-

ing of . . . expectations".

However, the report says: "Amid all this uncertainty and growing pessimism about the future, the fact that President de Klerk's own credibility remains unchallenged across a wide spectrum of South Africans is a telling one."

The results suggest that more than half of all South Africans believe Mr de Klerk's policies will lead to lasting peace.

His average credibility rating is 62 percent among the

survey sample — 52 percent among blacks, 79 percent among whites and 77 percent among coloureds and Asians.

The report adds: "When the findings are generalised to the whole population, Nelson Mandela would obtain 42 percent and Mr de Klerk 27 percent of the votes. A further 17 percent were not sure who to vote for."

The survey shows that 51 percent of white respondents in the survey prefer Mr de Klerk as leader, while only 13 percent would vote for

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Black support for Mr Mandela came to 65 percent, with 9 percent supporting Mr de Klerk. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi drew 3 percent of black support.

The survey points out that support for leaders does not necessarily correspond to support for political groups.

"The survey indicates that the National Party would obtain 54 percent of the coloured, 52 percent of the Asian, 49 percent of the white

and 6 percent of the black votes in a general election.

"The ANC would obtain 67 percent of the black, 8 percent of the Asian, 7 percent of the coloured and 3 percent of the white votes. Altogether, the ANC would receive 37 percent and the NP 28 percent of all the votes."

The Conservative Party drew support from 40 percent of Afrikaans-speaking whites and 16 percent of English-speaking whites.

"The only significant, but small, sub-group which felt close or very close to the AWP was whites without telephones (30 percent)."

The Azanian People's Organisation "recorded some levels of support among younger blacks who have telephones (21 percent) as well as among older blacks who do not own telephones (17 percent)."

Other findings are that:

- Economic confidence has waned. The number of people who believe the economy is growing has dropped from 25 to 15 percent.

- More than 65 percent of respondents favour open schools.

Britannia party plans to join Codesa talks

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

The Britannia Foundation, formed in Somerset West last week to represent the interests of British expatriates in South Africa, is to become a political party and apply to join Codesa.

Acting president Simon Grindrod told The Star this week that the new party would apply to join Codesa before the deadline for applications expires on March 2.

He said the expatriates, who were mostly concentrated in the Natal and East London, areas were largely unrepresented in the ongoing constitutional talks and would support his party.

"There are about 600 000 second and third generation people of English descent in SA who, through taxation, contribute a lot towards the development of this

country.

"It is only fair that they should make their views heard along with those of the Boers, Zulus and Xhosas at Codesa," said Mr Grindrod.

Although the foundation understood and respected the demand by Boers for a separate homeland, it did not believe it was feasible and supported the idea of a unitary state.

Mr Grindrod said the foundation believed that a constituent assembly should be elected according to proportional representation to draw up a new constitution for the country.

That way, areas such as Somerset West in the Cape, which have a largely English population, would be held by the English while the black townships such as Khayelitsha, near Cape Town, would be held by Xhosas.

Wanted: Boerestaat boundaries that don't trample on rights of others

CP testing waters of Codesa

SAR 12/2/92.

304A

SOME elements of the Conservative Party are said to be thinking more seriously about participating in Codesa.

The case for their doing so has been strengthened in recent days. Not only has President de Klerk put the issue of "self-determination" on the Codesa agenda, but the CP has now established a rapport of sorts with the Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei delegations.

In the past it has argued that participation would mean getting involved in a forum in which all other participants were committed to rejecting its case. That no longer holds. The CP has now established that these three delegations share at least some common ground with it on the issue of "regionalism". Enough for its official organ, Die Patriot, to talk of a new alliance.

Indeed if in the light of these changed circumstances the CP still refuses to participate, it will leave only one conclusion to be drawn — that it is committed to the alternative of revolutionary violence.

Until now the CP has tried to avoid that impression. It has distanced itself from the violent groups on the outer fringes of the right wing and presented itself as a party committed — at least for the moment — to constitutionalism.

But it won't be able to sustain that claim if it continues to refuse to take advantage of a constitutional forum that stands open to it and where it can expect support for some of its arguments.

This raises the next question — how will the other parties, particularly the National Party and the ANC, respond if the CP does de-



Allister Sparks

cide to participate? They have urged it to come along, but how will they deal with it if it does?

In essence CP policy is to return to apartheid, and that is simply not tolerable in the new South Africa. How, then, does one engage it in negotiations?

The answer, I suggest, is to invite the CP to present its own requirements. It insists it is not intent on preserving racial domination, but on securing self-determination for the Afrikaner "nation". Very well, let it state how it wants to do this.

Does it want a Boerestaat? The CP has not committed itself on this issue? At least a dozen other organisations have produced maps of proposed Boerestate, but the CP has not identified with any of them. If that is what it means by self-determination, it should say so, and clarify where it wants the borders of this Afrikaner state to be.

Since there is no part of South Africa with a white — never mind an Afrikaner — majority, it will also have to spell out what it proposes should be done with the large black majority living in the demarcated territory.

Does it propose a massive forced removal, far larger than anything attempted during the apartheid years? Or does it propose massive black disenfranchisement? And will it be able to win the support of its black "allies" in Codesa for either of these?

I had a long discussion the other day with Professor Carel Boshoff, of the Afrikaner Volkswag. "No plan which involves a massive disruption of the population or of the economy stands any chance of being accepted," he told me. His Orange Volkstaat, located in the sparsely populated north-western Cape and centred on the Orange River Basin, reflects that realisation and is the most reasonable of all the Boerestaat proposals.

But still, by his own reckoning, the territory has a population of 125 000 whites, 400 000 "coloureds" and 100 000 blacks — little better than the one-to-five ratio of whites to non-whites as the rest of South Africa.

What would he do with the people of colour? "They must be moved," he said. "It is a small price to pay to avoid a civil war."

A small price for whom? Can one really, in this day and age, at the end of the 20th century and in post-apartheid South Africa, contemplate the forced removal of half a million people because of their skin colour?

And even if one were to do so, would it really avoid the civil war? How many Afrikaners would pack up and go to live in the desert around Upington and Pofadder? Would it really change anything? The threat of violence in any event does not stem from Prof Boshoff's rather cerebral group, but from the AWB and associated Rambo types who have far less reasonable demands.

The fact is, however much some Afrikaners may want their own separate national existence there simply is no Afrikaner Quebec, or Scotland, or Wales, or Basque Provinces, or Suisse-Romande, or Ticino — or, for that matter, Kwa-

Zulu or Bophuthatswana.

They can have it only by committing an outrage against a majority of other South Africans, and that is unacceptable. It is also impossible. Apartheid was a massive attempt to do that and it failed. If it could not be achieved during Hendrik Verwoerd's time of maximum Government power, it certainly cannot be achieved now.

But that does not mean the desire for national identity is either reprehensible or that it can be ignored. Ethno-nationalism is as much a fact of life to be faced as the absence of an Afrikaner "homeland", and we must take care not to trample on it.

We do not want to create what Isaiah Berlin would call a wounded Afrikaner Volksgeist, for if we do that we may turn the new South Africa into a suppurating Ulster.

A people do not have to have their own territory in order to maintain their identity as a Volk. The Jews have demonstrated that over two millennia, dispersed thinly around the globe and in the face of terrible adversity.

What identifies a people anyway? Surely it is language, culture, religion, history, and the perpetuation of these through education. All those things can be preserved within a common society, which must respect and protect cultural variety.

The ANC and, I think, every other Codesa party proposes the protection of these cultural determinants in an entrenched Bill of Rights. If that is not enough, then it is up to the CP to say what more it wants. Everything can be considered, provided it does not impinge upon the rights of others. □

Urbanites gloomy about SA's future

B1 Day 12/2/92 304A

CAPE TOWN — Most urban South Africans believe the prospects for political violence and anarchy are increasing and that violence is threatening the establishment of democracy, a survey has found.

The survey, undertaken by MarkData for the Human Sciences Research Council's Information Update found a high level of insecurity, with almost half (46%) of respondents feeling unsafe or very unsafe. This insecurity was particularly marked among blacks. Only 47% of the respondents thought that there was enough mutual goodwill to make a peaceful and happy future possible, compared with 27% who did not believe this was possible.

Pessimism was also apparent in expectations of an improved life in a new SA with only 46% responding positively and 29% believing conditions would worsen.

The national survey was carried out in October and November last year and was based on 2 000 personal interviews of adults over 18 living in urban areas.

Excluded from the sample were rural areas and squatter settlements.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was the most popular leader among all population groups with 42% support, followed by President F W De Klerk with 27%. But De Klerk commanded a high level of credibility among all population groups — 62% of the total sample and 52% of black respondents thought he was credible.

Among whites, 51% chose De Klerk as their leader, while 65% of blacks chose Mandela and 9% De Klerk.

LINDA ENSOR

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in with 3% of the total leader's vote while CP leader Andries Treurnicht garnered 13% of the white urban vote, an increase from 9% in a survey conducted in August last year.

The poll showed that while the ANC would take 37% of the total urban vote in an election and the NP 28%, the ANC lagged significantly behind the NP in Indian and coloured support.

It found that the NP would get 54% of the coloured, 52% of the Indian, 49% of the white and 6% of the black votes in any election. The ANC on the other hand would obtain 67% of the black, 8% of the Indian, 7% of the coloured and 3% of the white votes. The PAC and Inkatha would get 3%.

The CP would win 20% of the white vote, although about 40% of Afrikaans-speaking whites felt close or very close to the CP, the survey concluded.

HSRC GM Prof Laurence Schlemmer told a news briefing on the survey's findings that there was a high uncertainty factor which could be explained in terms of the realignment of allegiances common in periods of transition. He said there was a genuine state of confusion in the country.

Schlemmer said the survey had limitations in excluding the rural areas. For instance the 20% of whites who said they would vote for the CP could be an underestimation by a few percentage points. Also, by including rural areas Inkatha could come up with about 15% of the vote.

Success depends on fiscal restraint — Zach

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The success of the new SA would depend on fiscal restraint and strict control of money supply, DP leader Zach de Beer said at a Seeff Breakfast Club function yesterday.

"The greatest danger by far to the success of the new SA is that a future government, motivated no doubt by a praiseworthy desire to uplift the poor, is going to spend money that it has not got, thereby introducing massive budget deficits, pumping up the money supply and causing galloping inflation, currency collapse and, in the end, economic ruin."

De Beer said a black government would want to manage the economy in the interests of its own people, a desire that could bring in its wake a growth in the bureaucracy, public sector expenditure and interference with private sector management.

If this happened, the result would be poverty for all, most especially for the very people it would be intended to help.

810 day 12/2/92
Population

De Beer said only a high rate of economic growth would make a redistribution of wealth possible but that this would be undermined by the country's population growth of about 2.5% a year.

This meant that with a 2% growth in the economy, per capita income would actually fall by 0.5%.

"We need to knock down that terrifying population growth rate by every available means."

De Beer said the economic prerequisites for the new SA were a high rate of economic growth, small government, a lower inflation rate and a healthy surplus on the current account of the balance of payments.

He foresaw a deterioration in the balance of payments as the level of imports increased with the end of the recession.

"From this point of view, it will be very important for us to gain readmission to the IMF. The repeal of the Gramm Amendment would certainly be a major help," De Beer said.



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

A MULTITUDE of parties have in recent weeks been trying to encourage, cajole or even shame the Conservative Party to join the Codesa negotiations.

The government, with the support of the ANC, agreed to formally place the issue of self-determination for "peoples" on the agenda at Codesa.

But the gesture was not sufficiently tempting to lure the CP into the negotiations, partly because of suspicions that the concession stopped short of acknowledging the right to form a large white homeland.

The Democratic Party tried another tactic last week during a stormy debate in the House of Assembly about whether Codesa was usurping the status and role of Parliament.

Engine room

The DP pointed out that the CP was effectively relying on a clique of black homeland leaders at Codesa to argue in favour of its policy of self-determination.

Surely the CP owed it to the party's rank-and-file membership to send its own representatives into the engine room of negotiations to argue the case for self-rule, the DP wondered!

The CP's response was essentially that while it did not trust the NP, neither was the DP beyond suspicion. In any case, most of the heavyweights at Codesa were DP soul-mates and the CP's voice would barely be heard.

Ironically, the groupings that have come closest so far to edging the CP to reconsider its anti-Codesa stance have been the black homeland leaders.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has already met six of the Bantustan leaders in recent months and many of the things they have said appear to have been music to his ears.

For what has emerged is that, like the CP, some homeland leaders are inordinately worried about what might happen to their power bases — let alone their privileged lifestyles — if a strong new central government in Pretoria continued calling the shots for the regions.

CP owes it to members to argue its case at Codesa

304A
CT 12/2/92

The extent to which the positions of the CP and certain homeland leaders on "self-determination" are converging was underlined last week when a remarkable degree of consensus was reached on the subject during a meeting in Parliament between Dr Treurnicht and Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

After going to great lengths to emphasise the understanding he felt for the fears and uncertainties harboured by the CP and whites in general about a new political order, the Ciskei leader supported a federal system which would allow for something approaching self-rule for economically and culturally defined regions.

A beaming Dr Treurnicht noted that he would have preferred to have heard a commitment to an outright confederation — as opposed to a federation — but that this could be the subject of further discussions.

Later in the week at the Co-

desa negotiations, Bophuthatswana re-iterated its stand that it was not prepared to see the issue of its sovereignty being challenged by Codesa. This essentially mirrors the CP's standpoint on a white homeland.

Outright rejection

But the cherry on the top for the CP was the tough set of seven preconditions submitted by Inkatha to Codesa for joining a transitional government.

Apart from an outright rejection of the notion of a unitary state and the demand that proper consideration be given to "the claims of a people regarding itself as a separate nation to exercise self-determination", Inkatha is insisting that no homeland "should be deprived of its current status without consent".

CP MPs are saying privately that if the Inkatha demands are accepted, the party could well join Codesa.

ANC would win election - survey

Soefan 12/2/92

3044

ITB

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE ANC would win a general election in South Africa if it were held now, according to the results of a nationwide survey completed late last year.

The ruling National Party, under present leader President FW de Klerk, would come in a close second, and the Inkatha Freedom Party could count on three percent of the total vote in South Africa.

The results of the survey were released in Cape Town by the Human Sciences Research Council yesterday, but the figures are tentative and incomplete by any standards.

Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and Ciskei were excluded, as was rural South Africa where there are at least 10 million people.

Commenting on the findings Dr Laurie Schlemmer, an adviser at the HSRC yesterday said that were the survey extended to the rural areas - and the council intends to do so later this year - the results could be adjusted.

The ANC would, however, hold on to the overall lead, with De Klerk still in second place.

But, he contends, the support in rural areas for

the IFP would settle at no more than 15 percent.

The general manager of the HSRC, Mr Johann Mouton, said the survey "did not find significant support for the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha".

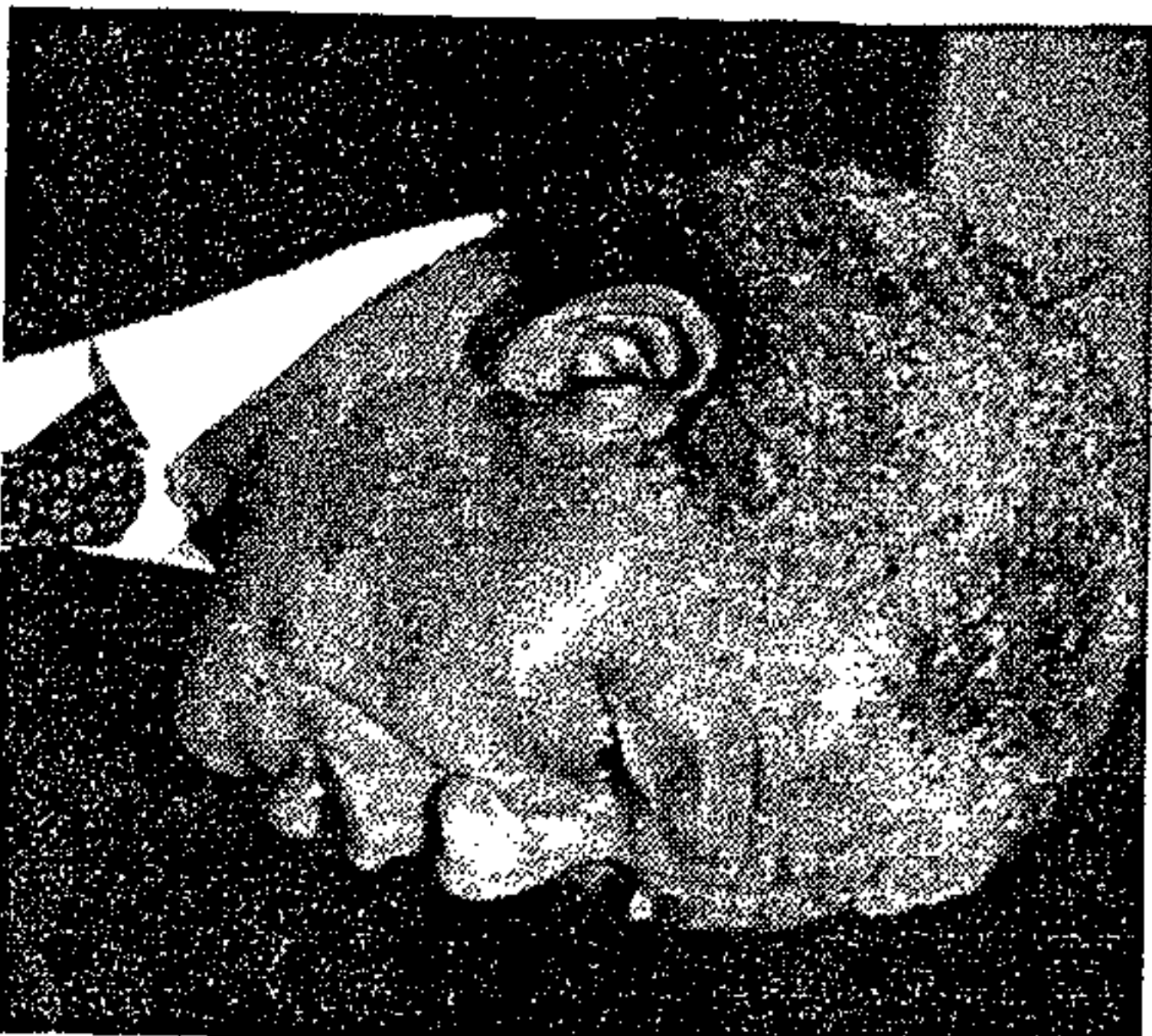
Most of the PAC and Azapo's following was concentrated in the Northern Transvaal, Schlemmer said. After a survey here, the picture would become "more complex," he said.

The findings are based on 2 000 personal interviews held during October and November last year - a two percent margin of error is expected.

Forty-two percent of all South Africans supported ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, and 27 percent De Klerk.

Black people's support for Mandela is 65 percent, with De Klerk totalling nine and Buthelezi three percent.

Among whites, De Klerk is still a favourite.



NELSON MANDELA



FW de KLERK

Codesa consensus on most issues

New ANC flexibility on interim rule

304A
B Day 12/2/92

THE ANC has submitted flexible proposals on an interim government to Codesa which yesterday achieved an unprecedented degree of consensus on a range of issues.

One leading delegate speculated that so much progress had been made by the Codesa working groups that it was conceivable that Codesa negotiations could be completed within six weeks.

The ANC's document, presented at working group 3, states that an interim government is not an end in itself and the organisation will give serious consideration to any structure which will achieve the aims of an interim government.

ANC delegates said they saw a way to consensus on interim arrangements.

The document says the main task of an interim government will be to ensure free and fair elections and that government is conducted in the interim in a way that does not favour any party.

Meanwhile, working group 2, which is concerned with constitutional principles, has drawn up a checklist of items on which agreement has been achieved and on which there is now no need for discussion. About half the principles had been agreed on already, although several sticking points, such as the future of regional government, economic issues and minority rights, still needed to be resolved, delegates said.

Government also made a presentation to the interim government working group, which outlines the principles which should be applied, but does not specify the exact mechanism which should be implemented.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said

TIM COHEN

prerequisites for the creation of a successful transitional mechanism were that it should be fully representative, legitimate and that constitutional and legal instruments should be respected.

He also argued for a devolution and sharing of power and a mechanism which would involve minorities and be subject to an initial bill of rights.

The ANC proposes what amounts to a two-stage interim government, with the first structure being appointed by Codesa and the possibility of a second being elected simultaneously with the elections for a constituent assembly.

The possibility of an elected second stage interim government is a significant convergence with government's position, which calls for an elected interim government. This version is also very close to the DP's and Inkatha's proposals.

The ANC document says an interim government council should be appointed by Codesa to supervise existing administration. This council would be vested with legislative and executive powers to be exercised subject to Codesa.

"No contentious legislation should be enacted, and no contentious executive actions should be taken during this period. We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the document says.

Once elections had taken place for a constituent assembly, two possibilities could be considered: either the interim

□ To Page 2

Interim rule

304A
12/2/92

government council would continue, or the constituent assembly could be vested with sovereign powers.

The document emphasises that the main function of the assembly — to adopt a new constitution — should be kept separate.

"There is possibly a way in which our proposals and those of some of the parties ... can be brought together"

Sapa reports the ANC's constitutional principles propose a united, multiparty state acknowledging the diversity of languages, cultures and religions.

The document says there should be multiparty democracy with the right to form political parties, and regular elections on

the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters' roll. Each vote should have equal value and there should be proportional representation.

"There shall be a separation of power with appropriate checks and balances," the document says. The constitution should also allow affirmative action.

"Within the context of an undivided SA, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall encourage nonracial, democratic participation and administration at all levels."

● See Page 3

□ From Page 1

CT 12/2/92 (3044)

De Klerk losing white support

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has been shedding support among both Afrikaans and English-speaking whites and is currently more popular among the coloured and Indian communities than in his traditional support base.

Evidence of the rapidly shifting political allegiances as South Africa moves towards a new negotiated constitution are contain-

ed in a national attitude survey published by the Human Sciences Research Council yesterday.

The opinion poll, conducted mainly in September/October last year among 2 000 South Africans in the major metropolitan areas, confirmed that Mr Nelson Mandela was the most popular politician in South Africa and that the ANC would comfortably beat the National Party in a

general election.

The survey shows that Mr De Klerk's support within the white community slipped from 52% to 49% between May and September/October among Afrikaans-speakers and from 65% to 57% among English-speakers.

During the period the number of whites supporting Mr De Klerk as their first choice to lead the country dropped from 57% to 51%.

Urbanites gloomy about SA's future

B/day 12/2/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Most urban South Africans believe the prospects for political violence and anarchy are increasing and that violence is threatening the establishment of democracy, a survey has found.

The survey, undertaken by MarkData for the Human Sciences Research Council's Information Update found a high level of insecurity, with almost half (46%) of respondents feeling unsafe or very unsafe. This insecurity was particularly marked among blacks. Only 47% of the respondents thought that there was enough mutual goodwill to make a peaceful and happy future possible, compared with 27% who did not believe this was possible.

Pessimism was also apparent in expectations of an improved life in a new SA with only 46% responding positively and 29% believing conditions would worsen.

The national survey was carried out in October and November last year and was based on 2 000 personal interviews of adults over 18 living in urban areas.

Excluded from the sample were rural areas and squatter settlements.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was the most popular leader among all population groups with 42% support, followed by President F W De Klerk with 27%. But De Klerk commanded a high level of credibility among all population groups — 62% of the total sample and 52% of black respondents thought he was credible.

Among whites, 51% chose De Klerk as their leader, while 65% of blacks chose Mandela and 9% De Klerk.

LINDA ENSOR

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in with 3% of the total leader's vote while CP leader Andries Treurnicht garnered 13% of the white urban vote, an increase from 9% in a survey conducted in August last year.

The poll showed that while the ANC would take 37% of the total urban vote in an election and the NP 28%, the ANC lagged significantly behind the NP in Indian and coloured support.

It found that the NP would get 54% of the coloured, 52% of the Indian, 49% of the white and 6% of the black votes in any election. The ANC on the other hand would obtain 67% of the black, 8% of the Indian, 7% of the coloured and 3% of the white votes. The PAC and Inkatha would get 3%.

The CP would win 20% of the white vote, although about 40% of Afrikaans-speaking whites felt close or very close to the CP, the survey concluded.

HSRC GM Prof Laurence Schlemmer told a news briefing on the survey's findings that there was a high uncertainty factor which could be explained in terms of the realignment of allegiances common in periods of transition. He said there was a genuine state of confusion in the country.

Schlemmer said the survey had limitations in excluding the rural areas. For instance the 20% of whites who said they would vote for the CP could be an underestimation by a few percentage points. Also, by including rural areas Inkatha could come up with about 15% of the vote.

Survey says NP could get W Cape vote

(304A) CT 12/2/92

By BARRY STREEK,
Political Staff

THE National Party could win outright control of the Western Cape according to a new survey that found 61% of coloured people supported President F W de Klerk — and 54% supported the National Party.

The survey, released yesterday by the Human Sciences Research Council, indicated that the NP would obtain 54% of the coloured votes, 52% of the Asian, 49% of the white and 6% of the black votes in South Africa's first free and democratic election.

The ANC, on the other hand, would win 67% of the black, 8% of the Asian, 7% of the coloured and 3% of the white votes.

"Altogether the ANC would receive 37% and the NP 28% of all the votes," the HSRC said.

In the greater Western Cape, which will have a majority of coloured voters, the NP, with its traditional white base and its new-found support among coloured people, could have an absolute majority, particularly if a significant number of voters who supported the Democratic Party in the 1989 election backed the NP.

Although the influx of black people into the Western Cape in recent years since the scrapping of influx control is changing demographic patterns in the region, the minimal support for the ANC among coloured people — only 7% — would be a serious handicap to the ANC in an election.

Only 4,67% of coloured people said they would choose the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to lead South Africa, in contrast to the 61,04% who said they would choose Mr De Klerk.

Although 27,29% of coloured people did not know who they would choose or were neutral or refused to answer or were not interested, the opinion poll clearly demonstrates little coloured support for either the ANC or Mr Mandela.

The HSRC survey was conducted house-to-house among 2 000 metropolitan residents, including 400 coloured people, in October and November last year as part of its Information Update programme.

It found that 59% of coloured people felt close to the National Party but only 18% felt close to the ANC and 3,35% felt close or very close to the SA Communist Party.

Interim rule 'closer to reality'

304A

Sowetan

12/2/92

THE establishment of an interim government in South Africa is closer to reality after the meeting of Codesa's two key working groups yesterday.

Delegates felt confident that major obstacles have been overcome and that mechanisms that will define the modalities of the Interim or Transitional Government have to be set up.

Groups that were opposed to the idea of an interim government are now in agreement, one delegate said.

Yesterday, the ANC released proposals for the interim government which showed a lot of consensus.

An ANC official said the organisation deliberately prepared its proposals at the last moment because it wanted to study those submitted by other delegates.

The ANC also said it was prepared to consider the idea of an elected Constituent Assembly which also performed as a legislature during the interim period.

The organisation proposed that Codesa should convert itself into an Interim Government Council with legal powers.

The council will then supervise elections for an elected interim government to make sure that they are free and fair.

By IKE MOTSAPI

The ANC proposed that once elections have taken place two possibilities should be considered.

It said the Interim Government Council could continue to function in the agreed manner until the Constituent Assembly has completed its work and a new parliament is in place.

Alternatively, the Constituent Assembly is vested with sovereign powers so that it functions both as a Constituent Assembly and as a legislature until the new constitution has been adopted.

The Government yesterday warned of grave consequences if the mooted Transitional Authority was not representative of all interested groups in the country.

In his address to the Codesa Working Group Three dealing with Interim/Transitional Matters, finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis said unless all people felt they were being represented in a Transitional Government, such arrangements would be doomed.

He said if that happened the negotiations on further reform would not represent the will of the people.

Nats ready to step out with ANC

PRETORIA. — The National Party, for years on the receiving end of protest marches from across the political spectrum, may see one of its branches marching alongside the African National Congress.

The march will involve the much-celebrated "new" Nationalists in Pretoria's "coloured"

township of Eersterust on Sunday. (304A)

In a statement issued by the ANC in Eersterust, the march would be a prelude to the organisation's ongoing 80th anniversary celebrations.

The statement said: "It is the first march of its kind in the history of the so-called coloured re-

sidential area where the first Nationalist Party branch was launched last year.

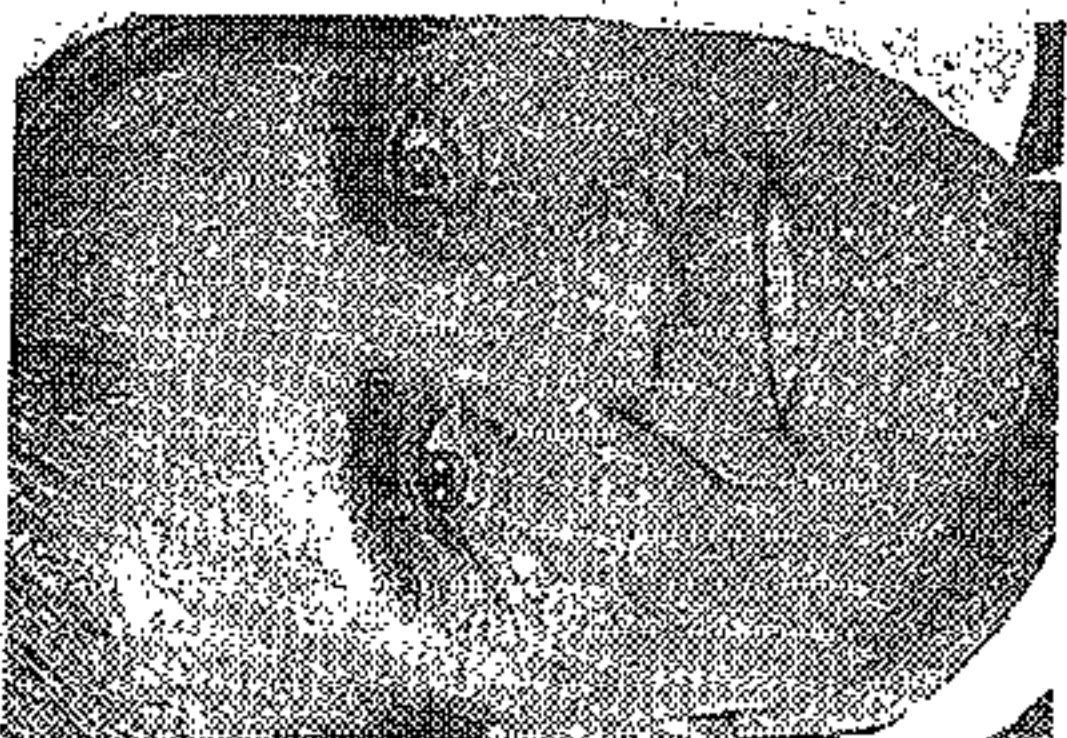
"Invitations have been sent out to 32 ANC branches around the PWV, Contralesa, Labour Party, National Party, churches and organisations in and around Eersterust." — Sapa

Codesa honeymoon ending

Heartening progress so far, but rocky road lies ahead

APC 13/2/92

3049



Dr Tertius Delpoort

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

TENSION has arisen in Codesa over the status of regional administrations, such as Kwazulu, in an interim government phase and tough bargaining is expected on this point in the weeks ahead, according to sources.

As the government moved yesterday, once again, to reassure its Codesa partners that it was not conniving with the ANC or anyone else to use Codesa to rubber-stamp a secret deal, tensions emerged on the touchy issue of regional government.

Codesa sources said some parties were worried about committing themselves to an interim government in case this prejudiced their claims for regional autonomy or some form of federalism in

the permanent constitution that has still to be thrashed out.

One source also highlighted the capacity of these smaller parties to disrupt agreements at Codesa.

He cautioned: "Optimistic predictions exclude the power of smaller parties to disrupt the principle of sufficient consensus."

"On an important level, Codesa is more than simply the Nats and the ANC."

"There remains a lot of suspicion, particularly on the status of regional administrations during the transitional phase, and it does not take much to set off quite an ugly confrontation."

Dr Tertius Delpoort, the government's Codesa spokesman, said the government was "heartened" by the rate of progress and the degree of convergence in negotiations.

But he added: "We have yet to enter the field of key issues on which there is no agreement. Speculation that an all-embracing agreement is imminent is premature."

Sources predicted tough debate on violence and private armies and the creation of a climate conducive to democratic elections.

One said: "It will be a hard debate and will take some time, and I cannot see us making substantive progress on the new constitution or the provisions of an interim government if we do not find one another on this key issue."

There were also considerable differences on the "balance between central and regional government" and the extent to which power, rather than merely functions of government, should be devolved to lower levels.

Tough argument is expected on the nitty-gritty of minority representation.

Sources point to the key difference between minority representation — which is widely supported — and the meaningful participation in government by minorities.

They believed that a long, hard road lay ahead in forging clarity, and agreement through sufficient consensus, on these issues.

It has also emerged that working group four, which is discussing the future of the homeland states, has embarked on a comprehensive investigation of the financial, economic, political and social complexities of the possible re-incorporation of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda into South Africa.

One of four sub-committees formed by the working group is looking into the question of how — or whether — to test public opinion in the TBVC States on the re-incorporation issue.

Senior government sources, who indicated that the government would not, and could not, force any of the homelands to rejoin South Africa, said there were vast legal and constitutional complexities to be unravelled in the investigation of the future of the TBVC countries.

The government has also made clear its view that Codesa can merely make recommendations to the TBVC countries.

"Any of these states can reject any decision by Codesa until such time as they are no longer sovereign," one top source said.

CP 'white' map goes on show (304A)

POTCHEFSTROOM. —
The Conservative Party
has finally unveiled its
map for white South
Africa. ARG 13/12/92

CP deputy leader Dr
Ferdie Hartzenberg last
night said the CP home-
land was based on legis-
lation passed by the Na-
tional Party in 1975.

It includes all of South
Africa except the home-
lands and self-governing
territories.

The plan was devised
by the Parliamentary
Select Committee on
Bantu Affairs in 1975, he
told a CP meeting in the
Potchefstroom city hall.

The CP would also
consider expanding the
the homelands and self-
governing territories by
bringing black town-
ships into these areas.

Speaking in support of
Mr Andries Beyers, the
candidate in the Potch-
efstroom by-election
next week, Dr Hartzen-
berg said the CP had a
determined strategy to
gain power.

After they had won an
election, as the govern-
ment they would tell
black areas they were
no longer taking part in
Codesa — and if they
wanted a unitary state
which excluded white
South Africa they were
welcome to it.

NP may

join ANC

march

STAR 13/2/92

The National Party, for years on the receiving end of protest marches from across the political spectrum, may see one of its branches marching alongside the African National Congress.

And, awkwardly enough, the march will involve the much-celebrated "new" Nationalists in Pretoria's "coloured" township of Eesterust on Sunday.

A statement issued by the ANC in Eesterust said the march would be a prelude to the organisation's ongoing 80th anniversary celebrations.

The statement said: "It is the first (march) of its kind to happen in the history of the so-called coloured residential area where the first Nationalist Party branch was launched last year.

"Invitations have been sent out to 32 ANC branches around the PWV, Contralesa, the Labour Party, National Party, churches and organisations in and around Eesterust."

Mr Molefe Makinta of the ANC's Pretoria sub-region said plans for the Eesterust celebrations were at an advanced stage. He acknowledged that invitations had been sent to the National Party. — Sapa.

Codesa progress, but tough battles ahead

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government is "heartened" by the rate of progress on key issues at Codesa, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpont said yesterday — but he warned that tough bargaining still lay ahead.

Dr Delpont, the Government's official spokesman on Codesa, was responding to reports that Tuesday's Codesa working group meetings had shown marked convergence between the ANC and the Government, particularly on the crucial issue of interim government.

He warned it was premature to assume that "all-embracing agreements on all issues" had been achieved.

Sources close to Codesa told The Star that the ANC's flexible stance on a constituent assembly — the organisation's proposals for interim government for the first time countenance the possibility that such an assembly might also act as a legislature — brought it closer to President de Klerk's own wish that deliberations on a constitution take place within a transitional government.

Sources also played down the fact that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on a United States lecture tour, made speeches critical of Codesa which seemed out of tune with the atmosphere of optimism within the Government and ANC.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were "part of political powerplays and positioning between groups", the sources said, and were not directly related to de-

velopments at Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi had alleged "connivance" between the Government and the ANC, and had come out firmly against an elected interim government.

Dr Delpont yesterday said the Government considered both the IFP and the ANC as important role-players in the negotiations process.

"The whole spirit of Codesa is to move away from confrontational politics, and it is therefore imperative that bilateral talks with various parties, including the IFP and the ANC, should continue as part of the process," he said.

"It is the duty of the Government to take initiatives to avoid confrontational politics and so facilitate the Codesa talks, where all parties will have to reach agreement on the important issues on the agenda," Dr Delpont said.

STAR 13/2/92

Codesa not near breakthrough ³⁰⁴⁷govt

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THE ANC/SACP alliance yesterday questioned whether government and the NP feared the negotiation process at Codesa was moving too fast.

This followed government's dismissal of the two organisation's claim that Codesa was on the verge of a major breakthrough.

Government's Codesa spokesman Tertius Delpont dismissed reports that so much progress had been made by Codesa's five working groups that it was possible Codesa negotiations could be completed within six weeks.

"We are yet to enter the field of key issues on which there is no agreement," said Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Delpont.

"Speculation that an all-embracing agreement on various issues is imminent is therefore premature," he said.

ANC and SACP members said yesterday as far as they were concerned, the ANC and SACP positions on constitutional matters and interim government were "quite compatible" with the positions of government.

SACP delegate Essop Pahad said it

was time government spelt out which key issues it meant, and that it released detailed proposals for Codesa's working groups.

At present the NP and government were responding to debates and other parties' proposals at Codesa, but had not released their position papers.

Pahad said broad agreement could be reached soon on a number of issues such as constitutional principles, transitional arrangements, TBVC states, the role of the SABC during transition, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles provided there was the political will from the side of government and NP.

Delpont also said government was conducting bilateral talks with organisations behind the scenes to facilitate negotiations at Codesa — but there was no secret agenda.

He was responding to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statements in San Francisco that the ANC and government were attempting to use Codesa to rubber-stamp decisions they made in secret.

Buthelezi said this made him fear for the future of negotiations.

Delpont said government regarded Inkatha and the ANC as important players in the negotiations process.

Buthelezi said he opposed early free elections because they would split the country further.

"We say that there can be no elections this year or indeed next year," said Buthelezi. "Political parties are just not free to campaign in all communities or among all race groups for support."

Buthelezi, who is on a US speaking tour, told the World Affairs Council of Northern California that jumping into all-or-nothing political battles now would "set South African against South African".

"The ground is not equally level for all political parties when it comes down to political campaigning," he said. "There are areas which are dominated by the ANC where no other political party dare attempt to hold a meeting." — Sapa-Reuter.

Switzerland vows to support blacks

CAPE TOWN — Swiss deputy foreign minister Klaus Jacobi yesterday pledged continued financial support for blacks and urged Pretoria to strengthen ties with the rest of the region. *BIP 13/2/92*

Addressing the SA Institute of International Affairs, Jacobi called for broader political dialogue between Switzerland and SA.

"Taking into account what has been achieved already, I believe that the time is now ripe for enlarging the agenda of co-operation between our two countries."

"Because in the past we did not participate in economic sanctions against SA but limited ourselves to the control of detour movements in capital transactions, we still have a solid basis for expanding economic relations." *(304A)*

Citing SA's high economic potential, he said the country would have a special responsibility of promoting regional co-operation to strengthen the position of southern Africa in global forums.

He said security arrangements, economic co-operation and respect for human rights should progress in parallel.

Acknowledging political developments, Jacobi said there was no longer a need for external pressure for the promotion of dialogue. "But support for those people suffering from the consequences of apartheid must certainly continue and will have to continue for quite some time."

Jacobi touched on how federalism had functioned in Switzerland.

"Caution is advisable in applying a model from one society to another."

All possible ways of distributing power between the central government and regional or local bodies would be ineffective if the political will to remain together in one country was lacking, he said.

On minorities, he said the hurdle was to find "justified measures for protection of minorities and unjustified privileges for them. In Switzerland we tend not to give minorities special group rights but to protect individuals extensively". — Sapa.

SOUTH deputy editor, **RAFIQ ROHAN**, is currently visiting The Netherlands. Politically, he has found the Dutch extremely concerned about South Africa. Socially, however, the pace of life in Amsterdam has proved too fast for a person from Calvinist South Africa:

THE first question asked of South Africans in The Netherlands is: "What do you think of the new South Africa?"

My stock response has been: "What new South Africa?"

"Fine, there's lots of talk of change in the land of apartheid but the status quo remains pretty much the same. Black people (Indians, coloureds and Africans) all still live in their racially demarcated group areas.

"Black children still go to the same schools — with a few exceptions — where the standard of education differs markedly from that in white schools.

"Health services remain unequal. White pensioners are paid more than double their black counterparts.

"There are many political prisoners and hit squads function with impunity.

"There are numerous other examples of racial imbalances and, as far as I can see, no effort is being made by the government to rectify imbalances."

This sort of answer is always met with astonishment and replies like: "But we really thought things had changed since De Klerk came into power and Mandela was released."

Dutch people are concerned about South Africa and go to extreme lengths to demonstrate this concern. Perhaps I'm wrong in this observation but I have met quite a variety of Dutch people during the past two weeks and not one has given approval to apartheid.

Perhaps if I met those responsible for bombing the mosque in Amersfoort I'd think differently. At the site the ominous letters "AWB" and the triple-7 insignia were daubed on the walls.

Notwithstanding incidents like this one, it was initially perplexing to understand why there was so much support for the liberation movement (read ANC) in South Africa, but the elderly couple I lived with these last two weeks provided the clue.

"The facism and racism we experienced during World War II should never be allowed to rear its head in this part, or any part, of the world again."

It is with this idea that the present generation in The Netherlands has been nurtured and it could explain why the Dutch are alarmed by apartheid.

The on-off, on-off visit of premier Ruud Lubbers to South Africa was the talking point with the Dutch these past two weeks. The announcement of the visit was initially not taken seriously but noises by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AABN) sparked off public outrage. "How could the visit proceed without first getting the approval of the ANC!" The ANC was somewhat slow to react to the announcement, but the AABN raised hell regardless.

Politicos in Amsterdam place the blame for the indiscretion on the shoulders of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van den Broek.

According to popular opinion, Van den Broek's position on South Africa is somewhat dubious. "He has committed one blunder after the other and this incident will only serve to shorten his career," a politico remarked.

The issue has been in the press practically every day, one of the newspapers editorialising that "the AABN was more radical than the ANC".

Why the Netherlands says no to apartheid

South 13/2-19/2/92

304A

THE DARK ROOM



Don 2.92

'Time of essence' to attract capital

By David 13/2/92

(304A)

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY

SA WOULD have to accelerate radically its timeframe for achieving political stability and demonstrating a coordinated economic programme if it was to wrest capital flows from alternative destinations, Morgan Grenfell & Co director Martin Kingston said yesterday.

He was speaking at a conference on investment, hosted at the Sandton Sun by the trade group British Invisibles.

In his address on 'The implications of developments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union for South and southern Africa', Kingston said that eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and South Africa would be fighting for both private and public capital.

In the competition to attract such capital "... it will be the combination of internationally accepted economic policies, a recognition of the explicit guarantees that need to be afforded to external capital and an enduring, stable political environment which will reap rewards", Kingston said. As the gateway to southern Africa, SA had much to offer.

"SA is the natural point of entry for the continent if satisfactory benefits are to be gained," he said.

"To achieve its potential in the face of competition from countries that will, effectively, attempt almost anything to achieve economic growth and maintain a degree of political stability, SA will actively need to stimulate the interest of foreign

parties," he added.

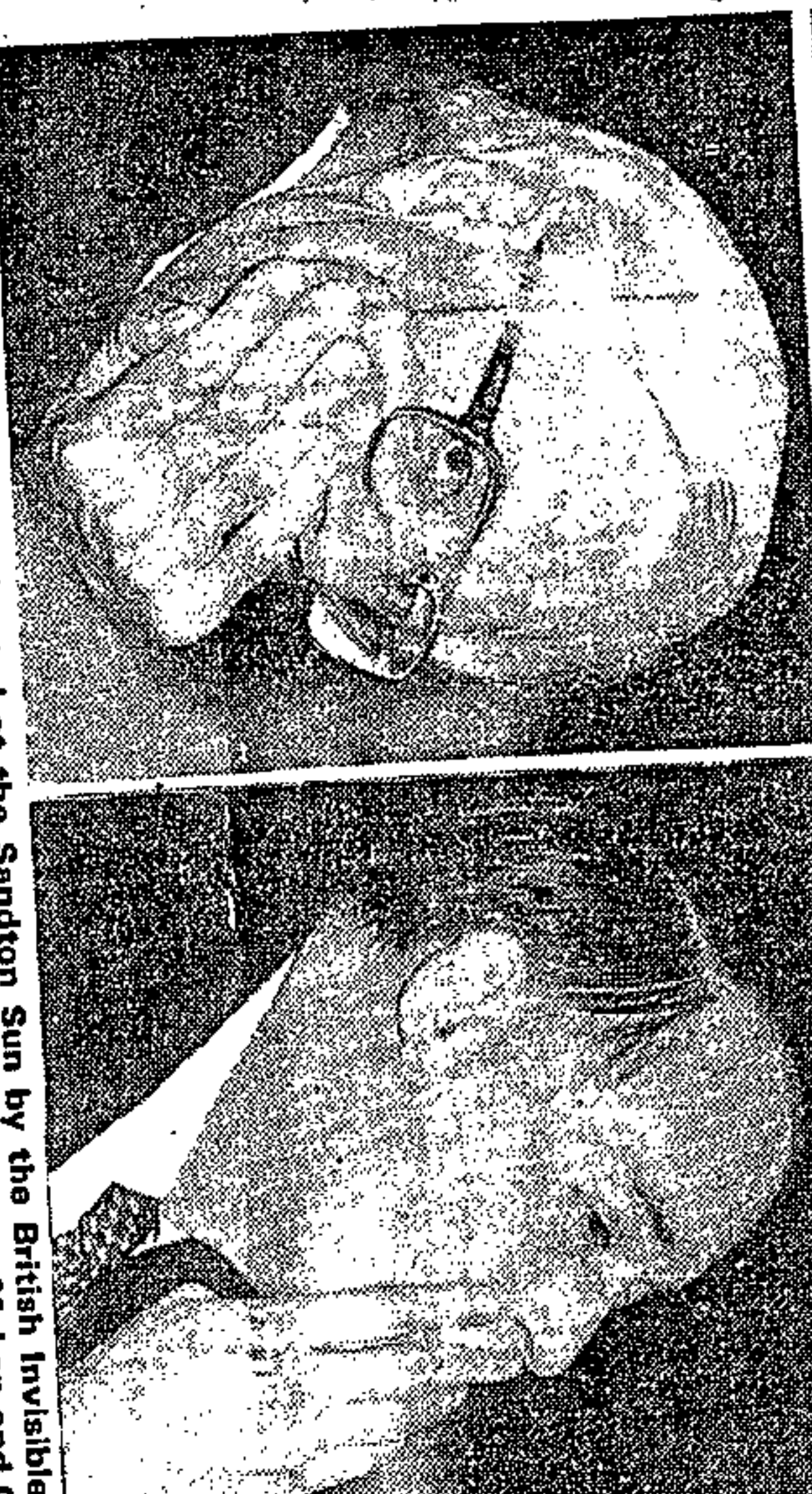
He said the City of London currently provided assistance to Poland, Hungary, and other Eastern European countries which were undergoing transition to a market economy.

"The City of London is playing a leading role in providing such support, — in the creation of structures, institutions and regulatory frameworks, in advising on corporatisations followed by privatisations, on large scale project financings and the mobilisation of capital flows."

Kingston said that it was increasingly apparent that southeast Asia had become the bailiwick of Japan and Korea, while Latin America had become the primary target for the US. That meant inevitably that eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and Africa, including South and southern Africa, were the natural focus for Europe.

He stressed that investors from outside SA and the region were highly sensitive to the apparent levels of uncontrollable violence. Thus the need to bring violence under control would be a key component of an overall strategy to attract foreign investment.

Foreign investors would be significantly influenced by the willingness of the local community to demonstrate confidence in their domestic environment instead of exporting capital, Kingston said.



Delegates to the conference hosted at the Sandton Sun by the British Invisibles, clockwise from top left: Anglovaal chairman Basil Hersov; Guinness Mahon and Co chairman David Potter; Anglo American Corporation chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson; and Standard Chartered plc chairman Rodney Galpin. Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

Codesa: Not a question of weeks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 13/1/92
(30417)

THE government yesterday poured cold water on speculation that Codesa could wrap up its affairs in a matter of weeks, noting that a lengthy period of hard bargaining on the most contentious issues still lay ahead.

The government's spokesman on Codesa, Dr Terrius Delpoit, also dismissed allegations by Inkatha that the ANC and the government were striking secret deals behind the backs of the 17 other negotiating parties at Codesa.

Mr Delpoit told a briefing yesterday that while the government was heartened by "the rate of progress at Codesa and the degree of convergence obtained", speculation that an all-embracing agreement was imminent was "premature". He also noted that key issues had yet to be fully debated.

A case in point is the serious clash that has arisen within Codesa over whether Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini should be allowed to head a delegation to Codesa.

Also, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de

Beer predicted that major differences could still emerge at the negotiation table about the amount of power that should be given to regional governments, as well as issues like property rights and affirmative action.

Another source said it could be several months before the thorny issue of the future of the TBVC homelands was resolved as a referendum in the four territories on the issue of possible reincorporation might have to wait until after one of the Codesa working groups had agreed on what a new constitution for South Africa should look like.

Agreement at Codesa 'minor'

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

THE Government has warned against unguarded optimism and speculation of early and "all embracing" agreements being reached at Codesa.

The agreements which have been reached, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday, were in broad terms, and related to issues of lesser importance.

Delport, who is also the Government's spokesman on Codesa, warned that parties had "still to enter the



BUTHELEZI

field of key issues on which there was no specific agreement."

He described speculation in the media yesterday of an all-embracing agreement being imminent as "premature".

"We have still got lots of work to do," he said.

MANGOPE

About the allegation by Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, of connivance between the Government and the ANC, and of Codesa being merely a rubber stamp to their agreements, he said the Government definitely had no se-

cret agenda.

"There is no question of connivance. We do not want to use Codesa as a rubber stamp."

An area of great concern at Codesa, the reincorporation of the homelands, promises to remain a stickler.

Opinion

A senior source for Chief Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government said on Tuesday night that his administration was not interested in reincorporation, and that it was not even considering a referendum to test the opinion of citizens of that country.

Nats are taking care of the future

Sowetan 13/2/92 304A

PARLIAMENT has approved the repeal of Section 27B of the Police Act, a Damocles-like censorship clause intended to intimidate South Africa's editors.

The Bill, axing the 13-year-old law, now awaits State President FW de Klerk's signature as he settles down this week to desk routine at Tuynhuys after yet another overseas trip.

While the reform has been generally hailed, it is the latest in a series of voluntary Government changes which exceed the De Klerk pledges of granting a vote to every adult irrespective of skin colour.

It is part of the National Party pattern to systematically strip the statute books of legislation it has abused to its own ends through years of intolerant rule, and insert new laws, codes and practices as the country edges closer to transitional rule.

Moves such as this, positive though they are, display no small measure of arrogance among Nationalist strategists - and considerable doubt on their part as to their faith in a new, just dispensation packed with the constitutional checks and balances they envisage to prevent any repetition of precisely the excesses they were guilty of.

"We used our administrative powers, laws and regulations judiciously," they appear to be saying, "but we can't be sure that a future government will."

So the De Klerk Government is going beyond well-intentioned reforms, trying now as much as it can to shape a new South Africa and ensure that the methods and tools of Government over four decades are not revisited and exploited in reverse.

FOCUS

POLITICAL STAFF

"I think De Klerk has learned from history that the mistake (Ian) Smith made was leaving his security legislation behind," said Professor Vincent Maphai, head of political studies at the University of the Western Cape.

"Mugabe has not hesitated to use those laws when necessary," he said. "De Klerk wants to force any new government to do its own dirty work."

De Klerk was also setting in motion all kinds of treaties and development processes: "It goes beyond simply a life insurance policy for himself," Maphai said. "He is clearly tying the hands of a new government - it will only be left to manage those things."

"My own feeling is that he wants to say, 'If I'm not part of the Government, I'm going to make sure they are doing my job'."

Other examples of the Government's strategy include a law forbidding police from political affiliations, energetic efforts to deregulate broadcasting and set up an Independent Broadcasting Authority, a willingness to establish codes of conduct for the security forces, and privatisation.

The pattern is also highly evident in the NP's constitutional proposals which dilute the powers of central government.

"They rode roughshod over the rule of law and tried to shut the

Supreme Court out of any form of constitutional interpretation," Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said. "They packed the Senate to circumvent the courts on the issue of the Coloured vote in the 1950s."

"Now they discover in their political decline the virtue of having the courts reigning supreme over Parliament," he said, referring to the NP's preference for a Bill of Rights enforceable at law.

The Government was rapidly divesting itself of power on the one terrain to retain it on another, Leon said. "I think they must be kicking themselves that they did not move on this sooner. Now everybody looks for an ulterior motive because they are such born-again liberals and democrats."

"But a good idea doesn't become a bad idea simply because people with ulterior motives are proposing it," he said, noting that many of the Government's reforms and constitutional views for the future were commendable.

"It is a pity, because the temptation for the other players will be to toss the baby out with the bath water," he added.

Nationalists were themselves sceptical of the future. "They don't trust what the masses might do," Leon said. "They want to make it as difficult as possible to allow radical change."

Professor Robert Schrire of Cape Town University's political studies department described the Government's strategy as "an exercise in risk minimisation".

The NP's idea was to allow others in the control room but make sure that the buttons and levers had been disconnected.

He said the Government had come to realise belatedly that the process of democratising South Africa was not one it could con-



ROBERT MUGABE

trol:

"The worst-case scenario for them is that they aren't the dominant force in the Government. Therefore what do you do? Emasculate it."

Maphai believes more Nationalist tools of the past, which could turn into handy weapons for a future government, will go.

More if not all of the Internal Security Act may be scrapped, he thinks.

He considers the dramatic pace of Government reforms and passage to a new South Africa as part of the plan, that De Klerk is goading his opponents into concessions to reach the goal, squeezing them successfully for compromises:

"He wants to turn the future into a formality," he said, citing ANC shifts towards regional government and federalism and a longer lifespan for the interim government, as De Klerk victories.

This effort to secure the future will perhaps explain, when it is announced, the motive behind a move to make the country's attorneys-general statutorily independent.

ANC slams 'distortion' in survey of support

South 13/2-19/2/92
THE ANC has slammed the latest HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council) survey as being "more concerned with producing results that seek to overplay government support while underplaying support for the ANC".

The Western Cape survey, conducted among 2,000 residents, claims that 61 percent of coloureds would support President FW de Klerk while 54 percent would vote for the National Party.

According to the HSRC, 37 percent of the Western Cape population would vote for the ANC in the first democratic election while the NP would get 28 percent of the votes.

"As the survey itself states that the ANC would receive 67 percent of the black vote, and considering that this percentage on its own represents some 47 percent of the total, a figure of 37 percent looks like a complete distortion of the HSRC's own findings," said ANC regional publicity secretary, Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.

He admitted that "ANC support from the coloured community has not grown as fast as was expected".

In the survey 4,67 percent of coloured respondents said they would choose ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela as South Africa's president, while 61,4 percent would choose De Klerk to lead the country.

Mziwonke said the fact that over a quarter of the coloured people surveyed chose not to answer questions was a strong indication of a "lack of trust".

Difficult times lie ahead for F W

3044

Act 14/2/92

PRESIDENT De Klerk arrived back from his European tour in a bullish mood but the problems awaiting him at home must soon have balanced out this optimism.

A defeat for the National Party seems to be looming in Potchefstroom. This is after Mr De Klerk indicated, when the party was beaten by the Conservative Party in Virginia last year, that Potchefstroom would be a far better barometer of voter sentiment.

Then there is the crippling drought. On his return Mr De Klerk expressed his sympathy for the people involved and promised the government would do everything possible to help the farmers out of their serious plight. The government's revenue problems and the need to spend in other areas to improve the lot of the less-privileged will be hugely complicated by the drought.

Then there are the fears of teachers in the face of state spending cuts on white education.

A meeting with a delegation of the Teachers' Federal Council was one of Mr De Klerk's first engagements this week. His office said there had been a "penetrating" discussion and the teachers at least appeared satisfied about the way in which they had been listened to. Listening is one of Mr De Klerk's special qualities.

The president had reason to be happy about his European trip. He made a good impression on an influential audience of businessmen and political leaders at a conference in Davos, Switzerland and his pioneering visits to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are likely to lead to further advances in what used to be the East bloc in Europe.

But none of this is making an impression on what the CP maintains is the majority of the voters in Potchefstroom. Mr De Klerk's visits overseas are in fact being used against him in CP propaganda, with claims that he has turned his back on his own people.

The National Party is trying to tell the voters that the only realistic solution is a new South Africa comprising a single country but with devolution of power to regional and local governments and with the protection of minorities.

While Codesa is still sitting the government cannot present any concrete guarantees of these principles and the CP is running wild with its propaganda. The government is desperate to get the CP to Codesa but the rightwing senses that



Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

it can do more damage by staying out, even though the principle of self-determination on which it is taking such a strong stand has been placed on the agenda of Codesa.

The CP is ridiculing the efforts of Codesa and says it is determined to wreck these. The rightwing maintains that self-determination can only be ensured through partition.

Although the CP has not produced a clear map for its proposed white state its leaders indicate that it would embrace the traditionally white areas minus those that have in the past been allocated to blacks, Indians and coloureds through group areas and independent and self-governing black areas.

There are differences within the rightwing about this and a group in the CP is willing to negotiate for a smaller white South Africa. But these differences are being suppressed while the CP fights in Potchefstroom.

At meetings in the Potchefstroom campaign the CP leaders have the audiences rolling in the aisles when they call Codesa "Condemns". Another jibe that is going down well is the reference to February 2 1990 as "Red Friday". The National Party is constantly presented as a partner of the ANC-SACP alliance.

This week Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the CP, told a meeting there the CP would take everything from apartheid that was beautiful and build a beautiful future.

The National Party is making an all-out effort to retain the seat. On one night this week ten ministers, three deputy ministers and a number of MPs went there on a "blitzkrieg", in particular to address students, an important factor in the election.

The CP claims to be far ahead on special votes, which

may be registered before polling day next Wednesday and Nationalist politicians concede it will be difficult to overcome this disadvantage.

These politicians are discovering to their horror that the reform moves have gone ahead too fast for many of their rank and file supporters. Initially the theory was that the followers would eventually catch up with these moves, especially when they saw that the heavens had not fallen after steps such as the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Now the Nationalists are finding that many of their followers have not been able to digest all the moves on the way to a new constitutional system and that they are easy prey for the CP.

Mr De Klerk's latest references to a transitional government and parliament without another whites-only election are being successfully exploited by the CP.

He dealt with the transitional government idea at the launching of Codesa near the end of December and Nationalist leaders are now sorry that there was not a massive campaign then to reassure followers. However, since this happened during the holiday season, it would have been a difficult time to arrange such a campaign.

Last night Mr De Klerk addressed a meeting in Potchefstroom. The result there will have serious implications for him, given his personal connections with the town. It is the headquarters of his church, he is an old student of the university and soon he will be inducted as chancellor.

In the 1989 general election the NP beat the CP by 1 583 votes. Now the CP is confidently predicting that it will win by a thousand or more.

It gleefully quotes Mr De Klerk's remark that this would be a better barometer than Virginia, pointing out that Potchefstroom is in fact an "upper echelon" constituency compared to Virginia and not the kind of seat where the rightwing has done well in the past.

It signals a further rightwing breakthrough to traditional Nationalist supporters. In addition Nationalist leaders fear a stay-away from supporters who cannot yet bring themselves to support the CP.

If the CP wins Mr De Klerk will be faced with renewed rightwing demands for a whites-only election. His supporters say the president cannot accede to this. He would have to brazen it out by sticking to his commitment to hold a referendum.



Potchefstroom by-election 'a barometer for reform'

AKG 14/2/92

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Staff

POTCHEFSTROOM. — President De Klerk has raised the stakes in the Potchefstroom by-election by saying its result would be a barometer of white support for reform.

Speaking to a crowd of 2 500 at a rugby stadium, Mr De Klerk said it was a decisive by-election which would indicate white sentiment.

He reiterated his statement in the no-confidence debate in parliament two weeks ago that Codesa would fail if the ANC did not end its armed struggle.

Suspension was not good enough, he said.

About two dozen uniformed AWB supporters heckled Mr De Klerk during the first half of his speech.

Mr De Klerk said he was "playing the ball and not the man". He acknowledged the economic grievances of whites by saying the government had done its best in the face of adversity.

The difficulties which faced the economy were factors beyond the government's control but recovery was in sight because of the NP's reforms.

Political Staff

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The National Party will win the by-election next Wednesday, says President De Klerk.

Visiting the campus of Potchefstroom University yesterday, Mr De Klerk said there was no doubt that the majority of South Africans, including whites, supported the principle of power-sharing.

He congratulated the NP candidate, Mr Theuns Kruger, in advance as "the new member of parliament".

NP will win, says De Klerk

AKG 14/2/92

He warned that the race was only won once the tape had been broken.

Mr De Klerk said he would be "ashamed to death" if a CP MP represented Potchefstroom in parliament.

He and his wife Marike, had both attended the university.

He said the by-election was relevant as parliament was still the highest authority.

Asked about the ANC state-

He urged voters not to "vote their grievances" next Wednesday.

He said the government would not hand the country over to chaos. It would remain in power until a new constitution was in place and it also intended being part of the new government.

"The NP will not say yes to a new constitution which does not ensure stable and orderly government in terms of proven and democratic norms," he said.

He reiterated that the NP had a mandate for its reforms. The questions facing voters were with which party they entrusted their future in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said the CP's excuses for boycotting constitutional talks were "weak and lacking in credibility".

The CP said it was in favour of negotiations with leaders of different peoples but all those leaders were taking part in Codesa.

The only leaders outside Codesa were those of the PAC and Azapo. The CP had not even been able to negotiate with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, he said.

The CP's vision of a white utopia was not possible.

"The CP dream is a hollow dream," said Mr De Klerk.

ment that the by-election was irrelevant, Mr De Klerk replied that the ANC changed its mind every now and then and last week it was worried about the upsurge in support for the rightwing.

"We are here to fight a democratic fight. I am a democrat," he said.

CP candidate Mr Andries Beyers said 10 500 special votes had been cast by Wednesday this week.

He said the CP was maintaining a "good lead" but would not divulge by how many votes it thought it was leading the race.

The Potchefstroom by-election was a barometer of white voters. As this was probably one of the last white elections it was regarded as a mini-referendum, he said.

Victory would strengthen the CP's claim that it represented the majority of whites



President De Klerk

while defeat would be regarded as a setback for the freedom struggle, Mr Beyers said.

A few students came out to greet Mr De Klerk wearing "I love FW" stickers, while another small but enthusiastic group sang the rightwing anthem *Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika*.

The students exchanged friendly insults before wandering off.

The only unpleasantness came when a belligerent student said Mr De Klerk was "a traitor".

ANC unveils its policy on language

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

14/2/92

The ANC's language policy plan, unveiled yesterday, has been cautiously welcomed by the Public Servants Association (PSA).

The proposed policy would, among other things, strip English and Afrikaans of their status as South Africa's only official languages.

It would also require civil servants of the future to be competent in the indigenous language spoken in their specific region — Sindebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Afrikaans, English, Tsonga, Xhosa, Zulu or Venda.

The plan was unveiled at a media briefing by Qedusizi Buthelezi, of the ANC Language Commission and an applied linguistics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Ms Buthelezi said none of the 11 languages the ANC regarded as South African would be regarded as "official".

The State would be empowered to designate any of these languages to be used for defined purposes at the national, regional or local level.

"The State shall act positively to further the development of these 11 languages, especially in education, literature and the media," Ms Buthelezi said.

In his reaction, PSA managing director Hans Olivier said the association had recognised the need to adapt.

There were, he said, people who could not speak either English or Afrikaans within the present public service.

"However, my problem is with the practical application of the plan in the public service — nothing political," he said.

The ANC also proposed that:

- Official and legal business, contracts, instructions, negotiations, notices and rules relating to the workplace and places of residence should be in languages understood.
- Court cases should be conducted in the language understood by the accused wherever possible; otherwise, translators must be used.
- Social, health and other community workers should understand and, where possible, speak the languages of the people they treat and work with.

Potch a test of support for reform

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (3044)

STAR 14/2/92

POTCHEFSTROOM —

President de Klerk last night raised the stakes in the Potchefstroom by-election by saying its result would be a barometer of white support for his reform process.

Speaking to a crowd of about 2 500 at a rugby stadium, Mr de Klerk said it was a decisive by-election which would indicate white sentiment. He reiterated his statement

made in the no-confidence debate in Parliament that Codesa would fail if the ANC did not end its armed struggle. Suspension of the armed struggle was not good enough, he said.

While about 20 uniformed AWB supporters heckled the first half of his speech, Mr de Klerk said he was "playing the ball and not the man".

He acknowledged the economic grievances of whites by saying the Government had done its best in the face of adversity.

Mr de Klerk said the Government would not hand the country over to chaos. It would re-

main in power until a new constitution was in place and it intended being part of the new government.

He reiterated that the NP had a mandate for its reforms. The question facing voters was to which party they should entrust their future in negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said CP excuses for boycotting constitutional talks were "weak and lacking in credibility".

The CP said it was in favour of negotiations with leaders of different peoples, but all those leaders were participating in Codesa. The only leaders outside Codesa were those of the

PAC and Azapo.

Addressing the CP statement that it could not join Codesa because its definition of the right to self-determination differed from that of the Government, Mr de Klerk said the principle was placed unqualified on Codesa's agenda.

The NP believed self-determination was possible on several levels — education, cultural and educational — but opposed absolute self-determination.

The CP did not have to sign the Codesa's Declaration of Intent as a prerequisite for participating, as the IFP and the Bo-

phuthatswana government had not added their signatures to it.

The CP objected to the declaration's reference to an undivided South Africa. Mr de Klerk said the NP was drastically opposed to a unitary state.

He also again denied allegations of an alliance between the ANC and Government, saying fundamental differences existed between them, including the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

He warned the CP that it was not speaking on behalf of all Afrikaners but only made a caricature of the Afrikaner. Mr de Klerk said the NP would not

"sell the country out".

His speech came to a halt when the crowd booed the arrival of four more AWB supporters, one of them a woman, reports Monica Oosterbroek.

Mr de Klerk welcomed them to the meeting, joking about the "mighty and influential delegation". He then said he didn't notice anyone looking terrified.

NP supporters and the police ignored the jeering. Plain-clothed policemen unobtrusively surrounded the rightwingers to forestall violence but were instructed not to take action unless lives were in jeopardy.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY (304A)
FM 14/2/92
Tempting the waverers

In the most blatant attempt so far by the Conservative Party to split the National Party, CP chief whip Frank le Roux last week appealed to the "40 or so" Nat MPs who, he said, did not know what was going on in Codesa, to resist the reform process.

Speaking in a debate in parliament on a motion to reduce sitting times so that MPs could have more time for other work, including Codesa committee meetings, Le Roux said everyone was talking about how Nat backbenchers were being "led by the nose" by the party hierarchy.

He claimed the backbenchers are "unhappy" because they are not part of the "select" group of 70 MPs chosen to serve on Codesa and, therefore, didn't know what was going on. "They are just voting cattle (*stem-vee*). We call on them to refuse to continue to be just voting cattle."

He said the MPs were still of "sound and sober senses" and urged them to "put their foot down. They don't know what's going on at Codesa, they are not part of the little party." Le Roux said that MPs not directly involved in Codesa would have to "sit and play with their fingers" on Mondays and Tuesdays because the "Codesa boys" would be busy in Kempton Park.

There is little chance of a major split in the NP. The CP needs nearly 50 Nats to cross the floor in order to unseat the government (*Current Affairs* February 7).

48 • FINANCIAL MAIL • FEBRUARY • 14 • 1992

FM 14/2/92

(304A)

But it is well known that there is considerable uncertainty within the lower echelons of the NP due to the rapid rate of reform — though party spokesmen are confident that this is not a serious threat to unity (*Current Affairs* January 24). ■

POTCHEFSTROOM FM 14/2/92
Fighting spirit (304A)

The National Party has been bringing up some heavy artillery for next Wednesday's by-election in Potchefstroom. In stark contrast to the build-up to the Virginia by-election last November (which ended in a crushing gain for the CP), the Nats aren't giving this one up without a fight.

Along with various MPs and top party organisers, no less than 10 Cabinet Ministers were in town talking to voters this week. Two of the party's senior "brown Nats" — Jac Rabie and Abe Williams — were involved, the first time this has happened in a House of Assembly by-election and an indication of a new Nat honesty and aggression in the platteland. State President F W de Klerk was due to address a public meeting on Thursday — not usual for a by-election.

Symbolism and sentiment may explain why Potchefstroom is drawing such energy from senior Nats. The former incumbent, Louis le Grange, died of cancer while serving as Speaker; he had represented the seat for a quarter of a century. It is also a peculiar seat for the platteland: the usual farming and mining elements are leavened with a not insignificant SADF establishment, a teacher training college and a university that also happens to be De Klerk's alma mater. The town has been described as the Stellenbosch of the Transvaal.

Personality seems to have played a part in election results since 1981, when Le Grange took the seat by more than 4 000 votes from Connie Mulder's tiny National Conservative Party. The Conservative Party under Andries Treurnicht was formed in 1982.

In 1987, Le Grange's majority was slashed to just under 600 by a strong CP candidate, Pieter Mulder (son of Connie). The swing to the Right in Potch was 19%, in line with the national trend.

In 1989, several Nat candidates defending

Continue ->

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 14/2/92 (304A)

majorities larger than Le Grange's, lost their seats to the CP — but Potch bucked another platteland trend to the Right and Le Grange actually increased his majority by 1 000, to 1 583.

That is the cushion now enjoyed by Nat candidate Theuns Kruger. It is impossible to know what caused the Nats' support to dip and then recover so markedly — which makes a prediction this time round very difficult. The CP candidate, Andries Beyers, has been prominent nationally in party affairs; whether the locals will respond to him any better because of this cannot be known.

Virginia last November was always a lost cause. Piet Clase's majority of well over 3 000 in 1987 had been cut to only 47 in 1989, and his retirement did not produce any affection for the ruling party. A solid CP victory was inevitable.

Potchefstroom is more complicated and the Nats might just hang on. If they do, even a narrow victory will be interpreted as a triumph. But De Klerk would be stoic in defeat: by-elections invariably favour the opposition and there are many issues — from drought to Codesa, from crime to squatters — on which the CP is happily bashing the government. ■

FM 14/2/92

CURRENT AFFAIRS

ample time for their constituents. (304A)

The move was fiercely resisted by the Conservative Party, but backed by all other groups in parliament. Parliament will also not sit on Mondays and Tuesdays, to allow the 79 MPs involved in Codesa to attend committee meetings in Kempton Park. The remaining MPs will spend Mondays and Tuesdays in joint parliamentary committees.

The curtailment of activities underscores the near-vacuum into which parliament has drifted as government edges the country towards political transition.

The only business of particular significance currently scheduled for the parliamentary session is the Budget on March 18 and related debates due to start a week later.

Parliament's chief whip Alex van Breda says this year's session would have been curtailed even if Codesa was not sitting. Last year's session began with 39 Bills on the order paper, while this year there were only 24 (by Monday last week there were 54). By the end of last week, 23 Bills had been dealt with.

Parliament last year debated a series of extremely contentious measures aimed at dismantling statutory apartheid as well as a number of important business and economic Bills. This year's legislative programme covers mainly technical amendments to existing laws, most of which have been, or will be, approved with little debate. ■

PARLIAMENT FM 14/2/92

In the shadows (304A)

Parliament packed up for a week last Friday due to lack of work and to give MPs more time for Codesa, which is increasingly dominating political debate.

An additional reason offered by National Party spokesmen was to give MPs more time for constituency work — though it's difficult to understand why, considering that parliament reconvened only three weeks ago after a seven-month recess, during which MPs had

World Bank president Lewis Preston arrived with his wife at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon for a one-day stopover visit to SA, which will complete his four-nation African tour.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

SA should not have any official language ^{Bl Day 14/2/92} ³⁰⁴¹ ANC

THE 11 languages spoken in SA, including English and Afrikaans, should enjoy full recognition, the ANC's art and culture department's language commission says.

Sapa reports the co-ordinator of the commission, Qudusizi Buthelezi, said in Johannesburg yesterday that no language should be declared the official language. The state should have the power to declare one or more languages for specific use at national level or in any region where a language was widely used, he said.

An ANC government would prevent any one language being used for the purposes of domination or division and would promote the development of all 11 languages in schools, literature and the media.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the majority of people did not speak English and it therefore did not make sense to have a

government that spoke only English. Blacks were tired of having their names spelt incorrectly. People speaking other languages did not make an effort, he said.

Wits University English professor Geoff Hughes last night said the ANC proposals were a "big mistake" as they meant that in effect there was no official, central language. The advantage of English was its international status.

The purpose of defining laws and agreements in an official language served to make them uniform.

Wits Afrikaans professor Edith Raidt said most people would not have expected Afrikaans to remain an official language if the ANC came into power. She believed Afrikaans could benefit by the move as it would lose its stigma as an official language.



White-state dream faces dead end

Star 14/12/72

(3041)

PARTITION and the quest for a sovereign white state remain on South Africa's political agenda, even as the drive to establish a single, non-racial state gains momentum.

There is, indeed, an inverse relationship between the two tendencies.

As pressure intensifies for the reincorporation of South Africa's four nominally independent black states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, resistance increases from forces favouring the partition or re-partition of the country.

Heading the alignment of forces opposed to the establishment of a single unitary state, irrespective of whether it is a highly centralised polity or a looser federal union, is Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

Ranged with the CP is a miscellany of white right-wing organisations, stretching from the Afrikaner Volkswag led by intellectuals such as Professor

Carel Boshoff, to the neo-fascist AVB led by demagogues like Eugene Terreblanche.

The CP is trying to strengthen itself by forging tactical alliances with black leaders who champion — or are presumed to champion — "self-determination" for their own ethnically defined people.

The CP believes it can win their support for a sovereign white state by offering them sovereignty in their own states.

Targets

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is clearly a target. So, too, are Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, chairman of Ciskei's Military Council, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party and a long-time opponent of "balkanising" South Africa.

All three of these leaders have expressed reservations about proceedings at the Convention for a Democratic South

Africa, which has set itself the goal of establishing an "undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty."

Chief Buthelezi, whose IFP fears that Codesa's Declaration of Intent does not specifically endorse the option of a federal future for South Africa, has voiced suspicions that President de Klerk's National Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress are conspiring in secret to impose their will on Codesa.

The case for partition, as articulated by Dr Treurnicht's CP, rests on the assumption that the formation of a unitary and non-racial state would preclude a destructive contest for power between South Africa's disparate peoples.

Arguing for a division of power on a territorial basis, the CP tells anxious whites that to share power in a single state is to lose power.

CP advocates of partition, however, seem to ignore or

minimise the danger that geographical division can lead to bloody disputes over borders. They seem willfully ignorant of the trail of bloodshed which followed partition in Ireland, Palestine and India.

Leaving aside the difficult question of whether partition is more or less likely to provoke conflict, protagonists of a white state face several huge and even insoluble difficulties in their search for a separate territory within which to exercise self-determination.

Foremost among them is demographic reality. Whites do not constitute a majority in any of the country's nine development regions.

The white proportion varies from less than 10 to barely more than 25 percent.

Blacks form an absolute majority in seven of the nine regions and coloureds constitute the largest group in the remaining two.

The implication is inescapable: whites will not form a majority in their envisaged state, however its boundaries are drawn.

Even in the territory where Professor Boshoff hopes to establish his Orange Volksstaat — sensibly located in the north-western Cape where black settlement is most sparse — there are nearly as many blacks as whites and four times as many coloureds.

Even supposing that their hopes for a sovereign white state are realised, these immutable demographic facts point in two directions: repression of

the majority who are not white or their forced removal from the new state.

Both are recipes for conflict and bloodshed.

The second major problem, as the South African Law Commission's Reports on Human Rights and Constitutional Models points out, relates to practical politics and international law.

A white state could be established in one of two ways: either through a negotiated agreement with the majority, who are opposed to the segmentation of South Africa, or by unilateral secession.

It is unlikely, but theoretically possible, that the majority could be persuaded that the easiest way to avoid bloodshed and civil strife would be to allow those whites who are intractably opposed to living in a non-racial state to found their own volksstaat.

The major players at Codesa, including the ANC and the NP, have agreed to put "self-determination" on the agenda in the hope of persuading the CP to join their discussions on South Africa's future.

Reunification

The mood of Codesa is summed up in the decision of three of four nominally independent black states — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — to opt for reincorporation into South Africa and by an overwhelming commitment in favour of the reunification of South Africa from 19 participating delegations.

So far, however, the CP has declined the invitation to debate self-determination at Codesa,

meaning that the chances of a negotiated agreement on partition and the formation of a white state are minimal.

That leaves the option of unilateral secession, a move calculated to generate devastating conflict.

Secession, like partition, is a highly dangerous course to pursue: witness the American civil war over the Confederacy's bid to secede, or the Nigerian civil war over Biafra's attempt to establish itself as a separate state.

The right to secede in order to exercise self-determination is supported in international law only when the seceding party is oppressed. That condition does not apply to the Afrikaners, who are still the ruling minority in South Africa.

As the Law Commission report puts it: "Where unwillingness to become part of a new mixed state does not seem to constitute a justified claim to secession under international law." □

Few witness rapid rise and fall of new party

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Six journalists and five rightwingers witnessed the rise and fall of the Boerentia Party last night.

Barry Nilsson, leader, chairman and only speaker at the launch of the party at the Burger High School in Roodopoor, acknowledged defeat and said the lack of support for Boerentia indicated that his plan to join Codesa should be abandoned.

"There are so few people in front of me, so I must accept that it won't help going alone," Mr Nilsson said.

He opened the public meeting by saying that the right wing should be represented at Codesa and "pepper the delegates with their tongues", before resorting to weapons.

He received a blasting for this approach from four of the five members of the audience — one of whom was Steve Becker, personal bodyguard to Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging



Barry Nilsson... abandoned plan to join Codesa.

leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

Any rightwingers attending Codesa would be shot, Mr Becker said.

Mr Nilsson, who said he was an ex-AWB man, claimed he "knew what to do" at Codesa, but he wouldn't tell the audience what his strategy was.

"I will achieve more than what 20 000 of you could

achieve. If I am angry enough I can do it in a short period, and I am not even scared," he said.

Mr Nilsson said the Boerentia Party had between 700 and 800 members, but they had not been invited to the launch.

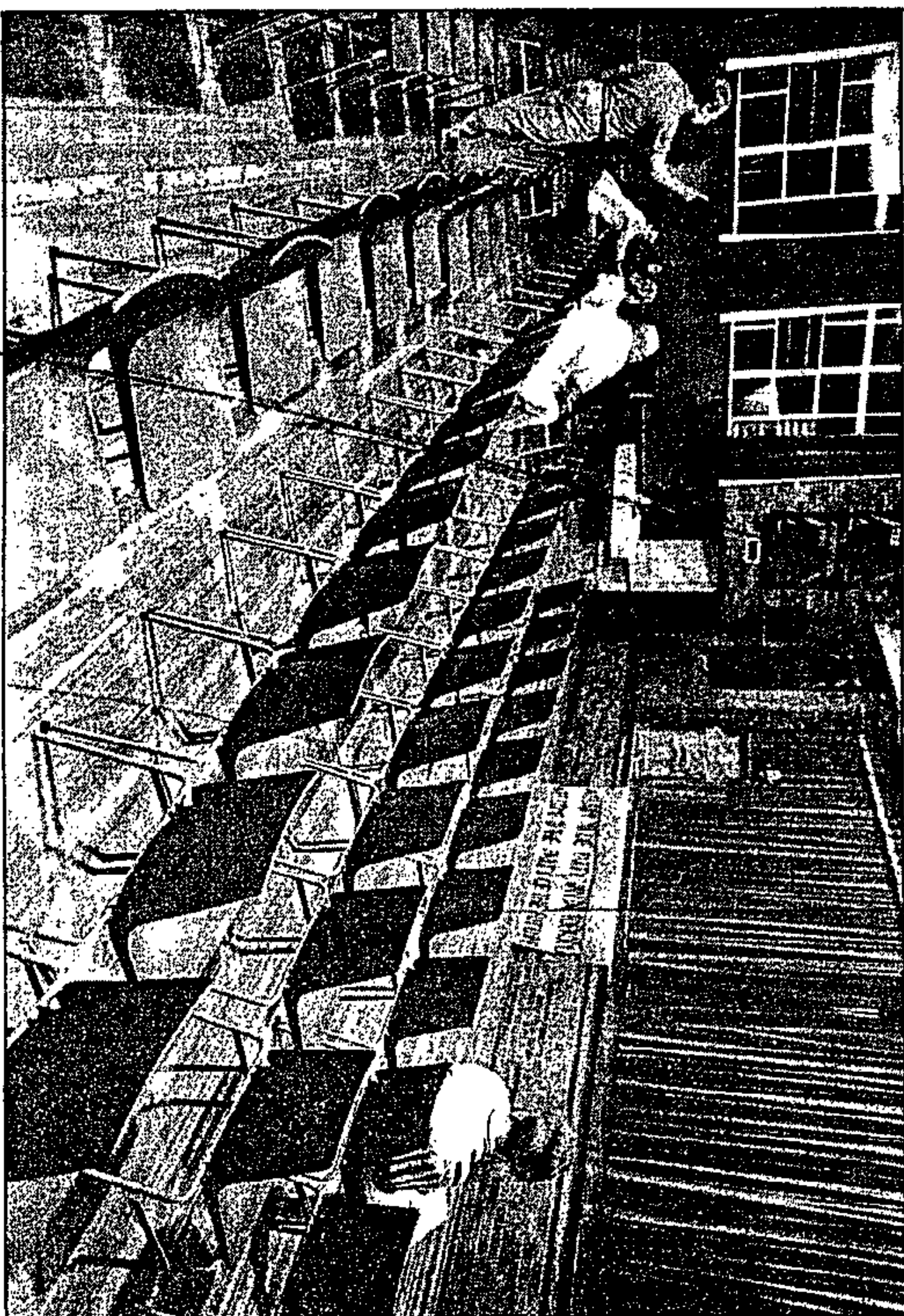
A sign hanging from the school hall stage read: "Welkom/Welkom na die party van die toekoms."

To shouts of "Traitor" and "Shoot the buggers dead and get finished with it," Mr Nilsson repeatedly tried to argue the case for "peppering" the opposition. "We are going in with missiles to talk them to pieces."

The Boerentia Party claims the same area of South Africa as the Boerestaat Party — the Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid in Natal — but also wants a port on the west coast.

Mr Becker and a friend jotted down notes on the back of their cigarette boxes, and continued to pressure Mr Nilsson to abandon his "treason".

Five people applauded as he announced a reversal of his plans.



The invisible party... Barry Nilsson, leader of the Boerentia Party said the newly formed right-wing organisation had between 700 and 800 members but they were not invited to last night's launch. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

CURRENT ISSUES



Discussions on Negotiations: 2

New Nation (Learning Nation) 14/2 - 20/2/92

(304A)

Rightwing Political Parties

A brief history of Inkatha

Gerrie Maree spoke about Inkatha. He explained that it was formed in 1975 and it has always had a relationship with the Kwazulu Government. It has also always had support from the traditional leadership and the trading class. This has meant that it has been part of the government and also outside of it.

After the Soweto uprising in 1976, Inkatha, as the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) took control of the reproduction of society in various ways, from setting up an Inkatha syllabus through to their involvement with the police. At the same time it set itself up as a liberation movement.

In 1979 Inkatha met with the ANC in London. It came back from that meeting with an ambiguous relationship with the ANC but decided to consolidate itself regionally as well as to move outside of Natal. In 1982 the Buthelezi Commission reported that there needed to be a regional government. Inkatha was locked into the KLA but tried to be part of the region and use the region as a stepping stone to national politics. At the big Inkatha Indaba, regional structures were in place which negotiated with Kwazulu. Joint Services Boards were set up when the RSCs ended. At the end of the decade from 1979, the National Party came round to accepting the Indaba. It was then that Dhlomo headed two committees with the National Party; the one argued for the release of Nelson Mandela and the other looked at the question of negotiations.

Maree then went on to look at the material and ideological bases of Inkatha.

Inkatha was originally supported by a sector of the trading class as well as a layer of civil servants, nurses and doctors. If the Indaba constitution had gone through these people would have got a standing beyond that of the bantustans. The chiefs also supported Inkatha. They were promised that their future lay with Kwazulu. Land owners also supported Inkatha, unlike their tenants who supported the ANC. Elements of regional capital, like the Sugar Association, supported Inkatha because of its control over the working class. The marginalised and unemployed also supported Inkatha because the local, regional warlords offered to take up these issues at local level. Now we also need to understand the significance of the 4 000 whites who have now joined Inkatha. Do they represent capital or the far right?

During the 1970s, Inkatha could mobilise its membership around the question of ethnic identity, namely, being a "Zulu". When this was contested during the 1980s these people were accused of being traitors to the Zulu cause. They have also been able to mobilise people around the issue of the imposition of law and order in this country as well as provide a sense of security in the form of traditions and age-old values during this time of change and confusion.

Last week we reported on discussion held last year at the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) on the issue of negotiations. We are publishing these discussions in Learning Nation because we, together with the people at the seminar at the CASE believe that discussion around negotiations should be made available to all people.

Last week we discussed the SACP in relation to the ANC. This week we share the discussion around the rightwing in this country.

Two major questions were raised:

- To what extent should one look at ethnicity as an element of political analysis?
- What is the role and place of violence in Inkatha's strategic thinking?

The White Right

Suzanne Booysen from the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) explained that the main strategy of the state at the moment is to undermine the ANC. She believes that we can't ignore the fusion of the government and the state and that they are trying to steer the energy away from the popular strength of the Constituent Assembly. She thinks that the present government recognises the need for change but does not want to change the property relations. The present government is putting together an alliance that will result in joint control of a future government. These allies have either been bought or constructed by apartheid rule. The government is able to play reform off against the fact that they are in fact the state. They also have the financial resources to implement social upliftment and so gain legitimacy. They are trying to stretch out the present period in order to gain legitimacy.

Johan Van Rooyen, who is currently studying at the University of Cape Town, believes that if this country were to have another white election in 1995, that is if there has been no constitutional change by then, the right wing will win. He based this on figures around municipal by-elections over the last two years which show that there has been a 14% swing towards the right in the last two years which suggests that they could win 42% of the total white vote. We need to remember that with the current constitution, a party can win an election without a majority.

Van Rooyen described a range of activities on the part of the right wing which suggest that they recognise the need to organise themselves and act politically.

He cited the following examples:

- An attempt to build a white super-union by the end of 1991;
- the mass protest in Pretoria in February 1990 which drew a crowd of 30 000 as well as the monument

gathering which drew 100 000 people in May 1990. The National Party has never managed to draw such big crowds;

- an attempt to get 1 million signatures to ask the Nationalist government to resign;

- an attempt to create a Volksperspectief, not to mention efforts to have a Whites Only Identity Document and disrupt National Party meetings.

- An area in which they have been particularly active has been at the local level around municipal elections.

The Conservative Party has won the majority of Local Authorities in the Transvaal, for example, Boksburg. This has facilitated their re-implementing of apartheid social laws which had been obstructed by the government repealing the Separate Amenities Act.

- The Transvaal and Orange Free State Agricultural Unions are controlled by the Conservative Party. The battle of Ventersdorp between AWB farmers and police was the first time since 1922 that government forces have opened fire on "white" people.

- The Conservatives have also tried to gain control of the education terrain through school committees and teachers' trade unions.

Van Rooyen concluded by saying that although there are a lot of divisions amongst the numerous right wing organisations they all serve to mold a powerful white movement. Even with a non-racial constitution, he argued, the economic and military power, therefore the political power, still remained with a small white minority and for that reason they should not be dismissed as a force to reckon with.

This article was based on discussions held in October 1991. Some of the positions or points of view might have changed since that time.



Nelson in bid for coloured support

(304A) CT 14/2/92
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela will pay a four-day visit to the Western Cape next week in a bid to whip up support for his organisation among coloureds — particularly the Muslim community.

Mr Mandela has frequently emphasised the need to boost the ANC's membership within the coloured community, but opinion polls and the overwhelmingly black turnout at last month's "People's Parliament" on the Parade suggest that limited progress has been made so far.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Rosie Campbell said yesterday that Mr Mandela was expected to visit the city and other towns in the region from February 19 to 22.

Details of the tour are still being finalised, but Mr Mandela will visit a number of mosques and Muslim shrines in the region.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyer said the trip was part of a programme to give the coloured and Muslim communities greater exposure to the top leadership of the ANC.

"We want the leadership to be better known," he said.

The visit by Mr Mandela follows hot on the heels of the publication of a Human Sciences Research Council survey which predicts that the National Party could obtain 54% of the coloured vote — as opposed to the ANC's seven percent — in South Africa's first free and democratic election.

Witnesses tell of ANC leader's assassination

DURBAN. — The Natal Midlands branch of the African National Congress yesterday produced two witnesses who claimed to have seen the assassination of ANC Imbali leader Mr S'khumbuzo Ngwenya on Saturday night.

Mr Ngwenya was gunned down outside a Maritzburg hotel about 9.30pm after dining with colleagues and US social development workers.

The witnesses, who spoke at a news conference in Maritzburg, described how they saw the killers arrive, carry out the assassination and leave in a white Ford Cortina XR6.

Both said they were prepared to testify in court, while one said she had already supplied police with details of what she had seen. The other said he had been afraid to speak to the police.

The woman said she had since seen the alleged killers in the vicinity of her home in Imbali and that she feared for her life. — Sapa

The survey suggested that the Western Cape could be the only area in South Africa where the NP could win an outright victory in a national poll.

The ANC yesterday sharply criticised the HSRC survey, saying that it appeared the organisation was concerned with producing results that sought to overplay government support while underplaying support for the ANC.

However, ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Mr Mziwonke Jacobs acknowledged that the ANC would be "the first to admit that the coloured community had not grown as fast as expected".

He noted that the ANC Western Cape Congress had developed a number of strategies to help build support within the coloured community.

ANC and NP stepping up the pace

(3048)
CT 14/2/92

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S startling complaint in San Francisco this week that the NP and the ANC are ganging up against the other parties at Codesa merely confirms what has been apparent for some time: a De Klerk-Mandela partnership is the foundation of the whole process and it is now moving into top gear.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks, and the curious alliance taking shape between Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Dr A P Treurnicht's Conservative Party, have also brought home the threat to Codesa which could yet be posed by the exploitation of ethnic and regional interests.

The baleful legacy of the apartheid system lives on in the so-called

TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — and in the danger that historic quarrels and ethnic/nationalist passions will be exploited to grab or cling to political power, whatever the effect on Codesa.

Some penetrating insights into the resolution of political conflict in multi-cultural societies were offered in Cape Town this week in a remarkable address by the Swiss Secretary of State for foreign affairs, Dr Klaus Jacobi, which appeared in part on this page yesterday.

The Swiss experience derives from 700 years of history which at times was very turbulent indeed. Yet in two world wars in the 20th century the French, German and Italian-speaking Swiss communities stood together in peaceful neutrality while their ethnic compatriots — around them on all sides in France, Germany and Italy — were at each other's throats.

Broad insights

Dr Jacobi, who has evidently thought deeply about such problems, advises caution in applying a constitutional model directly from one multi-cultural society to another. Yet there are some broad insights which could be helpful.

If the will of the disparate parts to remain together in one country is lacking, as he says, no scheme of distributing power between the centre and the regions will be of much use at all. The Swiss model could not have saved Yugoslavia from disintegration in bloody warfare, once its peoples had decided they had no



**Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW**

interest in retaining their union.

On the other hand, if there is a genuine will to form a political unity with other groups, or at least a knowledge that you form an inescapable unity with the others, there is room for compromise. And compromise has been the secret of the Swiss political genius.

Does the will to compromise in a greater South Africa exist in the South African communities? As far as the big political battalions are concerned, the answer is undoubtedly yes. The ANC and the NP are already far down the road to a negotiated accommodation.

Among the smaller political groupings, the increasingly influential Democratic Party has always advocated such a course. But what about Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha and the other largely ethnic-based groupings, including the governments of the TBVC states? And what about the CP with its Verwoerdian dreams of white supremacy in an Afrikaner homeland?

Vested interests

The tension between the groups seeking maximum regional autonomy and the rest of Codesa need not be destructive. A negotiated compromise could establish healthy checks and balances.

One problem is that vested interests have become entrenched in ter-

ritories such as Bophuthatswana and Ciskei whose leaders could be obstructive in asserting their "sovereignty" and might even seek to refuse their people a chance to have their say in a referendum.

Difficulties might arise in even more acute form if Inkatha, for example, wanted to claim more than their fair share of power in an interim government. Does Chief Buthelezi expect equal billing in a Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi troika? His San Francisco speech had ominous undertones, reflecting a sense of betrayal.

People on the left particularly tend to forget that it was Chief Buthelezi who stood almost alone among internal black leaders in the darkest days of Verwoerdian apartheid, speaking out with singular courage against the cruelty and injustice of the system, which he had resolved to fight from within. It was Buthelezi who first campaigned for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, who resolutely declined to accept "independence" for KwaZulu and refused point blank to enter into any negotiations with the government until Mandela was released from custody.

Yet Chief Buthelezi found himself steadily engulfed in the very system he was denouncing, being played off against the ANC by the diabolical divide-and-rule strategies of the Botha securocrats — and compromised beyond measure by the SADF's clandestine culture. Today Natal and South Africa are suffering the consequences in a vicious blood feud between the ANC and Inkatha.

This is the stuff of political tragedy. With ill luck the passions aroused might yet wreck the Codesa process and South Africa's hopes of peace for some time to come.

Apartheid ghosts haunt homelands

NEGOTIATING a better future for South Africans was never going to be an easy task - not after more than 40 years of separate development.

There appears to be growing consensus on a future, envisaged new constitution for the country. To such an extent that even political factions on the fringes of South African politics agree that a new constitution is needed for South Africa.

It is therefore not in determining the future where the biggest battle - for the time being - looms at Codesa, but in undoing the sins of the fathers of apartheid.

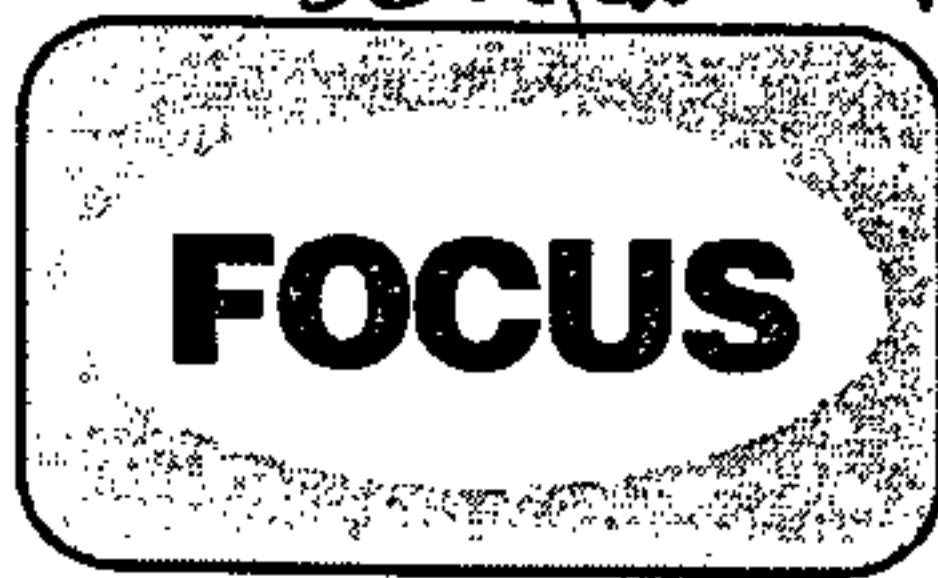
So complex has the issue of undoing apartheid's work become that four sub-committees were this week established by Codesa's Working Group 4 - which deals with the re-incorporation of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei.

Citizenship

These new sub-committees are primarily established to dilute the tension running within Working Group 4 and in broad terms will deal with reincorporation. Consider the implications of such a move. The problems associated with the restoration of South African citizenship and the technical and legal implications of reincorporation.

But it is in the thinking of the Government - without whom negotiations cannot succeed - where there appear to be the biggest complications in the way of undoing the homelands.

Using what seems to be an excuse for wanting to retain the homelands in their present form, the Government feels that the accession of the homelands to South



Codesa this week got down to hard work. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, our Political Correspondent, looks at the one aspect of negotiations, the reincorporation of the homelands.

Africa was to be completed within the framework of international conventions.

The paradox here is startlingly in contrast with the National Party's unconventional approach to issues such as human rights, and indeed its creation, by some perverse alchemy, of "countries" out of rural nothingness over the past 40 years of its rule.

Legislative

Administrations, police forces, defence forces, civil services, welfare programmes, education and health departments and institutions for legislative purposes were created in the homelands.

These homelands in turn in-

curred debts through loans from banks and financial institutions, all of which Pretoria had to sign guarantees.

The homeland governments have over the years also invited foreign (real foreign not South African) companies to invest in their territories on the grounds that these areas were independent of racist Pretoria and were indeed developing countries.

Doctrine

These countries were, however, created by a doctrine that was discredited internationally, which its founding fathers are trying very desperately to rid the country of.

In the eyes of the international community, the fathers of apartheid were downright evil for what they were sowing.

Within the country these founding fathers of apartheid created, without consulting the international community or international conventions, whole countries.

Today, after the fathers of apartheid have been forced by the international community and international developments to undo their pernicious doings, it wants to turn to international conventions for the solution to the problem of the dissolution of the homelands.

The Government does, however, concede that the homelands cannot be reincorporated if the

people of these areas do not choose to do so.

The homeland administrations were also under no obligation to hold referendums to test the will of the people.

And it is for this purpose specifically that Working Group 4 established a sub-committee under the dubious rubric, "to test the will of the people".

The argument here swings back to Pretoria, because it is not the will of the people that props up the homeland governments but South Africa's ruling National Party.

Three of the homelands - Transkei, Ciskei and Venda - have military dictatorships, governments which took control by means of coups.

Support

The fourth, Bophuthatswana, has been in power for more than 10 years and popular dissent inside the country has been effectively silenced.

A coup bid, which enjoyed widespread support, was stymied by the National Party Government.

Which brings one to the question: If Pretoria created the homelands without international consent or subsequent recognition; and if South African taxpayers' money keep the homelands going, can the future of the homelands not then be determined by the taxpayers and the Government?



PATRICK BULGER

POTCHEFSTROOM — Next week's by-election would have no impact on proceedings at Codesa, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk was speaking during a brief visit to party workers manning a tent at Potchefstroom University. He was greeted by a 15-strong group of CP supporters who chanted "KP" and sang songs in the face of rival NP chants.

He said the result would not affect Codesa as most South Africans would accept the NP's power-sharing model.

"I am a democrat and we are here in Potchefstroom to fight a democratic election," De Klerk said. The by-election was a relevant political event but not necessarily

'By-election will not influence Codesa'

a barometer of white political thinking. The NP is fighting to retain the seat which fell vacant after the death of former Speaker Louis le Grange.

About 10 000 of Potchefstroom's 24 000 voters had already cast their votes by yesterday. NP candidate Theuns Kruger said the NP had fared well among Potchefstroom's 4 000 students. But CP candidate Andries Beyers claimed his party was well ahead and was confident of victory.

Earlier in the day, CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the Potchefstroom poll would be the death knell to Codesa.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

NP believed to favour bicameral Parliament

NP AND government sources have given guarded support to a report suggesting the NP intends proposing a bicameral caretaker Parliament — with the upper House being formed without fresh elections by merging the three existing chambers.

The Paris-based Indian Ocean Newsletter reports that the NP intends putting the bicameral plan to Codesa.

The upper House would be an amalgamation of the three existing Houses.

The 300-member lower House would be elected on a one man, one vote basis, which would mean both Houses would have roughly the same number of seats.

The ANC was likely to win about two thirds of the seats in the lower House.

But each House would have the right of veto over the other House, the newsletter reports.

The caretaker Parliament's mandate would last five years.

This would force the postponement of general elections, which constitutionally have to take place in 1994.

The executive or Cabinet would consist of 36 people, 18 from the existing Parliament and 18 from parties currently outside Parliament.

TIM COHEN

This possibly would include KwaZulu chief minister Mongosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and well as ANC president Nelson Mandela, the newsletter reports.

Government's Codesa spokesman Tertius Delpont yesterday declined to say what the NP's suggestions were for an interim government, but approved of the approach suggested in the report.

"It makes sense, when moving from the old to the new, to include aspects of the old with aspects of the new," he said.

NP general secretary Stoffel van der Merwe said the party had various proposals on interim arrangements which it could put forward at Codesa.

Therefore speculation on its final position was premature.

But he conceded that the plan complied with the two main principles which the NP had proposed, that the interim government should be a constitutionally valid mechanism and that it should be representative.

The proposal contained in the report was therefore "not impossible", he said.

"But I cannot say that it is probable."

CODESA FM 14/2/92

304A

Many a winding turn

Is Codesa, from its odd eyrie at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, busy rail-roading a new constitution that could see the democratic project turn out to be an empty farce?

The worry is that, in its speed (which to date has been remarkable, even commendable), certain crucial democratic principles such as free speech, judicial review and due process may be fudged. We could, if these matters depend solely on agreement between government and the ANC (which is effectively what "sufficient consensus" at Codesa means), end up with nice-sounding phrases; with the forms of democracy, but not its substance.

After all, neither the NP (recent converts to free enterprise democracy) nor the ANC (unable to shake off its collectivist baggage) is possessed of liberal democratic instincts in the way that, say, the DP is. Moreover, it could be dangerously misleading to base a referendum simply on broad constitutional principles, as opposed to the vital details.

However, while public vigilance is necessary and advisable, it is too soon to judge whether a new constitution will be bulldozed through above the heads of an unsuspecting citizenry. There has been speed in sorting out procedural matters; things could be very different when it comes to constitutional nuts and bolts.

The complex negotiating process at Codesa began only this month to get to grips with substantive issues. Of the five working groups, the most important is the second. It deals with general constitutional principles and the constitution-making body/process. Arguably, President F W de Klerk scored a coup of sorts by getting the ANC to accept that Codesa, rather than an elected body, would draft the constitutional principles on which a referendum will be based.

As things stand, nobody knows precisely who (or rather, what forum) is eventually going to write the new constitution. This has still to be decided by the working group, which will report to Codesa II in April. But government did recently shift its ground. By proposing that an elected interim parliament should write the new constitution, it appeared to move closer to the ANC's demand

for an elected constituent assembly.

One should not misread the beginnings of the interim government phase with that of a final constitution, observes Stellenbosch constitutional expert Willie Breytenbach. In the same way, he cautions, it would be wrong to confuse the speed with which Codesa has reached the starting block, with the hard bargaining to come over the final shape of the constitution.

Nor, it seems, should we be confused by government's haste in wanting an interim government in place as soon as possible. The reason for De Klerk's keenness to set up a transitional government in which the ANC (among others) will play a role is essentially



tied to the lifting of sanctions.

The Commonwealth, having lifted trade sanctions when the mechanisms for negotiation fell into place, will only lift financial sanctions once an interim government is formed.

Similarly, and more important, the US will only at that point end financial sanctions and scrap the Gramm Amendment preventing IMF loans to SA. This, reckons Breytenbach, is the cherry for De Klerk. (This week it was revealed that the World Bank has an aid programme for SA which would make it the biggest aid recipient in Africa — once an interim government is set up, according to the SA Foundation.)

As for the ANC, says Breytenbach, its demand for an interim government really only aims at joint control over certain selected areas. These are: the security forces and police; aspects of public finance through the Budget; the State media; and the electoral process.

There is little doubt that the ANC does

not yet have the capacity to govern on its own, or even as an equal partner. Breytenbach suggests that De Klerk's haste is also part of a political strategy to catch the ANC off balance, as it were, by offering it co-rule in the interim. Indeed, it may well be a most sobering experience for this "government-in-waiting." Again, the crucial question here is who will be in control of the interim government.

Yet, though the process appears to be moving swiftly, government is not solely in control of it. This is shared (increasingly) with the parties at Codesa. It was therefore not surprising that De Klerk could say very little in his speech opening parliament this year. Some of the initiative has effectively shifted to the ANC.

While he has made great progress on the international front, a further problem for De Klerk is the alienation between the NP and the electorate (which, it is expected, will again be seen in the Potchefstroom by-election). Confusion in Afrikaner ranks is greater now than at any time, says Breytenbach, which is added reason for De Klerk to push on and get the referendum issue over with quickly.

There is sufficient goodwill in Codesa not to veto the idea of a separate white referendum, which looks likely to be based on the constitutional principles distilled from the Codesa Declaration of Intent, signed in December.

It then remains to be seen whether ANC acquiescence on this issue will entail government conceding an elected constituent assembly to draw up the constitution — or whether Codesa III will have that task. ■

SQUATTING FM 14/2/92

Facing facts

The row over the Zevenfontein squatters ended with this week's backdown by the TPA. The Bloubastrand Action Group, which had set up barricades against an influx of squatters to Randburg, hailed the decision as a victory, while government "policy" on squatting was seen to be virtually non-existent.

The so-called squatter problem — where and how to house hundreds of thousands of people — will not go away. The issues are so important that the Urban Foundation has proposed that the State President, in consultation with his key Codesa partners, appoint a task force headed by a Supreme Court judge to identify land for low-income settlement on the PWV.

It is proposed that the judge be assisted by two deputies, representing land owners and

ANC, CP reject 'support' survey

304A
CT 14/2/92

THE ANC and the Conservative Party yesterday accused the Human Sciences Research Council of serving as a propaganda arm for the government.

The allegations follow the publication this week of a nationwide poll which indicated minimal support for the ANC among coloured people and limited backing for the CP among whites.

Responding to the HSRC poll among 2 000 South Africans which showed that the NP enjoyed substantial support among coloured people, the ANC said the HSRC's findings were regularly inconsistent with those of surveys by independent agencies.

ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Mziwonke Jacobs said the latest survey stated that the ANC would receive 37% of the total vote while acknowledging that 67% of black people alone would vote for it. The ANC would thus receive at least 50% in a non-racial election.

CP MP for Pretoria West Mr J Chirole said the opinion poll found that 20,22% of whites supported the CP and that 30% of whites would probably support the CP in a referendum or general election.

In fact, the CP had attracted more than 30% of the vote in the 1989 general election and there had been a swing to the right after the unbanning of the ANC.

HSRC spokesman Dr Johann Mouton said last night that the poll had not been commissioned by any particular body.

DP branch in Kensington

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has launched a branch of the party in the coloured area of Kensington (3047)

The party's Western Cape chairman, Mr Jasper Walsh, said in a statement yesterday that the establishment of the Kensington branch was part of the DP's expansion programme.

At this week's meeting in Kensington, former Cape Town city councillor Mr Norman Daniels was elected chairman of the branch. Ms June Johnson was elected vice-chair, Mr R Johnson treasurer and Ms No-reen Lawrence secretary. ET 14/2/92

FW plea to voters

Sowetan 14/2/92

SA Press Association (304A)

STATE President FW de Klerk last night appealed to Potchefstroom voters for their support in the February 19 by-election so the Government could approach the negotiations process from a position of strength.

De Klerk was addressing 2 100 people at the Olen Park Rugby Stadium, winding up the National Party's by-election campaign.

The overwhelming majority of people were NP supporters, although a small vociferous, khaki-clad group heckled at the start of the evening. Their protests waned during the course of the meeting.

A strong contingent of plain-clothed police sat next to the group but there were no incidents. The rest of the crowd booed at the group and shouted that they should shut up.

No full status for Zulu king at Codesa

Sowetan 14/2/92

304A

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa has turned down a sub-committee proposal that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders be given full status at the talks.

Instead, the sensitive issue has been referred back to an expanded sub-committee with explicit terms of reference.

A member of Codesa's management committee, who asked not to be named, yesterday revealed details of the original sub-committee's decision.

Majority

He said the one-page document was "torn to shreds" during a lengthy debate of the management committee on Monday.

The committee's chairman, Mr Pravin Gordhan, later told a news conference that the original terms of reference had been vague and insufficient.

"The sub-committee had recommended that full status be given to the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa," the committee member said yesterday.

The sub-committee proposed that representation of

By SAPA

traditional leaders be divided into 10 regions based on the TBVC states and self-governing territories.

They would have joined Codesa's 19 current participants, each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

"The big problem for the majority of the management committee members was that Codesa has a political foundation, and if we

accepted the report Codesa would have moved away from its political base to include ethnicity. That would have created serious problems for Codesa.

"For instance, what would have prevented the Portuguese community in South Africa from demanding to have their own delegation at Codesa?

"There was no real objection to the Zulu king attending Codesa, only what status he should be accorded," he said.

Banning the rightwing not the solution - expert

Sowetan 14/2/92
By JOE MDHLELA

THE far rightwing groups might become the Renamo of South Africa as the new political dispensation unfolds, political consultant Dr Wim Booysse said during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

He said the groups could pose a serious threat to the stability of the country because of their use of conventional military training.

He said even though they were a small in numbers, they were a potential threat to the post-Codesa era.

Booyse said most of the revolutions of the world had been fought on the principle of self-determination. Rightwing organisations had already emphasised that as their requirement.

"Self-determination is an emotional issue," Booyse said. (30A)

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



The rightwing fringe perceived Codesa as unsympathetic to the self-determination.

He also warned that security forces had been brainwashed by the "total onslaught" concept of the erstwhile repressive National Party Government, and it would take time before this element accepted the "new reality".

He discounted a suggestion by a caller that the rightwing should be banned. (30B)

"If you ban organisations you force them to go underground," he said.

Crowd jeers AWB at FW meeting

3048

CTH/2/92

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM. — President F W de Klerk last night told white voters that the government would not hand the country over to chaos.

Mr De Klerk was speaking to about 2 000 people at an open-air meeting at the Olën Park rugby stadium.

"We will govern and use the power at our disposal until, in terms of a new constitution, a new government comes into power and we intend to be part of that future government," he said five days before the constituency's 24 000 voters go to the polls.

Mr De Klerk's meeting took place under tight police security. There were no incidents.

About 15 AWB members arrived to loud jeering from the crowd. They heckled loudly for about 30 minutes before leaving the stadium.

Mr De Klerk, who was speaking in support of National Party candidate Mr Theuns Kruger, lashed out at Conservative Party policy and said that had the CP won the 1989 general election, SA would be cut off from the world and at war with itself.

Instead, government was making real progress through Codesa.

Mr De Klerk asked voters not to allow grievances like the drought, the weak economy and rising crime to influence their votes.

Earlier Mr Kruger outlined a plan for a Western Transvaal economic and political unit that he said would include Bophuthatswana and would have English, Afrikaans and Tswana as official languages.

CT 114 2198
'Bicameral'
govt report

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — NP and government sources have given guarded support to a report suggesting that the NP intends proposing a bicameral caretaker parliament — with the upper house being formed by merging the three existing chambers. Paris-based Indian Ocean Newsletter reports that the NP intends putting the bicameral plan to Codesa. The 300-member lower house would be elected on a one-person-one-vote basis. (304A) Government spokesman Mr Tertius Delpert yesterday said: "It makes sense, when moving from the old to the new, to include aspects of the old with aspects of the new."

Constitution will compel the next govt to pay up

810am 14/2/92

204A

A STATEMENT by the ANC that recent bond issues abroad are totally unacceptable has caused confusion and created doubt in the minds of investors regarding whether a future ANC government will honour these obligations. Nelson Mandela, at Davos, said it would honour external debts, but the ANC publicity department has said it might not honour loans made to the "present illegitimate SA regime and its agencies".

There is in fact no cause for confusion, and the ANC publicity department is wholly incorrect in attempting to give the impression that certain loans — specifically those recent loans ostensibly in conflict with "financial sanctions" — could be abrogated. For, simply, the obligation to honour all liabilities is a constitutional matter, and no government has the right to pick and choose its liabilities. Any move in

this direction would be acting unconstitutionally, and they would have a constitutional battle on their hands. In any case, it would be the death knell to future borrowings as the Bolsheviks discovered.

The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 has a clause (79) relating to existing debts and liabilities of the state, in which it states that "nothing in this Act... shall affect any assets or rights belonging to the state or any debts or liabilities of the state as existing before the commencement of this Act, and all such assets, rights, debts and liabilities shall remain assets, rights, debts and liabilities of the Republic".

Clearly, such a clause is essential in any constitution in that there cannot be any uncertainty whatsoever with regard to the rights and obligations of the new state for normal commerce, business and finance to continue uninterrupted by the transition. It is thus inconceivable that a future constitution, whether interim or permanent, will be without such a binding clause on the state.

An ANC government would be bound by such a clause to honour all inherited liabilities, including all external debts.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has also said the terms and conditions of foreign loans might be altered. This, of course, might be possible on a mutually agreed basis in the case of direct or syndicated loans. It certainly could not be done unilaterally. But it would be impossible to do this with market bond issues, where the terms and conditions of the issue have been laid down in

EDWARD OSBORN

the prospectus. These are immutable until the expiry of the bonds.

Given this constitutional commitment, the ANC tactics should be to acknowledge the future liability of an ANC government. On this basis, it should make an appeal to the present government to formulate a borrowing policy in conjunction with the ANC, one that is cognisant of the pre-emptive nature of present action. Borrowing today is entering into a commitment to repay in the future, together with an ongoing liability to service the loans until redemption.

The ANC has a legitimate grouse about present and intended foreign borrowings by government, the Independent Development Trust and the Development Bank of Southern Africa — not so much in their breaking of financial sanctions, which do not exist in any law, but because of their costliness in a situation of

chronic exchange rate depreciation, and because alternative domestic funding is available. Foreign borrowing is unnecessary and costly.

In the case of Zimbabwe, all debts and liabilities were assumed and honoured by the new Mugabe government at independence. The only interesting anomaly was in respect of the income tax levy of 12.5% specifically raised in 1977/78 by the Rhodesian government for the financing of the bush war, and for repayment in 1981.

This debt was anathema for the then finance minister, Enos Nkala, and he refused to honour the debt. However, the problem was resolved by raising a retrospective surcharge on the income tax of the 1977 assessment year, which effectively nullified the levy.

□ Osborn is chief economist at Nedbank.

Warning rumbles of discontent . . .

304A
ARG 15/2/92

HISTORY books written by future generations will record that, as the last decade of the 20th century dawned in South Africa, it spawned a curious armistice between two political generals, a treaty that was to change the country's destiny from the moment it was concluded.

The throwing together — by forces bigger than either and, indeed, the country itself — of President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, broke a centuries-old deadlock and launched the country on a new path.

Fractious and fraught as their union may be, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are still the guides out in front. Their immense task is to look simultaneously ahead and behind: they must find the right tracks to walk . . . and they must keep the stumbling hordes who follow, in motion and in order.

In recent months, a danger has begun to arise. The signs have been subtle, but unmistakable: The generals might have strayed too far ahead of the columns of followers, who have come perilously close to being cut off.

The danger is most evident when one looks to the back of the columns, to the rank and file on either side.

The whites, it has been clear for some time, are tired and frightened, a deadly combination. Having started out on the journey with some enthusiasm, they now find it more arduous than anyone warned them it would be.

They have grown unsure that the destination will be as attractive as they were led to believe. Some are talking of turning back, even if they have to fight on the retreat.

Their leader's blandishments are still effective, but less so with the passing of time. He is becoming, increasingly, a distant figure.

The black masses, too, are restive. The trek is taking longer than they thought and it is not producing the rewards they expected along the way.

Often, now, they ask themselves why they should have to share the limited provisions with whites, who have had it better all along. Mr Mandela's stature is still enough to keep overall order, but some begin to wonder whether he should not be replaced with a younger, more aggressive man.



□ **DE KLERK** . . . no standing ovation from fearful backbenchers.

The grumblings of the footsoldiers, as in any army, are containable — provided the officer corps is there to discipline them. And, this is where the real new danger in South African politics is to be found.

There are early signs that in both camps, government and African National Congress, confidence may be eroding in the vital echelons of leadership just beneath the two presidents. Two incidents, one which occurred in Cape Town and the other in the Swiss Alps, illustrate the point.

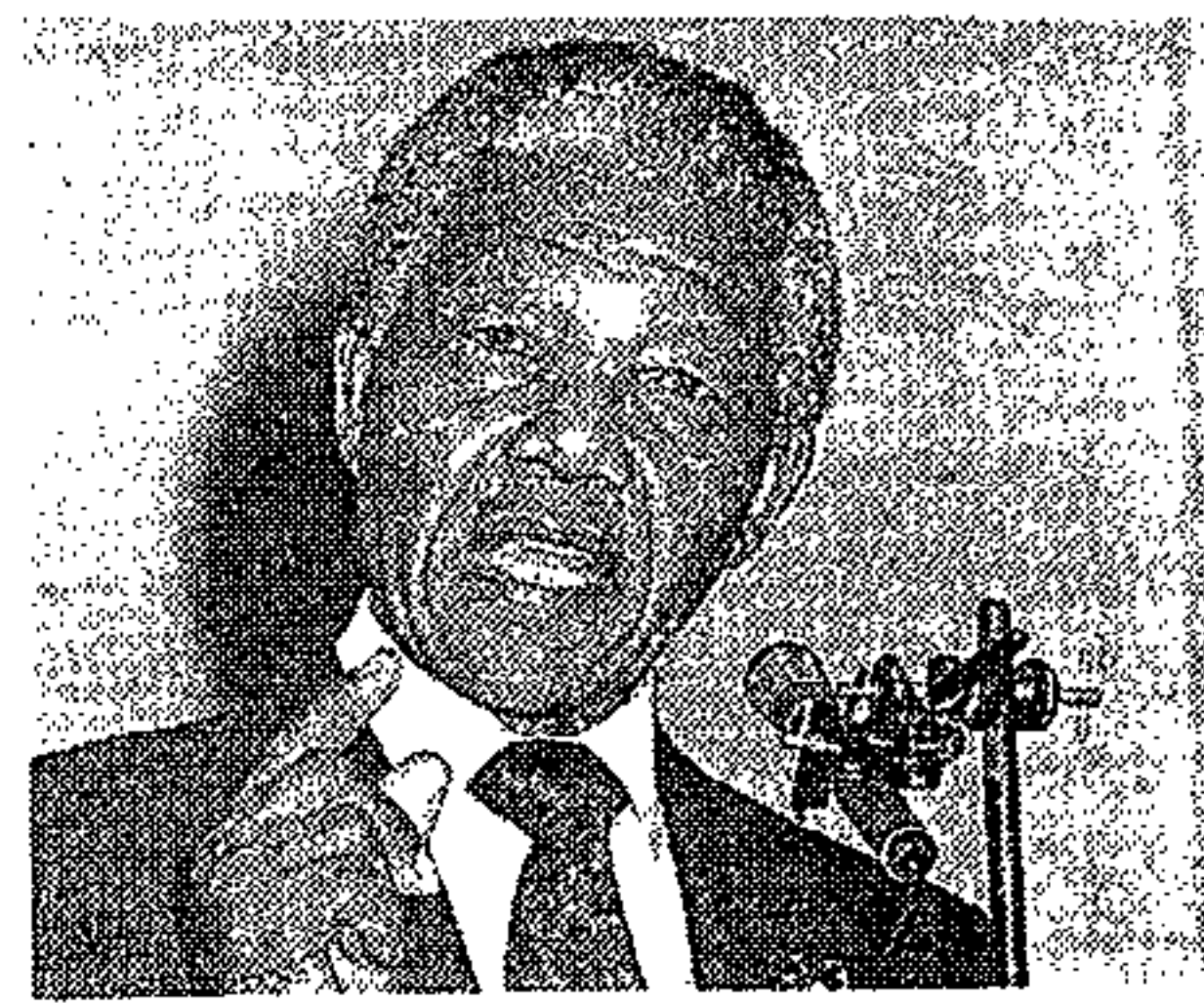
It is reported by usually reliable sources that before the opening of Parliament this year, when the National Party caucus assembled for its traditional meeting ahead of the president's speech, an extraordinary thing happened. Instead of greeting Mr De Klerk with the customary standing ovation, backbenchers kept silent.

It was, according to the sources, an eloquent display of mounting disquiet. Faced with volatile constituencies and very uncertain personal career prospects, the MPs wanted the president to know they were no longer prepared to accept his word unquestioningly. They were alarmed by the breakneck speed at which the negotiation process was suddenly moving and their own faith in the future was shaken.

The sheer complexity of the party's proposals for transitional rule was such that a special additional caucus meeting had to be called so the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, could explain again the NP's policy to those who would have to explain it to their followers.

This was the clearest manifestation of the uncertainty which has undoubtedly gripped the NP in 1992. It has led to intense speculation that Dr Viljoen will have to go back to the drawing board to convince his lieutenants — let alone the white public at large — that the NP really is in control of the process it unleashed.

There are now strong rumours the NP is considering proposing a bicameral transitional "package" in terms of which the ex-



□ **MANDELA** . . . undermined by hardliners at Swiss conference.

isting tricameral structure — which Dr Viljoen had earlier suggested would simply be dissolved — might now form one of the two new houses. The second house would be elected according to universal suffrage via proportional representation. This kind of idea will not be popular with the ANC, but will reassure many in tricameral jobs that there might be a life for them in the transition.

So much for the National Party's jitters: They are echoed in the ANC.

Earlier this month, while attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, Mr Mandela went through a similarly troubling experience.

Having reached the conclusion — based on what he was seeing and hearing from the captains of world industry — that he would have to temper the ANC's stance on nationalisation and the repudiation of foreign loans, he was bluntly contradicted by a statement issued from his organisation's Johannesburg office.

In Davos itself, there were signs all was not well. A position paper on the question of nationalisation, also repeating the hard-line position, was circulated. It ran against the grain of what Mr Mandela said, and at least one senior ANC official in Davos said he did not understand why the document had been made public.

He had understood it to be merely an "input" from a specific interest group within the ANC.

This led to speculation that a process of undermining was under way, with second- and third-tier ANC leaders wilfully putting the brakes on their leader's movements.

The circumstantial evidence, in both cases, is strong. There is, at the very least, a new level of nervousness and a questioning of the leaders' judgment. This will have an impact directly on the nature and speed of progress in the negotiations process. But, having said that, a more ominous question arises: Could this mood grow into something bigger, into active plotting?

It is too early to tell with certainty, but the immediate prospects do not seem to be apocalyptic.

In the case of the NP, the situation would have to deteriorate considerably before a putsch of any type could be mounted against Mr De Klerk.

The position within the ANC is, if anything, more complicated. Whereas, in the NP, it is clear Mr De Klerk is the chief reformist — or soft-liner, from the conservative point of view — Mr Mandela's actions are more ambiguous.

On many issues, not least those of the need to reassure whites and nationalisation, he is obviously the leading ANC conciliator; on other matters, he has often taken a fiercer stance than many of his younger colleagues. The now-famous dressing down of Mr De Klerk at Codesa is a case in point: Many ANC and SACP leaders who are identified in the public mind as "radicals" privately expressed the opinion that he had "gone too far".

One senior government figure has gone to the extreme of saying, in private, that progress towards a peaceful settlement would have been quicker if someone like ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was ANC president.

And, Mr Ramaphosa is perceived as being one of those who feels the nationalisation policy should not be softened. Thus, in Mr Mandela's case, it is too simplistic to say he is the "moderate" having to fight off continual challenges from "militants". On some issues, this is the case, on others not.

Still, in the broader sense, Mr Mandela is the one who must take the lead in fashioning compromises with the former enemy. And it follows, therefore, that he must become increasingly vulnerable to charges of "co-option" from militants in his ranks.

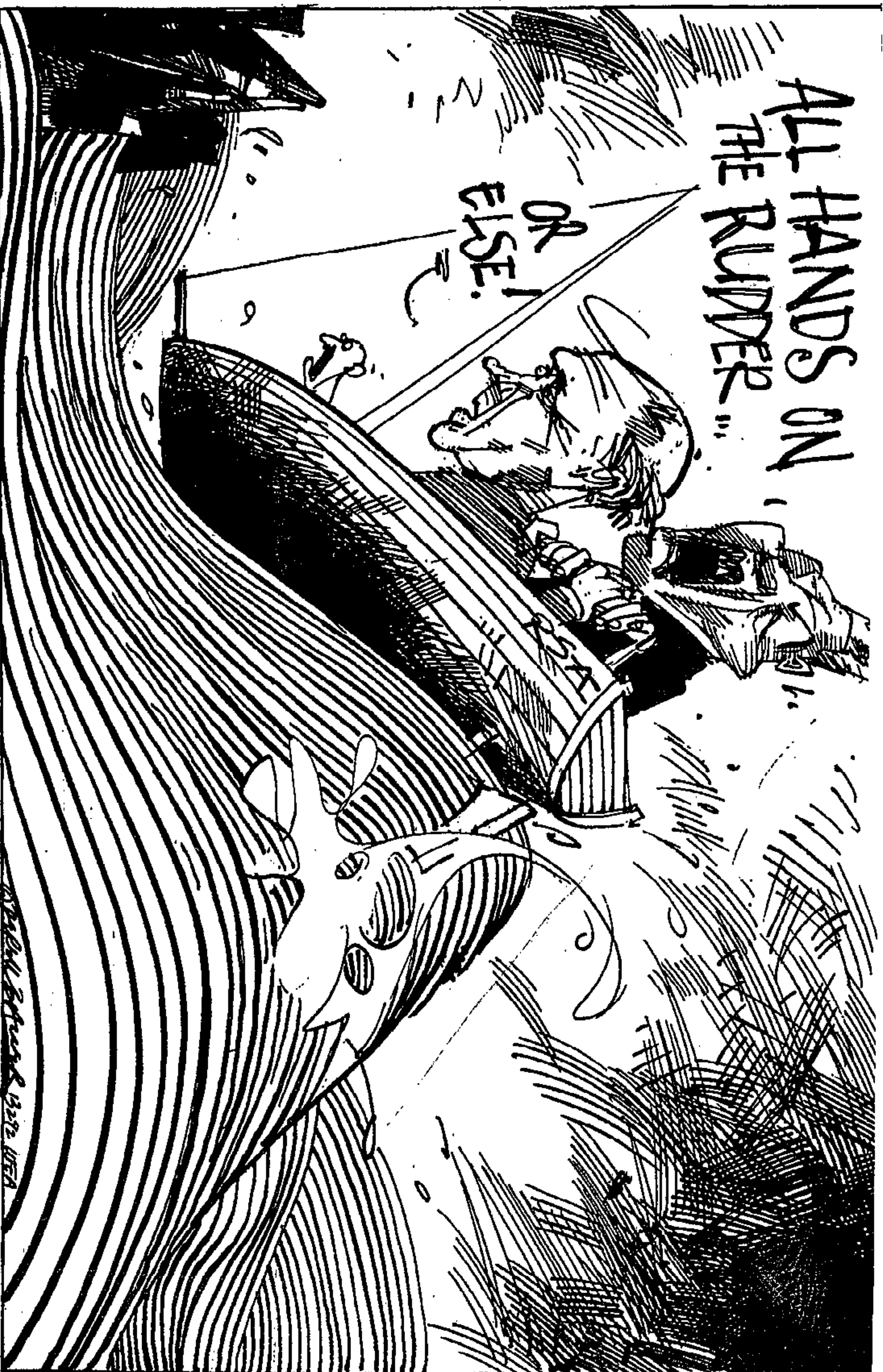
As with the NP, a coup is a very unlikely prospect in the ANC — assuming Mr Mandela's health stands up in the face of gruelling political duties — but, the early warning signs should be taken account of.

In times as fluid and unpredictable as these, only a fool would ignore such warning signals. Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, in their very different ways, are shrewd politicians and will not have failed to take note of the flashing lights.

However, what are worrying signals might turn out to be for the good of the country. They will convince the "generals" of the need to progress quickly to a mutually acceptable form of transitional rule.

Only once such a structure is in place and operating successfully can the "troops" begin to feel secure again — and if the rank and file calms down, it is likely that the officer corps will, too.

It has been obvious for some time that ordinary citizens, black and white, are becoming less confident about the outcome of negotiations. But now, writes Weekend Argus political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON**, there are even signs of growing uncertainty among Mr De Klerk's and Mr Mandela's own lieutenants.



Danger behind new liaisons

WIMail 14/2-20/2/92

304A

By GAVIN EVANS

LESS than a year ago, the government and Inkatha looked ready and willing for a spell of blissful cohabitation — at least for as long as negotiations lasted.

Now something totally different is taking place. The weight of the Inkatha scandal, opinion polls and the realities of power in the changing South Africa have forced a hasty parting of the ways, and the making of new, more dangerous liaisons.

While the international community, the media, the Democratic Party and many of those who fall under the title "big business" have welcomed the growing convergence between the government and the African National Congress — and in some cases have rather hastily predicted a marriage — Inkatha is understandably spitting mad.

Over the past fortnight, the main plot at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been the relative ease with which the government/National Party and the ANC/South African Communist Party have come round to each

other's positions.

But the often understated sub-plot relates to the vigour of Inkatha's resistance.

Some of this was summed up by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in San Francisco this week. He spoke about "connivance" between the government and the ANC, came out strongly against the government proposal of an elected interim government over the next two years, and generally poured scorn on the notion that Codesa was getting anywhere.

Sources within the Codesa working groups confirm that similar themes have been stressed in their sessions, both by individual Inkatha speakers and through position papers presented to Codesa.

"When you read the Inkatha Freedom Party submissions as a whole, the implication is something close to an ultimatum," said one Codesa source.

"They are saying that unless the Zulu king is given full delegate status, unless their proposal of weak central and strong regional government is

accepted, unless there is no constituent assembly-type election and unless the Codesa declaration is amended to remove the words 'united, undivided South Africa', they will not go along with Codesa's decisions."

But this has not stopped the ANC or the government from being fairly optimistic in their prognoses.

The government's Codesa spokesman, Tertius Delport, stressed that he was pleased with the rate of progress and the degree of convergence reached so far — particularly on the issue of an interim government — though he added that it was premature to assume "all-embracing agreement on all issues" had been reached.

An issue that is clearly causing a headache is that of deciding on the application for representation of the Zulu king and of the ANC-aligned chiefs' organisation, Contralesa.

The terms of reference of the sub-committee dealing with this issue have now been widened and a report is expected from it at the next full meeting of the Codesa management committee on February 24.

Opinion poll impact on big indaba

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

TRENDS revealed by the latest national opinion poll on political attitudes could have a profound effect on the negotiation process.

The results show just who the leading players are and how strong their power base is in terms of support.

The African National Congress and the National Party have emerged as indisputable front runners, and analysts say they will play a decisive role in determining the shape of the new South Africa.

The latest survey, commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), also showed that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would win more support (42 percent of the votes) in an election than President F W de Klerk (27 percent). A further 17 percent would not be sure who to vote for.

The survey findings drew immediate criticism from the ANC and the Conservative Party, both of whom tried to discredit the poll and previous HSRC surveys on the grounds that they were not accurate or that they served as government propaganda.

Rejecting the criticism during an interview with Weekend Argus, a top HSRC spokesman, Dr Johann Mouton, suggested that the sensitivity of the ANC and the CP to the poll results might be a sign

of the times. In the current fluid political situation, poll results could be met by a strong response and criticism, depending on political party interests.

"We report the findings, and the fact that both the ANC and the CP criticise them may be an indication of the accuracy of the research."

Dr Mouton said a claim by Mr Clive Derby Lewis of the Conservative Party that the survey covered only 60 percent of the white population was "totally incorrect".

"On the contrary, in all six of our polls last year we covered close to 95 percent of the white population by making our samples as representative as possible of people in all parts of the country. And in all six polls, conducted on similar lines, the results have been stable and consistent."

"We want to stress: the surveys we do and the results we report are based on sampling practices and standards that are internationally accepted."

It had been proved abroad that the results of opinion polls did affect political processes. It was necessary, therefore, to exercise caution in interpreting trends.

What did the latest poll really show? And why were the ANC and the CP so sensitive to the findings?

Dr Mouton, the HSRC's general manager of information dynamics, said the most significant trends shown by the poll included:

- The findings made it clear the ANC had the

ANC 15/2/92 304A

Front runners set for key role on SA's future

majority support (about 45 percent) of the total South African population (excluding the TBVC states), followed by the NP (25 to 27 percent), and by a significant category (17 percent) of uncertain voters. The rest of the support from the public was shared between smaller parties.

- The ANC was also shown to have by far the largest support among black people (65 to 70 percent), but they did not have a broad base of support among the other population groups, such as whites, coloured people and Asians.

- On the other hand, the NP was shown consistently to receive majority support among whites (50 percent), coloured people (65 percent) and Asians (65 percent), but small support among black people (5 to 10 percent).

The ANC's critical response to the poll seemed to hinge largely on findings about a relatively low level of support for the ANC among coloured people.

Dr Mouton said opinion polls had shown consis-

tently the ANC did not have much coloured support. The CP, on the other hand, was shown to have limited backing among whites, while the party claimed it had majority white support.

Parties and groupings were sensitive to such matters, because at the negotiating table they would want to be in a position of strength.

In South Africa it was not known what the support base was for various political groupings. An indication of the relative strengths were now being obtained from opinion polls.

On the issue of support for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) — and its potential role in negotiations — Dr Mouton said that although the result showed only three percent support for Inkatha, it had to be taken into account that certain rural areas of KwaZulu had been excluded from the survey.

If those areas were to be included, Inkatha's support could rise to as high a level as 12 to 15 percent.

Dr Mouton said it had to be realised that in the negotiation process mere numbers or percentages of support were but one factor. Another important factor was the intensity of support.

That was why organisations such as Inkatha, and also smaller parties like the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Azapo and the right-wing parties had to be taken seriously in the negotiation process.

The militance of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), for example, reflected that organisation's intensity of support.

It was generally accepted that intensity of support could become a destabilising factor in negotiations.

The significance of the latest survey findings also lies in the fact that they confirm the emergence of the ANC and the NP as the main players at a time when a remarkable convergence has been revealed between their negotiating positions.

New ANC proposals for interim government showed important signs of flexibility and convergence with the government's approach.

However, the government hastened to caution against undue optimism about this, warning that the crunch issues still lay ahead.

Professor Pierre du Toit, associate professor of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, said it was clear that much was going on behind the scenes.

Through all the manoeuvrings it appeared progress was being made.

However, one could expect the main players would want to handle things at a low key, to prevent public expectations from rising too high. Hence the government's attempt to pour cold water on over-optimistic speculation about rapid progress.

Prepare to ride the tiger

STAR 15/2/92

3044

WHEN the referendum comes, will whites vote "yes" for a transitional government?

Will we thereby surrender voluntarily the grip on exclusive power we have enjoyed since the day we were born?

Will we confound the lessons of history and all we know of human nature by making a rational, visionary decision, based on the principle of deferred, rather than immediate, gratification?

It is the most important question we have ever been asked. What will we do on that fast-approaching, momentous, day?

Throughout 1990 and into 1991 I clung to the notion that as whites gradually got used to the implications of President de Klerk's Great Leap, they would warm to the morality of it.

In other words, fear of the (black) unknown would begin to dissipate and people would begin to think: yes, this is the right thing to do. We will have to face many tough changes, but at the end of it all we will be cleansed of guilt and rescued from our pariah status in the world.

Now, in 1992, I accept that I was hopelessly naive. The referendum will not be fought on any such rarefied moral level.

The whites I see around the country, be they industrialists, professionals or struggling blue-collar workers, are sullen and

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



angry about current and future change. You need not scratch the surface too vigorously to discover that they would just as soon rewind the tape of history to the days when the only thing they knew about the ANC was that it was banned, and the only thing they knew about Mandela was that he was in jail.

The latest HSRC attitude survey confirms this: a meagre 15 percent of whites believe that life will be better in the "new South Africa".

So, given the obvious fact that a "yes" vote in the referendum — no matter how the question is phrased — is a vote for the right of Mr Mandela and others to take their places (perhaps decisive places) in the government of this country, why should we believe that whites will display such unselfishness?

Exploring this involves sticking one's neck out and answering the original question: which way will whites vote?

I believe a majority of whites will vote "yes". They will not do so for altruistic

reasons. When the count is finally made, we will have a result that stems not from conviction, but survivalism — a negative endorsement, if you will.

What many seem not to realise is that when push comes to shove, President de Klerk will not be asking whites to applaud all he has wrought and cheer him on to the next stage. He is not so naive. What he will be telling them is that there simply is no alternative that stands the remotest chance of working.

His case will be greatly strengthened by the fact that the white right wing, in both its civil and uncivil forms, will not have been able to come up with a plausible plan for replacing the process embodied in Codesa.

The racist dogmatists are lost anyway, the referendum will be decided by the largely apolitical mass of whites in the middle. These people will not make a judgment on an ideological basis; they will ask themselves, on the balance of probabilities, which course of action is likely to do their lives the least damage. The fantastical prospect held out by the right wing of a return to grand — or even watered-down — apartheid will convince very few. The process is simply too far gone to be reversed. They will elect to ride the tiger, because it will be the only means of trans-

portation available.

There are some other, related factors. First, the referendum will be preceded by between six and 12 weeks of the most intensive political campaigning this country has seen. The CP and its allies cannot hope on this level to compete in terms of resources and expertise. And by then the proponents of a "yes" vote will, if all goes well, constitute an irresistibly representative grouping — Government, ANC, IFP, DP, LP etcetera offset against the fragmented and fractious peripheries.

Then there is the traditional respect (some might say slavishness) towards authority which still exists in Afrikaner society. President de Klerk is still the authority figure for the majority, and, if the referendum is not delayed for an excessive period, this should still be a factor.

It is sad, in a way, that this country's rebirth is likely to be endorsed in a mean-spirited, selfish mood. But that is the best scenario I think we can hope for at this stage — that whites will do the right thing for the wrong reasons. When Pik Botha, the wily old survivor, was pressed earlier this year on why he believes that the white "ayes" will outnumber the "nays", he gave a very honest and incisive answer. "I don't believe they have a death wish," he said. That says it all.

A bad case of the jitters

STAR 15/2/92

(304A)

There are clear signs that the trek to a new South Africa is taking a heavy toll

WE know already that history books written by future generations will record that as the last decade of the 20th century dawned in South Africa, it spawned a curious armistice between two political generals: a treaty that was to change the country's destiny from the moment it was concluded.

The throwing together — by forces bigger than indeed the country itself — of F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, broke a centuries-old deadlock and launched us on a path we have only begun to travel.

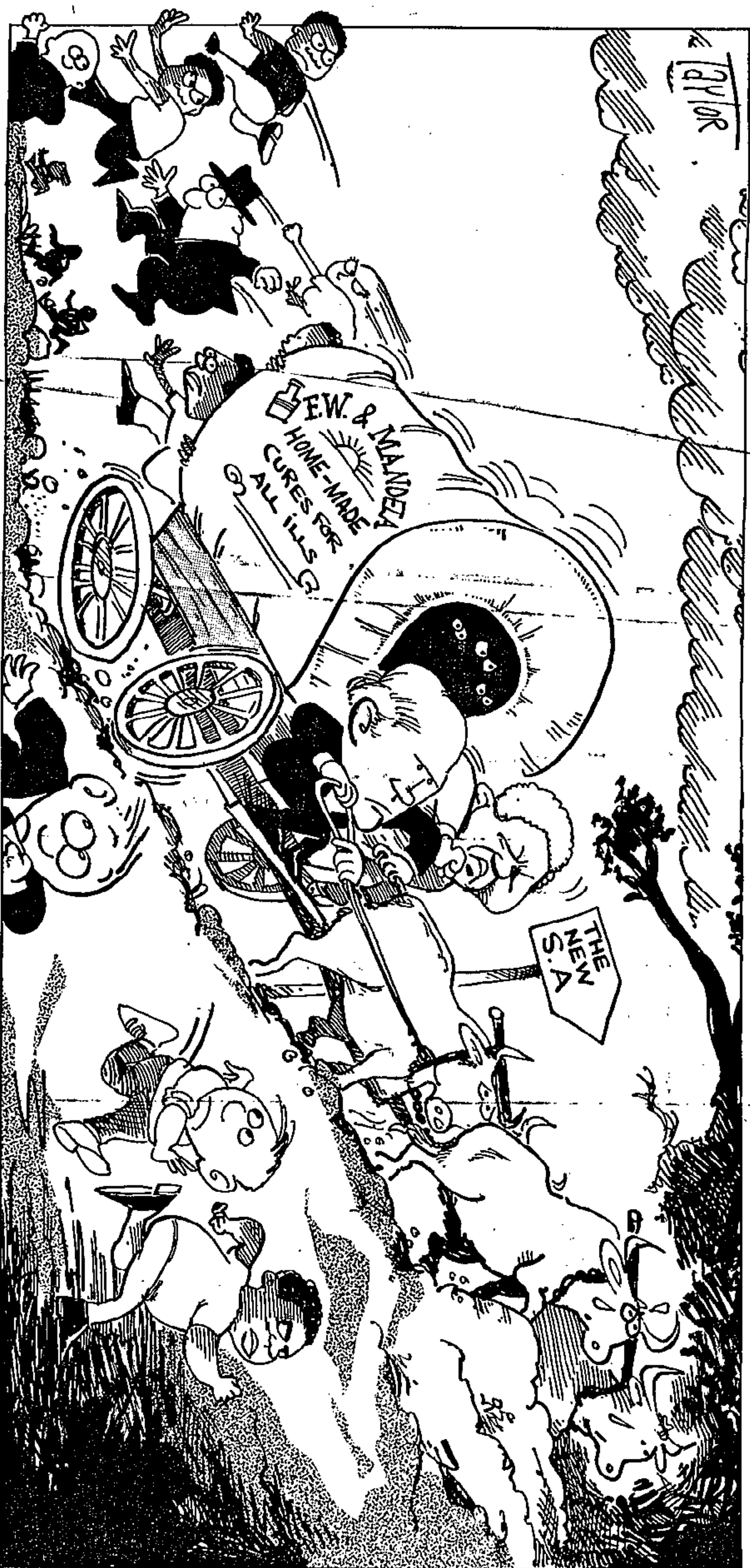
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CONTRADICTED: Mandela and the ANC's Johannesburg office at odds on loans.

The grumblings of ordinary citizens, black and white, are becoming more audible in proportion to their waning confidence in negotiations. This is containable — provided the leadership holds together. But now, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, there are unmistakable signs of growing uncertainty among Mr de Klerk's and Mr Mandela's own political lieutenants.



DISQUIET: De Klerk greeted by silence instead of customary ovation from his caucus.

et — and thereby influence the NP negotiating team's actions at Codesa. Mr de Klerk himself shows every sign of being increasingly sensitive to such subtle pressures.

The position within the ANC is, if anything, more complicated. Whereas in the NP it is clear that Mr de Klerk is the chief reformist — or soft-liner, from the conservative point of view — Mr Mandela's actions are more ambiguous.

that he is the "moderate", having to fight off continual challenges from "militants". On some issues this is the case, on others not.

Nevertheless, in the broader sense, Mr Mandela is the one who must take the lead in fashioning compromises with the former enemy, and it follows therefore that he must become increasingly vulnerable to charges of "co-optation" from militants in his ranks.

century dawned in South Africa, it spawned a curious armistice between two political generals: a treaty that was to change the country's destiny from the moment it was concluded.

The throwing together — by forces bigger than indeed the country itself — of F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, broke a centuries-old deadlock and launched us on a path we have only begun to travel.

Fractions and fraught as their union may be, Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are still the guides out in front. Their immense task is to look simultaneously ahead and behind: they must find the right tracks to walk and keep the stumbling hordes who follow in motion and in order.

In recent months, a danger has begun to arise. The signs have been subtle, but unmistakable: the generals might have strayed too far ahead of the followers, who have come perilously close to being cut off.

The danger is most evident when one looks to the back of the columns, to the rank and file on either side.

The whites, it has been clear for some time, are tired and frightened; a deadly combination. Having started out on the journey with some enthusiasm, they now find it more arduous than anyone warned them it would be, and they have grown unsure that the destination will be as attractive as they were led to believe. Some are talking of turning back, even if they have to fight on the retreat.

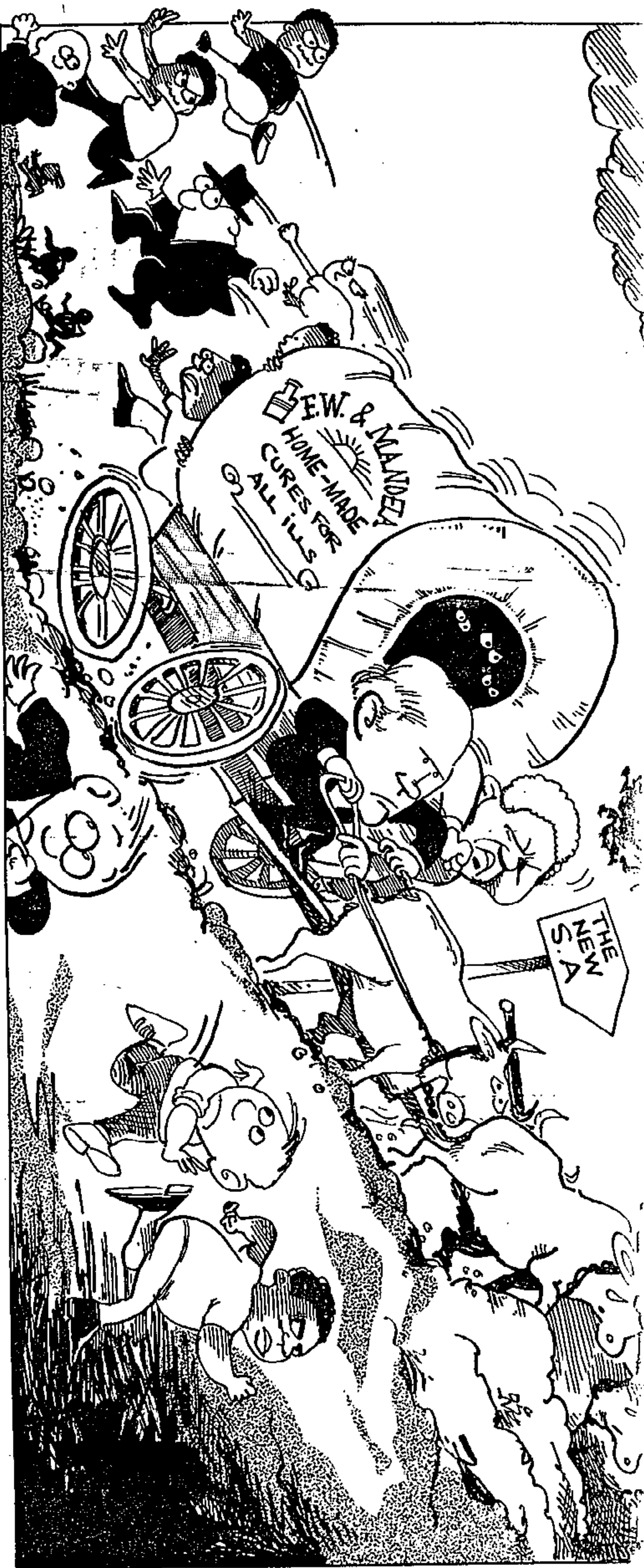
Their leader's blarneyments are still effective, but less so with the passing of time. He is becoming, increasingly, a distant figure.

The black masses, too, are restive. The trek is taking longer than they thought, and it is not producing the rewards they expected. Often now they ask themselves why they should have to share the limited provisions with the whites, who have had it better than them all along. The stature of the leader is still enough to keep overall order, but some are beginning to wonder whether he should not be replaced with a younger, more aggressive man.

The grumblings of the foot soldiers, as in any army, are containable — provided the officer corps is there to discipline them. And this is where the real new danger in South African politics is to be found.

There are early signs that in both camps, Government and ANC, confidence might be eroding in the vital echelons of leadership just beneath the two presidents.

Two incidents, one which oc-



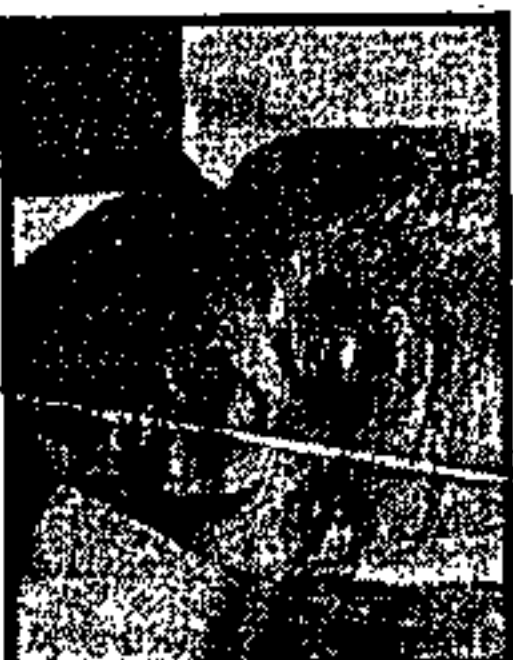
curring in Cape Town and the other in the Swiss Alps, illustrate the point.

It is reported by usually reliable sources that immediately prior to the opening of Parliament this year, when the National Party caucus assembled for its traditional meeting ahead of the President's speech, an extraordinary thing happened. Instead of greeting Mr de Klerk with the customary standing ovation, backbenchers kept silent.

It was, according to the sources, an eloquent display of mounting disgust. Faced with volatile constituencies and very uncertain personal career prospects, the MPs wanted the President to know that they were no longer prepared to accept his word unquestioningly. They were alarmed by the breakdown speed at which the negotiations process was suddenly moving, and their own faith in the future was being shaken.

The sheer complexity of the party's own proposals for transitional rule was such that a special additional caucus meeting had to be called, so that Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen could try to explain again the NP's own policy to those who would have to explain it to their followers.

This was the clearest manifestation of the uncertainty which has undoubtedly gripped



CONTRADICTION: Mandela and the ANC's Johannesburg office at odds on loans.

the NP in 1992. It has led to intense speculation that Dr Viljoen will have to go back to the drawing board in order to convince his own lieutenants — let alone the white public at large — that the NP really is in control of the process it unleashed.

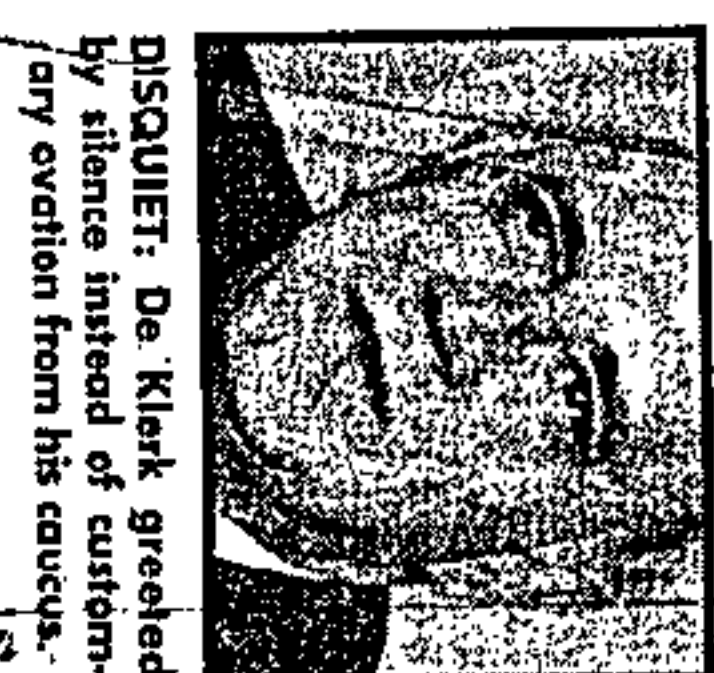
There are now strong rumours that the NP is considering proposing a bicameral transitional "package" in terms of which the existing tricameral structure — which Dr Viljoen had earlier suggested would simply be dissolved — might now form one of the two new houses. The second house would be elected according to universal suffrage via proportional representation. This kind of idea will not be popular with the ANC, but it will certainly reassure many in the cabinet jobs that there might be a life for them in the transition after all.

So much for the National Party's jitter: they are echoed

The grumblings of ordinary citizens, black and white, are becoming more audible in proportion to their waning confidence in negotiations. This is containable — provided the leadership holds together. But now, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, there are unmistakable signs of growing uncertainty among Mr de Klerk's and Mr Mandela's own political lieutenants.

Earlier this month, while attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, Mr Mandela went through a similarly troubling experience. Having reached the conclusion — based on what he was seeing and hearing from the captains of world industry — that he would have to temper the ANC's stance on nationalisation and the reputation of foreign loans, he was bluntly contradicted by a statement issued from his organisation's Johannesburg office. The statement reiterated the existing hard line on these questions, without so much as doffing a cap to the leader's latest pronouncements.

In Davos itself there were signs that all was not well. A position paper on the question of nationalisation, also repeating the hard-line position, was circulated. It ran against the grain of what Mr Mandela said, and at least one senior ANC of-



DISQUIET: De Klerk greeted by silence instead of customary ovation from his caucus.

ficial in Davos said he did not understand why the document had been made public. He had understood it to be merely an "input" from a specific interest group within the ANC. This led to speculation that a process of undermining was under way, with second-and-third-tier ANC leaders willfully putting the brakes on their leader's movements.

In the case of the NP, the situation would have to deteriorate considerably before a put-out of any type could be mounted against Mr de Klerk. There may indeed be many MPs — and, for that matter, Ministers — who now regret that they did not do anything earlier to put the brakes on the De Klerk reforms. But they realise that they have no real alternative but to stick with him unless it is proved beyond doubt that he has, like Mikhail Gorbachev, lost control of the process. For them, there is nothing to do but make the best of a bad situation, and ride with it.

Within these over-arching constraints, however, they will be able to register their disqui-

et — and thereby influence the NP negotiating team's actions at CODESA. Mr de Klerk himself shows every sign of being increasingly sensitive to such subtle pressures.

The position within the ANC is, if anything, more complicated. Whereas in the NP it is clear that Mr de Klerk is the chief reformer — or soft-liner, from the conservative point of view — Mr Mandela's actions are more ambiguous.

On many issues (not least those of the need to reassure whites and nationalisation), he is obviously the leading ANC conciliator, on other matters he has often taken a fiercer stance than many of his younger colleagues. The now-famous dressing down of Mr de Klerk at CODESA is a case in point: many ANC and South African Communist Party leaders who are identified in the public mind as "radicals" privately expressed the opinion that he had "gone too far". One senior Government figure has gone to the extreme of saying — in private — that progress towards a peaceful settlement would have been quicker if someone like Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, was ANC president instead of Mr Mandela. And Mr Ramaphosa, of course, is perceived as being one of those who feels that the nationalisation policy should not be softened. Thus in Mr Mandela's case it is too simplistic to say

that he is the "moderate", having to fight off continual challenges from "militants". On some issues this is the case, on others not.

Nevertheless, in the broader sense, Mr Mandela is the one who must take the lead in fashioning compromises with the former enemy, and it follows therefore that he must become increasingly vulnerable to charges of "co-option" from militants in his ranks.

As with the NP, a coup is a very unlikely prospect in the ANC — assuming that Mr Mandela's health stands up in the face of gruelling political duties — but the early warning signs should be noted.

In times as fluid and unpredictable as these, only a fool would ignore warning signals such as these. Both Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, in their different ways, are exceptionally shrewd politicians, and will not have failed to take note of the flashing lights.

But what are worrying signals might, ironically, turn out to be for the good of the country. They will convince the "generals" of the need to progress quickly to a mutually acceptable form of transitional rule. Only once such a structure is in place, and operating successfully, can the "troops" begin to feel secure again — and if the rank and file calms down, it is likely that the officer corps will do so too.

Buthelezi warns of dangers in Codesa

cr 15/2/92

(304A)

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that there are "irreconcilable" differences between the ANC, the IFP and the government on how to proceed at Codesa.

"We are adopting very firm positions on the status of Codesa because we see the very real danger of Codesa being turned into a political arena rather than a forum about negotiations," he told US Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Hank Cohen in Washington this week.

He also bluntly warned that he would not participate in Codesa if the Zulu king was not included as a full delegate to the negotiating forum.

And in a broadside at the ANC he said it was "intolerable" that the or-

ganisation continued to maintain an army while negotiations were taking place.

The IFP was pursuing this at Codesa, Chief Buthelezi told Mr Cohen.

Details of the discussion were released by the IFP yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi's comments elicited a sharp response from the ANC last night. It said he was well aware the MK issue was the subject of bilateral discussions between the government and ANC and "it is difficult to see how the IFP can pursue the matter at Codesa".

Chief Buthelezi also denied speculation that the IFP and Conservative Party were moving towards an alliance, but said he was doing all he could to persuade the party to join Codesa.

Tuesday February 18 1992

Half already cast votes in Potch

By Carina le Grange

More than half of Potchefstroom's 23 000 voters have already cast their votes in tomorrow's parliamentary by-election, which will be a crucial barometer of white political sentiments.

This unusually high number of special vote is expected to rise today before special voting booths close at 2 pm.

The candidates in tomorrow's two-way election are Conservative Party general secretary Andries Beyers and an unknown National Party man, estate agent Theuns Kruger. Spokesmen for both parties yesterday claimed they would win the by-election.

Potchefstroom CP chairman Willie Boshoff said his party was still ahead with more than 1 000 votes of the special votes cast.

"Our chances to win get better and better," Mr Boshoff said.

But NP election agent Josef le Grange said his party would show the country the NP would retain the seat. He declined to estimate the NP support to date since there were too many unknown factors but said they were "neck to neck".

"We still have many votes coming our way — we only have to see that the supporters go to the voting booths. We believe that Potchefstroom is a NP town rather than a CP town," Mr le Grange said.

The by-election is being watched with interest as an indication of what measure of support President F W de Klerk enjoys among white, mainly Afrikaans, voters.

The seat became vacant after the death of former Parliament speaker Louis le Grange. In the 1989 general election the NP increased its majority to more than 1 500.

The CP has been working hard steadily from the start of the campaign, with many outsiders assisting. The NP, after a less industrious start, stepped up its campaign over the past two weeks.

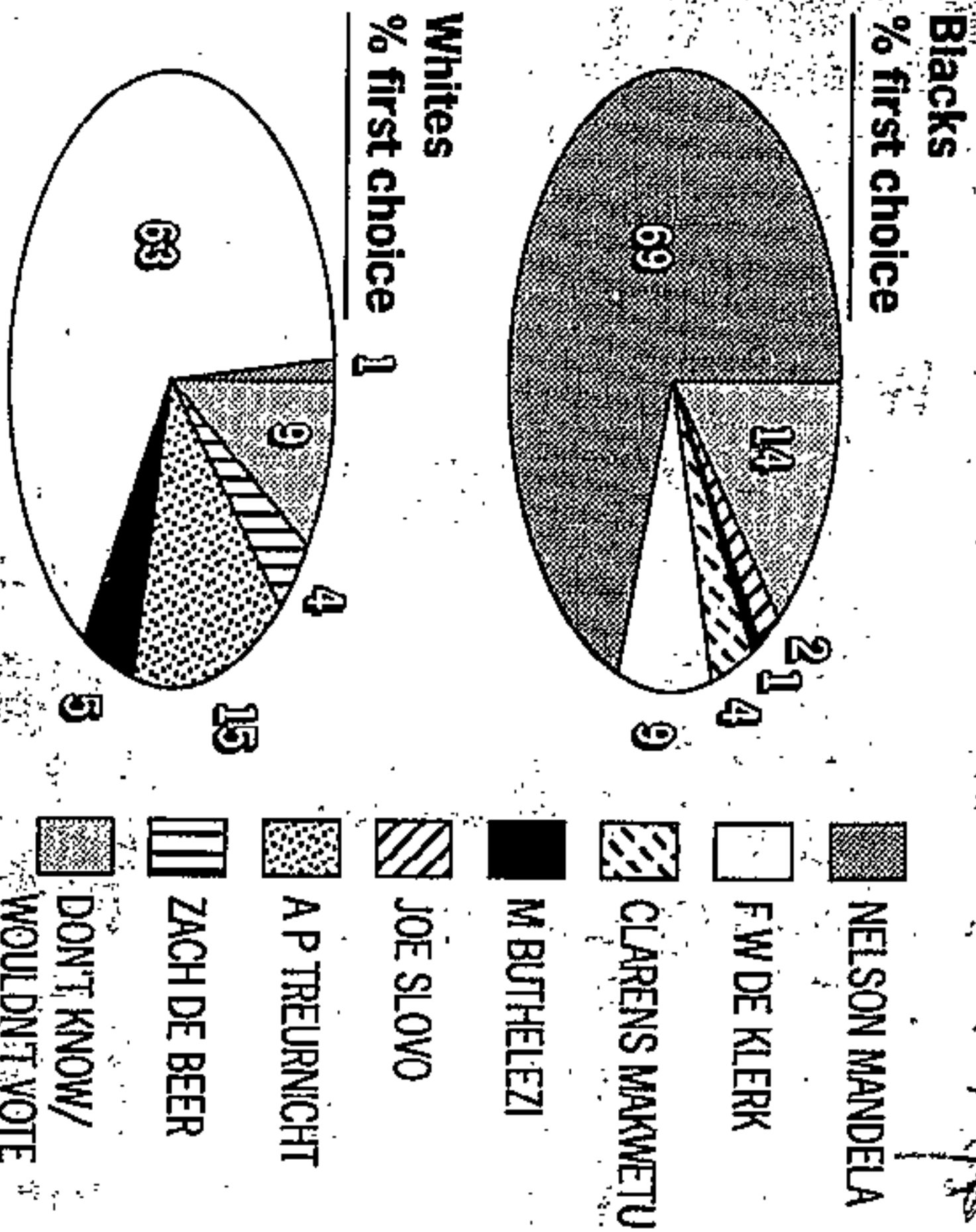
Polling booths open at 7 am tomorrow and close at 9 pm. The results are expected at about 11 pm.

● The Boerestaat Party has appealed to its supporters to vote for the CP and "help throw the NP off the (ox)wagon and drive it out of Transvaal".
(Report by C le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000)

● A barometer of white sentiment — Page 11

Who would you vote for?

- November 1991 -



Graphic: FONIA KRESCH Source: MARKINOR

Poll shows wide support for FW

From Page 1

lowed by the PAC (five percent), NP (five percent) and Inkatha (one percent).

In popularity stakes among blacks Mr Mandela rates 8.3 on a scale of zero to 10, Mr De Klerk 5.4 and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi two. Among whites the order of preference is Mr De Klerk (6.4), Chief Buthelezi (4.9) and Mr Mandela (3.4).

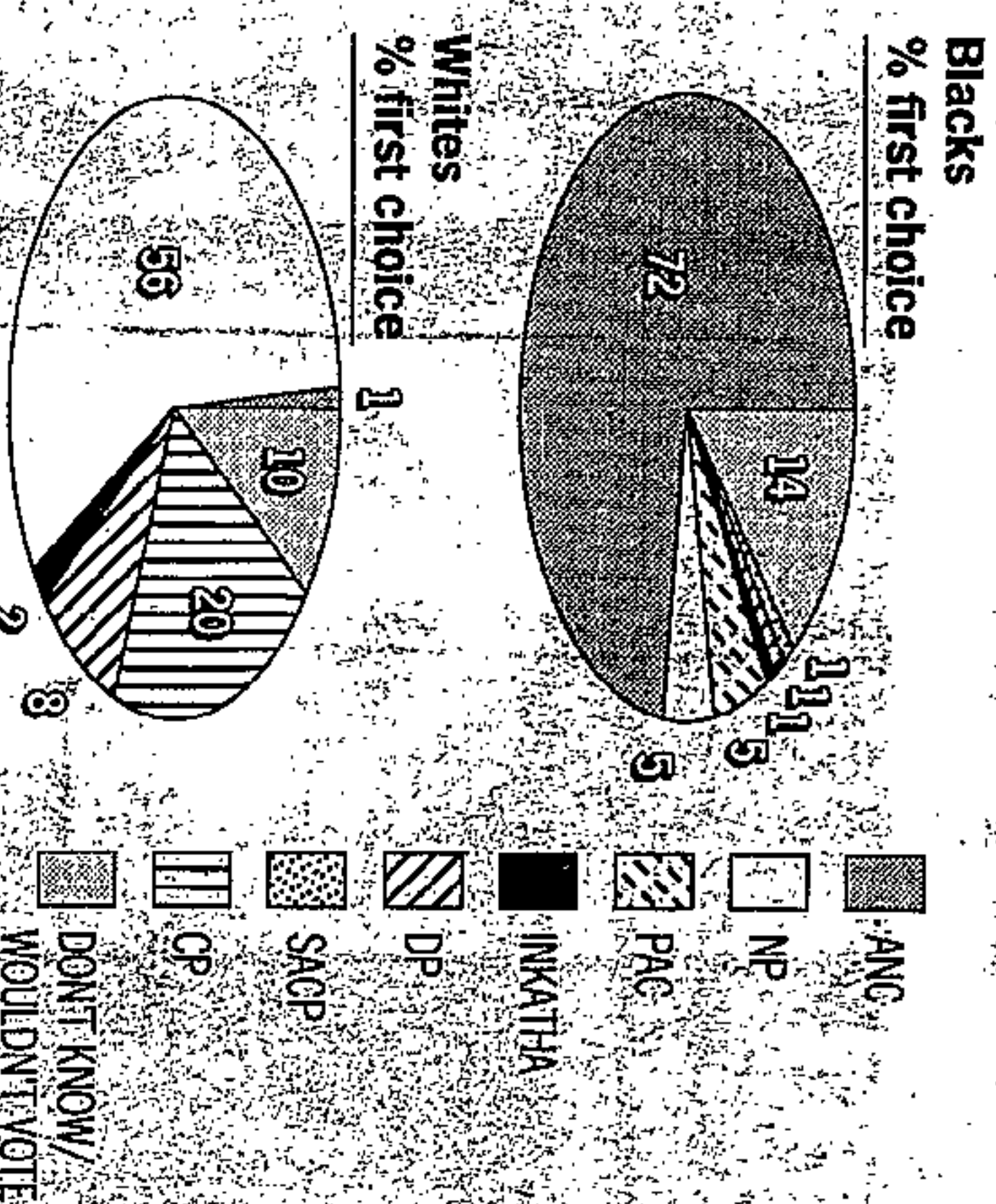
These figures, however, have to be read with caution. The poll was among urban blacks and thus excludes rural communities such as KwaZulu which are Inkatha strongholds. The Markinor poll also

looked at white and black perceptions of the economy, race relations and future prospects. The results show the country is much more gloomy than it was a year ago.

More than half the whites said they were poorer than a year earlier. Thirty-six percent of blacks felt the same. Blacks remain slightly more optimistic than whites about race relations but there has been a considerable sobering in May 1990: five out of 10 black people felt race relations were improving. By November last year it had fallen to four out of 10.

What party would you vote for?

- November 1991 -



Graphic: FONIA KRESCH Source: MARKINOR



UPSIDE-DOWN POLITICS ... FW signs a poster for a supporter

Picture: JUHAN KUUS

POTCHEFSTROOM is a town in a perpetual yawn. The only indication that a crucial by-election will be fought on Wednesday is the hundreds of pictures of the two candidates smiling down from posters all over town.

To judge any kind of pre-election mood in this former capital of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek, the best option is a visit to the university, which at least sleeps with one eye open.

Next to the Totius Hall on the campus, where one of the special polling booths is situated, under a wild karee tree are two caravans packed with enthusiastic party workers, one with young Nats and the other with young Kapees.

They have to win the hearts and minds, and especially the crosses, of the more than 4 000 Pukke who are registered to vote. Observers agree that the student vote would be the deciding factor in which way the seat would be going. **Sluitmes 16/2/92**

(3047) Cards

Gerard Hattingh is a fresh-faced NP organiser who for the past few weeks has put his political-science studies aside to win the election for his party.

"The Conservative Party is not that well organised at grassroots level," Mr Hattingh said this week. "Our organisation is very good in the residences."

"As part of our market-

BY CHARLES LEONARD



TRAITOR! TRAITOR! ... right-wingers in Potchefstroom jeer at President De Klerk on Thursday night

Student power in Potch by-election

ing campaign we have slipped Valentine's Day cards underneath the doors of all the women's residences. Every second day we have a new pamphlet we hand out."

Two students who are not amused by the NP

campaign are Fanie le Roux and his "miesie", Anet Minnie, both full-blooded Kapees.

"You can't vote for people who got in by promising a policy and are now going back on that promise," said Mr le Roux, a

law student. "I don't trust the Nats, especially now that they are in Codesa with these communists."

From his office in the political science department, Herman Havenga has a bird's eye and outside-ers view of the laid-back campus and the two "political" caravans.

The young Potch-bort Artkaner keeps that distance. He is on the African National Congress's regional executive committee and spends most of his free time at the organisation's regional headquarters in Klerksdorp.

Capital

"Winning this by-election will mean a lot to the CP, because then they will have taken the 'castle' of the western Transvaal," Mr Havenga said.

"They have most of the rest of the region and Potch could be described as the capital of the western Transvaal."

"Don't think Theuns Kruger, the NP candidate, comes across as strongly as his CP opponent, Andries Beyers, who has very good communication skills."

Unlike the recent Virginia by-election, where the NP admitted defeat two weeks before election day, the Nats are geared towards retaining this seat.

In the 1989 election they maintained a comfortable 1 500-vote lead. Defeat in Potchefstroom will mean further loss of party confidence at a crucial time.

From 3.30pm on Thursday, a crowd of students started gathering in front of their caravan. Dom FW was on his way and all wanted to get the President to sign their "Vote Theuns Kruger" pamphlets or "New South Africa" stickers.

When the President arrived in a seven-car cavalcade, he was met by his young supporters but also by about 15 young Kapees singing "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika".

Ignoring right-wing chants of "Traitor!" Mr De Klerk, to loud cheers, appealed to his supporters to vote for the NP.

"As an old Puk, I would be ashamed if Potch becomes CP," said Mr De Klerk, who will be sworn in as chancellor of the university on February 27.

By 7.30pm, when Mr De Klerk arrived at the Olen Park rugby stadium to address a party meeting, numerous about right-wing disruptions abounded.

"I heard that the right-wing has hired 37 buses to come to the meeting," said a senior NP organiser.

Jeer

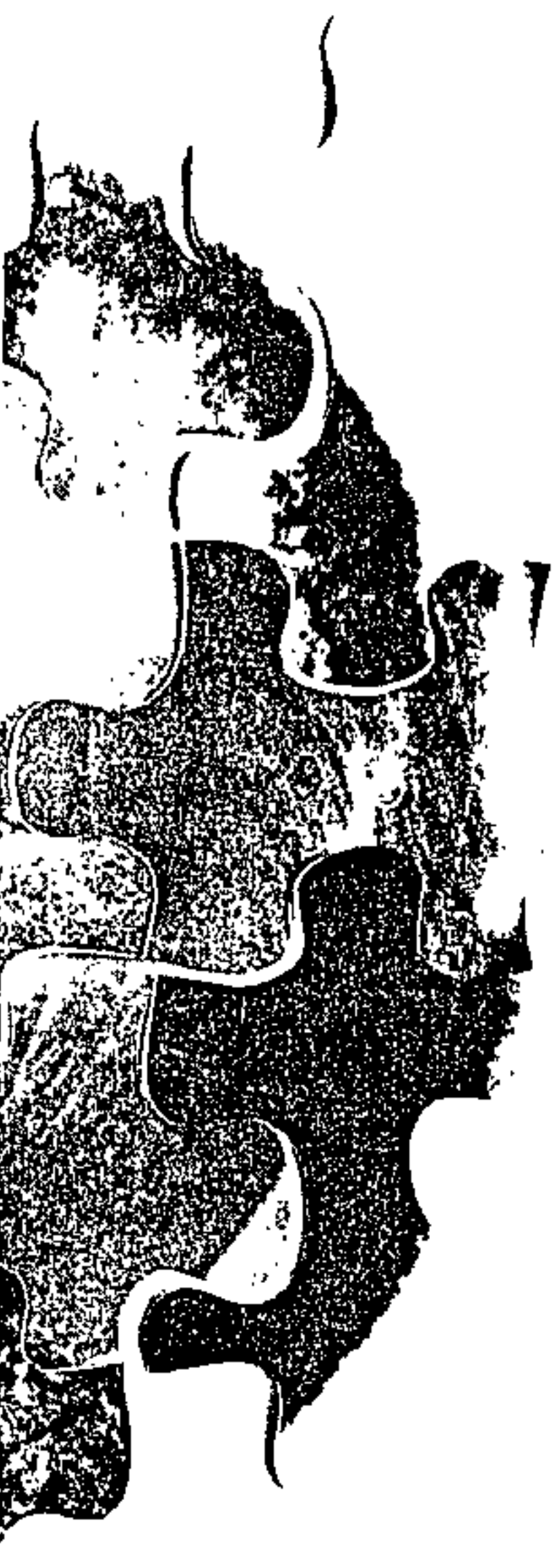
"I have been here since Monday," said a foreign correspondent. "And I have heard several rumours of assassination attempts on Mr De Klerk."

The police were out in force, but only a handful of khaki-clad men appeared to jeer "plek Frikkie".

Twenty minutes into his speech, four uniformed AWB supporters arrived to booing from the 2 500 Nat supporters.

After a short, but spirited, session of heckling they left.

By 10pm it was all over, but the question about who was going to win the close fight on Wednesday was still unanswered.



Big test in the

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE result of Wednesday's whites-only by-election in Potchefstroom is of far greater importance than the mere question of who will represent this small western Transvaal town in a Parliament soon to be extinct.

It will be an important indicator as to who speaks for the majority of whites in this country – the National Party government or the rightwing Conservative Party.

If the Nats lose this previously safe constituency it will adversely influence its bargaining power at Codesa and raise serious questions about its ability to get majority white support in any coming referendum on a new constitutional dispensation.

For State President FW de Klerk, a lot is riding on the outcome of Wednesday's poll. He raised the stakes of the encounter by declaring that the Potchefstroom result would be an accurate "barometer" of the political mood among white voters.

The constituency is generally regarded as one of the safest Nat strongholds in a region where the CP has made huge inroads into the government's support base.

The NP is represented by local businessman Theuns Kruger, a competent, if slightly colourless candidate.

Kruger is confident the NP can hold on to the seat and thus "show the world that South African whites are pre-

APR 16/2/92 (304A)

Who speaks

for whites?

pared to negotiate a just and equitable dispensation with its fellow citizens."

Fears that Kruger's position might be in jeopardy this week sparked a flurry of last-minute canvassing which saw a veritable army of Cabinet Ministers and deputies – including some serving in the "Coloured" House of Representatives – descending on the town.

CP candidate Andries Beyers is confident his party will continue its string of by-election victories that last month saw the CP capturing Virginia from the NP.

Beyers says his victory will vindicate the CP's decision not to participate in Codesa and provide final proof that the CP represents the majority of whites.

If the NP loses on Wednesday there will be mounting pressure on De Klerk to resign and call a general election.

An important factor will be the way the estimated 4 000 student voters register at the local university, teachers' training college and agricultural college.

Together they comprise more than 25 percent of the eligible voters and if they – as expected – vote heavily for Kruger it will strengthen the NP's chances to just pip the CP at the winning post.

West

President FW de Klerk stands on the eve of an important test of white opinion. MIKE ROBERTSON, who was with him on his recent European trip and again at a Potchefstroom rally on Thursday night, reports on De Klerk the statesman and the politician
STimes 16/2/92 (304A)

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK insists that the only thing he has in common with former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is a lack of hair. They do, however, have something else in common: both are more popular abroad than at home.

On Thursday, at Olen Park in Potchefstroom, President De Klerk put the triumphs of his foreign tours behind him to confront a more critical and demanding audience — his own party faithful.

He received the almost mandatory ovation on the eve of a vital by-election, but the strongest applause was reserved for when he attacked the CP and not when he outlined National Party policy.

Mr De Klerk spent 45 minutes seeking to allay fears that the National Party had capitulated to the ANC. Yet at rally's end there was only one burning question, and it came from a woman supporter.

Was Mr De Klerk not negotiating away the future of whites at Codesa?

Support

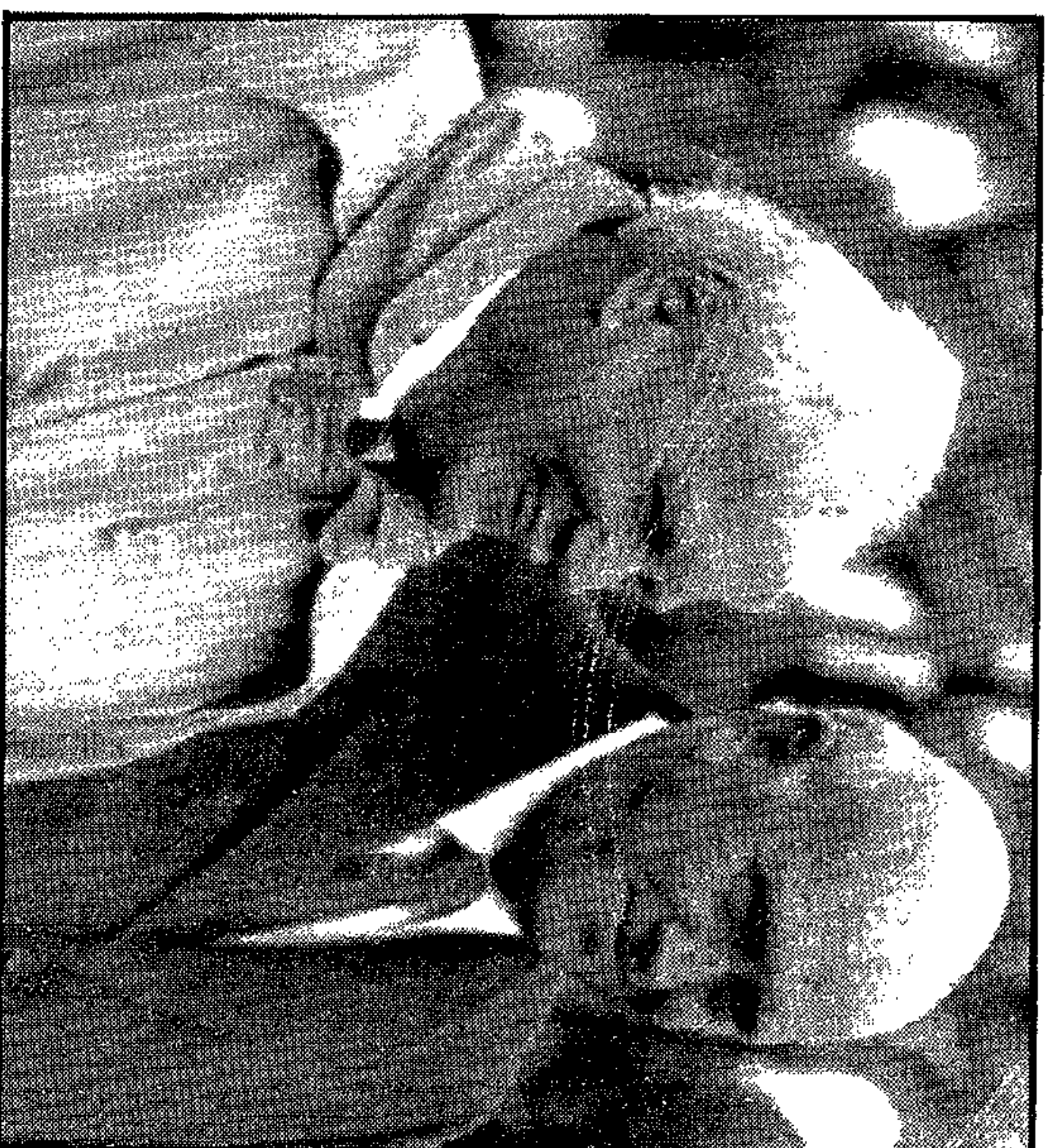
Compare this scepticism to the remarkable Sunday two weeks ago in Davos, Switzerland. Then Mr De Klerk in two short speeches concentrated solely on those factors which united South Africans in outlining his vision of the future. The audience, comprising 1 500 of the world's top politicians and businessmen, responded enthusiastically, even rapturously.

Mr De Klerk has never attracted the support of the majority of South Africans, but he has always been able to count on the majority support of urban whites. Opinion polls have also consistently indicated he has majority support among coloureds and Indians and not insignificant support among urban blacks.

The President has a serene conviction that what he is doing is right and a belief that in the end the public will appreciate the correctness of his actions.

So polls are less important to him than other politicians, but he has occasionally fed them to

THE HOME-AWAY DUAL OF FW Rapture in Davos



AWAY ... a popular FW de Klerk with Hungarian President Arpad Goencz



HOME ... stony silence greeted his predictions

Rumblings in Potch

back claims that the NP could win an election in which all South Africans participated.

That complacency must surely be denied.

This week an HSRC poll put his support among urban whites at just 51 percent.

Again, a Markinor poll found his positive rating among blacks had dropped from 88 percent in May 1990 to 60 percent in November 1991. The percentage of whites who thought he was leading the country very well fell from 54 in November 1990 to 42 a year later — although he is still by far and away the most popular white leader in South Africa.

Respect

With a referendum, in which he will have to win majority support among whites for a new constitution looming, even he must be starting to worry.

Mr De Klerk is undoubtedly a statesman. He is enjoying growing respect and even tacit support in the capitals of Europe.

elects President

dent two-and-a-half years ago, Mr De Klerk has visited 30 countries. Some, like Britain, Germany and France, he has re-visited.

In the beginning he set out to convince world leaders that change in SA was irreversible to persuade them to lift sanctions. With rare exceptions he has achieved this goal.

More recently his visits aimed at attracting investment for SA and international support for his party's power-sharing proposals. Success in these two areas has been less forthcoming, but, significantly, his international credibility is such that it makes it possible for him to argue with a great degree of conviction that the latter is a precondition for achieving the former.

The audience at Davos was one with which Mr De Klerk, unlike any of his predecessors, was comfortable. Their concerns for stability, respect for property rights and certainly that profits could be relocated are the very things he holds dear. Before such an audience he

can produce a virtuoso performance.

It was an audience that applauded when Mr De Klerk said, referring to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, who shared the stage with him: "We are overcoming the antagonisms of the past: we have the desire and the will to face the future together, and together we will build a new South Africa."

Liberal

Such similarly optimistic declarations played very differently to the 2 500 people gathered at Olen Park on Thursday. They remained ominously silent.

One reason for this, unfortunately for Mr De Klerk, is that the successes achieved abroad have not yet begun to manifest themselves at home. The All Blacks have not come to Olen Park yet and the five-year loans Finance Minister Barend du Plessis boasted SA was now receiving have not yet been translated into an economic

The NP has also failed to prepare its constituency for change.

Central to Mr De Klerk's new acceptance abroad is his ditching of the NP's past policies and the adoption of liberal tenets on which the new world order is based.

But the energy Mr De Klerk has put into persuading world leaders that he is in step with them has not been matched at home with a concerted drive to persuade his supporters of the correctness of these tenets and the dangers awaiting SA should it be seen to be clinging to its racist policies of the past.

Thus, when Mr De Klerk analytically outlined the fate that would await SA if the CP ever came to power — total

world isolation, more sanctions than ever before, massive internal conflict — the audience appeared less than awed, almost complacent.

Mr De Klerk's party has come a long way from the time when it challenged the world to "do your damnedest". The audience at Olen Park has still to travel that road.

When Mr De Klerk said a CP government would have to jail Mr Mandela and face the consequences of that action, there was laughter from the audience and a sense that they did not, after all, think it such a bad idea.

Similarly, when the President presented the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes and the ANC's suspension of armed action as achievements of negotiations, there was silence.

The audience did not reject what he was saying, but Mr De Klerk and his party have simply not done enough to convince these would-be supporters that the NP is on the right path.

What made matters worse was that Mr De Klerk was particularly inept at dealing with the two issues which are perhaps uppermost in the minds not just of the Potchefstroom electorate but the country as a whole — crime and the economic downturn.

Victory

His response to the former was to reel off statistics showing how many extra policemen had been employed, while on the latter he stated that matters would be far worse under a CP government — neither of which, to judge by the stony silence which greeted his statements, the audience found particularly satisfactory.

Mr De Klerk predicted an NP victory in Potchefstroom. Many believe he is being overly optimistic.

What is certain is that, until he can start talking about crime rates decreasing rather than the number of policemen increasing and about an economic upturn, new jobs and lower taxes instead of intangible promises of medium-term overseas loans, his chances of winning a white referendum will continue to deteriorate.

He might yet go down in history as a second Jan Smuts — reversed abroad, rejected by his own electorate at home.

Whatever the outcome of Wednesday's

whites-only by-election in Potchefstroom, the results will be as irrelevant to us as they were in 1948 when the NP came to power.

Did I hear somebody say that it is naive of me to compare Df Malan's rule with that of FW de Klerk?

And how dare I call a crucial by-election irrelevant when some commentators say a victory for the Nats would secure more reforms for blacks - while a CP win would take us back to the dark days of apartheid?

The truth is that once again these elections are for and about whites only.

Whether the reformists or the conservatives win, we will not be affected in any way.

The Nats are looking for majority white support to strengthen their bargaining power at Codesa, while the CP wants to prove that whites are not and will never be ready to abandon apartheid.

FW de Klerk himself admits the results of the Potch election will be an accurate barometer of the

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Poll leaves blacks cold

CPers 16/2/92

3648



political mood among white voters.

Is it perhaps not simply white fear at a possible black takeover?

It has often been said that the reality of the South African situation will forever be judged according to the mood among whites.

The message I have for the NP, the CP and all those "moody" whites is that their fears weigh less than the restlessness among blacks today.

When one talks about apartheid and its legacy, people squirm and want to pretend it was a thing of the past.

They hate to be reminded of the days of

Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha - when, in fact, they still cling to the policies of these leaders.

The natives of this country are restless, and they become even more restless when they are reminded of elections like the one in Potchefstroom where politicians still talk about whites and blacks.

They feel insulted when they see the CP and the NP battle for supremacy at their expense.

The coming referendum on the constitution will again

remind us of our fourth class citizenship.

Blacks are still being kept out in the cold on issues that affect them directly.

Even the recently-formed Codesa seems to be battling to meet the aspirations of all the people of South Africa.

One can only hope that this is the last we hear of unrealistic politics.

There is much to say about about people who claim to know what blacks want, without finding out from blacks themselves. Last week I bumped into an old acquaintance who told me a fascinating and typically

South African story.

My friend has just moved into a new house in a suburb of Springs, a CP-dominated area. His new neighbour, he says, is what we would call a good colour-blind mlungu.

The neighbour welcomed him with tea and cakes and showed interest in building good neighbourliness.

"I thought that was in order," said my friend. But then the good neighbour told the newcomer that he

resented certain things about blacks. He added he would appreciate it if his new neighbour refrained from planting mealies in his garden, turning his house into a shebeen, bringing extended families into the house, and please, would he also ask his children not to speak funny African languages to his children.

"I said that's it, the man was now stretching his hospitality rather too far. I told him where to get off," my friend told me.

It also made me wonder if the ANC's policy of compromise on languages will be fully understood by all the people of this country.

Move on political prisoners

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

A CODESA working group meets tomorrow to consider an ANC demand that Codesa be allowed to decide the fate of the country's remaining political prisoners after the breakdown of government-ANC talks on the issue.

The demand was made this week at a meeting of the Codesa working group responsible for creating a political conducive to free

The government did not respond to the proposal immediately because Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee was absent, but it is expected to make a decision tomorrow when the working group meets again.

To date the government has insisted that all political prisoners who qualified for release in terms of the agreement between it and the ANC are out of jail. The ANC and its alliance partners insist that there are still more than 200 behind bars.

Control

The working group has also appointed a sub-committee to look into the control of the state media. According to members of the committee, parties agreed that there was a need for political neutrality and impartiality in the state media.

There was consensus that the SABC should have an independent board of control which would appoint its own management board during the period of transition.

The delegates will submit proposals as to how this interim mechanism should be constituted.

While agreeing that the SABC should have an independent board, the Ciskei government delegation demanded that it should be allowed to maintain control of its radio station.

The vast majority of other participants argued that public media in the TVBC states should also come under control of the independent authority.

● The working group which is to decide on principles for a new constitution has identified seven problem areas. The most important four are: the balance between central, regional and local government; power-sharing; affirmative action; and economic freedom and government intervention.

The Pied Pipers of Codesa take five

Given 16/2/92
THE ANC and the government were this week once again accused of striking secret deals in Codesa and trying to rig the negotiations before they even started, this time by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi's accusations are largely exaggerated and part of the IFP's manoeuvring to get full participation for the Zulu king at Codesa. But they are not without foundation, as was the case with PAC allegations last November.

The PAC was then on much firmer ground. But their allegations had little effect on the two as both realised the PAC did not really want to participate.

Early indications are that Buthelezi's attack will not have much effect either.

The PAC's allegations also had limited impact because parties in Codesa realised it was inevitable the two should do some homework beforehand.

Unlike the Zimbabwean and Namibian settlement talks, there was no outside party who could set the process in motion. Someone had to do it and in South Africa's case it turned out to be, for a number of good reasons, the ANC and the government.

Thus they played the role of Codesa's two benevolent dictators through much of the early stages.

When the working groups resumed their activities late in January, this started to change. The blow-out between Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk at Codesa One influenced relations between their sides, but apart from that, both parties probably figured that their firm, albeit discreet, guidance was no longer needed.

It is also quite possible that the perception they were the two Pied Pipers of Codesa was starting to cost them support back home.

So when the five working groups settled down to business, the "facilitat-

304A
TIM DU PLESSIS, a senior journalist at *Beeld* who covers the Codesa talks for *Nasionale Pers* newspapers, looks at the rhetoric and the real problems that face the historic forum.

ing" role by the two took a back seat.

Suddenly there was a rush of proposals and near frantic positioning by the smaller parties – much to the irritation of the bigger ones. It caused delays, to the point where key negotiators can nowadays hardly hide their frustration.

Obviously this cannot go on for ever. As the pressure increases on Codesa to come up with firm proposals, everybody will start to look at the ANC and the government for their positions on the crucial questions of an interim government and a constitution-making mechanism.

At that point they may well resume the role of Codesa's two benevolent dictators. Once again they will try to be nice to everybody, but basically implement the essence of their bilateral consensus.

Not enough firm information is available at this stage to safely predict which one of the two will make or gain concessions.

So, in spite of the protestations, past present and future, the other parties will simply have to accept that the two have a very special role to play because of the powers they command on the ground.

It is no coincidence they are the only two parties who have put proposals to Codesa that allow for an elected body to write the new constitution.

All the other parties are steering clear of that option, because deep down they realise an election would obliterate them or relegate them to insignificant minority parties.

.....
Keeping tabs on the news

clen 16/2/91 (304)
KK to make inaugural visit to SA

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda is expected to visit SA later this month.

During his four-day visit - his first to the country - Kaunda is expected to hold talks with the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and State President FW de Klerk.

Thumbs down for traditional leaders

CODESA has turned down a sub-committee proposal that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders be given full status at the talks on the future of South Africa. ~~423~~

The issue has been referred back to an expanded sub-committee. ~~3047~~

A member of Codesa's management committee, who requested anonymity, told reporters most MC members favoured observer status for traditional leaders. ~~16/2/92~~

"There is no way that traditional leaders can be given the same status as political parties like the National Party and the ANC," the member said.

ANC set to make concession to federalism

THE ANC is set to make a major concession to federalism by agreeing that the powers of regional governments be enshrined in the constitution.

This emerged yesterday from participants in the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday government and the ANC were approaching agreement on the status of regional government under a new constitution. He said an agreement could be announced as early as today.

A KaNgwane Inyandza National Movement delegate confirmed this, saying the ANC had agreed in principle to regional

powers being enshrined in the constitution.

The NP had made a concession by accepting that the precise nature of those powers need not be defined at Codesa but could be thrashed out at the constitution-making body which both parties agree should be elected.

Ramaphosa confirmed this, saying: "We have agreed we cannot define the powers at Codesa. The powers of regions can only be decided in a constitution-making body."

The ANC has not placed constitutional proposals before the working group but

has always insisted on strong centralised government to help redress imbalances caused by apartheid.

NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the NP would insist Codesa agree in principle that regional government powers be incorporated in a constitution. Such powers should not merely be delegated by central government.

Sapa-AFP reports from London that Ramaphosa told the Financial Times the ANC was ready to enter a power-sharing agreement with the NP.

"We would agree, soon after a new constitution is adopted ... to bring people

□ To Page 2

Federalism

from other parties into government," even if the ANC did win a large majority of votes, Ramaphosa said.

But he rejected "a forced coalition with any party".

The ANC would like a new constitution "which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own", he added.

Ramaphosa said a system of power

sharing could be implemented by requiring a majority vote, which would need the agreement of other parties in Parliament, to amend certain clauses in the constitution or to make certain decisions.

"That could well be a permanent feature in a constitution ... the type of feature that could give comfort to those parties that feel they could be marginalised by a majority party," he said.

From Page 1

ANC to reveal plans for govt

CT 18/2/92 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is set to make a major concession to federalism by agreeing that the powers of regional governments be enshrined in the constitution.

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A delegate of Kangwane's Inyandza National Movement confirmed this, saying the ANC had agreed in principle to regional powers being enshrined in the constitution.

He said the NP had made a

'Storm' over broadcasting

JOHANNESBURG. — Deregulating broadcasting was discussed for the first time at Codesa yesterday morning at a meeting described by some delegates as stormy.

"I'd rather not talk about it, but I can say that it was a stormy session," Dikwankwetla Party delegate Mr T J Mohapi said when the group broke for tea.

Sub-group three of Working Group One is discussing principles for an independent broadcasting regulatory authority.

In its proposals, the Democratic Party said revising the Broadcasting Act would ensure that all broadcasters observed fairness and objectivity during the transition period. — Sapa

concession by accepting that the precise nature of those powers could be thrashed out at the constitution-making body which both parties agree should be elected.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "We have agreed that we cannot define the powers at Codesa. The powers of regions can only be decided in a constitution-making body."

The nitty-gritty of an agreement still had to be decided upon but that there had been progress.

NP delegation leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the NP

would insist that Codesa reach an agreement in principle that the powers of regional government be incorporated in a constitution.

Such powers should not merely be delegated by central government, Dr De Villiers said yesterday.

He said the NP had taken note of recent ANC shifts towards regional government.

"We have from the outset stated clearly our strong position on regional government," Dr De Villiers said.

By SEKOLA SELLO

AN ANC-led government is likely to recommend that English be the official language of the country.

This is despite this week's recommendation by the organisation's language commission that no language should be declared "official".

According to the commission, the ANC accords equal status to all of South Africa's 11 languages - Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Sindebele, Siswati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

Although this is the organisa-

English likely to get ANC's vote

He admitted that the language was dominant in the country.

"Let the people decide themselves what language they want. Let us generate discussion on this issue."

According to the commission's recommendations, official work and business should be conducted in the languages people understood.

Wherever possible, people should be tried in court in the language they understood, and social, health and other community workers should understand and where possible speak the languages of the people they worked with.

tion's official standpoint at the moment, ANC insiders claim that it is almost a foregone conclusion that English, which is understood by most blacks, will be the official language.

The other 10 languages will enjoy co-official status with English in areas where they are dominant.

At the moment the ANC is treading warily on the subject for fear of antagonising some

Commission member Buntu Mfenyana said it would be premature to say English would be the official language. He said it was up to South Africans to decide on this issue.

304A

16/2/92

FW unveils settler memorial

South Africa
11/2/92
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A memorial built to honour early Dutch settlers in South Africa has been unveiled here by President De Klerk.

The memorial consists of a fountain and a paved surround — which bears carved marble carrying the 400 names of early settlers such as Fockema, Kat, Bok, Fockens, Besaans and Van Aartsen.

"The stones and the water, the main elements of this memorial, are redolent with symbolism. They evoke memories and gentle stirrings

"The fountain with its clear running water symbolises activity, creative vitality sustenance and peace. It speaks of life itself.

"The engraved bricks testify to our pride in our ancestry, as well as to our willingness to commit ourselves towards helping to build a country that will be a real home to all its inhabitants," Mr De Klerk said.

Paying tribute to the early Dutch settlers, Mr De Klerk said there might be many different interpretations as to the message of the memorial but that he believed it contained elements signifying a hopeful future for South Africa.

Only 350 turn up at ANC rally to hear Boesak's speech

The Argus Correspondent

Boesak

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress's chairman of the Western Cape, Dr Allan Boesak, was given a lukewarm reception by the Eersterust community.

Addressing a rally to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the ANC, no more than 350 people — mostly black — turned out to hear Dr Boesak's speech.

Earlier, an ANC organiser said 25 000 people were expected "if the Atteridgeville and Mamelodi branches arrive".

Scheduled to start at noon, by 12.30pm yesterday only 60 people were in the audience. A toyi-toying procession led by broomstick-wielding drum majorettes led a crowd of about 250 into the Eersterust Stadium about 1pm.

Obviously oblivious to the politicking going on around them, in a field adjoining the stadium two teams were involved in a robust game of football.

"We (the ANC) are happy we can be together

at this extraordinary period of our history and look back in pride with what we have achieved in the last year," Dr Boesak said.

Referring to the fairly heavy police presence, Dr Boesak said he hoped they were present because "A, they want to join us; B, they have learnt their lesson; and, C, they realise they will never break the back of a democratic society".

Dr Boesak said South Africa's future would not be determined by influence from abroad.

"We are now planning a new country. Not Margaret Thatcher, not Washington and not Germany," he said, referring to those countries which had supported the National Party government.

Berating those coloured MPs who had crossed the floor, Dr Boesak said he was prepared to meet any NP official anywhere so that "the people" could become part of the decision-making process.

"I can't understand why you will go to the people who took away your vote in 1952."

Dr Boesak said Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was in a position of power because US President George Bush and local white-owned newspapers wanted him to be in one.

Further berating the media, Dr Boesak said the interim government must take control of the media, especially the SABC.

Mr Mike Dearham, of the Eersterust branch of the ANC, admitted there was a very low coloured turnout for the occasion.

He denied this could be calculated as an embarrassing signal for the ANC in the battle for the hearts and minds of the coloured people.

Mr Dearham said the ANC branch in Eersterust was still young and that many of the locals did not turn up because they were attending church.

However, many coloured people watched from behind their fences as the march toyi-toyed past.

Peter Fabricius comments on the Government's turnabout on foreign pressure

Looking to others to temper ANC

ONE of the more enjoyable ironies of President de Klerk's trip to Europe last week was the way the Government suddenly became an enthusiastic advocate of foreign meddling in South Africa's domestic affairs.

The main purpose of the trip was to mobilise foreign governments and industrialists to pressure the ANC into dumping the vestiges of its socialist economic policies.

It was not too long ago that this same Government was berating the world for interfering in South Africa's affairs. The Government's philosophy then was that apartheid was purely an internal matter.

The new approach to foreign involvement — most sharply manifested at the World Economic Forum at Davos — dramatically gave the lie to this old argument.

It revealed the truth of the NP position all along, that foreign pressure is fine, as long as it not

applied to you.

Even as late as last week a slight contradiction in the Government's approach underscored the truth of this observation.

When President de Klerk received the Unesco peace award in Paris, he took the opportunity to warn Unesco that while it should encourage change, it should not "interfere". This warning was apparently issued for fear that Unesco might "interfere" on the wrong side — the ANC's.

Davos was an intense crucible of free market pressure, one of the most concentrated gatherings of world political and economic leaders ever. Under that pressure, ANC president Nelson Mandela offered important assurances to foreign investors which could prove crucial for the success of a post-apartheid economy: he promised their investments would be safe from nationalisation.

And in an earlier press briefing at Davos, he had made it very

clear that he disapproved of ANC statements threatening to review foreign loans granted to the present Government. Mr Mandela said he did not think it would be wise to acquire the image of an organisation that "did not honour its debts" — implicitly repudiating his hardline colleagues.

On his visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Mr de Klerk also tried to mobilise these governments against ANC economic policy. In nations which had just shrugged off the shackles of 40 years of oppressive communism, it was not hard to find endorsement for the free market.

The trip, and Davos especially, showed how in the future SA might come to be very grateful for foreign pressure — as it should have been grateful for the role which foreign pressure played in the past in persuading the Government to abandon apartheid.

But it is by no means certain that that all white South Africans

are grateful. Witness the quiet but persistent rumblings in the National Party establishment about Mr de Klerk's foreign excursions, similar to the criticisms of Mr Gorbachev and Mr Bush. The line is that instead of currying favour abroad, he should have been fighting the Potchefstroom by-election.

That surely shows a misunderstanding of the purpose of the mission, to win support for critical policy decisions.

"A few years ago we had little support outside the country, now we probably have more than the ANC," a senior government source said.

"If you strip away the personal reputation of Mr Mandela, the ANC is being slowly destroyed by its exposure to the world."

That is putting it much too strongly, but the general drift is right. The ANC is not so much being destroyed as moderated. Thank God for world pressure. □

STAR 17/2/92

(304A)

PAC holds anti-Codesa rally in Lebowa

By Montsho Matlala
Northern Transvaal Bureau

GROBLERSDAL (304A) PAC President Clarence Makwetu received a warm welcome from traditional leaders and about 1 000 supporters at the organisation's anti-Codesa rally held at Tafelkop village in Lebowa at the weekend.

"Codesa is not a battlefield for our liberation. It is an instrument designed by F W de Klerk to perpetuate white domination and to keep the oppressed apart," Mr Makwetu told the rally.

The US and other Western countries, he said, had been engaged in a series of strategies designed to protect their political and economic hegemony in southern Africa, particularly in South Africa.

He launched a scathing attack on the US for conducting anti-PAC campaigns in the Frontline states and other African countries to sideline the organisation for its standpoint against Codesa.

"The US has created a military airbase in Botswana for the purpose of monitoring here in Azania," he said.

"Despite the arms embargo against SA since 1963, the US continued to be a traditional arms dealer with this country. If they have audacity in violating their own resolutions, how can we trust them", he asked.

PAC would seek support from political organisations which also rejected Codesa and whose enemy was a white minority rule, he said.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC

was opposed to the Balkanisation of the country.

Tafelkop traditional leader and Lebowa's Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Chief Boleu Rammupudu told the crowd he agreed with the PAC views that the land belonged to the Africans.

The chairman of the 135 traditional leaders in Lebowa, Chief Manamane Mogashoe, said that contrary to views which many people have been made to believe by whites about the PAC, the organisation's rally at Chief Rammupudu kraal was impressive. STAR 17/2/92

He asked the PAC to propose a date on which to hold a meeting with all traditional leaders in the homeland's capital, Lebowakgomo.

NP could buck the trend in the last white election

3/Decy 17/2/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER

POTCHEFSTROOM — On a balmy evening at the rugby stadium of this western Transvaal town, President F W de Klerk is being cheered by a lone black man who offers repeated black power salutes. On another part of the grandstand, 15 burly men in khaki uniforms heckle raucously.

Unfortunately for the NP, blacks don't yet have a vote. Yet an NP victory is not an impossibility when voters go to the polls on Wednesday in what may prove to be SA's last all-white election.

The NP won the seat in the 1989 general election by a comfortable 1 500 votes at a time when the CP was gathering in former NP strongholds like Transvaal farmers used to harvest mealies in a good season.

The by-election could not have come at a worse time for the NP. Drought, a failing platteland economy, rising crime levels and constitutional uncertainty count against the ruling party.

By-elections historically cater for a protest vote that will not substantially alter the balance of political power. But the Potchefstroom poll is more than that and is being widely interpreted as a test of white, especially Afrikaner, support for government reform initiatives.

A bad loss for the NP (perhaps anything more than

1 000 votes) could be interpreted as a signal of white discontent with the direction government is leading the country. This in turn would suggest to shrewd NP minds that the party is in danger of losing the promised white referendum on constitutional alterations.

A win for the NP (by almost any margin) would indicate that in spite of a host of adverse factors, the NP still musters majority white support in its attempts at reaching an accommodation with the ANC.

If the by-election could not have come at a worse time for the NP, it could not have happened in a constituency more favourable. Potchefstroom is the political cradle of Afrikaner nationalism. Its university, which today boasts about 4 000 voting students, has produced leading figures in the Nationalists' ranks. De Klerk was quick to tell his audience that he received his degree at Potchefstroom, as did the party's candidate, Theuns Kruger.

The NP feels at home in Potchefstroom. Kruger attended the local high school and went on to play rugby for Western Transvaal including, local legend has it, one particularly memorable game against the British Lions. These things count in Potchefstroom — not for nothing are NP election posters boasting the return of international rugby tours.

As important is the town's religious orientation. De Klerk, like the majority of the townsfolk, subscribes to the Gereformeerde Kerk which is based in Potchefstroom and which is politically — though not morally — more *verlig* than the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

CP candidate Andries Beyers lacks the local profile of his opponent. However, the CP's dream of an Afrikaner "volksstaat" may touch a chord in what remains a conservative constituency alarmed at the prospect of domination by the formerly oppressed.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal Str, Johannesburg.

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Durban
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239058

CP map ridiculous — ANC

TIM COHEN

THE CP's map for a white homeland, which includes all of SA except the TBVC states and other self-governing territories, was "ridiculous in the absolute", ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

His comments follow the long-awaited unveiling of the CP's plan for a white SA at a public meeting in Potchefstroom on Wednesday by CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg.

Hartzenberg said the CP would consider expanding homelands to incorporate black townships.

Macozoma said this proposal was something that had been tried and found wanting.

The extremely large

amount of SA that the CP said it wanted included in the white homeland demonstrated that the CP was not seriously addressing the issue, he said.

Macozoma was reluctant to comment on who the ANC would prefer to win the Potchefstroom by-election, anxious not to play into the hands of CP by giving the impression the ANC supported the NP.

But he said it was important that the NP should carry its supporters with it.

If it did so, the NP was likely to be a more confident negotiating partner at Codesa, as opposed to one "looking over its shoulder the whole time".

Patrick Laurence reflects on electoral challenges ahead for the ANC and the NP

Spreading the net for voters

STAR 17/12/92

3044

THE African National Congress, having entrenched itself as the premier force in the black community, is still battling to win substantial support in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities.

The latest Human Science Research Council survey, based on 2 000 face-to-face and telephonic interviews conducted across the country, shows that the ANC's support levels are minuscule in the minority communities compared to its popularity in the black populace.

Where 67 percent of blacks would vote for the ANC in a general election tomorrow, only 3 percent of whites, 7 percent of coloureds and 8 percent of Indians would do so. The results confirm what the ANC already knows.

Its immediate past secretary general, Alfred Nzo, told the ANC at its general conference last July: "The biggest proportion of (our) membership is drawn from the African sector ... we are not making much progress in respect of the coloured, Indian and white populations." He went on to list a number of possible reasons for the ANC's poor showing in the minori-

ty communities. They included the perception that the ANC is a black organisation (and not, as is sometimes charged by Africanists, an organisation controlled by whites and Indians) and its alliance with the SA Communist Party.

Mr Nzo offered ANC delegates an assurance: "We have started a process of specifically recruiting in the coloured, Indian and white communities." It was linked to a warning: "It is important ... that we relate to all sectors of our people and not just activists."

Since then former World Alliance of Reformed Churches president, Alan Boesak, has been elected chairman of the Western Cape region of the ANC. The move — which had the approval of ANC president Nelson Mandela — was clearly calculated to boost coloured support for the ANC.

The HSRC survey was conducted in September-October last year, although its results were released only last week. It is therefore not a fair test of whether or not Mr Boesak has succeeded at attracting coloured people to the ANC's banner.

But, judging by the ANC's rally and protest march in Cape Town

at the opening of Parliament on January 24, he has made little impact so far. The rally, which marked the opening of the "People's Parliament" at the Grand Parade, and the march up Adderley Street toward Parliament, had one conspicuous characteristic: a marked absence of coloured people in the crowd.

Their absence was particularly significant because the majority of people in the Western Cape are coloured. They constitute more than 60 percent of the population. The black and white proportions are, in round figures, 12 percent and 26 percent respectively.

Trevor Manuel, who hails from the Western Cape and who was one of the ANC leaders at the march, does not dispute that the vast majority of the ANC protesters on January 24 were blacks from the townships.

He attributes the absence of coloured people to the nasty experience many of them had when Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990: there was a lot of pick-pocketing, looting and drunkenness on that day.

Mr Manuel remains hopeful, however, that the ANC will be

able to succeed in winning a large measure of coloured support. He believes the rural areas contain reservoirs of potential ANC members and supporters. While racial prejudice and coloured poverty are stark there, he explains.

Mr Manuel, who was a top official in the United Democratic Front in the 1980s, recalls that coloured support for the UDF — which was considered by many people at the time to be the ANC by another name — was high in coloured townships in the Transvaal. The ANC, he thinks, should be able to replicate the UDF's penetration of the coloured community.

Cecil Esau, a senior ANC organiser in the Western Cape, agrees with Mr Manuel. His diagnosis of the situation is that the ANC, unlike the UDF, has not yet succeeded in mobilising coloured people around local grievances and aspirations. It needs to link up more closely with civic organisations. He is determined to rectify that deficiency.

These hoped-for ANC gains would be at the expense of President de Klerk's National Party: its support in the coloured communi-

ty — according to the HSRC — runs at about 54 percent, well above that of any of its rivals, including Alan Hendricks's Labour Party.

These is another potential catchment area for recruitment by the ANC and, obviously, the NP: about a third of the coloured populace is uncommitted politically.

Mr Manuel and Mr Esau agree on another point: Mr Hendricks's Labour Party — which has lost control of the House of Representatives to a NP-led coalition — is unlikely to be an important ally in the coming contest with the NP.

They explicate: there is a long history of hostility in the coloured community to his decision to participate in the racially structured tricameral parliament.

Consequently he is seen by a large sector of the coloured populace as an opportunist. His sudden pro-ANC stand and membership of the Patriotic Front is judged to be an attempt to survive politically in changing times.

But if the ANC has problems in the minority communities, the NP faces an even bigger challenge in the black community. According

to the HSRC survey, NP support among blacks stands at a scant 6 percent. NP hopes of winning the allegiance of a sizable proportion of black voters look flimsy, even if account is taken of its "game plan" of forming tactical alliances with regionally based black parties.

Support for Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Freedom Party — once billed as a key partner in the projected alliance — runs at a mere 3 percent. The HSRC says: "It is very significant that in no race group did a majority — or even close to a majority — indicate that they felt very close to Inkatha."

A not insignificant proportion of blacks are undecided, however. Constituting about a fifth of black voters they are manifestly of great importance in the struggle ahead.

A problem for the NP is that its support level in the black populace appears to be static: in contrast the ANC's black support seems to be growing steadily, having increased from 55 percent to 67 percent between April and October last year.

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NP could buck the trend in the last white election

By Guy 17/2/92

POTCHEFSTROOM — On a balmy evening at the rugby stadium of this western Transvaal town, President F W de Klerk is being cheered by a lone black man who offers repeated black power salutes. On another part of the grandstand, 15 burly men in khaki uniforms heckle raucously.

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3044
PATRICK BULGER

1 000 votes) could be interpreted as a signal of white discontent with the direction government is leading the country. This in turn would suggest to shrewd NP minds that the party is in danger of losing the promised white referendum on constitutional alterations.

A win for the NP (by almost any margin) would indicate that in spite of a host of adverse factors, the NP still musters majority white support in its attempts at reaching an accommodation with the ANC.

If the by-election could not have come at a worse time for the NP, it could not have happened in a constituency more favourable. Potchefstroom is the political cradle of Afrikaner nationalism. Its university, which today boasts about 4 000 voting students, has produced leading figures

THE heat will be turned up in Codesa today when no less than 15 committees attempt to reach the heart of constitutional negotiations.

Today's session will zoom in on such issues as the continued refusal of the Bophuthatswana government to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

It follows last week's preliminary talks and comes after rumours of imminent "all-embracing" agreements were effectively quashed.

A Codesa source last week said that the issue of the re-incorporation of homelands was so complex

Heat is on in Codesa today

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

that it could take months to resolve.

A special sub-committee has been established to look into Bophuthatswana's refusal to sign the declaration.

Homeland leaders last week showed only guarded enthusiasm for rapid progress at Codesa, and on the issue of re-incorporation. A special sub-committee under the title "To test the

will of the people" was also established to deal with the question of whether the people of these areas actually want to be re-incorporated into South Africa. Last week's meeting reached very tentative, but widespread agreement on constitutional issues and the concepts of multiparty

democracy, regular elections, a common voters' role and proportional representation. Working Group 2, which deals with general constitutional principles, will today resume deliberations on areas of disagreement. At issue will be the actual representation and protection

of minorities in a new dispensation.

The Government's spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delpoit, believes it is not a matter of simply giving a minority a seat in Parliament.

Other areas of divergence:

- The devolution of power from the central to regional and local government;
 - An economic policy and state intervention;
 - The contents of a Bill of Rights;
 - Self-determination; and
 - The role of traditional leaders.
- A special sub-committee was established to deal with the last issue.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

'IFP forced to sign peace'

3041
Sowetan
17/2/92

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was "dragooned" into signing the Declaration of Intent at the first plenary session of Codesa in December, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He told a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States that the IFP had been obliged to sign the declaration despite reservations.

This was a result of collusion between the ANC and the Government.

"(ANC President) Mr Nelson Mandela said at the time he had reservations about signing (the declaration) but after discussions with the State President was persuaded to sign.

"We (the IFP) were pressurised during lunch to sign the declaration. There was an effort to dragoon the delegation into complying despite our reservations. Is that democracy?"

Asked if he thought the ANC and the NP were conniving on the issue of an interim government, he replied: "Your guess is as good as mine."

On the rumoured alliance between Inkatha and the CP, Buthelezi said no particular agreements had been reached between the CP and the organisation during recent discussions.

He said he had told CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that it would be a "good thing" if he put the party's views on self-determination to Codesa.

Buthelezi denied Press reports that he would soon resign as IFP president.

He said he would remain president of the IFP for as long as the party wanted him to.

Buthelezi returned from a visit to the US and Switzerland. 6822



Dr Dawie de Villiers

Interim rule: 'Codesa agreed'

3048

ARG 18/2/92

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Staff

THERE is general agreement on the need for an interim government among Codesa participants, says National Party negotiator and Minister of Economic Co-ordination Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Several good reasons existed for an interim government, he told a National Party media briefing at a meeting of the five Codesa working committees.

The present government was not fully representative of all South Africans and therefore it lacked credibility.

An interim government was needed to promote stability, Dr De Villiers said.

The NP and Labour Party yesterday submitted their constitutional principles to the working group charged with the matter.

The NP constitutional proposals did not differ from those unveiled at the NP federal congress last year.

The LP placed strong emphasis on constitutionally entrenched regional authorities.

It proposed that the constitution should reflect a process of constitution-making beginning simultaneously from the national and regional levels of government.

The geographical demarcation of the regions should be based on demographic, economical and political considerations and the existing nine development regions could be used as the basis for negotiation.

"The central government must not have the power unilaterally to revoke or undermine the exercise of political power at a regional level. A formula will have to be devised for the equitable financing of all regions and the rehabilitation of economically weak ones," the LP said.

The working group on constitutional principles yesterday debated regionalism and federalism and the discussion will be continued at its meeting on Monday.

Dr De Villiers said the NP did not commit itself to federalism per se but its proposals contained el-

ements of federalism, and a constitution appropriate for the country's circumstances should be developed.

The NP wanted the powers and functions of regions entrenched in the constitution.

On the other hand, in the ANC submission to the working group, it said: "Within the context of an undivided South Africa, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall be such as to encourage non-racialism, democratic participation and administration at all levels."

The SACP proposed at last week's meeting of one of the sub-committees of the working group dealing with the creation of a free political climate that the release of political prisoners should be discussed at Codesa.

The IFP yesterday proposed that the release of all political prisoners, and not only those allegedly held by the government, should be debated by Codesa.

The IFP said the principle of general amnesty was desirable but it recognised that common criminals could be released along with political prisoners under such an amnesty.

It also submitted a letter by a former ANC prisoner, Mr Patrick Hlongwane, to the working group in which it claimed that the organisation was still holding prisoners in Uganda and Tanzania.

"The IFP believes that all political prisoners, including those allegedly held by the ANC, must be released," it said.

The IFP proposed that a sub-committee be appointed to hear evidence from former ANC prisoners to determine whether the ANC was still holding prisoners.

"The ANC and the South African government must be seen to have clean hands on this matter," the IFP said.

The ANC released 32 prisoners last year and said it was no longer detaining any prisoners.

The working group postponed the issue until after a scheduled bilateral meeting between the ANC and government was held next week.

Both NP and CP claim they will win Potchefstroom poll

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than half of Potchefstroom's 23 000 voters have already cast their votes in tomorrow's parliamentary by-election, which will be a crucial barometer of white political sentiments.

This unusually high number of special votes is expected to rise today before special voting booths close at 2pm.

The candidates in the election are the National Party man, estate agent Theuns Kruger, who has only one arm, and Conservative Party general secretary Andries Beyers.

Mr Kruger lost his right arm in an accident during a summer holiday job in a butchery but went on to captain the Western Transvaal rugby team against the Lions in 1968.

Spokesmen for both parties yesterday claimed they would win the by-election. Potchefstroom CP chairman Willie

Boshoff said his party was still ahead with more than a 1 000 of the special votes cast.

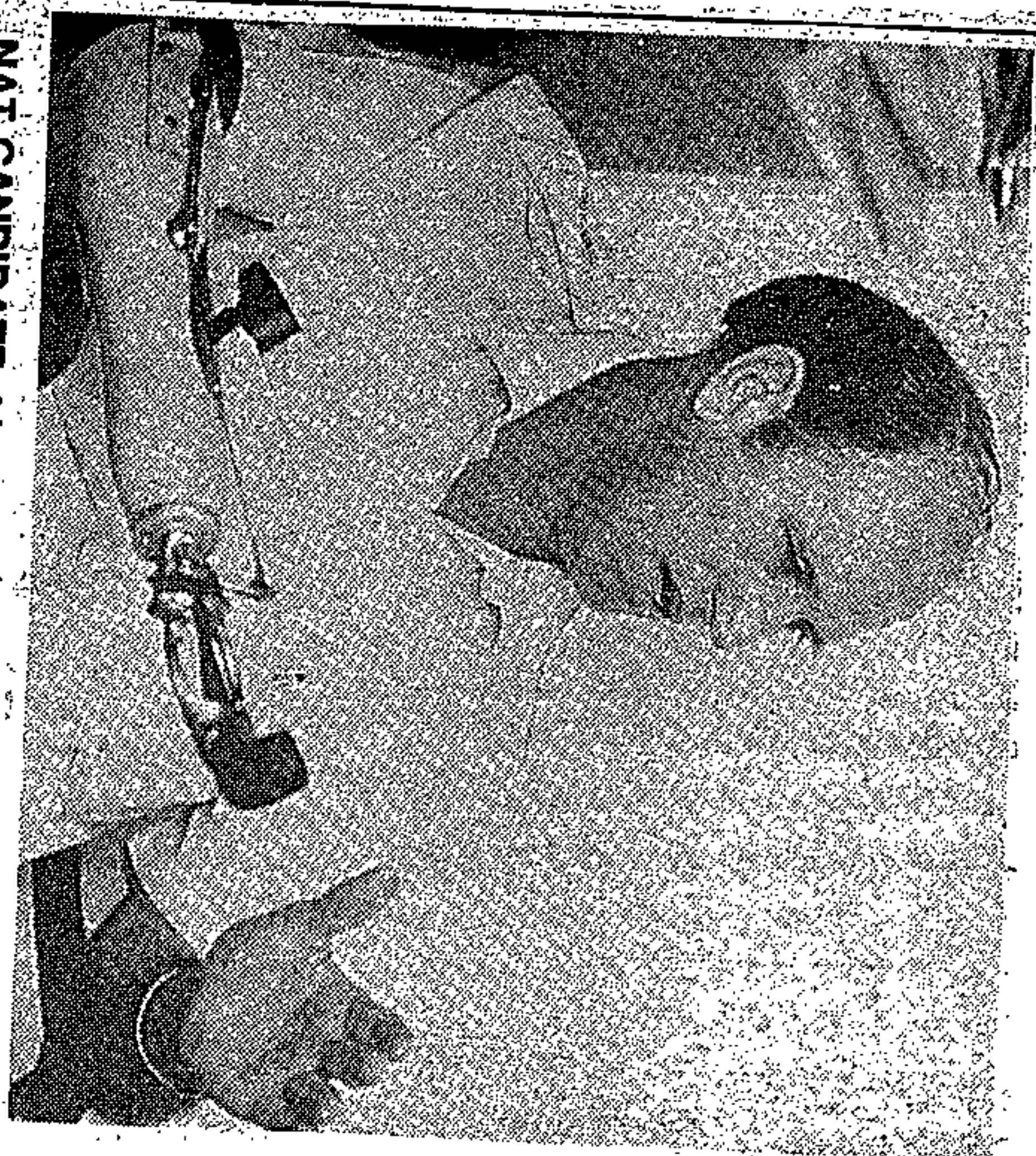
"Our chances to win get better and better," Mr Boshoff said.

But NP election agent Josef le Grange said his party would show the country the NP would retain the seat. He declined to estimate the NP support since there were too many unknown factors but said they were "neck and neck".

The by-election is being watched with interest as an indication of what measures of support President De Klerk enjoys among white, mainly Afrikaans, voters.

The seat became vacant after the death of former parliament Speaker Mr Louis le Grange. In the 1989 general election the NP increased its majority to more than 1 500.

● See page 12.



NAT CANDIDATE: Mr Theuns Kruger, who lost an arm in an accident in a butchery.

STAR 18/2/92

(304A)

A barometer of white sentiment

ONE OF two constituencies held by the NP in the western Transvaal — offers a representative profile of the Afrikaner. The town comprises the military, academics, students, factory workers and miners, and is probably 95 percent Afrikanerspeaking.

The parties contesting the seat — the National Party and the Conservative Party — have both attached immense importance to the by-election.

The NP flew 10 cabinet ministers, several deputy ministers and MPs into Potchefstroom for an 11th hour blitz last Monday. The campaign was finally wound up by President de Klerk on Thursday.

The CP pushed several MPs into the field to address the same crowds as the ministers had, immediately after them.

Its campaign was rounded off by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

Mr de Klerk says it will be a decisive by-election, acting as a barometer of white sentiment. Dr Hartzenberg goes further, believing it is the most crucial election of the century — with the power to cause Codesa's failure and halt it in its initial phase.

NP candidate Theuns Kruger, who says the by-election will retrospectively be referred to as "the battle of Potchefstroom", is campaigning for a vote in support of a peaceful settlement through negotiations. "It is about the future of the country," he says.

CP candidate Andries Beyers says the by-election is "a battle along the road to freedom".

Either way, much is at stake. And it is not only about the

election of a new candidate for the House of Assembly.

It is about white support, or lack thereof, for the Government's reform programme and the negotiation process.

The result of the by-election will send clear signals on Thursday, both locally and internationally.

Contrary to Dr Hartzenberg, NP chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Gerhard Koonhof argues that a CP victory cannot derail the negotiation process.

"We have a futuristic vision. The CP is fighting for a better past," Dr Koonhof says.

Mr Kruger says the only positive spin-off from a NP defeat is perhaps reaching compromises with the ANC quicker. The line of thinking behind this is that Mr de Klerk will then be able to demonstrate the prob-

The by-election in Potchefstroom tomorrow is not about choosing a new representative for the House of Assembly. It is a battle for the soul of the Afrikaner, reports Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

lems the Government is having with rightwingers.

Mr Beyers says a NP defeat will strengthen the CP claim that it represents the majority of whites and a CP defeat will be a setback for the freedom struggle.

Mr de Klerk last Thursday night spelt out some of the implications of a hypothetical CP takeover: the forced removal of millions of blacks, the return of job reservation, the segregation of public amenities, the banning of the ANC and the jailing of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Both the candidates were

born and bred in the western Transvaal.

Mr Kruger spent four years in the same class as AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche "until Mr TerreBlanche failed Std 9".

He says it has been easy to sell the NP policy to Potchefstroom voters because the CP policy was based on a vacuum. There is no other viable option to the NP vision of the future, he says.

Asked what sold him on the new NP strategy, Mr Kruger says without hesitation: "The influence of sanctions, because no country can exist in isolation." He admits the local and inter-

national media attention has been something of a shock.

The main objections against the NP policy have been the inter-denominational prayers at Codesa I, violence and the economy, he says.

Mr Kruger, a local estate agent, admits the CP was ahead in the race for the seat "but never by far — at the most 800 votes".

But they peaked too early, he says.

By last Thursday almost half — 10 500 — voters had cast special votes.

Mr Kruger believes the NP can win the seat — a belief echoed by Mr de Klerk — and will win by "probably 500 votes".

Mr Beyers, the CP's chief secretary and the youngest member of the Provincial Council at 24, counters by saying the CP,

unlike the NP, is putting its policy before the voters.

The CP has spent less than half of its time attacking the NP, he says.

The NP's failure to present its policy has resulted in voters considering the CP policy of self-determination through new eyes, he says. Mr Beyers believes there are two choices for Potchefstroom voters: a NP victory would quicken the pace to an interim government and eventually an ANC-dominated government or a CP victory which would delay the process of handing over power.

He says the objections against NP policies offered by voters, have been the NP's lack of credibility, the Government's lack of a secure vision for the future and the poor economic situation.

Voters realise the NP policy

would lead to a cul de sac, he says.

Mr de Klerk, however, says the CP vision is a road to suicide for whites and minority groups.

Statistics, compiled in March last year, show there are only 46 800 whites compared with 106 000 blacks in the Potchefstroom magisterial district.

The white utopia the CP offers is not possible for South Africa, Mr de Klerk says.

The bottom line is that the by-election is a mini-referendum on white sentiment about the negotiation process.

The voters of Potchefstroom have an enormous responsibility tomorrow — they are not only casting a vote for the NP or for the CP but in support of or in opposition to a peaceful settlement through constitutional negotiations in the country.

Not all gloom and doom ahead for SA

STAR 18/2/92

304A

GLOOM? What gloom? Almost 60 percent of South Africans are confident of a happy future for all. They are not exactly brimful — only 18 percent are “very confident”, the rest “fairly” — but that still means twice as much confidence in circulation as there was six years ago.

Moreover, 43 percent think race relationships are improving, only 24 percent say they are deteriorating, and 68 percent reckon relations are not bad.

That's the good news in Markinor's latest survey of how South Africa views itself, conducted in November among whites nationwide and blacks in metropolitan areas.

Unfortunately that is also where the good news ends, especially from whites. For the first time in the survey's 14 years a majority of whites (52 percent) say they are now worse off. The lowest number yet (16 percent) consider themselves better off.

Blacks have a cheerier view of recent economic movements: averaged over the last two years 25 percent of blacks have felt better off and 29 percent worse off.

Blacks are also more hopeful for the year to come. Thirty-two percent anticipate see themselves being better off by Christmas, 27 percent worse off, with the wealthiest category, who are earning more than R1 500 a month, much more confident of making financial headway than their breadline brethren.

Among whites, 20 percent expect a better-stocked pantry by the end of the year; 47 percent expect deprivations. Here, too, the rich (R5 000 or more) are more optimistic than the poor.

Economic confidence shows an odd pattern. Rich whites and poor blacks have identical feelings: 43 percent pessimistic and

A survey by Markinor reviews the situation ahead for SA and makes some interesting political and economic discoveries.

Report by
DENIS BECKETT.

25 percent optimistic. The poorest whites (less than R2 000 a month) are the gloomiest segment, 56 percent seeing a harder year ahead.

Not that this translates into political correlations. Rich or poor alike, 81 percent of whites think F W de Klerk is leading the country either “very well” or “fairly well”. So do 60 percent of blacks, and only 9 percent of either group think he is doing “not at all well”.

The news is not altogether comforting for Mr de Klerk. His rating among blacks is up from the 37 percent that P W Botha averaged, but down from his own 88 percent peak in 1990.

Among blacks, 33 percent feel less favourable towards him than “a few months ago”; 23 percent are more favourable. The trend applies in every city except Durban, where it is sharply reversed. In Durban, Mr de Klerk has gained favour in the eyes of blacks at a rate of two to one, as he has done among whites across the board.

Only in the OFS is Mr de Klerk losing white sympathy faster than he is gaining.

Blacks have moved massively towards Mr Mandela, 71 percent are more favourable towards him now than in the past, only 6 percent less favourable.

Nonetheless, in Markinor's total catchment of 8 million people (4,7 million black, 3,3 million white) Mr de Klerk's

performance draws an “approval rating” of just on 70 percent — far more than George Bush or John Major would dream of.

Only 9 percent of blacks, down from 22 percent in 1990, choose him as the person who should lead South Africa. This places him a poor second to Mr Mandela, 69 percent, but nonetheless second. Clarence Makhethu of the PAC checks in at third place (4 percent), with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Joe Slovo and Zach de Beer barely blipping the screen and the president of Azapo getting an unadulterated 0.

If you take the survey as gospel you believe there are 24 000 white people, mainly university graduates, whose first or second choice to run the country is the PAC.

You also believe Inkatha has five white supporters for every one (metropolitan) black supporter. And 6 006 whites and 125 000 blacks would allegedly give it either their first or second choice.

In keeping with the recent tradition of clipboard surveys, Markinor ascribes a 1 percent support base to Inkatha. Laymen often have difficulty swallowing this figure but among the research fraternity there is a well-known explanation. As one social scientist, not from Markinor, says: “Inevitably the interviewers look and talk like ANC types, so only the boldest respondents admit to Inkatha sympathies.”

What of the by-election? Nats may be consoled to hear that in white hearts and minds nationwide they are trouncing the CP by 56 percent to 20 percent. In the Transvaal platteland, according to the survey, NP support is running 12 percent ahead of the CP. Whether that applies to Potchefstroom, tomorrow will show. □

ANC envisages a coalition with Nats

STAR 18/2/92 (304A)

The ANC was willing to make major concessions on the issue of multiracial power-sharing in a post-apartheid South Africa, which could form the basis of an eventual deal on a new democratic constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in a interview with the London Financial Times, said that a post-apartheid ANC government would rule in coalition with the mainly white National Party, even if the ANC won a large majority of votes.

He said: "We would agree, soon after a new constitution was adopted, that you might well need to bring people from other parties into government."

However, Mr Ramaphosa said: "We would be quite vehemently opposed to a situation where we would be forced to get into a coalition government with any party ... our view is that forced marriages don't work."

He believed that coalitions would arise naturally out of South Africa's political and ethnic diversity.

On NP insistence that it did not want to exchange white domination for black domination, Mr Ramaphosa said: "You need a constitution which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own."

"You could have a system where you share power by saying that on certain clauses of the constitution — amending the constitution or taking particular decisions — you would need the agreement of other parties in parliament."

"That could well be a permanent feature in a constitution ... the type of feature that could give comfort to those parties that feel they could be marginalised by a majority party."

On the areas subject to joint decision-making Mr Ramaphosa was surprisingly flexible.

He suggested that the Budget might be one such area.

On devolution of power to the regions — one of the main planks in NP strategy — Mr Ramaphosa was conciliatory.

But he said forming an interim government was the priority, adding: "We can only

think of one method of election, that is one person, one vote on a common voters roll based on proportional representation."

The statement that an ANC government would share power with the NP was a "very important shift" in the organisation's policy, the NP said yesterday.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed Mr Ramaphosa's remarks and said that although he did not agree with the details of how Mr Ramaphosa envisaged power-sharing, he was "very pleasantly surprised" by the ANC's shift.

Dr van der Merwe said that Mr Ramaphosa's examples of how majority domination could be prevented were unsatisfactory. The NP believed that entrenched clauses in the constitution were by themselves far from power-sharing and would have to be included. But, Mr Ramaphosa's acceptance of the principle of power-sharing — if it was a reflected, considered statement — represented a very important shift which would benefit the whole of SA. — Political Staff.

Govt objects to ANC official language plan

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has expressed reservations about an ANC proposal that South Africa should have no national official languages defined in the constitution.

A recent report by the ANC's language commission recommended that instead, the State should designate regional languages.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the Government was opposed to a change in the status of the two official languages, English and Afrikaans.

However he welcomed the "high premium the ANC put on the importance and status of all languages, the desirability of multilingualism".

But he said the Government had reservations about the practicability of the ANC proposal that there should be no official national languages and that the state should rather designate regional languages for official use.

"The practical functioning of state administration also requires the existence of national official languages."

Absent voters could have the final say

Bibay 18/2/92 304A

ABSENT voters could decide the outcome of the crucial Potchefstroom by-election which takes place tomorrow.

About 5 000 of the western Transvaal constituency's 23 500 voters were untraceable, competing NP and CP election workers said yesterday.

By late yesterday 12 000 applications for preliminary votes had been received by returning officer P J Schreuder.

CP organiser Willie Boshoff said the CP expected between 4 000 and 5 000 voters to cast votes tomorrow. Boshoff conceded that the NP had gained ground among students at Potchefstroom University, who voted last week. He said the NP had gained about 700 votes to the CP's 300.

"We are still well ahead," Boshoff said, but he would not give a figure.

Schreuder said his office had received about 300 votes from Potchefstroom-registered voters now living outside the constituency, and he expected more.

About 2 000 voters will refuse to cast

PATRICK BULGER

their votes, leaving the 5 000 outside the constituency in a crucial position.

CP acting general secretary Paul Fouche said yesterday the CP was mounting a national effort to track voters.

He said party workers visited the last known address of voters, then the neighbours and then the voter's last-known workplace. If an address was finally found, members of the CP divisional council were told to find the voter at his new address.

Party workers were divided on which party would gain by a higher poll. Fouche said the CP was hoping for a poll of 72% and said the NP was battling to get its voters to vote.

An NP worker claimed, however, that a lower poll would suit the NP as a possible CP strength lay in getting abstaining NP supporters to vote for the CP.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

● Comment: Page 8

From page 1

with questions about nationalisation and sanctions".

Mr Mandela said he could offer "no guarantee" of a change of heart in the ANC power structures. It could be "quite a task" to ensure a rethink within the ANC on nationalisation, particularly since the movement had been telling its supporters that nationalisation was official policy for so many years.

Asked if the ANC, in the light of the high unemployment rate in the country, should not consider lifting sanctions, Mr Mandela responded: "Yes."

He said it was a matter of great concern, "whether you are the regime or a freedom fighter", that people were able to put food into their stomachs.

He said that as soon as an interim government was installed — "which could be within three months" — all sanctions would be lifted, excepting those affecting the arms and oil embargoes.

Thorny issue

He said the ANC would have to study "very, very carefully" recommendations by the IMF, the World Bank and other financial institutions that South Africa should strive to achieve "redistribution through growth rather than the other way around".

In an interview published yesterday in the Financial Times in London, Mr Ramaphosa indicated that the ANC was willing to make significant concessions on the thorny issue of power-sharing in South Africa's first democratically-elected government under a new constitution.

Replying to a question about a possible coalition with the NP, he said: "We would agree, soon after a new constitution is adopted, you may well need to bring in people from other parties into government."

In a further bid to placate white fears in a new order, he said: "You need a constitution which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own."

Mandela vow on state control

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday promised he would try to persuade the ANC to ditch its universally unpopular nationalisation policy.

The ANC president frankly acknowledged that there was "no doubt about it that nationalisation has become a very unpopular concept" among both foreign investors and the South African business community.

Mr Mandela also predicted that sanctions — which had helped produce a "disastrous" unemployment rate of 40% and contributed to "shattering" the economy — "could be over in three to six months".

And in another major softening on ANC policy, the organisation's secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday that the ANC would be prepared to form a power-sharing coalition with the National Party in a post-apartheid government even if the ANC won a large majority of the votes.

Mr Mandela told a President 100 Club luncheon in the city that when "the whole world" questioned the ANC's continuing commitment to nationalisation it was time for him to communicate this to his organisation.

He said he had been unable to find support or understanding for this "basic ANC policy" among any international political and business leaders, including those from socialist countries which the ANC regarded as its traditional friends.

'Support of business'

It had become clear during his discussions with leaders on his international travels that South Africa was not going to attract foreign money if potential investors felt that a "sword of Damocles" was hanging over their heads.

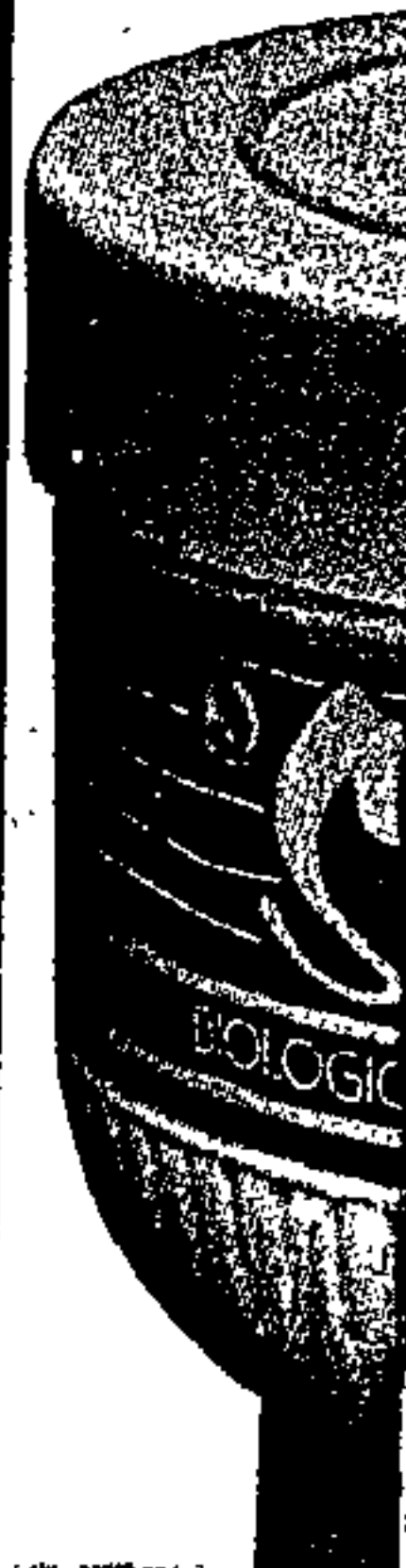
Talks with the business community in South Africa had also made him aware that "no economic policy can succeed if it does not have the support of business".

Mr Mandela said that even senior politicians from countries like China and Vietnam had impressed on him the importance of reducing the role of the public sector to boost productivity.

Scandinavian countries, which had been among the ANC's staunchest allies in the past, were "bombarding me

To page 2

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'Agreement on interim government'

STAR 18/2/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (304A)

There was general agreement on the need for an interim government among Codesa participants, National Party negotiator and Minister of Economic Co-ordination Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

Several good reasons existed for an interim government, he told an NP media briefing after a meeting of the five Codesa working committees.

The present Government was not fully representative of all South Africans and therefore it lacked credibility.

An interim government was also needed to promote stability, Dr de Villiers said.

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The NP constitutional proposals did not differ from those unveiled at the NP federal congress last year.

Proposed

The LP placed strong emphasis on constitutionally entrenched regional authorities.

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The geographical demarcation of the regions should be based on demographic, economical and political considerations and the existing nine development regions could be used as the basis for negotiation.

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The ANC released 32 prisoners last year and said it was no longer detaining any prisoners.

The working group postponed the issue until after a scheduled bilateral meeting between the ANC and Government was held next week.

Secret document causes turmoil in Codesa debate

Secretan 18/2/92
THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa was thrown into turmoil yesterday during a fiery debate over the legality of a secret working document dealing with proposals for an interim government.

The document, according to sources, consists of summaries and/or proposals by various delegates to Codesa's working group 3, which deals with principles for an interim government or transitional authority.

It was prepared by the South African Government and Transkeian representatives.

Surprise

The sources said yesterday that deliberations had not been resolved and this took some delegates by surprise.

One source said the contents of the document were secret.

"These are summaries of proposals submitted to the working group 3 and no consensus has been reached on various issues that were debated here," the source said.

30417
By IKE MOTSAPI

While delegates are committed to the establishment of a transitional authority, most parties in Codesa have placed pre-conditions on their participation in such arrangements.

These pre-conditions have to be decided by a sub-committee of the working group.

Most delegates fear that this might delay the establishment of an elected transitional government before the end of the year.

The other problem is that not all delegates have stated their positions and it is believed that further proposals would be identified as the working group proceeds with its work.

A source said the question of the involvement on the international community was left to be dealt with Codesa's working group one whose task is to create a climate for free political participation.

The question of the TVBC states has been left to be finalised by Codesa's working group four.

BHAMJEE IN COURT AGAIN - P2

NAFCOC SAGA CONTINUES - P3

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 10 1992

LATE FINAL

Missing voters could sway vital Potch poll

3048 CT 18/2/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Absent voters could decide the outcome of the crucial Potchefstroom by-election tomorrow.

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Drive to get Gqozo out of Codesa

3048
AUG 19/2/92
EAST LONDON. — Civic organisations in the Border region are to collect signatures calling for the removal of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from Codesa.

The regional secretary of the Border Civics Congress (Bocco), Mr Penrose Ntlonti, said the decision was taken after complaints of harassment from affiliates by Ciskei headman, the police and magistrates.

The complaints were made after Bocco's regional general council at the weekend said that headman were "not appointed democratically, but imposed by magistrates and chiefs".

Mr Ntlonti said Bocco would collect signatures from villagers in the "so-called" Ciskei calling for Codesa to refuse Brigadier Gqozo's involvement on the grounds that he did not represent anybody.

No date had been set for the campaign as Bocco still had to consult its affiliates and other regional organisations.

At its regional congress Bocco also resolved to "intensify" a seven-month-long rent boycott in Mdantsane, and to extend the action to all other Ciskei townships. — Ecna.

Violence means progress, says Cohen

The Argus Foreign Service

304A ARG 1972/92

WASHINGTON. — Continuing violence in South Africa indicates progress is being made in constitutional talks in spite of opposition from extremists, says United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen.

"The fact that violence is continuing and even increasing is troublesome, but I think it also reflects the fact that those who do not want negotiations — the extremists in various communities — see that negotiations are moving well and are therefore stepping up the violence," he told a press conference.

"So it reflects the progress that has been made and we hope negotiators will continue to forge ahead and not be deterred by the violence, which is what I think they will do."

The US was encouraged, he said, by the progress in constitutional talks. "They are proceeding in a good atmosphere and there seems to be a will-

ingness on all sides to listen to the concerns of other sides, and we feel there is a good chance that many of the issues will be compromised into solutions acceptable to the various factions."

He said that while the US was concerned by some of the statements on the economy made recently by the ANC, the evolution in the ANC's thinking was positive.

"The ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela came here and talked about the importance of a vigorous private sector and the importance of foreign investment and domestic investment, so we feel that there is growing acceptance of the importance of a free market system in South Africa and we think the evolution within the ANC is favourable."

Mr Cohen said South Africa now met all the conditions required for a loan from the International Monetary Fund, other than that the country would have to have a balance

of payments deficit that could not be redressed through private sector borrowing — a condition applicable to all countries.

Referring to the Gramm amendment — a legislative sanction that requires the United States to vote against any IMF loan application by South Africa until several conditions relating to the dismantling of apartheid have been met — Mr Cohen said: "I would say that if they applied for a facility now they should have no problem meeting the conditions, except the balance of payments deficit ruling."

Asked about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in constitutional talks, he said he had met IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week and had been assured that the IFP was taking part in Codesa and its working groups as a full member, although Chief Buthelezi was not himself taking part.

"We believe the IFP is a ma-

jor political player and we expect it to have a major role in any political system that comes from the constitutional talks."

Questioned about the US attitude to President De Klerk's undertaking to hold a white referendum on any new constitution, Mr Cohen said he felt it was realistic to test the views of any community.

"If any major community rejects the constitution or the interim constitution, it would not be workable."

"However I am fully confident the white community will support a reasonable constitutional arrangement negotiated within Codesa."

Mr Cohen is due to visit South Africa next month for the annual conference on South Africa sponsored by the Aspen Institute. The conference will be attended by about 10 members of the US Congress and by prominent academics and economists in the US and South Africa.

All eyes on Potch

304P
AUG 19/2/92

Political Staff and Sapa

POTCHEFSTROOM — Both candidates in today's by-election predicted victory when voting opened at 7am.

National Party candidate Mr Theuns Kruger said: "We've worked hard, now we only need to break the tape."

Conservative Party candidate Mr Andries Beyers said: "I feel good. We will win."

The by-election is seen as a crucial barometer of white voter sentiment. The result is expected about midnight.

University of Cape Town analyst Professor David Welsh predicted a CP win.

"In times of rapid change where people are fearful, 'swart gevaar' electioneering falls on fertile soil even though it is bogus and irresponsible. There is little chance of a rational consideration of the issues," he said.



Peace Committee will be invited to address Codesa

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

ONE of Codesa's working groups will invite the National Peace Committee and Secretariat to address it.

This followed a meeting at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport yesterday of a sub-committee of the working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity.

They discussed the degree of success achieved by the National Peace Committee and its relationship with Codesa.

It was decided that the group should meet the National Peace Committee and the Secretariat for a briefing on the two bodies' activities.

The four sub-committees of the working group charged with the future of the TBVC states also met yesterday.

They are discussing the testing of the will of homeland citizens about reincorporation,

whether they should be given South African citizenship, and the financial, administrative, legal and constitutional implications of reincorporation.

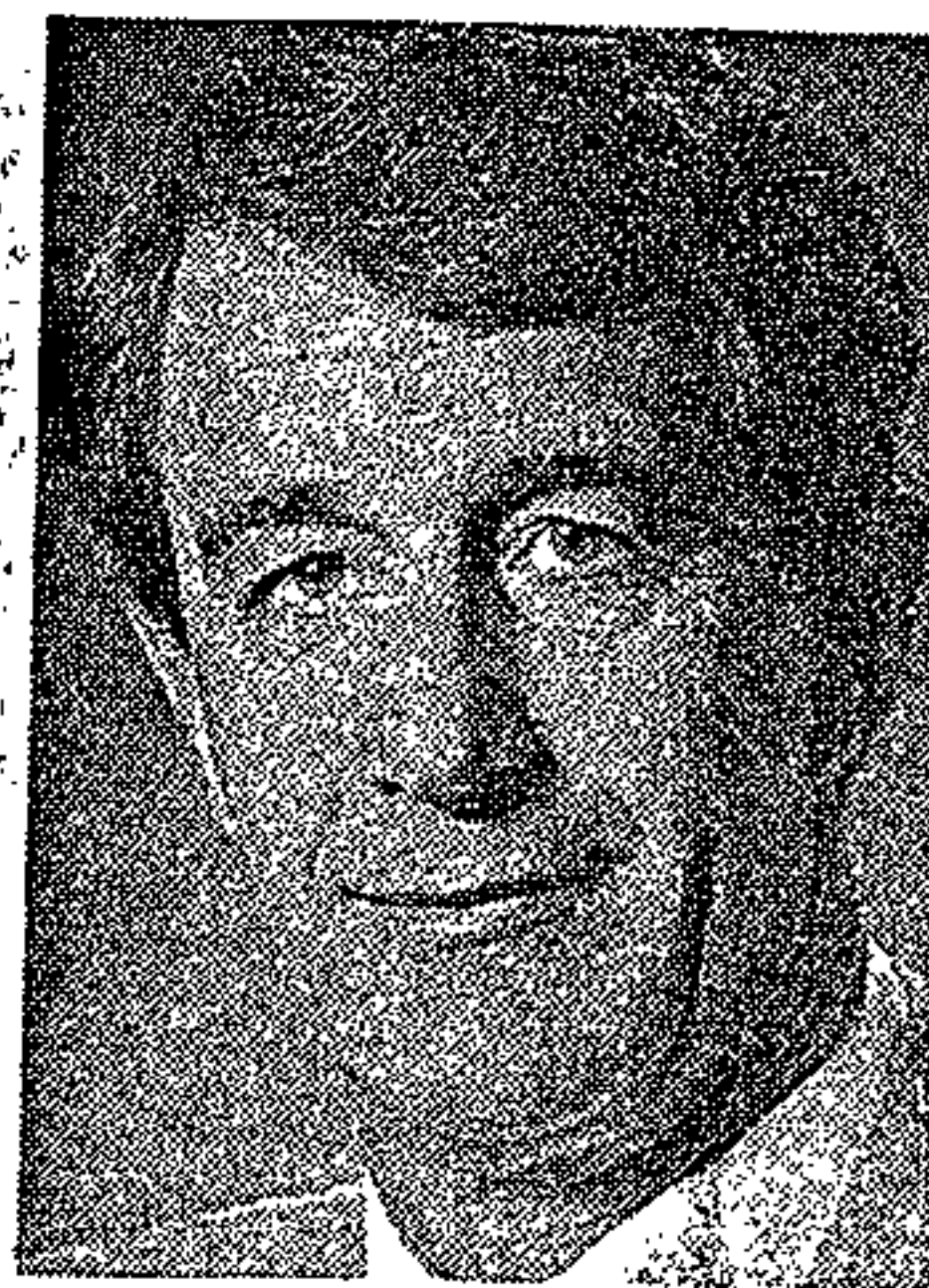
Deputy Agricultural Minister and South African government delegate on the sub-committee Mr Tobie Meyer said after the meeting that the government was satisfied with the progress made so far.

He would not discuss details of the talks, saying discussions would be continued next week.

In another development, members of the Patriotic Front, who are taking part in Codesa, are meeting on Friday to discuss the future of the front.

In terms of a resolution adopted by the front in October, it had to be reconvened in six months' time.

The daily management committee said yesterday all participants had tabled their constitutional principles and had established common areas in



Mr Tobie Meyer

working group two (constitutional principles).

All delegates had made their initial presentations on transitional arrangements "opening the way for further discussion to continue", the daily management committee said.

The working groups and the management committee meet again on Monday.

De Klerk, Mandela poll equal credibility

304A
STAR 19/2/92

Race, status and sex affect how political figures are perceived JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

BEAUTY is not the only quality dependent on the eye of the beholder, it seems. Take political credibility...

Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party has the trust of 21 percent of readers of The Star, while his stakes rise to 64 percent among readers of the Sowetan, polls undertaken by the Argus Group's Marketing and Media Research show.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha scores 14 percent trust rate among Sowetan readers, while 35 of every 100 readers of The Star have confidence in him.

The Star's readers are sharply divided on Mr Botha's qualities, with only 7 percent of blacks prepared to trust him and 65 percent of whites.

The racial group, economic status and sex of respondents in a recent poll of more than 300 Star readers critically affected how they perceive political figures. These factors are a good predictor of whether readers are even aware of the existence of some prominent figures.

The report observes that "an astounding 28 percent of whites have not heard of" African National Congress foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki. Not surprisingly, he is rated as trustworthy by only 40 percent of The Star's sample in which blacks and whites are about equally represented, while 73 percent of Sowetan readers put their faith in him.

Significantly, black readers of The Star are more likely to trust President de Klerk than whites are to trust ANC president Nelson Mandela. Both rate a 49 percent score when black and white views are pooled.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi might pip SACP general secretary Chris Hani to the post, with 29 percent of The Star's readers trusting him as against 28 percent for Mr Hani.

But, the report notes: "Trust and belief in Chief Buthelezi comes from white readers — 57 percent of white, but only 4 percent of black readers claim to trust this man."

Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Botha have greater appeal among female Star readers than among males.

When it comes to income levels, the wealthier tend to put their faith in Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi and (to a lesser extent) Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht. Readers from lower income groups support the ANC and SACP leaders.

Predictable? Perhaps. But where does it leave a newspaper whose readership is divided down the middle by race and gender, with a quarter of them earning under R1 500 a month and another quarter more than R6 000?

Despite their polarised opinions on politicians, 80 percent of readers feel The Star steers clear of favouring a particular political party and 75 percent believe that it gives politics about the amount of coverage that it deserves. □

60% vote ^{304A} before polling stations open

ABOUT 14 000 voters had cast their votes in the crucial Potchefstroom by-election by yesterday afternoon, registering a 60% poll even before polling day.

Fewer than 3 000 voters have to vote today to reach a 72% poll, which party workers say is likely in the by-election which pits the NP's Theuns Kruger against the CP's Andries Beyers.

The number of special votes cast is a reflection of the amount of work and or-

3/Day 19/2/77
PATRICK BULGER

ganisation that has gone into winning what is being hailed as one of the most important by-elections in SA history.

Neither party is claiming success ahead of vote counting, but both agree the result could have a decisive impact on constitutional negotiations.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

Codesa to review nine laws

CODESA will soon examine a host of laws restraining free political activity, including a law that enables government to expel from SA people unable to read and write a European language.

Nine laws are due to come before a subcommittee of Codesa's working group 1, dealing with the creation of a free political climate, next week. The list has been drawn up by Lawyers for Human Rights' Law Reform Project and forwarded to Codesa. It is understood the legislation is also being reviewed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. (304A)

The LHR list includes: the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act, the Secret Services Account Act, the Intimidation Amendment Act, the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act, the Demonstration in or near Court Buildings Act, the Affected Organisations Act, the Gathering and Demonstrations Act, the Admission of Persons to the Republic Act and Section

PATRICK BULGER

205 of the Criminal Procedure Act (compels journalists to identify their sources) and Section 29 of the Internal Security Act (detention without trial).

Codesa sources confirmed that the laws would come up for discussion soon and that a subcommittee would make recommendations to amend or scrap them.

Yesterday's talks concentrated on the reincorporation of the TBVC states. Codesa sources said the issue was being delayed by an ANC-government disagreement on the restoration of SA citizenship to homeland citizens.

The ANC, which proposed yesterday that the homelands be incorporated immediately, is also calling for the immediate restoration of SA citizenship.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday the NP believed

□ To Page 2

Codesa 18/2/92

reincorporation should take place before SA citizenship was granted. He said there was little point in restoring citizenship when the citizens of the TBVC states had not yet decided on reincorporation.

Van der Merwe confirmed government and the ANC had moved substantially closer on the issue of regional government.

"The ANC, as far as I can gather, has shifted its position up to the point where it says that regional powers should be enshrined in a new constitution. We are now saying the same thing. I don't think it is

(304A) From Page 1

going to be easy to define those powers over the next two weeks," he said. While the NP might agree to the powers being defined in a constitution-making body, it was not averse to these powers being defined at Codesa.

He said a power-sharing formula remained one outstanding issue between government and the ANC, although ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's comments in favour of a form of coalition government were regarded as important.

All eyes on Potchestroom by-elections

3049
Sowetan 19/2/92

PROMINENT political players in South Africa canvassed yesterday differed about the importance of today's parliamentary by-elections in Potchefstroom.

Some wished to see the National Party defeat the Conservative Party, while Azapo and the PAC said they did not care which party won.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the by-election had assumed "enormous importance".

He warned that a victory for the CP would encourage - and even incite - rightwing action which would "go well beyond normal politics".

"Whatever the results, it is hoped that Mr FW de Klerk will have the courage to move even faster towards a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa," he said.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said blacks had always been at the centre of white elections even though they were excluded.

"Many white elections have been won or lost on the issue of how to relate to or govern black people. It is, therefore, not the present

negotiation that has put this issue on the agenda."

Macozoma said was not so much who would win but what effect it would have on extra-parliamentary processes such as Codesa.

"The ANC can only hope that those who are voting in the Potchefstroom election will send a message of hope for the future of all South Africans," he said.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the contest between the CP and the NP had nothing to do with the liberation of black people - which was Azapo's only concern.

Oppressive

"It is just a perpetuation of the successive unjust and oppressive regimes that will continue to tinker with the lives of black people."

PAC spokesperson Mr Waters Toboti said there was "no difference" between the NP and the CP.

"Whoever wins is immaterial to the PAC. They are both oppressors.

"In fact, my feeling is that the NP has become even more dangerous than the CP," he said.

Restrictions to go?

Own Correspondent

CT 19/2/92

(SOLIA)

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa will soon examine a host of laws restraining free political activity, including a law that enables the government to expel from South Africa people unable to read and write a European language.

Nine laws are due to come before a subcommittee of Codesa's working group — one dealing with the creation of a free political climate to be studied next week.

The list has been drawn up by Lawyers for Human Rights' Law Reform Project and forwarded to Codesa.

It is understood the legislation is also being reviewed by

Codesa focuses on political freedom

the Minister of Justice, Mr Koetsee.

The LHR list includes: The Prohibition of Foreign Financial of Political Parties Act; the Secret Services Account Act; the Intimidation Amendment Act; the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act; the Demonstration in or near Court Buildings Act; and Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which

seeks to compel journalists to identify their sources and Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for detention without trial.

Codesa sources confirmed that a subcommittee would make recommendations to amend or scrap the laws.

Yesterday's Codesa talks concentrated mostly on the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Codesa sources said the reincorporation was being delayed by an ANC-government disagreement on the restoration of SA citizenship to homeland citizens.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, NP general secretary, confirmed that the government and the ANC had moved substantially closer on the issue of regional government.

● The ANC will soon reveal its plans for a regional government, Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's international affairs department, told an Idasa meeting yesterday.

● Cosatu yesterday made an official application to be accepted as a participant in Codesa in defiance of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance stance on this issue.

Codesa makes huge progress

304A
60 minutes 19/2/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

SUBSTANTIAL progress was made yesterday by the Codesa working group assigned to deal with the issue of reincorporating homelands into South Africa.

A source said, however, that Bophuthatswana was still adamant that it did not want to be reincorporated into South Africa.

The source said homeland representatives also did not submit proposals for the amendment to the Declaration of Intent on the issue.

Referendum

It is also understood that most parties have agreed to the holding of a referendum to "test the will of the people" regarding the reincorporation of the homelands into South Africa.

This week most working groups were hard at work in an attempt to complete their tasks before the sitting of Codesa 2 at the end of next month.

Working Group One, which had two assignments, will over the next week continue to address its first task in three sub-groups.

There are four other working groups:

Obstacles blocking road to interim rule

WORKING Group 3 has pinpointed the obstacles to the establishment of an interim government in a confidential document leaked to Sowetan.

The document, which looks at the establishment of an interim government, details the problems being encountered.

"Also," one delegate said, "the fact that there does not seem to be commonality on the composition of the interim government is going to delay the process of finalising the work of Working Group Three."

All five working groups have to report on progress when Codesa 2 sits before the end of next month.

All delegates are agreed about the need for interim arrangements.

They, however, pointed out that for an interim arrangement to succeed:

- Violence must be earnestly addressed before elections can be held, so that the political playing field can be levelled.

- Parties and organisations still outside Codesa have to be brought in to promote the principle of inclusiveness.

- Serious efforts should be made to encourage investment in the country as a prerequisite for the development of the economy.

- Efficient and effective control of Government functions must prevail during the transition period, and;

- Options as to the form and structure of interim arrangements remain open and be the subject of further discussion.

What worries delegates most is that not all political groupings are represented at Codesa, and some who have taken their seats have not yet signed the Declaration of Intent.

The Declaration of Intent calls

FOCUS



Violence, the refusal of several organisations to participate in Codesa and the bad state of the economy are making the negotiation process that much harder to establish an interim government, reports IKE MOTSAPI

for participants to work for the establishment of an undivided, unitary democratic South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the KwaZulu homeland, which is represented by the Inkatha Freedom Party have refused to sign the Declaration of Intent.

Judgment

However, IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at the weekend indicated that his organisation signed the Declaration of Intent, but against its better judgment.

Buthelezi said on his return from America on Sunday that the IFP had been obliged to sign the declaration despite reservations.

The Ciskei homeland said it would only sign the declaration

once a new democratic government was in place.

Bophuthatswana has been requested to submit proposals for the amendments to the declaration, raising hopes that it will soon sign the document.

It is hoped that once this is done, and some of the above problems solved, the establishment of an interim government will just be a formality.

However, the document proposes that the transitional arrangements must:

- Take full and effective control of finance, the media, foreign affairs, the security forces and all other governmental functions including the preparation for democratic elections.

- Govern South Africa according to pre-determined policies agreed upon at Codesa until a new constitutionally elected government, representing all the people of the country is installed.

- Identify methods of administering the TVBC and self governing states during the transition period.

- Promote shared responsibility and build trust and goodwill between political groups.

- Preserve constitutional and legal continuity.

- Promote a culture of democracy and co-responsibility.

- Govern in accordance with a negotiated interim Bill of Rights

which shall incorporate a Code of Conduct for political organisations.

- Create growth, economic activity and generate employment.

- Avoid disfunctions of Government and ensure social justice.

- Promote peace and stability so that fair and free elections can be guaranteed and;

- Supervise the process of electing/appointing a constitutional making body.

Quick fix

The document also proposes that the State President be retained as chief executive. When he is not available a multi-party national assembly should appoint an acting state president.

It was also suggested that Cabinet Committees be appointed by Codesa to assist ministers during the process leading to a transitional government. Again these appointments should come from all parties participating in Codesa.

Although no specific time frames were stipulated, indications are that the majority of delegates feel that a shorter, rather than longer, transitional period is indicated.

Suggestions of time frames ranged from six months to two years. Some of the delegates pointed out that care should be taken not to opt for a "quick fix" approach.



NIS 'behind Mandela's release'



Sowetan
19/2/92

IN a revealing look behind the secret operations of the National Intelligence Service, its former chief, Dr Niel Barnard, has divulged that the NIS was the moving force behind the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

For the first time he has made public that before Mandela's release, the NIS arranged a top secret meeting with top ANC leaders in exile, securing their undertaking for talks with the Government which ultimately led to the Groote Schuur deliberations and Minute.

Barnard made his disclosures to Alf Ries, political editor of Die Burger, the Afrikaans daily currently publishing a three-part series on the former "super spy" who now heads the Department of Constitutional Development.

In the second article published yesterday, Barnard explains the apparent

anomaly that while the NIS was conducting secret talks with the exiled ANC, the service nevertheless voiced strong objections to academics, businessmen and opposition politicians doing so.

"Our view was that as long as we fail to tackle the internal political problem, we will not solve the country's long-term problem," Barnard said at the time.

Starting in May 1988 Barnard and his colleagues had numerous discussions with Mandela in prison.

Barnard revealed that Mandela repeatedly asked to see President PW Botha and that the latter "struggled with the question of whether to accede to the request".

The NIS met ANC leaders in exile somewhere in Europe. Two more such secret meetings followed.

"We made such progress at these talks that the Groote Schuur meeting was already projected. - Sapa.

Mangope talks to rightwing

South Africa 19/2/92
BOPHUTHATSWANA President Lucas Mangope held talks this week with leaders of the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging during which self-determination featured prominently, a spokesman for the homeland said.

Minister of State Affairs Mr Rowan Cronje said the meeting fell in line with the homeland's policy to talk to all political parties and organisations across the political spectrum, according to a

statement issued by the homeland's department of information. ~~4/12/92~~ ~~19/2/92~~

Cronje said the two sides discussed current political developments in South Africa and calls by the militant AWB for a separate Afrikaner state. *30/11*

Mangope is resisting demands for reincorporation into South Africa by activists in the homeland linked to the African National Congress. - Sapa.

Hansard

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B70E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 9 132 (inclusive of Municipal Police and Police Assistants)

(b) (i) 1 733.

(ii) 5 February 1992.

(2) No.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, while indicating how pleased I am that there appears to be an increase in the number of policemen who have been trained, I should like to ask him whether he will please assure the House that he will have a discussion with his Minister about how to allay the fear and concern of suburban residents about the increase in crime. I want to assure him and the House that there is indeed great concern and worry about this increase in crime.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we are also concerned about the high crime rate, and this question has already been addressed by the Department and the hon the Minister.

Illegitimate children: rights of access to fathers

*7. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether it is the intention to introduce legislation in terms of which rights of access will be granted to fathers of illegitimate children; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what is envisaged in this regard?

B78E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The rights of a father regarding his illegitimate child are being investigated by the South African Law Commission. A working paper is being compiled at present and it is expected that it will be published during this year.

SARCC: protection of commuters

*8. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Transport:†

(1) Whether the South African Rail Commuter Corporation recently announced additional measures for the protection of commuters; if so, (a) what is the extent of

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hansard

these measures and (b) what is the cost involved in these measures;

(2) whether any other State departments are involved in the application of these measures; if so, (a) which State departments, (b) to what extent and (c) at what cost? B79E

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b)

(i) The five-year security programme which would have been completed on 31 March 1995, has been accelerated and will be completely phased-in by 31 March 1993. This entails that all stations will be secured for policing by erecting security fencing, providing lighting, introducing access control and providing on-site accommodation for the SAP. Communication between the train driver, control room and the SAP is being improved to permit the speedier reporting of dangerous situations and incidents. The costs involved in this are estimated at R9,5 million for the 1991/92 financial year and at R18,24 million for the 1992/93 financial year.

(ii) An investigation into the desirability of opening end doors of coaches is being conducted. All trains are also regularly stopped and searched for dangerous weapons. On the Soweto section a number of metal detectors are employed on a trial basis. The costs involved in using these metal detectors is R40 838.

(iii) Toll-free telephone numbers for reporting crime are in operation in all regions and cash rewards are offered for reporting useful information. The Corporation reacts continuously on any media reports regarding security and the media and commuters are continuously informed of

Hansard

steps taken to improve the security situation. The cost involved in the toll-free crime reporting numbers as well as the cash rewards is estimated at R60 000 for the 1991/92 financial year.

(iv) Security personnel are used to support the SAP in their actions. The cost involved in this is estimated at R15,3 million for the 1991/92 financial year.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b) The SAP is responsible for manning the stations which are already secured for policing and for the maintenance of law and order on premises and trains. Stations not policed on a full time basis are intensively patrolled. The SA Defence Force renders a support function at the request of the SAP.

(c) The costs involved to this is not readily available and will be furnished to the Member who posed the question as soon as the information has been received from the organisations concerned.

Damaging of ozone layer: research

*9. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:†

(1) Whether any independent research in respect of the damaging of the ozone layer is being undertaken by South Africa at present; if so, (a) to what extent is his Department involved in this research, (b) (i) what amount has been budgeted for it and (ii) how many researchers are involved in it and (c) what do the findings indicate so far;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B80E

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I reply to a question of the hon member for Pretoria West whom I also do not see in the House. [Interjections.]

(1) Yes.

(a) The Department of Environment Affairs provides financial backing for a joint Weather Bureau/Natal University

Hansard

sity programme, namely the South African National Ozone Research Programme (SANORP). The Department of Environment Affairs in collaboration with the Department of National Health and Population Development also provide financial backing for the Cape Point Trace Gas Research project implemented by the CSIR.

(b) (i) For the 1991/92 financial year R280 000 was allocated towards SANORP. Financing for the 1992/93 financial year has not yet been authorised. R130 000 per annum is allocated towards the Cape Point Trace Gas Research project.

(ii) Two researchers of the Weather Bureau and two professors of the University of Natal and a number of student researchers are involved in SANORP. There are three researchers involved with the Trace Gas Project.

(c) A comparative study between ozone data of the mid-1960's and data collected since August 1989 show that in the stratospheric ozone layer (between 12 and 36 km altitude) ozone concentrations have decreased by 6%, relative to the earlier period. The decrease in ozone concentrations in the stratosphere between the 1970's and 1980's alone was 3% to 4% over South Africa and 17% at SANAE. Ozone concentrations in the lower atmosphere over South Africa have, conversely, increased. Comprehensive information is available from the Department of Environment Affairs.

(2) No.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Codesa: costs paid by State

*10. Adv J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:†

(1) What part of the expenditure in respect of the institution called Convention for a

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Cautin

Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is paid by the State;

- (2) (a) what is the financial contribution by the State to Codesa to date and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

- (3) who pays the travelling and subsistence costs of members of Parliament involved in the business of Codesa? B81E

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) The state is paying for the expenditure related to the operation of Codesa.

- (2) (a) and (b)

A provisional calculation indicates that the following expenditure was incurred up to and including 31 December 1991 in regard to the preparatory meetings (including meetings of the preparatory committee, the steering committee and the task groups) and of the first plenary meeting of Codesa:

(i) Accommodation expenses of participants in the said meetings;	R905 580
(ii) Travel expenses (road and air)	R822 400
(iii) Telecommunications	R30 020
(iv) Snacks in connection with the above meetings	R61 700
(v) Hire of venues, furniture, offices, electricity, sound and lighting, flowers and plants	R1 294 300
(vi) Printing, stationery and other supplies	R157 000
(vii) Hire of electronic data processing and other equipment	R86 000
(viii) Private expert and professional services	R119 000

- (3) The subsistence and travel expenses of participants not travelling officially at state expenses are recompensed out of state funds.

SAP: firearms lost

*11. ADV JJS PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (a) How many firearms issued to members of the South African Police were lost in 1990 and 1991, respectively, and (b) what subdivision of the police lost the most firearms in each of these years? B82E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) 1 January 1990 until 31 December 1990

Robbed from members	461
Housebreaking	125
Theft out of vehicles	34
Stolen at motor accidents where members were killed or injured	12
Stolen out of charge offices during handing over procedures, etc.	222
Lost out of members' possession	118
Lost during riot control and performance of normal duties	65
Lost in Neighbouring States	4
Total	1 041

1 January 1990 until 31 December 1990

Robbed from members	362
Housebreaking	113
Theft out of vehicles	21
Stolen at motor accidents where members were killed or injured	9
Stolen out of charge offices during handing over procedures, etc.	164
Lost out of members' possession	146
Lost during riot control and performance of normal duties	30
Lost in Neighbouring States	3
Total	848

- (b) Division: Visible Policing.

Note:

In almost all these cases, the loss went hand-in-hand with some offence or another that was committed in this regard and which varied from robbery and theft.

HIV-positive cases: reporting of

*12. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) What steps are being taken by her Department to ensure that all HIV-positive cases are reported;

- (2) whether a central statistical record is being kept of all HIV-positive cases; if so, by whom; *continued*

- (3) whether all (a) pathology laboratories, both private and public, and (b) other institutions involved in HIV testing are obliged to report all HIV-positive cases; if so, in terms of what statutory or other provisions in each case; B83E

- (4) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B83E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) The reporting of HIV-positive persons, be they asymptomatic or persons with full-blown AIDS, is based on the principle that reports shall be voluntary and anonymous. It depends on obtaining informed consent. Such consent can also be withheld. The Department therefore cannot ensure completeness of reporting without violating this principle.

The option of making AIDS/HIV-positivity statutorily notifiable was considered but rejected since it was felt that this route would drive the condition underground. Yet knowledge of the extent of the epidemic is critically important for health planners.

The most practical and scientifically reliable way of gaining this knowledge is by conducting well-planned, ethically irrefragable surveys. A family of these have been carried out in South Africa, many supported by the Department of National Health and Population Development. A comprehensive up-to-date review of all HIV-related data was recently published by the Department of National Health and Population Development in Epidemiological Comments Vol. 18 No 11 (Nov 1991): AIDS IN SOUTH AFRICA: Status on World AIDS Day 1991;

- (2) yes, at the South African Institute for Medical Research, Johannesburg.

- (3) (a) and (b) no;

- (4) no.

New police base: Rooiwal

*13. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the South African Police plan to have a new police base constructed on the farm

Rooiwal in the Transvaal; if so, (a) what purpose will the base serve, (b) when (i) will construction commence and (ii) is it expected to be completed and (c) what is the estimated total cost of the base? B88E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

National Peace Accord: firearms

*14. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the Government has complied with the undertaking given in the National Peace Accord to issue the necessary proclamations in order to implement the principles relating to weapons or firearms contained in paragraph 3.6.2 of the said accord, the text of which has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B89E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) On 14 September 1991 the signatories to the National Peace Accord agreed to the provisions embodied therein, and of special importance are the provisions contained in clause 3.6.1, in terms of which the parties agreed that the disastrous consequences of widespread violence and the urgent requirement of peace and stability on which to build the common future of South Africa, makes it necessary to act decisively to eliminate violence or the threat of violence from the political sphere.

Moreover, in clause 3.6.2 it is agreed that in pursuit of this understanding the parties agree that no weapons or firearms may be possessed, carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

In view of the above-mentioned clauses, the Government made the undertaking embodied in clause 3.6.4, namely to issue

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1974, if a state of lawlessness exists in his area, a chief may prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Chairman, I should like to draw the hon the Deputy Minister's attention to two affidavits, which I have referred to him before, which clearly indicate that the police simply stood by at various train stations in Johannesburg while 20 armed thugs boarded the trains. One cannot operate like this. This is the SA Police Force which has to be the arbiter between the contestants in this country. When the police were challenged about it, they simply said: "We enforce the law according to circumstances." That is a quote from their Press release.

If we are going to prevent South Africa from deteriorating into further anarchy and civil war, we must act swiftly. The chief guardian of law and order, the hon the Minister, should first of all announce today the repeal of all regulations—and there are at least two that I am aware of—which permit the carrying of dangerous weapons, except in strictly defined circumstances because he has allowed them to be carried in Natal. Secondly, his department must provide for the stringent enforcement of the Dangerous Weapons Act. If we fail to do that, it will simply lend credence to charges of a Third Force, of State complicity in violence and the escalation of massive unrest. Those things are the sort of things we should be trying to avoid. [Time expired.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I must emphasise that negotiations on this aspect started before we signed the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991. It is very important to get the co-operation of the parties concerned—that is why it took us so long to consult with the interested parties in an effort to get a proclamation which we could issue as soon as possible.

It is easy to make affidavits, but it is very important that the contents of affidavits can be tested. I appeal to the hon member for Houghton to take this matter up with the hon the Minister and to submit these affidavits to an investigation.

I want to emphasize my serious concern with regard to the existence of Umkhonto weSizwe. We had a debate on traditional and dangerous

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

weapons, but we are also concerned about the existence of Umkhonto weSizwe and the possession of arms caches in the Republic. In this regard we have not had the co-operation of the ANC to address this problem in terms of the National Peace Accord. [Time expired.]

I want to state that paragraph 3.7.3 emphatically states that no private army shall be allowed or formed. Paragraph 3.7.6 provides that all existing structures, called self-defence units, shall be transformed into self-protection units which shall function in accordance with the principles contained in paragraph 3.7. The ANC has done nothing as yet to implement these provisions in terms of the Peace Accord. Consequently the implementation of paragraph 3.7 will have to be dealt with as a matter of high priority. In this regard I wish to point out that the liaison structures referred to in paragraph 3.7.4 cannot be implemented, owing to the lack of co-operation from the ANC. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 4 February 1992:

Secret projects: investigation

*1. Mr D J DALLING asked the State President:

(1) When (a) did the comprehensive investigation of secret projects commence and (b) was the investigation completed;

(2) whether the report relating to this investigation has been handed to him; if so, on what date?

B10E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) (a) The Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects under the chairmanship of Prof Ellison Kahn SC, started with its work on 2 September 1991.

Continued

(b) Yes.

(2) Yes. 19 November 1991.

Question standing over from Tuesday, 11 February 1992:

Committee on National Priorities

*1. Mr K M ANDREW asked the State President:

Whether the State President's Committee on National Priorities has met during the past two years; if not, why not; if so, (a) when did it meet and (b)(i) which of its statutory objects was it able to fulfil and (ii) in which respects were these fulfilled?

304A

B127E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

No. Since I took office, several matters previously dealt with by the Committee have been discussed and dealt with by the Cabinet as a whole. The determination of priorities and how they should be reflected in the budget is an example of this. Nonetheless, these discussions are preceded by the acquisition of suitable inputs from smaller committees which, I am convinced, are functioning effectively. They include the new Cabinet Committee for Economic Coordination under the chairmanship of the Minister of Trade and Industry and for Economic Coordination, as well as regular discussions with the newly-established executive of the Economic Advisory Council.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 11 February 1992:

Male/female teachers: equalisation of salary scales

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether agreement has been reached to bring about the equalisation of the salary scales payable to male and female teachers of equivalent qualifications; if so, (a) as from what date will payments be made in terms of such scales and (b) what scales will be applied;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

311B

B52E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) The Cabinet had already during 1990 undertaken to eliminate disparities on the grounds of gender and undertook to take the final step regarding the implementation thereof during 1992/93.

(a) Should funds be allocated for this purpose, payments in terms of such scales will commence during the course of the 1992/93 financial year.

(b) The scales which at present are applicable in respect of male teachers in the qualification categories concerned, will apply.

(2) As soon as funds have been allocated, I will make an announcement.

Universities/technikon: less money from State

*2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether any universities or technikons are to receive in respect of 1992 the full amount which they should receive under the formula-funding policy administered by his Department; if not, why not;

(2) whether any of these universities or technikons are to receive less money from the State in real terms in 1992 than they did in 1991 in terms of the amounts determined by his Department; if so, which of these institutions;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B53E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

Since the Minister of Finance has not submitted the Draft Budget Bill for the 1992/93 financial year to Parliament yet, the figures are not presently available.

(1) Lapses.

(2) Lapses.

(3) Lapses.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Continued

CP will win says analyst

By MONK NKOMO

3644

South African 19/2/92

REUTERS by the Government to dismantle apartheid and force its new policies down the throats of the majority of its supporters without a mandate, are going to result in the Conservative Party winning today's by-election in Potchefstroom.

This is the view of political analyst and expert on white politics in South Africa, Professor Willem Kleynhans.

In an interview with Sowetan, Kleynhans said Government leaders committed a serious blunder by scrapping apartheid laws and embarking on new democratic policies without seeking a mandate from its supporters.

"Government leaders should have launched a massive political education campaign to debate the scrapping of these laws with the majority of their supporters who have been brainwashed by the National Party for many years that apartheid was here to stay," said Kleynhans.

Most whites, he added, were protected by these draconian laws.

"These whites, whose attitudes had been hardened only the NP since they came to power, have now joined the CP and other rightwing parties because of fear that their existence might be terminated when Blacks come to power.

"State President FW de Klerk is the most hated man by whites today since 1910.

"He is accused of having sold whites and endangering their existence by introducing policies they think will destroy them."

Kleynhans added: "At first the Government introduced laws determining the

whites. And that is why the NP is today canvassing blacks, coloureds and Indians into their fold, to survive."

He warned: "I foresee a civil war between whites - the CP and supporters of the Government."

He called on black liberation movements such as the ANC and PAC to "put their political house in order" and prepare themselves to form proper political parties.

political parties.

"They must start mobilising and educating their supporters about politics and stop staging unnecessary protest marches otherwise they are going to lose out in the end," Kleynhans warned.

Kleynhans said the swing to the right followed blunders by Government leaders, including John Vorster, PW Botha and De Klerk.

"Vorster slightly opened the doors towards

integration in 1967. Botha continued to liberalise apartheid policies until his racist policies."

notorious

Rubicon speech where he announced that he was no longer going to liberalise these policies.

"When FW came to power, he excelled

We are nearing the stage where FW de Klerk will no longer be speaking on behalf of whites

Professor Willem Kleynhans

Asked if

the NP had made a mistake to usher in a new democratic era in this country, Kleynhans said democracy was needed.

"But Government

leaders blundered by taking things for granted despite the fact that they knew the majority of their supporters had deep-rooted beliefs that apartheid was a general way of life.

"No preparatory work was done to convince these whites that apartheid was a myth and could not work.

"And the worst mistake was the Government's stance to change these apartheid policies without seeking a mandate from its supporters.

"The NP did not spell it out in their manifestos during the general elections in 1987 and 1989 that they intended scrapping racist laws."

Kleynhans said the white electorate was not prepared to accept such drastic changes without being properly briefed.

"They are products of apartheid and do not understand why these racist laws must be scrapped."

(Report by Monk Nkombo, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

compulsory separation of races.

"Now it has introduced forced integration. And whites are not prepared to accept that."

Kleynhans said the CP would win the by-election in Potchefstroom - a prestigious seat held by the NP since 1948.

"The CP made history when they became the first official opposition party in this country to win a seat (Virginia) recently from the ruling party in a by-election."

Kleynhans said the CP had limitless growth and had shown during all eight by-elections in the country since 1989 that their support was tremendous.

"The NP on the other hand is losing support badly," he said.

The NP, Kleynhans added, will not recover from the setback suffered in the 1989 general election when they lost 30 seats.

Kleynhans said a win by the CP in Potchefstroom today would mean that De Klerk no longer represented the majority of Afrikaners in this country.

"We are in fact nearing the stage where he will no longer be speaking for

25 19 2 92 (304)

“At the town hall meetings, Mr Beyers and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht drew twice the number of people that Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr Kruger did.”

Minister P. K. Botha and Mr Kruger did."

“soul of the Afrikaner” — as a more accurate barometer of white support than recent polls, which have seen whites abandon the NP in considerable numbers.

don't the NP in considerable numbers.

15

net body went limp.

‘Pötsch poll ‘the most crucial since 1948’

Acid test for NP reforms

STAR
14/2/92

3047

By Carina le Grange
and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk's reforms face an acid test today as Potchefstroom floods to the polls in a by-election expected to produce record turnout.

The stake for the Opposition Conservative Party is just as high because it claims victory would finally prove that it now has the majority of white support.

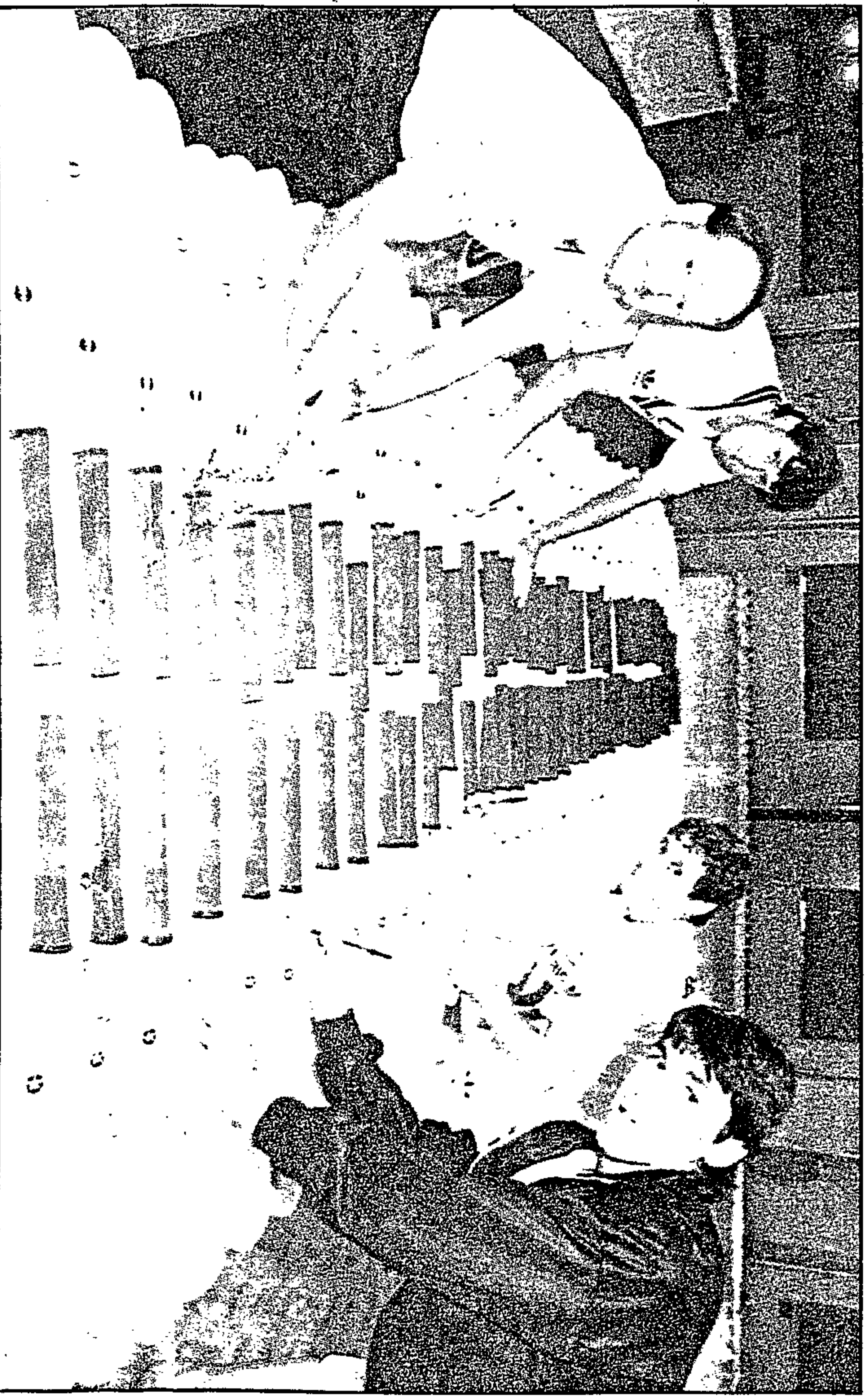
The result of the hotly contested election is regarded as one of the most crucial since General Smuts lost his Standeron seat in the general election of 1948.

As polling booths opened at 7 am today, both the National Party and the Conservative Party predicted certain victory.

But five noted political analysts said the scale might tip in the CP's favour in the seat retained by the NP by a 1 583-vote majority in the 1989 general election.

Some predicted a CP victory of up to 2 000 votes, noting that the biting recession, high crime and unrest, and a lack of concrete results from negotiations have been mercilessly exploited by the CP.

NP candidate Theuns Kruger said his party would win the seat by a "small majority" while CP candidate Andries Beyers said: "We will win."



World Cup
cricket

World Cup logistical nightmare

No time to rest ... checking into their Sydney hotel yesterday, the SA cricket squad was faced with a bat-signing session. Autographing the 450 bats are Peter Kirsten (front left), Meyrick Pringle (front

Party predicted certain victory.

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NP candidate Theuns Kruger said his party would win the seat by a "small majority" while CP candidate Andries Beyers said: "We will win."

CP election workers said their party was about 1 000 ahead when special votes closed yesterday afternoon, while NP officials said they were neck in neck.

Almost 14 000 special votes — more than half of the 23 000 registered voters — were cast.

Record

Potchefstroom analyst Donald Simpson said this was a new record for special votes. Forecasting a turnout of 17 500 voters, he said this would constitute a 75 percent poll — another by-election record.

Mr Kruger predicted a NP victory if another 3 000 votes were cast today, bringing the voting to 70 percent.

Mr Beyers said the CP was certain of victory because it had transformed the political debate by focusing on the principle of self-determination.

Mr Kruger said the NP policy provided the only solution for the country and the Potchefstroom by-election would be the first step on the road to a new South Africa.

The election result is expected at about midnight.

University of Cape Town analyst Professor David Welsh predicted a CP majority of up to 2 000.

"The fact that the NP won in the general election in 1989 — against the trend elsewhere in the Transvaal plateland at the time — was probably due to the influence of (the late speaker of Parliament) Louis le Grange.

"This time round, Andries Beyers of the CP is a powerful figure, and this favours the CP... the election in Potchefstroom is a war of emotionalism which makes it difficult for the NP to get its views across. The CP fans every conceivable racial fear.

"In times of rapid change like these where people are

● To Page 3

Crucial Potch poll

STAR 19/2/92
● From Page 1

fearful, 'Swart Gevaar' electioneering falls on very fertile soil."

Dr Theo Venter of the Institute for Future Studies at Potchefstroom University said the party presenting the "better" vision would win. He believed this was the CP.

He said the outcome would not affect the dynamics of a negotiated settlement, but could increase the "unknown quality of the wild card — the right wing".

Unisa's Professor DJ Kriek also predicted a swing to the CP. Contributing factors ranged from murders of farmers in Verkeerdevlei to "squatters" north of Johannesburg and the retrenchment of 4 000 teachers, he said.

Professor Kriek said

the Government was in a difficult position as, although Codesa was in process, it had as yet no results to show.

Wits analyst Professor Alf Stadler said he expected the CP to win or to come very close.

He said the erosion of the NP's white power base would force it to explore a non-racial electoral pool by attracting non-white support.

Potchefstroom analyst Donald Simpson said Monday's announcement that between 4 000 and 11 000 white teachers might be retrenched would have an impact on the election. He predicted a CP majority of at least 1 500 votes.

(Report by Carina le Grange and Esther Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000)

● Where De Klerk has failed — Page 12

NP to press on with reforms as CP celebrates in Potch

Nats routed

304A

ARCT 20/2/92 304A

MICHAEL MORRIS and
TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE National Party has vowed to press ahead with negotiations after its shock defeat in Potchefstroom in a hard-fought contest that sets the scene for a daunting battle in a referendum among whites.

As the Conservative Party celebrated its staggering 2 140 majority, a clearly bruised National Party declared it would not deviate from its reform path and ascribed the swing to the right to uncertainty about negotiations, rather than active support for CP policy.

There was no initial comment from President De Klerk, but he is expected to react later in the day. Only last week, he boldly predicted that the NP would win, and that the contest would be an important barometer of white sentiment.

Election demand

The political shift in Potchefstroom shocked the NP whose MPs had predicted defeat by a small margin. Clearly, a lie factor misled NP campaigners.

Conservative Party calculations, though, were spot on. Yesterday, their MPs were predicting a 2 000-plus majority.

CP candidate Mr Andries Beyers polled 9 746 votes to NP contender Mr Theuns Kruger's 606 votes in a ballot of more than 75 percent.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht lost no time in demanding a general election. He told thousands of cheering supporters at the polling station that the government no longer represented the white nation.

But Transvaal leader of the National Party, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, insisted that the Nats had obtained a clear mandate in 1989 for the present process of negotiation.



A RIGHT TRIUMPH: Mr Andries Beyers, Conservative Party secretary general and triumphant winner of the hard-fought Potchefstroom by-election, is lifted shoulder high by supporters packed around the polling station.

And President De Klerk's negotiation partners in Codesa said the result would not deter them either.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma acknowledged that the result showed a trend which should not be ignored, but this should be tempered by the fact that Potchefstroom had never been a liberal seat.

"There is no doubt that Codesa will press ahead. The result will not affect our view of the propriety of negotiating with the NP."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer reacted: "Let this be clear — the forward march to the new South Africa cannot and must not be stopped. The vast majority of South Africans want democracy: we must not allow this bunch of racist demagogues to halt our progress in any way."

● See page 2.

Ugly racial incidents

Crowds of young CP supporters hurl abuse and threaten blacks

REC 20/2/42

The Argus Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM. — At least four ugly racial incidents — some involving Conservative Party supporters and blacks — took place as voters cast their ballots in the crucial Potchefstroom by-election yesterday.

As voting came to a close last night, crowds of young CP supporters, crammed into bakkies, drove up and down the road outside the civic centre hurling abuse and threatening the crowd of blacks gathered around watching voting proceedings.

Khaki-clad, armed right-wingers were out in force — among them the wife of convicted mass killer Barend Strydom, Karen.

By nightfall CP supporters seemed out of control and the situation was

tense as supporters — many of them with beers in their hands — were getting louder in expectation of a CP victory.

Earlier, Johannes Lebitt, a postal worker who was installing telephones at the polling station, said two white men wearing CP rosettes had walked up to him and without saying a word had punched him in his face.

Mr Lebitt laid an assault charge at the police office.

Asked to comment on the incident, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said he was not aware of the incident but it could have been done to place the CP in a bad light.

It would have been wrong if the CP supporter had punched the man without reason, Dr Hartzenberg said.

Earlier, witnesses said another black man was pushed to the ground by CP supporters.

They then stuck NP stickers on the man and told NP officials they should take him to the polling booth as he was their voter.

In the third incident right-wing supporters led several black men to National Party candidate Theuns Kruger, who was greeting voters at the entrance to the polling station.

Mr Kruger, surrounded by at least 100 CP supporters, shook their hands while the CP supporters jeered.

Two CP supporters held two tyres aloft as the men were escorted from the vicinity of the polling station.

A pregnant Potchefstroom woman, Star Veldsman, was pushed around by the crowd when an NP supporter held a poster with President De Klerk's picture aloft. In other incidents khaki-clad men rudely asked blacks to leave the grounds.

Police reinforcements were brought in after the blacks were taken to greet Mr Kruger.

Toddlers carried CP posters bigger than themselves and dozens of pot-bellied men made their voices hoarse screaming their support for the CP. A crowd of blacks, who said they were NP supporters, watched proceedings from a 50-metre distance.

Most of the blacks said they hoped this would be the last whites only election in Potchefstroom.

Nats would

still win (304A)

ARG 20/2/92

national

referendum

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The Potchefstroom by-election showed 20 percent of the 1989 National Party voters had voted for the Conservative Party, says political analyst Mr. Donald Simpson.

Commenting on the election result, Mr. Simpson said, however, this was offset by 95 percent of the Democratic Party voters who voted for the NP. The DP did not put up a candidate.

A projection nationwide indicated that the government would still win a referendum by roughly 58 to 42 percent.

In parliament, on this swing, the NP would have 92 seats, the CP 65 and the DP nine, Mr. Simpson said.

"This result, on the face of it, after the government's sustained destruction of its own support, is not too bad. It is a better result for the government than Virginia, but worse than Ladybrand."

Mr. Simpson cites the education shocks of the past few days, the way the three-day parliament was announced through Codesa, and the feared effect of the new social assistance Bill on pensioners as the main reasons for the NP's defeat. — Sapa

HOW THEY VOTED

Theuns Kruger (NP):.....	7 606
Andries Beyers (CP):	9 746
CP majority:.....	2 140
Votes cast:.....	17 397
Registered voters:.....	23 083
Polling percentage:.....	75,36
Spoilt papers:.....	45

The result for Potchefstroom in the September 6 1989 general election was:

Louis le Grange (NP):	8 684 votes
B. van der Berg (CP):	7 101 votes
NP majority:	1 583
Votes cast:	15 846
Registered voters:	20 775
Polling percentage:	76,3
Spoilt papers:	61

Sapa

Non-Codesa parliamentarians need not twiddle their thumbs, writes Alan Dunn

MPs should go back to work

STAR 20/2/92.

304A

MONDAYS and Tuesdays are thumb-twiddle days for 238 honourable members, according to Frank le Roux MP, Chief Whip of the Conservative Party.

He deplores the new arrangement by which the three Houses have reduced their workload to a three-day week in favour of negotiations at Codesa.

The debating chambers fall silent on those days, and Mr le Roux and his colleagues in the Official Opposition see this as the sidelining of Parliament, a surrender to a non-elected, non-statutory, non-sovereign non-body.

What, then, do the MPs who are not involved in Codesa do on their free days?

Most return home. They are given 36 free flights a year and fare discounts of 80 percent on any tickets beyond that.

Some relish the four-day weekends and sit and think.

Others just sit. Many honourable members are

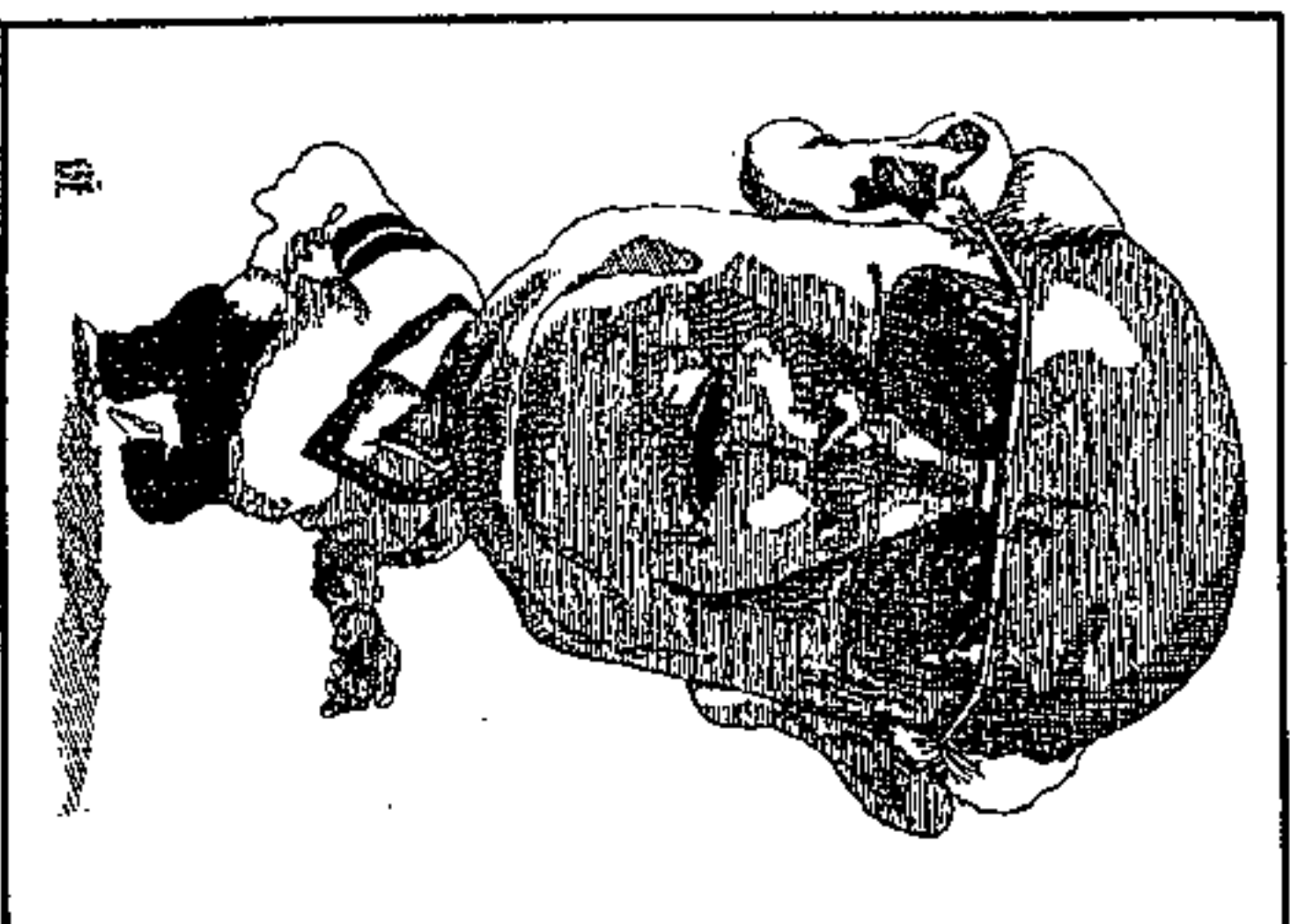
preparing themselves for the day, soon, that they will not be members at all.

A lot know their jobs will be lost to the new South Africa, and are rekindling interest in their law practices, partnerships, businesses and so on.

As Helen Suzman once said in contemplating her retirement and disappearance from a very rich, deserved limelight: "There is nothing as ex as an ex-MP."

They sorely realise they will head the vanquished in the new South Africa and are presently using Mondays and Tuesdays to line up "something to fall back on".

Nobody would deny them the right to manoeuvre for soft landings. But the fact is that they continue to receive State (taxpayers') money and perks — handsome packages most of them are reluctant to divulge. The compromise, then, would be for MPs to pursue their private interests outside normal working hours.



President de Klerk... should deploy his MPs domestically.

Contrary to what Mr le Roux was arguing, MPs need not, indeed should not, be twiddling their

digits. They should be out there in the constituencies doing what they did so ingratiatingly before September 6 1989 and in general election campaigns before that: staying in touch with the voters.

And here lies a piece of well-meant advice for President de Klerk and his four provincial Nationalist leaders: "Scatter your MPs into the boondocks, have them pounding the pavements and knocking on doors."

"Place them on an election footing without the costly colour brochures, posters, bunting and silly hats. Do it now, you have nothing to lose and a lot to gain. Tell people, second-hand at least, what is going on."

"Make your Nat MPs your personal emissaries. Let the people out there know you care, that you are thinking of them."

"Can you imagine the political value of five MPs pitching up in Bloubastrand, for instance, to patiently hear the anguish and rage of citizens watching the values of

their properties, their lives' investments, evaporating overnight as 900 squatter families were due to be dumped over the road?

"What about the Natal Nais personally visiting the scene of yet another mass murder in that province's killing hills?"

"Or the NP showing concern at any major troublespot, going on patrol with the police in Tokoza or Meadowlands, and visiting cash-strapped casualty departments on busy days?"

"Make your MPs your eyes and ears, absorb their feedback, and act accordingly. Call it 'visible politics', if you will."

"And, when time permits, get out there yourself. Accompany Kraai van Niekerk on his helicopter tours of scorched crops, and convey condolences face-to-face to relatives of unrest victims as the dust settles at flare-ups."

"Pop up unexpectedly whenever you can. Press flesh and listen to outpourings. Consolidate and build your considerable personal stand-

ing. If time does not permit, change your schedule. Pass the appointment with a visiting Minister of Whatever to a dormant Cabinet member or inactive deputy minister."

The Smuts/Gorbachev syndrome of being fancied more abroad than at home is still Mr de Klerk's to beat. That may change in a matter of months, however, in the present volatility and daily waning of public confidence.

He will best help his cause by deploying dozens of twiddle-thumbs domestically, forbidding their annual overseas "study" jaunts to exotic foreign parts, and spreading them liberally among uncertain, fearful voters desperate for assurances that their interests have not been forgotten.

Galvanising MPs like this does not imply a radical strategy. It will merely remind them of what most have unfortunately forgotten: that they are servants of the people. □

Graham Linscott comments on
the debate over minorities' rights

Indaba blueprint gets an airing

STAR 20/2/92

304A

IF only the heat currently generated by the debate over national homelands, Boerestate, confederations, self-determination and swamping of minorities could be channelled into thermal power, we would have enough energy to light up the whole of Africa.

But unfortunately it disperses into the political atmosphere, creating great discomfort.

And the odd thing in this constant political bombardment is that each standpoint is correct in its limited way.

In an election by one man one vote, first past the post (Westminster rules) certainly would cause an overnight swamping of minorities' interests. Every magisterial district in the country has a black majority. And black minorities, which do exist, could find their interests swamped in a Westminster-style parliament even if they did win a few constituencies.

The CP, the AWB, the Boerestaters and the Volkstaters are therefore perfectly correct in their alarm at the prospect of any such development. If President de Klerk were considering accepting any such dispensation, it would be a sell-out of gigantic proportions.

Clearly he intends no such thing. But what are the alternatives? Partition springs immediately to mind, and every one of the right-wing organisations is busy with one or other version of it.

But that is what Hendrik Verwoerd tried at a time when it looked as if it just might have worked if properly implemented. But he shrank from the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, which would have given virtually the whole of Natal to the Zulus and virtually the entire Eastern Cape to the Xhosas.

If partition ever had a chance (and it is doubtful), that was it.

The suggested excision of small "white" areas calls to mind the glorious eccentric of the Natal South Coast who wrote to Dr Verwoerd in 1961 informing him that his farm was not a republic, nor

had it left the Commonwealth.

Is there any way out? There could well be.

A document jointly released by the Human Sciences Research Council and Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies quietly reminds us of the recommendations five years ago of the Natal Indaba.

Written by Peter Mansfield, executive director of the now-defunct Indaba, it points out that although the Indaba recommendations were designed for democratic second-tier government of the Natal/KwaZulu region, they do serve as a useful blueprint for the entire country.

The reason is that they protect the rights of minorities, actually drawing them into government.

Mr Mansfield points out that the Indaba tried its best but found absolutely no way that the interests of a heterogeneous society could be served in a single-chamber parliament. It therefore recommended a two-chamber system, one chamber structured to protect the interests of minorities.

He concedes that the second-chamber recommendations were controversial and probably flawed. But something along those lines is worth considering.

The Indaba's power-sharing formula has the party getting the majority of votes heading the government, but it would have to include in the Cabinet representatives of the minorities in proportion to their parliamentary strength.

At which point enter ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa with his commitment to sharing power with the National Party, whatever its share of the vote.

Even though he rejects the principle of forced coalition by predetermined constitutional proviso, this is Indaba language.

If only people could expend more energy on this topic rather than futile partitionings and confederations, perhaps we could light up the whole of Africa — in a metaphoric sense anyway. □

HSRC report on new constitution

26/2/92 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The new constitution should not only have a judicially enforceable bill of rights, but should also contain policy guidelines such as the right to basic housing, a new Human Sciences Research Council report has recommended.

Although the policy guidelines should not be judicially enforceable, there should be moral and political obligations placed on the state to address certain priorities, the HSRC's Centre for Constitutional Analysis said in a statement yesterday.

"In this way the interests of the individual and the community would be looked after," said the author of the report, Dr Bertus de Villiers.

The report, which focuses primarily on the use of policy guidelines in India, found that the over-emphasis on individual rights in a developing country could impose constraints on the government's upliftment and development obligations.

De Villiers said the guidelines in the constitution should include the provision of basic housing, the provision and development of job opportunities, the establishment of standards for minimum wages and acceptable working conditions, the provision of minimum education to promote basic literacy, the provision of essential medical services, nature conservation and the promotion of good international relations.



Nelson Mandela as CP supporters at a
Picture: AP

'Muslims must be allies of the oppressed people

South 20/2-26/2/92

304A

MUSLIMS in South Africa are considered one of the most self-reliant and active minorities in the world. With a population close to one million of the national population of 35 million, they have suffered and survived — along with other oppressed communities — the tyranny of apartheid's Group Areas Act and forced removals.

"The community has shown an enormous survival potential over the past 300 years," said Imam Hassan Solomon of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Without foreign aid, Muslims have established and successfully sustained mosques, madressahs (religious schools), newspapers, colleges, schools and various welfare institutions.

"The South African National Zakaah Fund is a most prestigious organisation with a R2-million budget, providing some relief for the poor and needy," said Solomon, who is also Western Cape chairperson of the Fund.

He said those and other projects had become a reality solely because of the tremendous commitment and efforts of the community.

"In other countries where Muslims are a minority, mosques and other institutions are built on foreign aid."

Solomon said a worrying factor was an increasing domination of the business class and professionals on controlling bodies of mosques, madressahs and other structures.

"Apart from the immense survival capabilities, Muslims have exhibited tolerance towards other faiths and should guard against manipulation and abuse by the government."

"Muslims in South Africa must continue to identify with the rest of the oppressed."

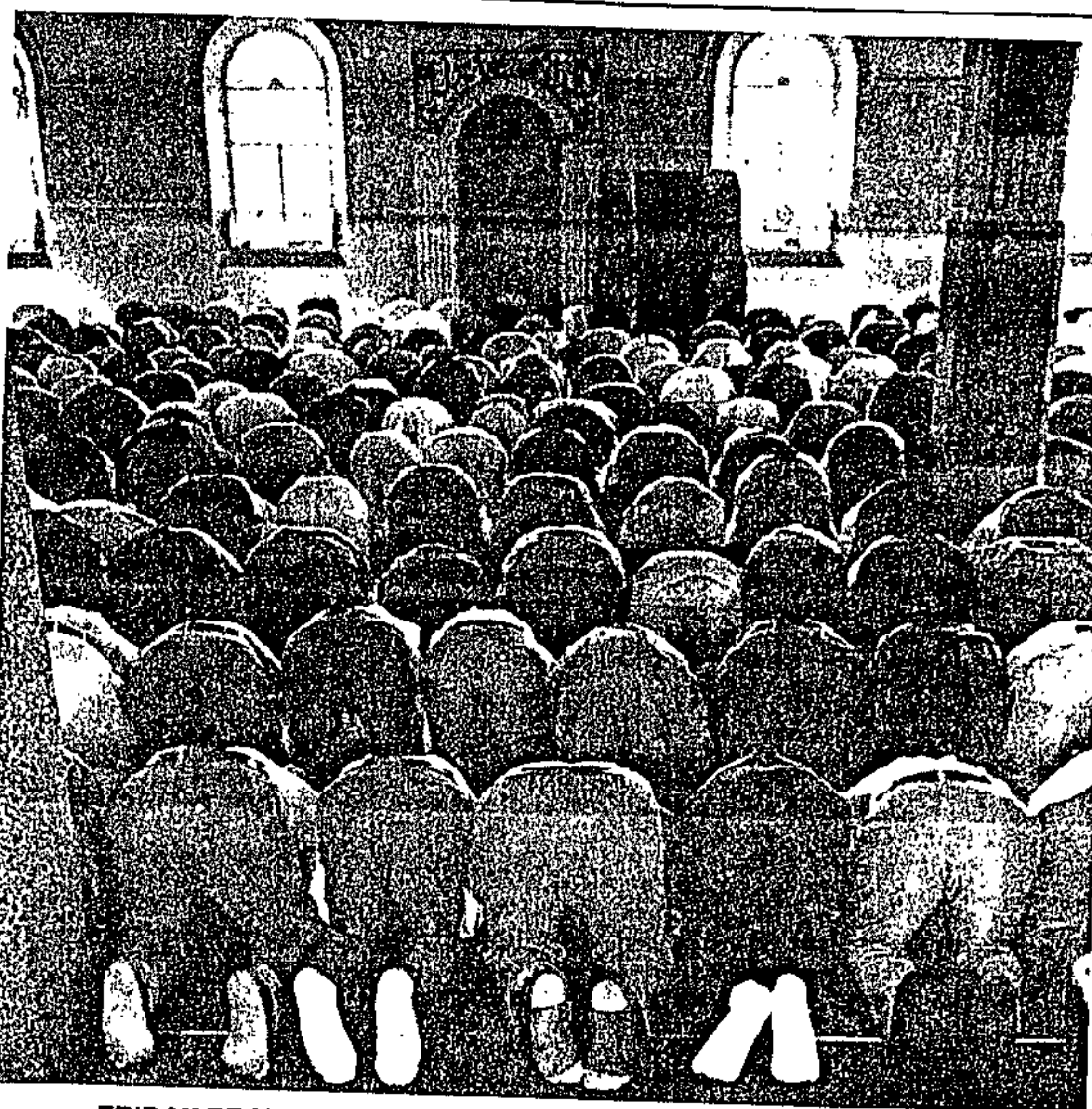
"Experience on the ground has indicated that the role and cultural visions of Muslims can most effectively be realised and protected in alliance with the oppressed."

"Muslims must be involved in mainstream politics in the future and will find themselves most comfortable with the African National Congress (ANC) because of its religious and cultural rights."

Acknowledging the objections voiced by Muslims on the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), Solomon said it would be unfair to call on the ANC to sever ties with the SACP because of the two organisations' history of fighting oppression.

"The SACP has made it quite clear it is not anti-religion," he said.

Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the world. In Africa Islam blazed a trail of conquest long before the colonists arrived with their missionaries. For the past three decades, Muslims have been oppressed in several African states as Christianity gained ascendancy. This three page investigates the problems facing Muslims in Southern Africa:



FRIDAY PRAYERS: Muslims gather for their main sermon of the week

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Highlighting rich traditions at the lifestyle of the community, Solomon said the spirit of "helpmkaar" was "alive and an integral part of life".

"In many homes, the bak-en-br of kocksisters, samoosas, daltjies and vetbroodjies continues and will live on."

"This demonstrates yet another way the community carries forth one of its traditions but it is sad that many families are not doing this because of economic hardships," said Solomon.

This year saw the launching of pilot project introduced in some government primary schools where Muslim teachers have been employed to conduct Islamic Studies.

Various schools catering only for Muslim students and providing Islamic Studies as part of the curriculum are recognised by the Christian government, like Habib College in Athlone, Mohammedyah Primary and Rahmanyeh Primary.

"It is my view that religion taught in schools should not be propagandist but a means of reaching an understanding of interfaith relationships," said Solomon.

"He who knows one, knows none."

He said "exemplary" structures existed in a number of communities where Islamic studies were provided.

Muslims in South Africa do not however, constitute one united community.

ALTHOUGH THERE are various organisations possessing different views on the role Muslim should play, they do agree unity is essential.

"Muslims have a religious duty to oppose any oppressor, no matter what it takes," said Sheikh Abubaker Najaar of the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA).

"For over 500 years Muslims have gone through trauma and now have to look at themselves to lead the world to virtue."

"They would not be worthy of Islam if they neglect their duty and the goes for South African Muslims as well."

ICSA was formed in the late seventies and is the only national body according to Najaar, with branches throughout the country.

The council has strong international links and ensured the recognition of the South African community with Islamic countries worldwide, he said.

The Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) represents the majority of Muslims in the Western Cape with 90 affiliated mosques — nearly 95 per cent.

Formed in 1945 to cater for the needs of Muslims, it is the most recognised body.

The MJC has three main departments dealing with marriage and divorce, education and the overseeing of halaal food outlets.

Qibla leader's aim is united Muslim council

Zubeida Jaffer

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

SLAM would reflect a major ideological position in South Africa if the Muslim community were to be united under one leadership.

Such a formation could be larger than any other existing political party and could therefore have an impact on the entire liberation process, says Qibla leader Imnan Achmad Cassiem. A former Robben Islander, Cassiem has committed himself to work to-

wards the establishment of a supreme council for Southern Africa to bring about such unity.

"It could be called by any other name," he says. "But such a council would bring about, reflect and maintain the unity of all the Muslims in this country."

For him, such a formation would mean that the strength in numbers of the Muslims, their financial resources and their military capabilities would be consolidated.

"The moment a person embraces Is-

lam, fighting becomes obligatory. Under what conditions and when to fight, depends on the leadership," Cassiem said.

"But if a supreme council is established, the spin-offs of that unity will have an immediate impact."

When such a formation would come off the ground, however, is difficult to say.

Efforts to bring about unity are being made in obedience to the Islamic command "not to be disunited and divided amongst yourselves".

Adds Cassiem: "We are not doing this out of political expediency. We are saying to Muslims they have a personal obligation to unite."

"If needs be, they must unite over the heads of the ulema (traditional leaders) who have been dividing the masses and have been dividing themselves for all this time."

While Cassiem harbours no illusions about the difficulties that lie ahead, he believes such unity is essential to bring about a just social order.

'Bid to defuse English issue'

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

(204A)

By Justin Pearce

THE ANC's language policy released last week has been greeted with praise, condemnation, and a fair dose of confusion.

The policy seeks to grant equal recognition to Afrikaans, English, Sesotho, Seswati, Sindebele, Sipeedi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

Access to education, the law and government services would be available through the medium of any citizen's preferred language.

Mr Nigel Crawhall of the National Language Project (NLP) believes the announcement must be seen in the

context of Codesa, in which the ANC is forced to bargain with the National Party on certain policy issues.

The ANC's refusal to give any language privileged status above another could be an attempt to defuse the question of English, a sensitive one for the NP.

Crawhall says the NP is unwilling to accept any proposal that recognises English without making clear the position of Afrikaans.

The NP has responded by condemning what the party sees as a move to deprive English and Afrikaans of their official status.

While the NLP agrees with the recognition of African languages, Crawhall expressed doubts about the

workability of granting South Africa's nine African languages equal status.

Under the ANC policy, Zulu, spoken by approximately nine million people (25 percent of the population), has the same status as Venda, which is spoken by only two percent of the population.

The ANC document contains little to suggest how its policy might be implemented, and the NLP has interpreted it as "a general statement of the principle of full recognition of linguistic rights. It is not a full working document."

The NLP supports a regional language policy, which the ANC document hints at.

Codesa costs citizens plenty

TAXPAYERS were set back almost R3,5-million to provide for Codesa up to December 31.

Delegates seem to have enjoyed sumptuous food during and between Codesa meetings, as the bill for their "snacks" amounted to R61 700 alone, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, revealed, in parliament. *South 20/2-26/2/92*

The largest expense though was not the food, but the rent, furniture, offices, electricity, sound and lighting, and flowers and plants — at R1,2-million. *(304A)*

The other major expenses were accommodation (R905 580), travel (R822 400) printing and stationery (R157 000), professional services (R119 000) and hiring of equipment (R86 000).

NEWS IN BRIEF

'No kings in Codesa'

10/2/92 304A

KING Goodwill Zwelithini would cease to be King of the Zulus if he participated in Codesa alongside an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) delegation because this would make him king of Zulu IFP supporters only, according to Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC head of international affairs said it had been agreed in preparations leading to Codesa that only political parties would participate in constitutional negotiations. *South 20/2-26/2/92*

Mr Mbeki said traditional leaders should attend Codesa as observers with the right to intervene or speak on issues directly affecting them. He said it was untrue the ANC had specifically blocked King Zwelithini's participation.

There were few countries in which a party political king or queen existed.

It seemed the IFP had changed its position on King Zwelithini because in the past it had been stressed by the IFP and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that the king was above politics, said Mbeki.

● See leader Page 7

... and this is the price for freedom

Sowetan 20/2/92
THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa cost the Government nearly R3,5 million last year alone, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Jurg Prinsloo, Conservative Party MP for Roodepoort, Viljoen said the single highest amount - R1,2 million - was spent on rent, furniture, offices, electricity, sound and lighting, flowers and plants.

He said the figures were based on provisional calculations. The Government also paid R61 700 for delegates' snacks.

Accommodation of del-

egates to Codesa's preparatory meetings and its first plenary session amounted to R905 580, while road and air travel expenses totalled some R822 400.

Printing, stationery and other supplies cost about R157 000, private expert and professional services another R119 000, and hired electronic data and other processing equipment more than R86 000.

Telecommunications cost about R30 020, Viljoen said.

Participants not travelling officially at State's expense were compensated out of State funds for their subsistence and travel expenses. - Sapa.

Racial taunts set by-election's tone

POTCHEFSTROOM — CP supporters assaulted a black postman and hustled a black woman to an NP tent in a by-election laced with racial overtones yesterday.

Postman Johannes Letsibi laid a charge of assault after a man wearing a CP rosette punched him in the face. In another incident a woman was ushered towards an NP tent and told to cast her vote there.

Tensions ran high as more than 1 000 mostly CP supporters gathered at the western Transvaal town's municipal offices to cast their votes in the crucial by-election that pits the NP's Theuns Kruger against the CP's Andries Beyers.

By late afternoon a crowd of about 40

PATRICK BULGER

blacks had gathered, wearing pro-NP stickers and bashers. (304A)

A CP supporter urged one of them to go up and meet Kruger and a conflict ensued. Angry CP supporters gathered around Kruger, poking him in the chest and shouting racist slogans at him.

Kruger then told Beyers to get rid of his supporters or he would have it done for him. CP supporters wore T-shirts proclaiming "white power", "Ku Klux Klan" and "race war — the white side is the right side, be on it". There was also a sprinkling

□ To Page 2

By-election

of supporters in AWB uniforms.

There was a heavy police presence at the poll, including the SAP's newly established "division of internal stability" in camouflage uniform. Unit leader Capt Christo Ungerer said police had received several complaints about harassment but only one charge had been laid.

But the by-election, being billed as one of SA's most important and a test of support for NP reforms, showed many features of party political contests of the past.

The CP's men were dressed mainly in

military style khaki uniforms while the NP cut more sober figures in suits.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht was greeted by a huge crowd when he arrived late in the afternoon. He mounted a cattle truck to make a plea for a white homeland. Treurnicht, celebrating his 71st birthday, said he knew he would be given a birthday present — "I just don't know how big it is going to be."

The NP kept back its big guns, with Public Expenditure Minister Amie Venter the highest ranking NP official at the poll.

□ From Page 1



NELSON MANDELA



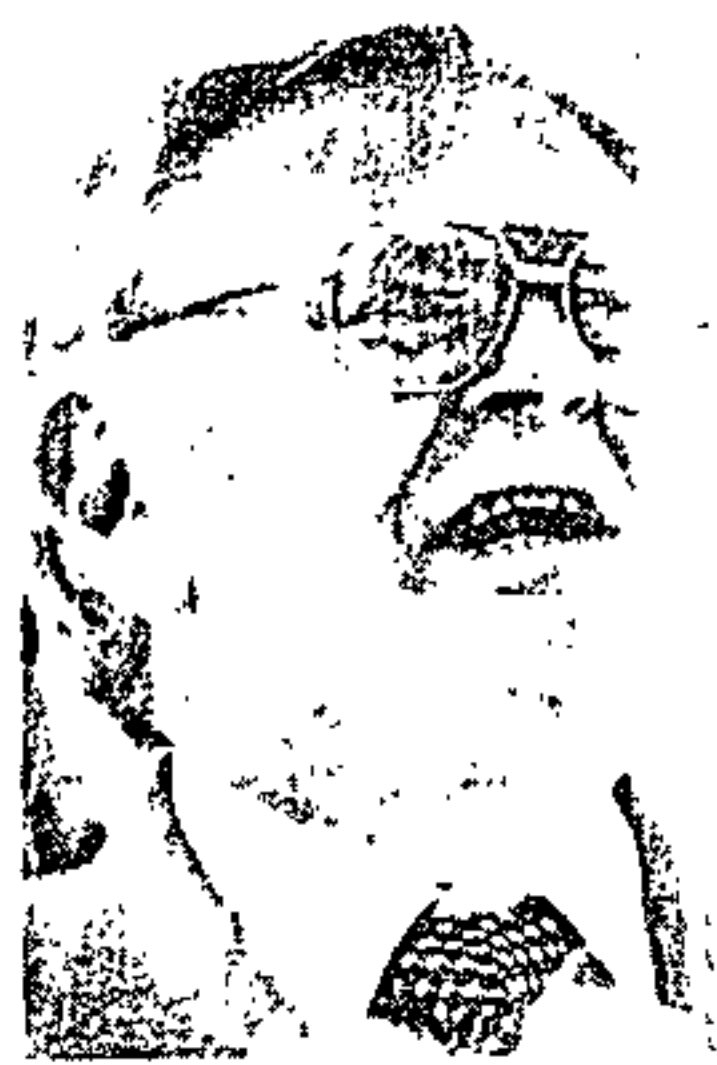
FW DE KLERK



CLARENCE MAKWETU



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



JOE SLOVO

Mandela tops the pops in latest opinion poll

Sowetan 20/2/92

DP

304A

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is top of the pops.

A survey by Markinor shows that if elections were held now, he would be South Africa's new president with 69 percent of the electorate voting for him.

Sixty percent of South Africans are confident of a happy future for all and 43 percent think race relationships are improving.

The survey showed that President F W de Klerk would get the second highest number of votes - mostly from whites. He would only get nine percent of black voters.

Dramatic

De Klerk, the first National Party leader to make dramatic reforms, has obviously fallen from grace.

A similar poll in 1990 gave him 22 percent support from blacks when they saw him as the person who should lead the country.

However, in the latest poll 81 percent of whites think De Klerk is leading the country either "very well" or "fairly well".

About 60 percent in the black community share similar views about the way De Klerk is running the country.

Mr Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan Africanist Congress, comes third in the popularity stakes with four percent support. He is followed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party and Dr Zach De Beer, leader of the Democratic Party.

Happy

The good news is that of the 60 percent who are confident of a happy future, only 18 percent are very confident while the rest have a glimmer of hope for better things to come.

These figures by Markinor are from a survey conducted three months ago among blacks and whites in metropolitan ar-

cas. What is interesting about the figures is that blacks - who have been subjected to violence in trains, taxis, funerals and meetings of political parties - feel things will improve.

The reason for this is that the police, and especially the Government, are doing their best to curb on-going violence.

The Government does not want to be seen by other delegates at Codesa as "having a hand" in violence.

Despite a high number of unemployed among blacks they, however, feel that the bad state of the economy will improve steadily with prospects for jobs for many.

The Markinor figures show that about 25 percent of blacks feel better off during the past two years.

About 32 percent of blacks feel confident that they will be "much better off" by December.

Dismal

Most feel that they could be earning as much as R1 500 a month.

The outlook for the future is affected by the present dismal situation.

Whites felt that the majority of the population group, about 52 percent, are now worse off than in the past 14 years. About 16 percent of whites feel they are better off.

Drop

The biggest drop in positive figures is found for the evaluation of De Klerk among blacks. The enthusiasm of May 1990 has given way to increased criticism.

Positive attitudes have dropped from 88 percent in May 1990 to 84 percent in May 1991 and to a low of 60 percent during the past three months.

This could be attributed to insinuations that the De Klerk government and Inkatha were responsible for the violence that

claimed hundreds of lives since Mandela was released from prison.

The interesting point is that acceptability of Mandela and Buthelezi differs sharply among whites

and blacks.

The survey showed that Inkatha has five white supporters for every black sympathiser in the metropolitan areas and 6 006 whites and 125 000 blacks

would either give it their first or second choice.

The actual "poll", however, confirmed that among blacks De Klerk's popularity is waning whereas that of Mandela is growing.

Mandela, by contrast, improved his position from 55 percent in November to

69 percent one year later. Inkatha's support dropped further to only one percent.

Looking at the growth potential for various parties, that is in first and second choice, the PAC had 26 percent, National Party 20 percent and the SACP 14

percent and to a lesser extent the DP with seven percent, show potential among blacks. These figures are very similar to the ones recorded in 1991. The IFP, however, did not gain additional votes to a significant degree. It recorded three percent in this category.

Blacks watch the passing show in Potch

30 APR
Sovereign 20/2/92
There was a festival atmosphere as thousands of people awaited the outcome of the byelection at the Potchefstroom polling station last night.

The majority of them were spirited, chanting rightwingers, certain of victory for Conservative Party candidate Andries Beyers. A smaller number of National Party supporters and officials were subdued compared to the raucous rightwing presence.

Armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members also made their way through the crowd.

By Wednesday night voters suspected of being NP supporters were booed and accused of being "traitors".

IKE MOTSAPI reports that curious blacks watched with keen interest as the white electorate went to the polls in Potchefstroom.

For most of them it was like watching a party in progress, but unable to attend.

The temptation to watch the proceedings at the grounds of the Andries Hendrik Potgieter Banquet Hall was there, but they lacked the courage to attend.

But for most blacks who are residents of Potchefstroom's black township of Ikageng, the feeling was that they wanted to see the National Party defeat the Conservative Party in this crucial by-election regarded by many as a test of strength and character for State President FW de Klerk's reform policies.

"The CP claimed that South Africa is their land, but that is wrong because it belongs to all of us," said petrol attendant Mr Keamogetsoe Banyana.

It was later reported that police reinforcements were sent to the town after a clash was averted between a group of blacks and rightwingers. At least two blacks were injured after being assaulted by whites.

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VICTORY CELEBRATION... Democratic presidential hopeful Paul Tsongas raises his fists as his wife Niki applauds during an election night rally in New Hampshire on Tuesday. Tsongas captured more than a third of the Democratic vote to win the nation's first presidential primary.

US commends SA talks

WASHINGTON - Continuing violence in South Africa indicated progress was being made in constitutional talks in spite of opposition by extremists.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen told a Press briefing on Tuesday night: "The fact that violence is continuing and even increasing is troublesome, but I think it also reflects the fact that those who do not want negotiations - the extremists in various communities - see that negotiations are moving well and are therefore stepping up the violence."

"So it reflects the progress that has been made and we hope negotiators will continue to forge ahead and not be deterred by the violence," he said.

The US was encouraged by the progress

in constitutional talks.

"They are proceeding in a good atmosphere and there seems to be a willingness on all sides to listen to the concerns of the other side, and we feel there is a good chance that many of the issues will be compromised into solutions acceptable to the various factions."

He added that while the US was concerned by some of the statements on the economy made recently by the ANC, the evolution in the ANC's thinking was positive.

"Mr Nelson Mandela came here and talked about the importance of a vigorous private sector and the importance of foreign investment and domestic investment, so we feel that there is growing acceptance of the importance of a free market system in South Africa and we think the evolution within the ANC is favourable." - Sapa-Reuter.

Police send in reinforcements

Race incidents at Potch

By Esther Waugh and Monica Oosterbroek

POTCHEFSTROOM — At least four ugly racial incidents — some involving Conservative Party supporters and blacks — took place as voters cast their ballots in the crucial Potchefstroom by-election yesterday.

As voting came to a close last night, crowds of CP supporters crammed into hakies and drove up and down the road outside the civic centre while hurling abuse and threatening a crowd of blacks gathered around watching proceedings.

Khaki-clad, armed right-wingers were out in force — among them the wife of convicted mass killer Barend Strydom, Karen.

By nightfall, CP supporters seemed out of control and the situation was tense as supporters — many of them with beers in their hands — were getting louder in expectation of a CP victory.

Punched

Earlier, Johannes Lebti, a postal worker who was installing telephones at the polling station, told The Star that two white men wearing CP rosettes had walked up to him, and without saying anything one of the men punched him in the face.

Mr Lebti laid a charge of assault with police.

Asked to comment, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said he was not aware of the incident but it could have been done to place the CP in a bad light.

It would have been wrong if the CP supporter had punched the man without reason, Dr Hartzenberg said.

Earlier, witnesses said another black man was pushed to the ground by CP supporters.

They then stuck NP stickers on the man and told NP officials they should take him to the polling booth as he was their voter.

In the third incident right-wing supporters led several black men to National Party candidate Theuns Kruger, who was greeting voters at the entrance to the polling station.

Mr Kruger, surrounded by at least 100 CP supporters,

shook their hands while the CP supporters jeered.

Two CP supporters held two tyres aloft as the men were escorted from the vicinity of the polling station.

A pregnant Potchefstroom woman, Star Veldsman, was pushed around by the crowd when an NP supporter held a poster with President de Klerk's picture aloft. In other incidents khaki-clad men rudely told blacks to leave the grounds.

Police reinforcements were brought in after the blacks were taken to greet Mr Kruger.

A steady stream of voters cast their ballots during the day and just before 7 pm 3 081 people had voted, bringing the total number of votes (including the record number of special votes) to 16 628.

The polling percentage at 6 pm — three hours before the closing of the polling station — was 72,05 percent.

Mr Kruger and the CP candidate, Andries Beyers, expected between 3 000 and 3 500 votes to be cast yesterday.

Both candidates were predicting victory, with Mr Kruger saying the NP would win by a "small majority". Mr Beyers would not say by how much he thought the CP would win.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, 71 yesterday, visited the polling station shortly after 5 pm.

He said the future of whites was being determined yesterday in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP needed the largest possible majority and Potchefstroom should be a watershed in South African politics.

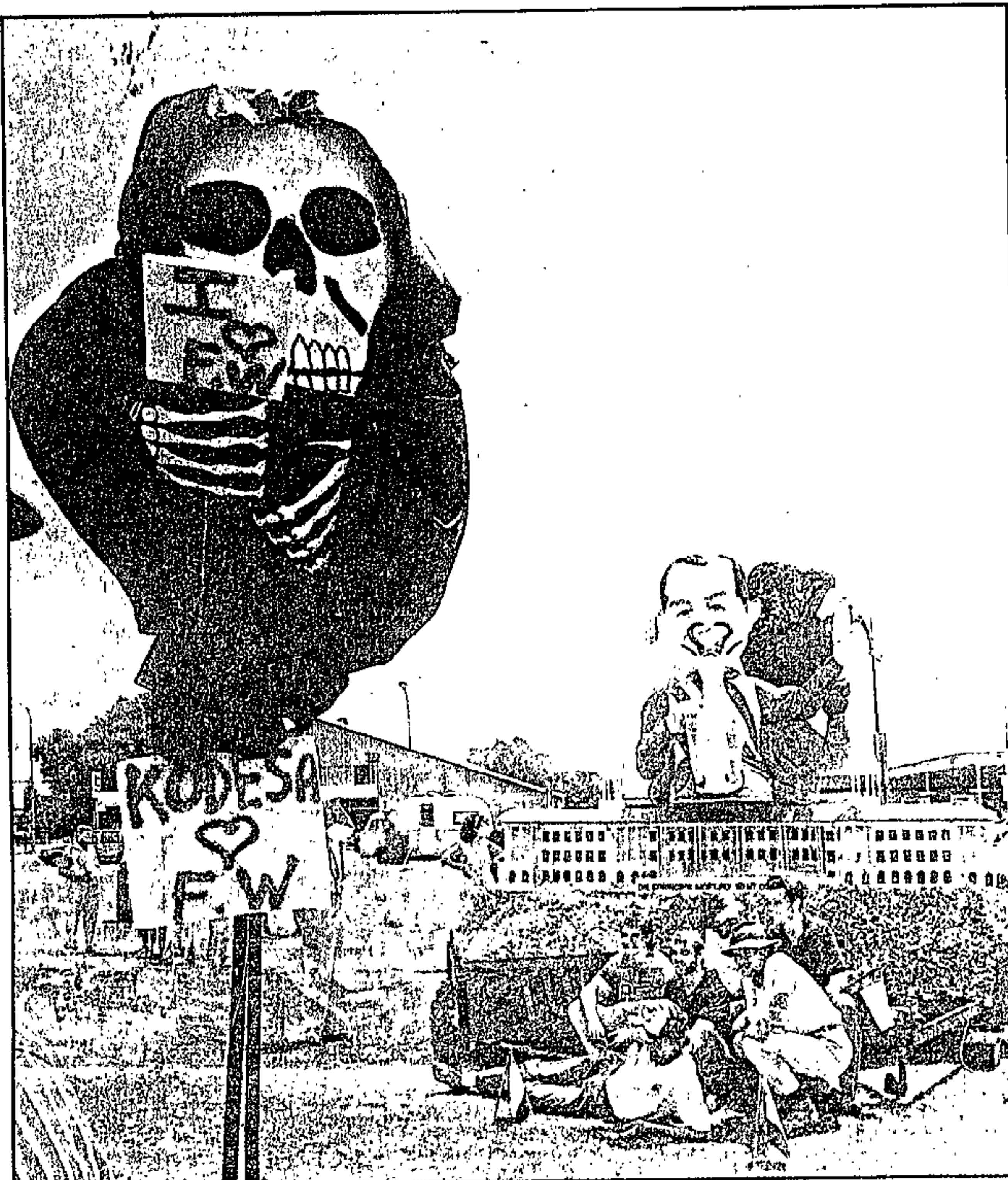
"Our people should say here that we want to govern ourselves in our own country," he said.

When arriving at the polling station, he was given a tumultuous welcome by excited supporters.

Toddlers carried CP posters bigger than themselves and dozens of pot-bellied men made their voices hoarse screaming their support for the CP.

A crowd of blacks, who said they were NP supporters, watched proceedings from a distance.

Most of them said they hoped this would be the last whites-only election in Potchefstroom. But feelings



Bl-election bogymen... a model predicting gloom and doom for Nationalist Party policies erected by Conservative Party supporters in Potchefstroom yesterday. Picture: Karen Fletcher

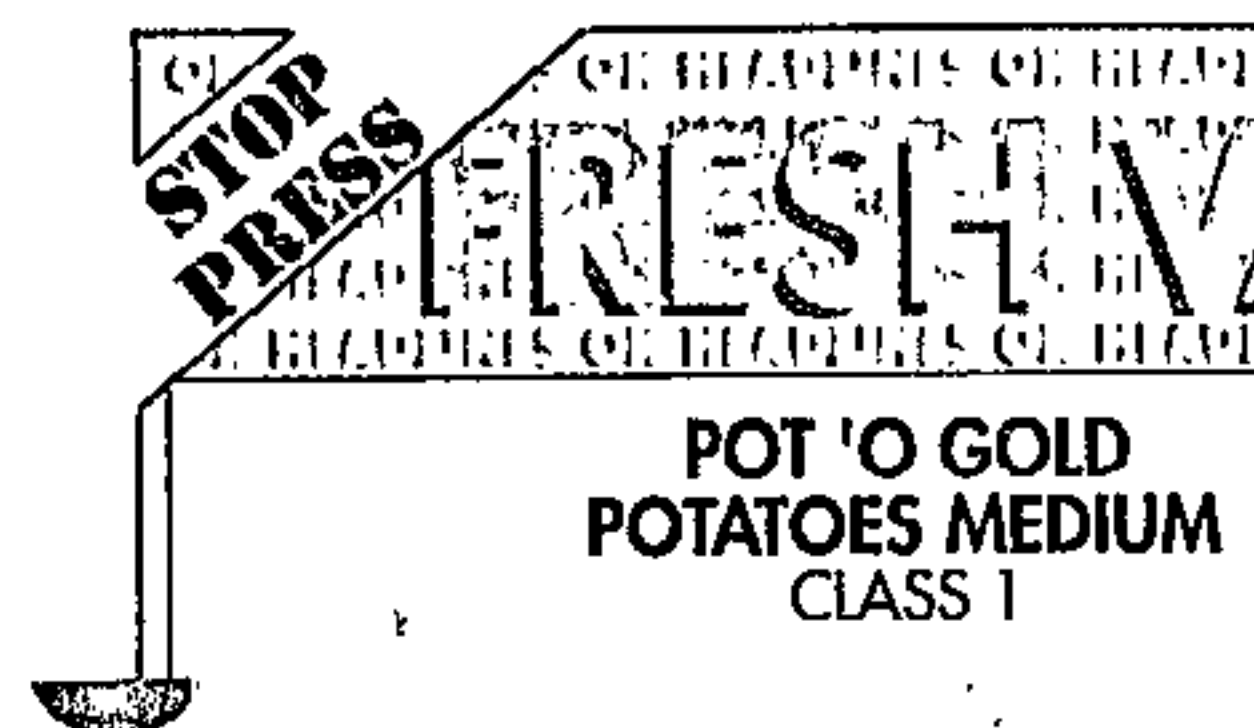
were mixed as to which party should win tonight.

Patrick Khumalo of Potchefstroom said he hoped the NP would win because the victory would improve his life.

Paul Sebetlele hoped it would be the CP because "the Conservative Party are blunderers and they will speed up the decay of apartheid, giving us our freedom soon".

However, Mr Sebetlele was confident freedom would eventually come under National Party rule. "But it will take a very long time at the rate F W is going," he said.

Clifton Seekoei said he thought the CP were behaving very badly but he said after the Ventersdorp incident last year he expected only the worst.



POT 'O GOLD
POTATOES MEDIUM
CLASS 1

DP will 'preach non-racialism'

South

2012-26/2/92

(304A)

By Sabata Ngcai

THE new-established Kensington branch of the Democratic Party (DP) aims to "take the DP's message of non-racialism not only to the Kensington community, but to the entire Western Cape community".

Branch chairperson Mr Norman Daniels denied that the branch, launched this week, was solely meant for the coloured community living in the area.

"Ethnicity is no longer an important question as South Africa belongs to all its people and not to specific racial groups," he said.

Acknowledging non-racialism within the

ANC, Daniels said his party had "no problem in working with the ANC as we are both fighting apartheid".

He said the branch office "would preach non-racialism to our people so that they can do away with ethnicity and tribalism.

"Our goal is to strive for one South Africa, without racial prejudice, where people of all races would live in harmony," Daniels said.

The Kensington branch would strive for the opening to all races of other DP branches in the Western Cape and throughout the country.

"The South African community is confronted by the endemic poverty from which it is not able to save itself," Daniels said.

"We experience the growing unemployment rate, and the ever-increasing prices of food and medicine."

"Hospitals are full with patients and the sick people are turned away and referred to the private hospitals.

Daniels said poverty had played a big role in bringing about the violence raging throughout the country.

"How can unemployed people afford the high price of medical treatment in the private hospitals?

"We, therefore, believe that the DP with its social conscience would be able to cure the ills and bring about a just society," he concluded.

By Quentin Wilson

'White election' disgusts blacks

WHILE white Potchefstroom buzzed with excitement during voting for the by-election this week, black Potchefstroom was not impressed.

Residents from the surrounding townships of Ikageng, Promosa and Mochudi, largely ignored by election campaigners and hordes of press people seeking white attitudes to National Party reforms, expressed disgust.

"These racist elections have al-

ways been irrelevant but with Codesa underway, they are even more irrelevant," said ANC Transvaal regional spokesperson, Mr Ronnie Manoepe.

"That we can still afford to have racist elections at this time is repugnant."

Population figures given by the Potchefstroom City Council estimate that white residents amount to 31 per cent of the area's total population. "The CP's victory takes us back to

the Verwoerdian days of apartheid," Manoepe said.

Black Potchefstroom residents didn't have to wait for the election outcome to experience how their lives would change under CP rule.

On Wednesday Mr Johannes Lebise was hit on the mouth, allegedly by a CP supporter, who said he was not allowed to stand outside the polling station.

Rightwing supporters were also seen chasing away two black people,

and slapped an NP sticker on the chest of a third and shoved an NP placard into his hands.

Police were called in to avert a clash when a group of black NP supporters were threatened by CP loyalists.

University of Pretoria students supporting the CP parked one of their rag floats near the polling station with figures caricaturing President FW de Klerk, CP leader Mr Andries Treurnicht and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The figure of Mandela had a bone stuck through its head.

Surveys point to probable

NP victory

STAR 24/2/92

30/4/92

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The National Party would probably win a whites-only referendum, according to market research polls conducted in recent months.

A racial breakdown of the surveys — all of which were multiracial — showed that the NP has more support among whites than the Conservative Party.

In the most recent poll, conducted in November last year and published this month, 81 percent of whites said President de Klerk was leading the country very well or fairly well. Among whites the NP had 56 percent support and the CP 20 percent.

In the Transvaal platteland, according to the survey, NP support was running 12 percent ahead of the CP.

The NP's support was declining in the Free State but growing in Natal, the study found.

A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey conducted nationwide in August last year estimated CP support at about 4.3 percent. It put the CP's support among Afrikaners at almost 19 percent.

A significant indicator came from another HSRC survey conducted this month, showing that 51 percent of whites were in favour of shared classrooms.

A MarkData survey conducted for the HSRC in September and October last year, and released this month, revealed that 49 percent of whites would vote

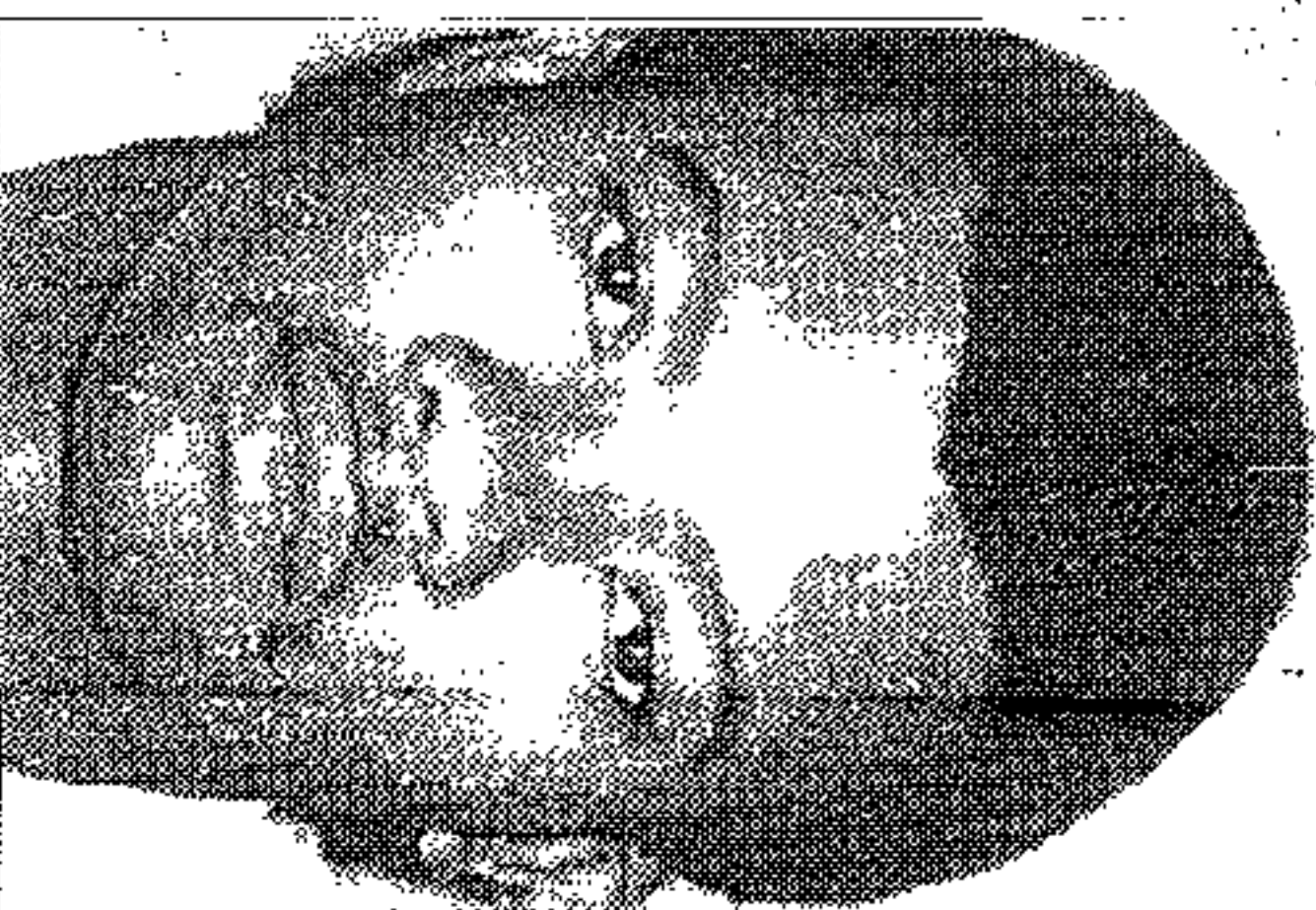


► "I pledge my party's support for President de Klerk in a referendum as long as the question proposed full rights for all South Africans.

I accept Mr De Klerk's invitation for interested parties to forward proposals for the formulation of a referendum question.

We have already been scratching heads for the past hour. This is drama. If the (referendum) question is framed to provide for a negotiated future and towards an open society, we will give it all we've got.

I cannot understand why people are so surprised about the Potchefstroom result. DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.



► "It is an attempt to blackmail Codesa into acquiescing to the NP's constitutional proposals. Mr de Klerk is intentionally putting South Africans in a state of stunned confusion.

It is a calculated bid to either buy time for the Nationalists to regroup or re-strategise for the negotiating process.

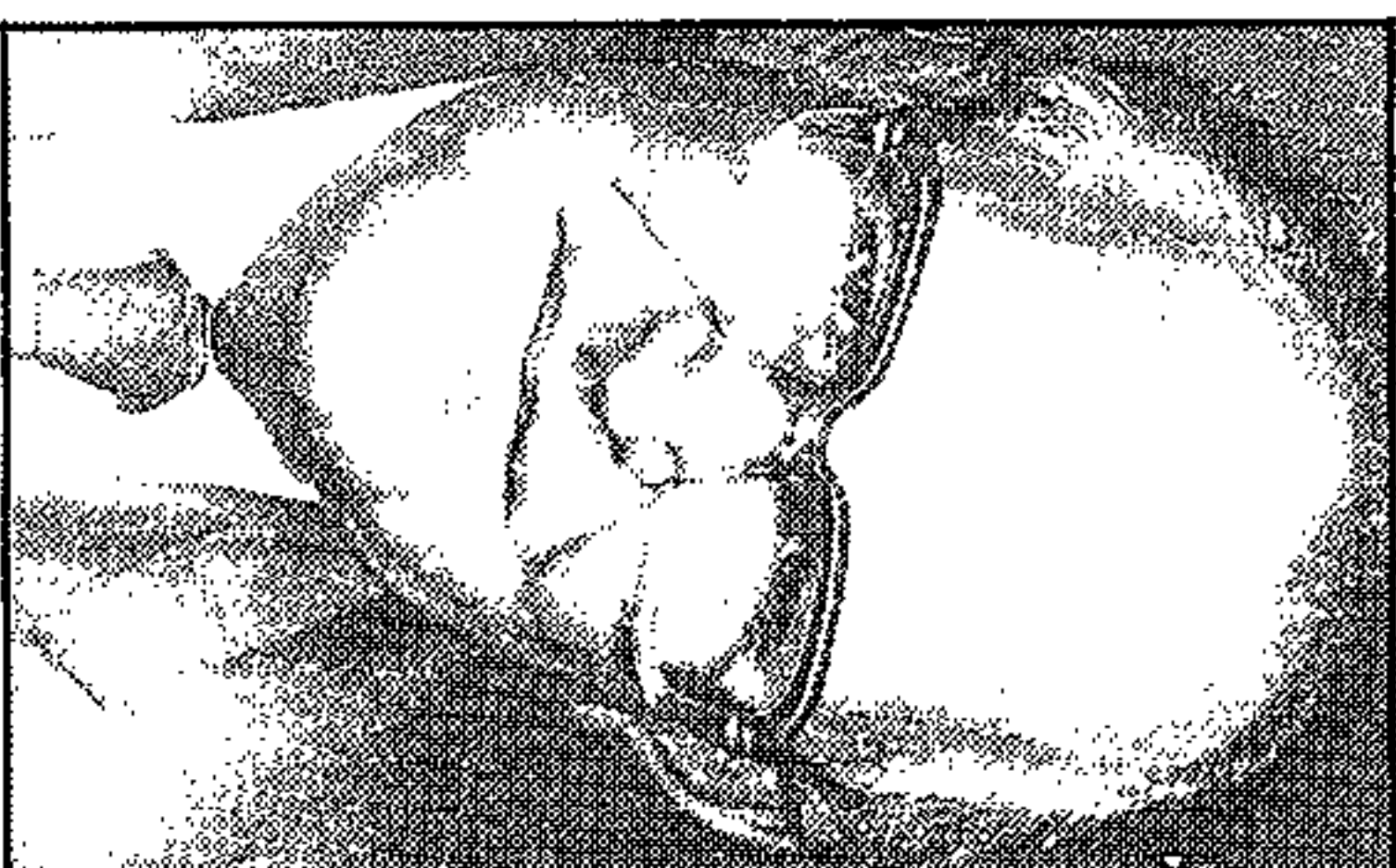
Mr de Klerk sought and obtained a mandate to negotiate new constitutional arrangements for South Africa in the 1989 general election. That mandate expires in September 1994.

He should have referred the matter to Codesa before announcing a whites only referendum. Transkeian leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

'Some accept: I, others reject it

▲ The need for a referendum while Codesa is in progress is a clear admission by the Government of the ineffectiveness of Codesa. This clearly characterises Mr de Klerk and his party as white supremacists who believe our society can be transformed into a democracy only if the white minority approves of it. His indication that he would resign, something which we in the PAC would not mourn, again shows that Mr de Klerk has no regard for the vast majority of African people in this country who seek and support democratic majority rule. ¶

PAC secretary for foreign affairs, Patricia de Lille.

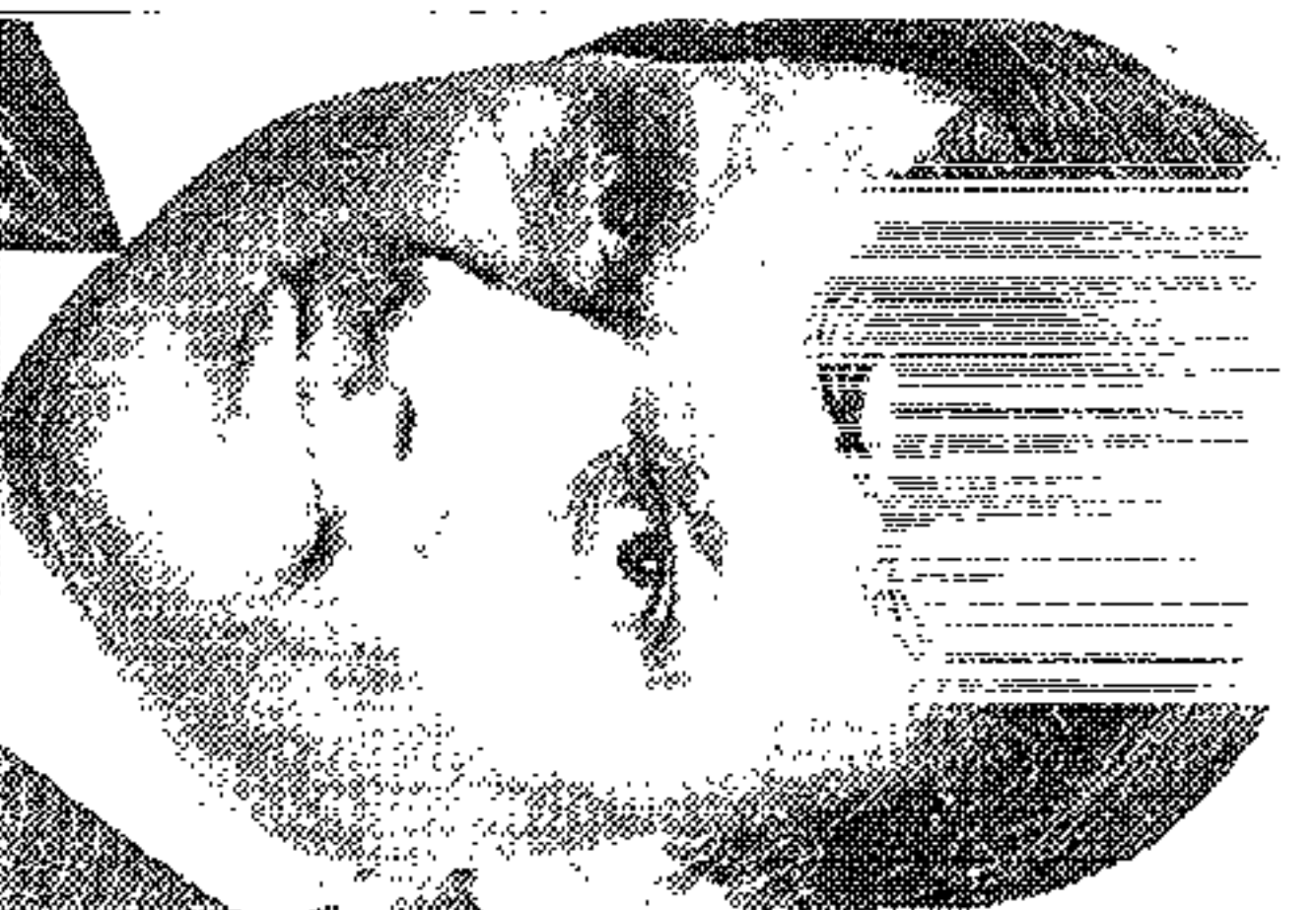


► "The Conservative Party accepts the State President's challenge. We have faith in the good judgment of white South Africans. The referendum will ask white voters who they want as their representatives at Codesa.

A dam wall was shattered in Potchefstroom. You are not going to staunch the torrent of Afrikaner nationalism which will become a flood and leave you behind.

The CP will not avoid its responsibility to Afrikaners and other white supporters. It will take up the struggle with commitment and the knowledge that white voters support its policies."

Casper Uys (CP Barberton)



► "The referendum will finally settle whether the NP or the CP is the true voice of white SA. Will this mean the country will have a referendum before a constitutional model has been worked out, and another after in terms of his earlier announcement?" Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates Amichand Rajbansi.

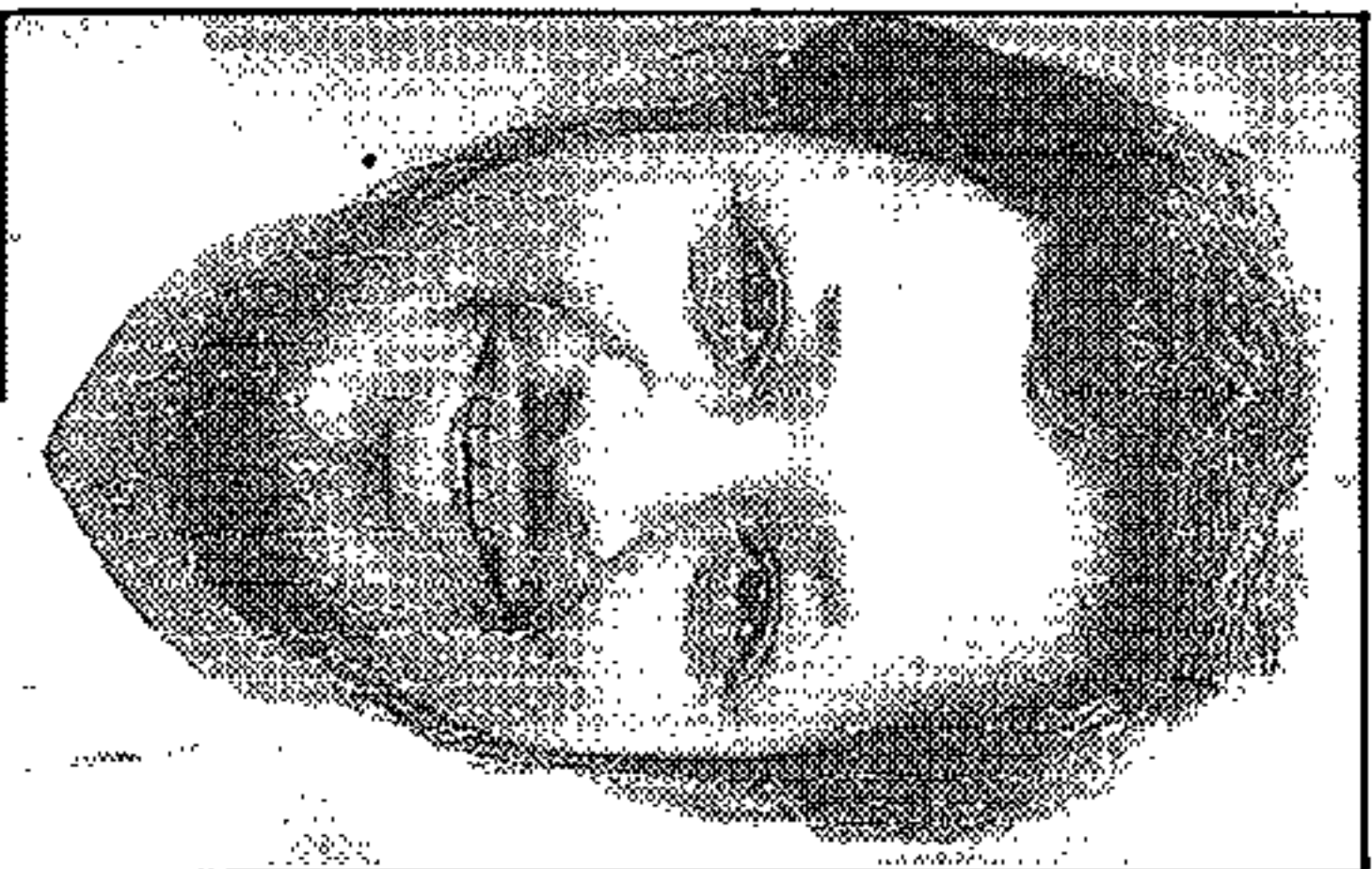
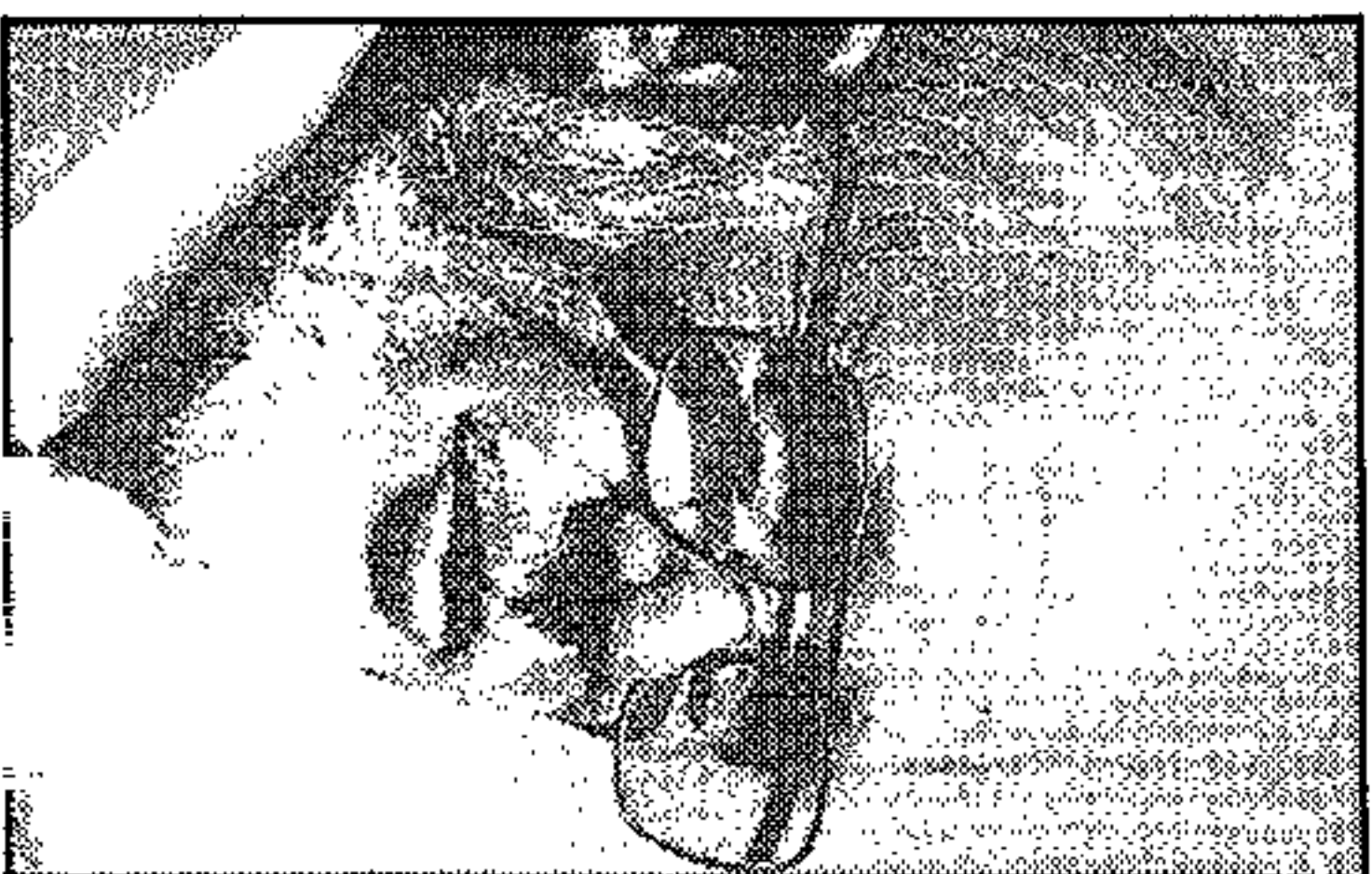
► "The Labour Party condemns the announcement. It indicates whites will still have a veto-right over the negotiation process. No segmented referendum can stop the momentum of the negotiation process. The LP dares Mr de Klerk to call an election in the House of Representatives." LP media officer Peter Hendrickse.

▲ The Azanian Peoples Organisation is not surprised by the announcement. Mr de Klerk is merely intent on handing over the repression of black people to his brothers in the CP. This will suit the NP perfectly because as a result of internal and international pressure, the NP has irrevocably committed itself to something less than direct oppression as advocated by the CP. Mr de Klerk has called the referendum with the full knowledge that the majority of whites will vote for the continuation of the status quo. ¶

Secretary General Don Nkandimeng.

► "Mr de Klerk is out on his feet. Mr de Klerk knows he would lose an election, so he has called a referendum first — which he will also lose — to play for time." Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging spokesman Piet Rudolph.

► "Codesa will not react to Mr de Klerk's announcement before Monday when the management committee of Codesa is scheduled to meet. Individual parties participating in Codesa will have to be approached for reaction in the meantime." Spokesman and head of administration Murphy Morobe.



► Machiavelli, or panic at top?

— Page 12

Peter Fabricius tries to fathom the thinking behind yesterday's unexpected decision to hold a snap white referendum

Machiavelli, or panic at top?

STAR 21/2/92

3044

WAS Mr de Klerk's startling move in Parliament yesterday a panic reaction to an unexpectedly large defeat in Potchefstroom — or a stratagem of Machiavellian ingenuity?

However hastily the stratagem might seem to have been formulated, it looks much more like the latter than the former.

Despite his disclaimers, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that Mr de Klerk's motive was to rid himself of the sword that had been hanging over his head for some time — his promise to hold a white referendum to test any major constitutional changes.

It seems that the Potchefstroom by-election result demonstrated all too clearly to the National Party that it might not win the white referendum as it was originally envisaged — that is a referendum to test whatever interim government proposals emerged from Codesa.

That would surely have presented the whites with too stark a choice, between the comfortable past and a scary future under an ANC-dominated Government.

By calling a referendum now, Mr de Klerk presents the white

It is necessary for the NP to dispel the CP propaganda that the NP no longer represents the white majority in negotiations.

— De Klerk



Triumphant . . . the Conservative Party's Andries Beyers after the Potchefstroom by-election on Wednesday.

electorate with vaguer options. They will not have a specific NP plan before them when they decide where they place their cross.

And it is also likely that the state of the economy, of crime, of political violence — all those things which helped to drive Potchefstroom voters into the hands of the CP — bad as they are, will be better in March than at the end

of Codesa when the referendum was originally expected.

By calling a national referendum the NP will also stretch the resources of the CP and prevent it pouring all its resources into one constituency as it has been doing in one by-election after another.

And by exploiting the element of surprise, the NP will also have caught the CP wrong-footed and

put it on the defensive.

Mr de Klerk said at a press conference yesterday that it was necessary for the NP to dispel the CP propaganda that the NP no longer represented the white majority in negotiations.

This was undermining the credibility and legitimacy of the NP at Codesa.

It was also undermining security

by encouraging right-wing militants to resort to violent methods with the justification that the constitutional route was being denied them.

But of all these reasons for the announcement, none is as compelling as that this referendum will let Mr de Klerk off the hook of going back to the white electorate to test support for a new constitution.

Mr de Klerk was inconclusive on this point at the press conference yesterday.

He said no decision had been taken about whether this would replace the promised referendum. That would depend upon the formulation of the question which had not yet been phrased.

One could imagine a question formulated in such a way that it would cover the obligation, he said.

Later he suggested that he might hold another referendum to test the outcome of negotiations, but did not commit himself.

The strategy seems so well-devised that it is difficult to imagine that it was magically pulled out of the hat yesterday morning after the announcement of the Potchefstroom result.

Mr de Klerk himself at the

press conference said that the idea had been incubating for some time and had merely been precipitated by Potchefstroom.

If it was indeed a long-maturing strategy then Potchefstroom might simply have been the perfect opportunity to announce it.

That way a device aimed at letting the NP off the hook could be disguised as a legitimate test of voter confidence at a moment when it seemed to be waning.

Mr de Klerk's move seems to have given the lie to senior NP spokesmen who were putting out the line after Potchefstroom that the NP was confident of winning back white support from the CP once a settlement had been reached at Codesa and the uncertainties of voters were dispelled.

The decision to call a snap referendum indicates a different and far more pessimistic scenario — that white voter support for the NP would continue to dwindle and would reach a critical point when whites were confronted with an all-or-nothing choice between yesterday and tomorrow.

With yesterday's announcement, Mr de Klerk has probably averted that moment and tremendously boosted the chances of a successful transition. □

Tipped to win all-white poll

STAR

21/2/92

304A

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Political analysts predict that President de Klerk will win a whites-only referendum.

"It is a high-risk strategy. It is a shootout at high noon," said Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town.

Since the National Party was able to draw more than 7 000 votes in the Potchefstroom by-election, a NP/Democratic Party alliance could safely, "but not confidently or easily", win a referendum, he said.

Professor Welsh said it was prudent of Mr de Klerk to call a snap referendum but predicted it could be "one of the dirtiest campaigns in history".

The NP could win the referendum by 55 percent, he estimated.

Theo Venter of the Potchefstroom University's Centre for Future Studies also predicted the NP would win.

He noted that the Conservative Party enjoyed only pockets of support in the country — the Free State, western Transvaal, northern Cape and parts of the eastern Cape, northern Natal and eastern Transvaal.

These were all large areas with a small population.

University of Cape Town analyst Professor Hermann Giliomee also predicted a Nationalist victory but said CP supporters could boycott it in large numbers because the CP did better in by-elections and general elections than in referendums.

Even if the referendum yielded a fairly low poll, the NP would still win, he said.

'Nat party machine inept'

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

304A

STAR 21/2/92

The National Party has denied that its humiliating defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in Potchefstroom represented a clear rejection of its reform policy by the majority of white voters.

"Although we are obviously disappointed, the NP (of Transvaal) does not view the result as a true reflection of what the majority of white voters really feel about the future of our country," NP Transvaal spokesman Maretha Muller said yesterday.

She was echoing the views of Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis who, immediately after the result was announced, issued a similar statement.

Their opinion, however, differed sharply with that of President de Klerk in the run-up to the election.

Mr de Klerk told a

Potchefstroom public meeting on February 13 the by-election would be decisive in determining white sentiment.

His comment helped raise the stakes for the poll, and was yesterday described by Pretoria political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans as one of the biggest political blunders in the electoral history of South Africa.

"It seemed that he was totally unaware of the real state of his party machine and electoral support in Potchefstroom," said Professor Kleynhans.

Ms Muller said the votes cast for the CP should not be interpreted as support for the policies of the party.

"The thorough canvassing which was done by the CP had, without any doubt, shown that support for the CP originated from insecurity around the negotiation process," she said.

She blamed the cli-

mate of violence and other circumstances such as the economic recession, rather than support for the policy of the CP, for the conservatives' stormy victory.

"We have no doubt that the majority of white voters see the CP's policy of partition — which is in fact nothing else but failed apartheid — as impractical and unacceptable.

"We as whites do not again want to stand alone against the rest of our countrymen and the whole world as a result of a policy that is discriminatory and cannot be executed."

She said it was clear that the far Right, which had worked together in Potchefstroom, was split in itself.

"In fact, it is known that the CP's parliamentary caucus itself differed seriously about both the Volkstaat idea as well as negotiations."

Ms Muller said the range of different view-

points represented by the right wing could be held together only by an "anti-government emotion" such as had happened in Potchefstroom.

But NP dismay over the result, specially among Cape Nationalists, was quickly converted to anger at the Transvaal NP party machinery for what was seen as totally inept handling of the Potchefstroom by-election.

What particularly grieved them was that the Transvaal NP chose to go it alone without drawing on the country-wide expertise available to the party in such an important by-election.

It is understood that Mr de Klerk made his speech at Potchefstroom on the strength of bad intelligence from the local party machinery which was predicting an NP victory.

A shake-up in the Transvaal party organisation seems to be on the cards.

'Humiliating defeat' for FW

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

(304A)

LONDON — The Potchefstroom by-election result has been described in Britain as a "humiliating defeat" for President de Klerk.

Lengthy radio and television reports yesterday reflected the result as a clear message to Mr de Klerk that he had seriously underestimated feelings in the constituency — and perhaps elsewhere in the country.

CP supporters, who had exploited white fears about the recession and rampant crime, were now openly "contemptuous" of Mr de Klerk and all the NP stood for, one report said.

The CP's Andries Beyers told BBC viewers: "He (Mr De

Klerk) said Potchefstroom would show the way to the future. He's got his answer: Sir, you are wrong."

The BBC's South Africa correspondent, John Harrison, said: "It's a humiliating defeat which President de Klerk simply cannot ignore. The question is, how far will it influence him in future negotiations with Nelson Mandela and the ANC?"

An apparently unmoved Mr Mandela responded: "The peace process will go on, whether the right wing accepts it or not."

The conservative Daily Telegraph, however, called the NP defeat "a sharp setback" for Mr de Klerk, and the left-wing Guardian said the right-wing victory "threatens reforms in South Africa".

DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No. 563

21 Februarie 1992

VERBETERINGSKENNISGEWING

WYSIGING VAN DIE REËLS WAARBY DIE VERRIGTINGE VAN DIE ORANJE-VRYSTAATSE PROVINSIALE AFDELING VAN DIE HOOGGEREGSHOF VAN SUID-AFRIKA GEREËL WORD

Goewermentskennisgewing No. 284 soos gepubliseer in *Staatskoerant* No. 13736 van 24 Januarie 1992 word hier verbeter deur die woord en syfer "en (iii)" in te voeg na die woorde en syfers "Kragtens artikel 43 (2) (b) (ii)."

E. K. W. LICHTENBERG,

Regter-president van die Oranje-Vrystaatse Provinsiale Afdeling van die Hooggeregshof van Suid-Afrika.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 517

21 Februarie 1992

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om—

- (a) in die lig van sterk standpunte uitgespreek ten gunste van 'n proporsionele kiesstelsel in die nuwe grondwetlike bedeling, ondersoek in te stel na—
 - (i) die geskikste vorm van 'n proporsionele kiesstelsel vir Suid-Afrika op die verskillende vlakke van regering;
 - (ii) aanpassings wat deur die invoer van sodanige nuwe kiesstelsel in die administrasie van verkiesings nodig sal wees;
 - (iii) die invloed wat sodanige nuwe kiesstelsel op die strukturering en funksionering van politieke partye en op die politieke proses sal hê; en
 - (iv) geskikte maatreëls om in 'n proporsionele kiesstelsel te verseker dat politieke partye intern demokraties funksioneer; en
- (b) ondersoek in te stel na die wyses waarop politieke en ekonomiese geletterdheid in die gemeenskap veral met die oog op die eerste verkiesing wat in 'n nuwe bedeling gehou sal word, bevorder kan word, en met die oog op die stimulering van gemeenskaplike nasionale waardes en nasiebou.

Versoek (a) is na die Komitee vir Staatskundige Aangeleenthede en versoek (b) na die Komitee vir Ekonomiese Aangeleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenooi om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 15 April 1992 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae ten opsigte van versoeke (a) en (b) kan onderskeidelik gerig word aan mnre. J. F. Marx en D. G. Truter by telefoon (021) 45-5541.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No. 563

21 February 1992

CORRECTION NOTICE

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES REGULATING THE CONDUCT OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCIAL DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Government Notice No. 284 as published in Government Gazette No. 13736 of 24 January 1992 is hereby corrected by the addition of the word and figure "and (iii)" after the words and figures "in terms of section 43 (2) (b) (ii)".

E. K. W. LICHTENBERG,

Judge President of the Orange Free State Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

No. 517

21 February 1992

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

The State President has requested the President's Council in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983)—

- (a) in the light of strong views expressed in favour of a proportional polling system in a new constitutional dispensation, to investigate—
 - (i) the most appropriate form of proportional polling system for South Africa in respect of the different levels of government;
 - (ii) the adaptations that will be necessary to the administration of elections in the event of such a new system being introduced;
 - (iii) the influence such a new polling system will have on the structuring and functioning of political parties and on the political process; and
 - (iv) appropriate measures to ensure that political parties internally function democratically in a proportional polling system; and
- (b) to investigate ways in which political and economic literacy may be promoted in the community, particularly with a view to the first election to be held under a new dispensation, and with the aim of stimulating common national values and nation-building.

Request (a) has been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs and request (b) to the Committee for Economic Affairs of the President's Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit appropriate memoranda, not later than 15 April 1992, to the Secretary to the President's Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. Further information regarding requests (a) and (b) can be obtained from Messrs J. F. Marx or D. G. Truter at telephone (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitees kan besluit om mondelinge getuienis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memoranda verlang word. Indien wel, sal betrokkenes in kennis gestel word van die datums waarop en plek waar getuienis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,

Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.

DEPARTEMENT VAN LANDBOU

No. 570

21 Februarie 1992

WET OP DIE BEWARING VAN LANDBOUHULPBRONNE, 1983 (WET No. 43 VAN 1983)

VOORSKRIF TEN OPSIGTE VAN GROND GELEË IN DIE ESHOWE-GRONDBEWARINGSDISTRIK

Ek, Johannes Lodewikus Vosloo, handelende in my hoedanigheid as Uitvoerende Beampte aangewys ingevolge artikel 4 (1) van die Wet op die Bewaring van Landbouhulpbronne, 1983 (Wet 43 van 1983), gee hierby aan elke eienaar of bewoner van grond geleë in die Eshowe-grondbewaringsdistrik, waarvan 'n kaart in Bylae 2 hierby verskyn, en waarop voormelde Wet van toepassing is, kennis dat ek die voorskrif in Bylae 1 hierby uiteengesit, vanaf 1 Mei 1992, ten opsigte van daardie grond van toepassing verklaar.

J. L. VOSLOO,

Uitvoerende Beampte: Wet No. 43 van 1983.

BYLAE 1

1. Beskerming van inheemse plantegroei

(1) Behalwe op gesag van 'n skriftelike toestemming deur die Uitvoerende Beampte handelende kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen in terme van artikel 7 en saamgelees met artikel 3 van die Wet op Bewaring en Landbouhulpbronne, 1983 (Wet 43 van 1983), mag geen persoon vanaf 1 Mei 1992 enige inheemse plantegroei vernietig of verwyder nie. In hierdie verband word die bepalings van Beheermaatreëls 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 13 en 14 uitgevaardig kragtens artikel 29 van die Wet op die Bewaring van Landbouhulpbronne, 1983 (Wet 43 van 1983), spesiaal beklemtoon.

The Committees may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and the place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,

Secretary: President's Council.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

No. 570

21 February 1992

CONSERVATION OF AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES ACT, 1983 (ACT No. 43 OF 1983)

DIRECTION WITH REFERENCE TO LAND SITUATED IN THE ESHOWE SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICT

I, Johannes Lodewikus Vosloo, acting in my capacity as Executive Officer designated in terms of section 4 (1) of the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act, 1983 (Act 43 of 1983), hereby notify every owner or occupier of land situated in the Eshowe Soil Conservation District, a map of which appears in Annexure 2 hereto, and to which the said Act applies, that I have declared the direction set out in Annexure 1 hereto, to be applicable with reference to that land as from 1 May 1992.

J. L. VOSLOO,

Executive Officer: Act No. 43 of 1983.

ANNEXURE 1

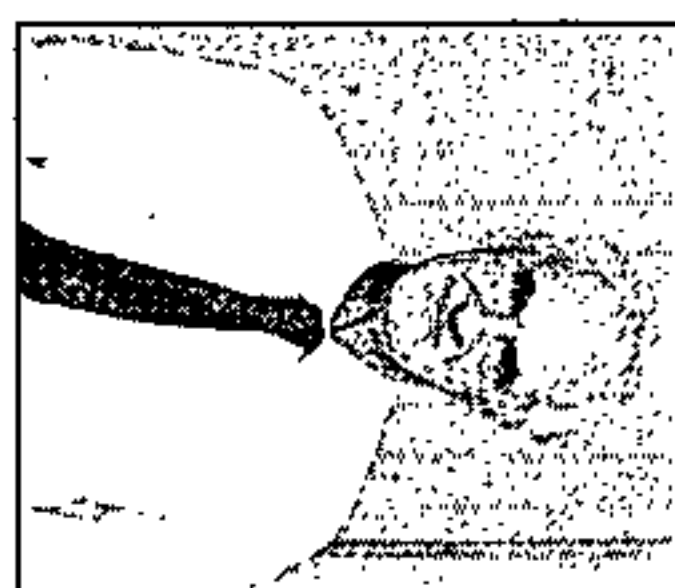
1. Protection of indigenous vegetation

(1) Except on written authority of the Executive Officer acting by virtue of the power vested in him in terms of section 7 read with section 3 of the Act on the Conservation of Agricultural Resources, 1983 (Act 43 of 1983), no person shall as from 1 May 1992 destroy or remove any indigenous vegetation. In this regard special emphasis is placed on the provisions of Control Measures 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14 promulgated in terms of section 29 of the Act on the Conservation of Agricultural Resources, 1983 (Act 43 of 1983).

When the people are wrong

FM 21/2/92

(3044)



Regular FM contributor Radford Jordan is a former senior lecturer in political studies at Wits University.

Was the Algerian army right to prevent the election to power of the fundamentalist Islamic Front? My answer would be: in principle yes, but in practice I don't know; I doubt if anyone knows. Martin Wolf ("The Tyranny of the Vote" *Currents* February 7) virtually confesses that he doesn't know.

Wolf looks for an extreme case justifying exclusion of a majority from power: if a party dedicated to the physical extermination of a minority were on the verge of being voted into power, would one condemn a force that prevented its election?

My answer to this would depend on a number of practical considerations, such as: has this preventive force a reasonable prospect of hanging in for long enough to gain any clear objective?

A minimum objective might be to hold the ring for a reasonable time to enable the threatened minority to emigrate en masse. A much more difficult one would be to formulate and carry into effect a reform pro-

gramme aimed at detaching a significant degree of support from the offending party.

We may now turn to the specific threat of an Islamic fundamentalist majority. Wolf suggests that someone, presumably the preventive force, might meet this threat by entrenched certain fundamental human rights, such as the right to vote again, against a future majority government.

But surely the essence of being a fundamentalist is that one compulsively sweeps aside whatever claims to be more fundamental than one's own ideas or policies?

If the preventive force pinned hopes on arms alone, could it hope to do better than the Shah of Iran? But if neither arms nor good counsel can prevail against fundamentalism, what other remedy is there?

The answer may be that, in any entity that forms part of the world economy, insistence on uniformity contains the seeds of its own destruction.

If the experience of the former Soviet Union is any guide, a point is reached at which diversity of interests and opinions needs to be articulated.

This need for diversity has never, perhaps, been better explained than by James Madison in *The Federalist, Letter X*: "As long as the reason of man remains fallible, and he is free to exercise it, different opinions will be formed . . . The diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property origi-

nate, is an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests.

"The protection of these faculties is the first object of government. From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of society into different interests and parties."

Where Madison bases his political analysis on the solid rock of human fallibility, fundamentalists — as Wolf rightly points out — found their claim to power on a mandate from God, from whom infallibility is inseparable.

Wolf concludes his article: "Since democracy is a mandate from the people, the two views are incompatible. It is doubtful whether any country in which a majority inclines towards a theocratic view of the State can be democratic. But this is not a problem that can be solved. It is a tragedy that has to be endured."

If this is correct, was Wolf wrong to write his article at all? I think not, even if in detail I dissent from much of what he says. Enduring something implies surviving it. In the end, people see that they must count God out of politics; whereas for Him all things are possible, politics is the art that must distinguish what is possible from what is not.

British business confidence remains

LONDON — British business will retain its confidence in SA because of President F W de Klerk's "prompt and decisive reaction" to the right-wing threat.

As UK SA Trade Association president Lord Raymond Pennock said this, the British Foreign Office reaffirmed its support for transition and urged all parties to "join the reform process".

Pennock said yesterday he did not believe calling an all-white referendum would affect the planning and strategies of British companies. "I can't honestly see people backing off," he added.

He said British business confidence in De Klerk was high, and described the Potchefstroom by-election defeat as a "one-off result".

The Foreign Office spokesman emphasised that De Klerk had "not deflected from the reform process", and reiterated British government support for Codesa.

Sapa reports a British Labour Party spokesman said on Agenda last night sanctions would be imposed even more

CHRIS BATEMAN

vigorously than before should there be a reversal in the peace process.

Richard Caborn added that should the transition to a democracy not continue, "the international community would react in a more forceful way than ever to have been the case".

In US reaction, an embassy spokesman said: "We continue to support fully the Codesa process as the appropriate forum for discussions on SA's future." The "specifics" of transition were for the people of SA to decide.

A spokesman for the German embassy said the German government did not want to interfere in SA's internal affairs, but added he hoped the white community would see there was no alternative to negotiations if a democratic SA was to emerge. He described the referendum as a "very bold and probably a realistic move" on the part of De Klerk.

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High noon at referendum

CT 21/2/92

(304A)

By DAVID WELSH

THE coming referendum will resemble a shoot-out at high noon. If the ugliness of the Potchefstroom by-election is anything to go by, South Africa is in for the most turbulent campaign in its history. Disturbing tales come from Potchefstroom of CP intimidation of voters, of disgusting episodes of racial intolerance, and of the crudest kind of *swart gevaar* electioneering. Writ large on the national scene, this is not a pleasant prospect.

Whatever one thinks of the decision to hold a separate white referendum, one has to admire Mr De Klerk's courage and his nimble political footwork. It is a high-risk strategy — if it fails and the referendum is lost South Africa's future is bleak. If it succeeds the CP's bubble will have been pricked and a masterly finesse will have been achieved.

The result in Potchefstroom was not unexpected. I originally predicted a 2 000-odd vote win for the CP, but in the last days of the campaign, when the NP seemed to shrug off some of its lassitude and threw some of its big guns into the fight, it looked as if the gap might close slightly.

What is surprising about Potchefstroom is not the NP's defeat but the fact that in the most inauspicious of circumstances the NP could win 7 606 votes. Consider these circumstances; that Potchefstroom has always been a citadel of conservative Afrikaner nationalism (notwithstanding the enlightened Doppe voices), going back to the times of the 1914-5 Rebellion and the war-time activities of the Ossewabrandwag; that it is surrounded by a farming community in deep economic distress in a society in the midst

of a serious recession; that crime rates have spiralled, that violence seems endemic, that problems with squatters appear to be occurring everywhere.

Add to these factors the general mood of apprehension and uncertainty among whites and the general tendency for voters to use by-elections as a way of expressing grievances, and you have optimal circumstances for the CP and its brand of populist racism.

My reading of Mr De Klerk's thinking is that he believes, on the basis of the NP's showing, that he can win a referendum — not easily or comfortably but probably somewhere in the ratio of 55/60 to 45/40 — nearly as narrowly as the Republican referendum was won in 1960.

Furthermore his belief is undoubtedly that the referendum should be held sooner rather than later. It is doubtful if the economy will turn around much before the end of the year, so electorally, from the NP's point of view, things will get worse before they get better.

Another factor is that a victorious referendum campaign should take care of the CP's old complaint that the NP did not get a mandate in the 1989 election for what Mr De Klerk has done.

What effect will these stirring events have on Codesa? I have no doubt that it will move on in its stately way, with the ANC being reminded of the dangers Mr De Klerk is running. It will restrain them from pushing the NP into corners and perhaps facilitate compromises.

From now on fasten your safety belts and if you're in politics, have your doctor prescribe tranquilisers!

[Professor Welsh teaches politics at UCT.]

Opinion

PARADOXICALLY, the Potchefstroom result is likely to speed rather than retard the coming of an interim government, underlining as it does the destabilising effect of continuing uncertainty about the future.

It is plainer than ever that a broadly representative transitional government of national unity is the only way ahead, restoring stability, confidence and political calm in the country.

Current levels of violence, criminal and political, are untenable. The fabric of civilised life in this country is stretched to breaking point, with murderous inter-racial shootings, robberies and assaults almost daily.

While the Potchefstroom result is no doubt a blow to the State President, Mr De Klerk's, pride and a reflection on his political judgment, he cannot even think of drawing back. His only possible response is to press ahead more resolutely than ever — and Mr De Klerk is doing exactly that, as his referendum announcement indicates.

The longer political uncertainty prevails, the greater the erosion of his traditional support base among Afrikaner Nationalists. Yet the statistical experts say that he would still win a referendum among whites, even on the current swing to the Conservative Party, but the margin is narrowing by the day.

International sympathy

On balance, Potchefstroom is more helpful than otherwise. As Lawrence Schlemmer noted in his clear-headed analysis of the result, things could become easier for Mr De Klerk in a number of ways. For one thing, the international community's sympathetic understanding of his difficulties in keeping the white constituency in line will be heightened.

Further helpful gestures from abroad can be expected at regular intervals, it seems to me, encouraging the Codesa process and steadily reducing this country's political, financial and sporting isolation.

At home, the common interest of both the NP and the ANC in pushing ahead to the next phase as quickly as possible has been brought home more forcefully than ever.

The ANC leadership, which is already moving into middle-of-the-road positions on issues such as na-

Potch shock will speed up interim govt

3048
CR 21/2/92



**Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW**

tionalisation and the powers of regional government, is under considerable moral pressure not to make life more difficult for Mr De Klerk in handling his white constituency.

This is a two-way process, of course. One hand must wash the other, as President Kruger once said to Edmund Garrett, who was Editor of the Cape Times in the years before the Anglo-Boer War.

If Mr Nelson Mandela does well to consider Mr De Klerk's constituency problems, Mr De Klerk needs to reciprocate in full measure in assisting Mr Mandela to take his huge and increasingly restive constituency along with him at Codesa.

What is needed from Mr De Klerk, among other things, is to pay close attention to the interim reports of the Goldstone commission. He should do more to demonstrate that control of the security forces is tightening as the Botha era recedes.

Disclosures in the Burger this week by Dr Niel Barnard, until recently head of the National Intelligence Service, cast an extraordinary light on the wide-ranging sway of SADF intelligence in the past decade. In interviews with Alf Ries, Dr Barnard notes that the NIS and Military Intelligence had a fundamentally different assessment of the situation.

Military Intelligence saw the crux

of the problem as the communist threat from abroad — and the solution as control of neighbour states and extermination of the communists. The NIS, in common with most other analysts of the period, including this column, saw no solution unless the country's internal political problem was tackled. The NIS was opposed to the destabilisation of neighbour states as an untenable policy in the long run.

Dr Barnard, now Director-General of Constitutional Development, stresses his opposition to the misuse of intelligence agencies to assassinate or otherwise eliminate political opponents. In this context, he tactfully avoids any reference to Military Intelligence and the CCB. But his general thrust is plain enough.

It is precisely the nasty stigma which the South African intelligence community acquired in the Botha era — and which badly hampered its intelligence-gathering capability — which Dr Barnard seems at pains to remove by going public in this remarkable fashion.

Despite Dr Barnard's implicit assurance that all is now well, is this really so? Are CCB-style hit squads and dirty tricks entirely a thing of the past? And is the intelligence community no longer involved in any way at all?

Destabilising violence continues — train massacres, assassinations, dirty tricks of all kinds — often in circumstances suggesting no possible motive other than the creation of a climate of terror to wreck negotiations.

Whoever is responsible, this country can have no future unless the security forces, adequately informed and backed by the intelligence community, can bring violence under control.

FW gambles his political career

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DECLARING that South Africa had reached its "moment of truth", President F W de Klerk yesterday put his political future on the line by calling snap whites-only referendum.

In a bold gamble to seize the initiative from a rampant Conservative Party after its crushing Potchefstroom victory, he stunned Parliament by announcing that he and his government would quit and call a general election if it lost the poll.

The referendum — on whom whites wanted to negotiate their constitutional future — would be held "as soon as possible" but almost certainly before the end of next month when Codesa II is slated to take place.

The President's high-risk decision to call the CP's bluff and place his government's 43-year hold on power in the balance came amid a day of high drama in Parliament.

After convening a crisis cabinet meeting to announce his decision to call a "CP vs the rest" referendum, the National Party's parliamentarians were driven on the President's battle plan to sink the CP.

After the caucus gave its unanimous support to the "go for long as the question proposed" strategy, the government's negotiating partners at Codesa, including the ANC, were alerted that Mr De Klerk would be making his bombshell announcement.

Despite Mr De Klerk's plea that the referendum should not be interpreted as an attempt to exercise a white veto, the tripartite ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance last night labelled the white-only referendum "the hallmark of racism" that would have the effect of delaying movement towards

Addressing a rowdy joint session of Parliament during the Part Appropriation debate yesterday afternoon, Mr De Klerk shocked jeering CP MPs fresh from their Potchefstroom victory by throwing down the gauntlet.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht later accepted the referendum challenge, but said that certain conditions should be met.

These included that the question should be fair and clear, that the playing field should be level, that there be no secret funds and that the CP be afforded "equal

negotiating process in the knowledge that they have the voters of this particular (white) House behind them.

"It's in the interest of the negotiating process that we settle it."

He said the time had arrived to "bring to a head" the issue of what percentage of whites would trust the CP with their constitutional future and what percentage would trust the NP.

Mr De Klerk said he was convinced that a whites-only election under the present constitution

JSE shares tumble

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Referendum shockwaves hit the stock market yesterday with leading industrial shares tumbling.

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opportunity and time" to put its case on radio and television.

Dr Treurnicht said he would disclose only today whether he would be prepared to resign if he lost the referendum.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer pledged his support for Mr De Klerk's referendum as long as the question proposed full rights for all South Africans. Mr De Klerk motivated his risky decision by saying it was "a question of credibility... a question of honour".

He noted that Dr Treurnicht and the CP had repeatedly claimed that the NP no longer represented the white nation or whites at Codesa.

"This is something that had to be settled. We need people that

But the news of a referendum brought a dramatic change to the market.

Foreign investors took fright at the afternoon's news and this led to a cut in the financial's worth to R3.63 to the dollar from R3.55.

● Stunned investors off-load JSE shares — Page 8

would have a negative effect on the negotiation process and "could unleash violence".

"It is in the best interests of South Africa that we resolve this difference between ourselves in a democratic manner."

At a press conference later, Mr De Klerk said he could see no reason why either Parliament or Codesa should be brought "to a standstill" as a result of the referendum.

For this reason it was important that the referendum be held as soon as possible.

- City residents speak on poll — Page 2
- High noon at referendum — Page 6
- John Scott at FW's press



MOMENT OF TRUTH

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City residents speak on poll — Page 2

High noon at referendum — Page 6

John Scott at PW's press conference — Page 7

crack of dawn



"What is the question? That is the question."

Sydney Cape Times

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2 WINNERS!

De Klerk has them

guessing

THE favourite dates for the referendum are just before March 18 — budget day — or on March 26.

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Picture: BEANY COOL



honourable route to take now."

The PAC secretary for foreign affairs, Mrs Patricia de Lille, said the need for a referendum while Codesa was in progress was a clear admission by the government of the ineffectiveness of Codesa.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said the move indicated whites would still have a veto right over the negotiation process.

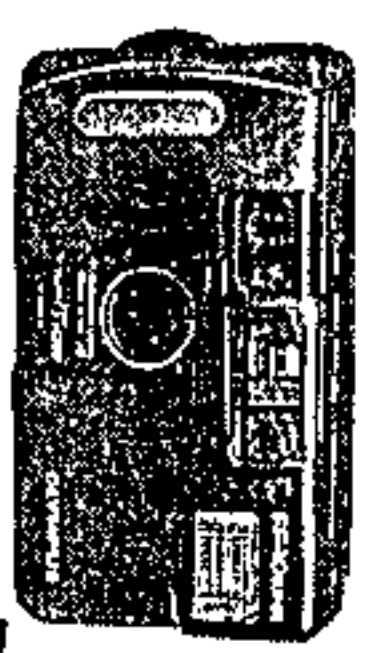
The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said only a general election would truly test the election.

To page 2



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FILL IN FLASH &
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POCKET ZOOM 38-80 mm ZOOM



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CHINON GENESIS III

MORE OF LESS THE

ANC warns of 'delay' of DP supports

port for Mr De Klerk as long as the question proposed full rights for all South Africans.

Dr Andries Treurnicht accepted Mr De Klerk's challenge to a referendum and said the Conservative Party wanted it to be held using voters' rolls, in constituencies level, with no use of "secret funds". He also demanded equal time on television and radio.

The secretary-general of the National Party, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "There is no other

FW stakes future on vote for reform

8/Day 21/2/92

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday snatched the initiative from the CP by saying he would go to white voters before the end of March to determine who best represented them in negotiating SA's future — the NP or the CP.

By promising government would resign should it lose the referendum, De Klerk put his future — and that of the negotiating process — on the line.

Interrupting the mini-Budget debate, he said he would dissolve the NP government if he lost. "Then the CP can have the election they want," he said to raucous outcry from the CP benches for a general election.

Later he said he had told most Codesa participants he would make this announcement but he said he had not consulted them on the issue at any stage.

He said the text of the question and the date of the referendum would be announced early next week, but later added it would be before the end of March, or Codesa 2.

It is understood that Foreign Minister Pik Botha indicated to diplomats at a briefing yesterday that the referendum would be held before the Budget, which is scheduled for March 18. However, other Ministers and senior NP sources said a date had not yet been set. Because it was a priority, De Klerk wanted it held very soon

BILLY PADDOCK

and the Budget could be postponed.

De Klerk said he was taking up CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg on his boast that the CP could win a referendum. He called on parties, including the CP and the DP, to put forward proposals for the content of the question.

De Klerk — in a bid for support — said he had no fight with the DP. They had their differences but not on the question of the negotiation process.

"The question will be phrased in such a way that all supporters of the negotiations process in Codesa will easily be able to support it," he said,



● DE KLERK

indicating the question would be broader than simple support for the NP or the CP.

He said he also wanted to prove the NP and the DP were able to stand up in Codesa and state, without fear of contradiction, that they had majority white support.

"This is a very important moment of truth for the country," De Klerk said.

Looking relaxed, he said he was confi-

dent the NP would win. "I have to settle this matter once and for all. The CP attack us at every turn and say we do not represent the majority of the whites. And after the Potchefstroom election result last night they changed gear and said the NP no longer represents whites at Codesa."

At a news conference later he said that if he lost the referendum it might affect Codesa but it would not stop the negotiating process in Codesa. If the vote was no, "it is a reality of what is happening in the country and Codesa will have to come to terms with that reality".

The NP would remain in Codesa and in Parliament, even as a minority party.

De Klerk said he had been toying with the idea for some time of calling the referendum, but the Potchefstroom result tipped the scales.

CP propaganda, which he termed groundless, was threatening negotiations, and played into the hands of the right-wing militants who were ready to take up arms and drive the country to destruction.

The issue had to be brought to a head — "We must test whether I and the NP don't represent the majority of whites; whites need to be asked 'Who do you want to represent you?'"

Earlier the CP had said that, after the Potchefstroom result, it had to take the initiative. After De Klerk's announcement one CP member said: "We now really have

□ To Page 2

Vote for reform

to become proactive because he has taken the ball out of our court."

De Klerk pleaded with the other two Houses not to see the referendum as a white veto. "We need the time to sort this out, like the ANC needed the time to sort itself out and to draw the Labour Party into its broad front, and as it may need time later to sort out its problems with the PAC."

He said the problem was isolated to the House of Assembly and within the confines of the present constitution that limited it to whites; the CP had no relevance to the other Houses as none supported the CP ideology of partition.

De Klerk did not envisage this referendum taking the place of the one he has promised the electorate on constitutional change. But this would depend on the phrasing of the question.

He said a referendum was more repre-

sentative than a general election. Existing constituencies gave unfair weighting to the rural areas; an election based on the current delimitation would give an inaccurate result.

He said the Potchefstroom election had a message for the ANC, Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders that there was a basic uncertainty about the future, and that there was concern about violence, crime, the economy and unemployment.

De Klerk said he was not asking for ANC help in winning the referendum — he was, in fact, discouraging it. "It is like two boys having a fight at school. If any of the onlookers interfere, there is a risk that the fight can degenerate into a mob fight."

But those parties, including the ANC and SACP, that had white members should get involved in campaigning for the poll.

● Comment: Page 10

From Page 1

Press support FW move

304A

CT 21/2/92

SOUTH AFRICA's morning newspapers today reacted to President F W de Klerk's referendum announcement yesterday.

The Natal Witness in Maritzburg called on its readers to support reform.

The Eastern Province Herald in Port Elizabeth said: "(President De Klerk's) decision to call (a referendum) now is a mark of his courage and his honesty."

The Star in Johannesburg said: "The State President has taken the boldest of gambles. Our guess is that the odds are on his side."

The Daily Dispatch in East London said: "If the radicals on the far left and far right are gleeful at the Potchefstroom result, it should reinforce the determination of broad moderates of all races to reach a settlement by negotiation."

The Burger said: "Mr De Klerk's announcement was a masterful political move which turned the Conservative Party's triumph into worrying uncertainty."

Business Day said: "President De Klerk's announcement of a white referendum is a swift, honest and aggressive response to the National Party's humiliation in Potchefstroom."

"The negotiation process depends on President De Klerk obtaining a mandate to negotiate a handover of power on the best possible terms. That mandate is essential if we are to hope for a reasonably peaceful transition." — Sapa



AUBREY ADAMS



AMELIA MAKOANE

'Joe Soap' doesn't care much about referendum - survey

Sowetan 21/2/92

THE man in the street did not care whether State President Mr FW de Klerk held a referendum or not, a snap survey revealed yesterday.

Ten people interviewed by Sowetan said they were not interested in politics and "had more important things on their mind than politics" but the rest said if De Klerk was serious he would call for an all-race General Election.

"No to a whites-only referendum," was the response of Mr Aubrey Adams of Fleurhof said. But, he added, the prospect of De Klerk resigning if he lost was tempting.

Adams said: "He has no plans for the future."

"It is time he let the people decide their future in an open election."

Mr Ricky Pillay, a businessman said: "We seem to be going backwards. After two years of negotiations, he still proposes this referendum. It is time all South African citizens were consulted."

Miss Lele Molefe of Johannesburg, said De Klerk's decision to call a whites-only referendum was unfair.

Miss Amelia Mokoane said: "I am not interested in politics. The corruption makes me even less concerned."

A worker at a

Maraisburg fast food outlet asked why De Klerk was not concentrating on solving violence instead of calling for an exclusive referendum.

Mr J Jonker said all races should be given a chance to participate in processes aimed at determining the future of this country.

One white who declined to give his name called for open elections, saying it would help the country out of its current problems.

Mr Albert Mpinda of Soweto, said for centuries whites had been deciding the fate of blacks.

"The ANC must have a say in our political future, but members of Inkatha must be excluded," he said.

304A

CP demands 'fair play' as it takes up govt's referendum

31 May 21/2/92
BILLY PADDOCK and
PATRICK BULGER

THE CP yesterday accepted President F W de Klerk's referendum challenge while the ANC stopped short of condemning the referendum outright.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht rejected De Klerk's insistence that the referendum not be constituency-linked. He said he and his party accepted the challenge on condition that the question put to voters was honest, clear and unambiguous.

"It should also be conducted on the pre-sent voters' roll and conducted in constituency. The playing field should also be levelled by there being no secret funding and by both parties getting equal opportunity and time on SABC radio and TV," he said.

He said the question could not be specific about representing whites at Codesa because the CP had rejected that forum.

He also rejected De Klerk's statement that the NP, as a party open to all races, could represent white voters either after the referendum or at Codesa.

Speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda last night, Treurnicht said he would structure Codesa "on quite a different basis" should his party win the referendum and a general election. Sapa reports that he said negotiations would not continue as a convention. Codesa did not recognise white interests and rights and the claims of whites could not be equalled with other parties' claims.

The ANC, in a muted statement last night, stopped short of condemning the referendum.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said in a statement on behalf of the ANC-SA Communist Party-Cosatu alliance that the alliance rejected racial or ethnic referendums "and any exercise aimed at giving whites a veto over the future of our country".

"A whites-only referendum is not only the hallmark of racism but also has the effect of delaying movement towards peace and justice for all our people. We are alarmed at President de Klerk's suggestion that there might be at least three

referendums before a final constitution comes into place," Macozoma said.

An ANC source said the ANC recognised it was the right wing, not De Klerk, that was the real problem. The ANC recognised the situation was serious but had hardly begun to examine the implications of De Klerk losing. It was too early for a comprehensive reaction.

DP leader Zach de Beer also reacted coolly to the announcement and reserved his party's support for De Klerk.

"We cannot finally commit ourselves until we have seen the question. We would hope and expect that that question will not be simply a matter of which party one supports but will involve an expression of

basic principle about issues like equality, freedom and an open society," he said.

Sapa reports that Codesa spokesman and administration head Murphy Morobe said the convention would not react to the referendum announcement before Monday, when the management committee was scheduled to meet.

Labour rejected the whites-only referendum in the strongest terms possible and said this demonstrated that whites still held a veto in the minds of the NP.

Inkatha said it was not surprised that De Klerk had called a referendum. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi reportedly said he would have done the same had he

Referendum

31 May 21/2/92

3049

From Page 1

been in De Klerk's shoes, SABC-TV also reported that PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the call for a referendum nullified Codesa. Azapo secretary-general Don Nkomo said his organisation was not surprised by the announcement of a whites-only referendum.

Sapa reports from Umkhonto that Transkei leader Maf-Cen Bantwini Holomisa said the referendum was an attempt to blackmail Codesa into acquiescing to the NP's constitutional proposals. He said De Klerk was intentionally putting SA in a "state of stunted confusion". "The loss of a by-election is no indicator of the governing party's waning support among whites. There are many variables at play in such elections."

AWB spokesman Piet Rudolph said De Klerk would lose the referendum. HNP

To Page 2

leader Jaap Marais said only a general election would test truly De Klerk's support — the referendum was just a ploy to avoid the real test.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonger proposed a boycott of the referendum. His party launched its own referendum yesterday to "prove" whites wanted self-government in their own state.

The ballot paper read: "I vote for a free Boere state of progress, full employment, peace, progress, safety, own schools, own language, own churches, religious freedom and security." The other choice was "I vote for De Klerk and (SACP leader Joe) Slovo's New Third World SA of unemployment, violence, murder, rape, robbery, assault, unrest, AIDS, bankruptcy and general backwardness."

challenge

De Klerk has them guessing

ET 21/2/92
THE favourite dates for the referendum are just before March 18 — budget day — or on March 26.

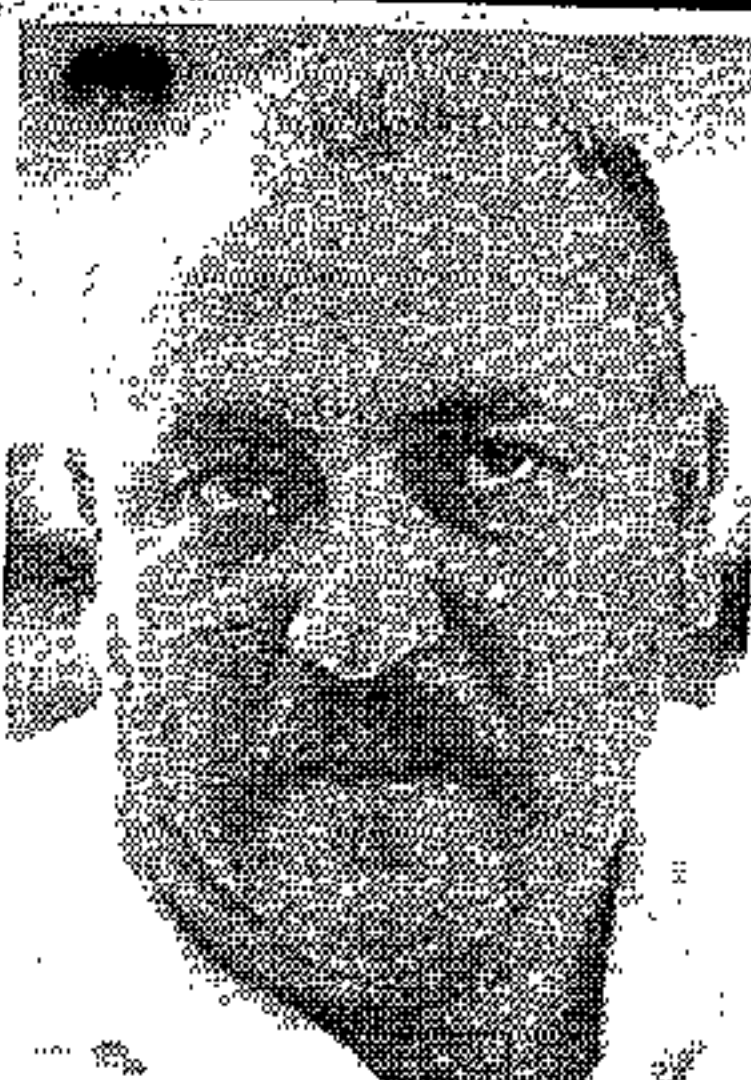
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'MULTI-RACIAL' ...
Cheryl Gush



'FAMILY DECISION' ...
Gerald Rix



'STUPID IDEA' ...
Nicolas Schwartz



'VERY BAD' ...
Timothy Mabaso

Poll of whites a 'step back'

304ft

CT 21/2/92

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA was slipping back into its old ways by holding a "whites only referendum" to decide the future of negotiations, according to white South Africans canvassed yesterday.

The Cape Times conducted a street survey to gauge white reaction to President F W de Klerk's announcement that a "white only referendum" will be held on the negotiation process.

But most whites approached felt a "whites only" vote was against the grain of the "new South Africa".

Mr Gerald Rix, of Paarl, said: "It won't work. Everyone must be consulted. It is a family decision. You can't make it by yourself. The whole family must be consulted."

Lakeside resident Mr Kevin du Preez said of the referendum:

"There is not much point at this stage. If we stop the negotiation process, we are back to square one."

In Cape Town on business, Johannesburg Mr Paddy Murray said he was in favour of a referendum "to test white opinion".

He said: "Once we get a 51% vote in favour, we can chuck the rest in the dustbin and get on with it."

Stupid idea

Vredehoek resident Mr Hendrik Dorje said: "FW is fulfilling a promise, he has no choice. Or he can negotiate himself out of it."

Ms Vanessa Penfold, of Brackenfell, said the referendum should not be exclusively for whites. "In the new South Africa all must have a say."

Nurse Cheryl Gush also felt the referendum "should be multiracial".

The referendum was a "stupid idea" said another Transvaaler Mr Nicolas Schwartz. "I thought white voting had ceased in this country. Now everyone must have a say."

People who would be excluded from the referendum felt the same way.

Mr Timothy Mabaso, of Johannesburg, said: "It is very bad. I don't think South Africa will be saved this way."

Mitchells Plain preacher Pastor Lewis Leonard said: "All people must join in the referendum."

Bo-Kaap resident Ms Rushana Johaar said: "It is better the whites decide. There will be trouble if the blacks decide."

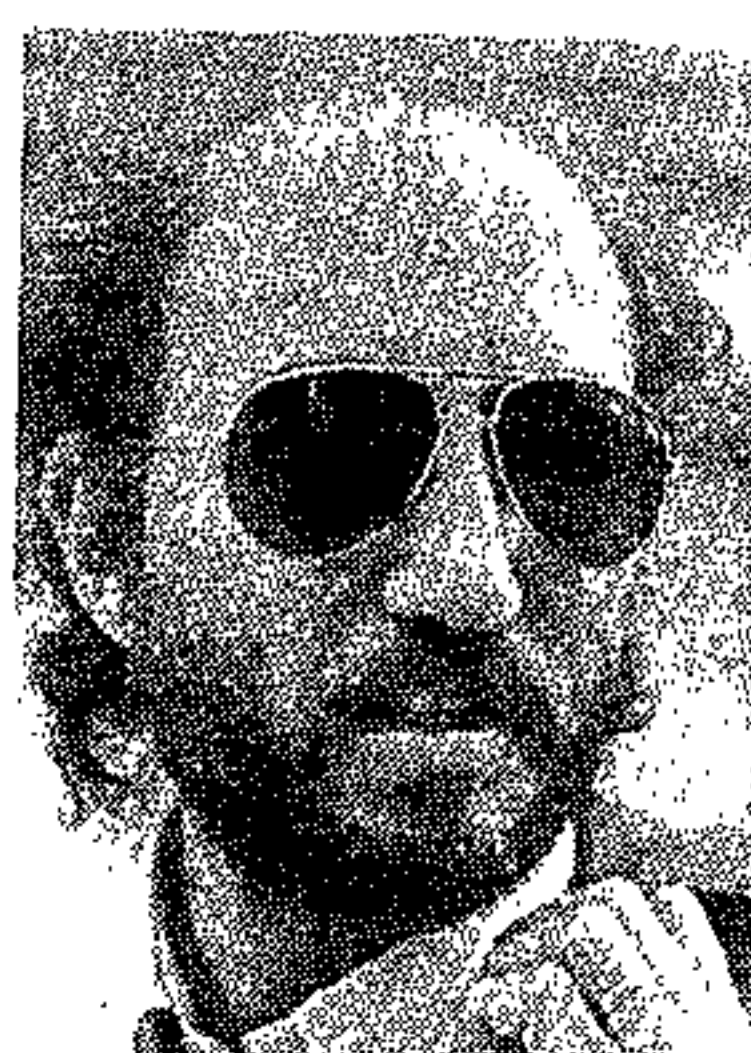
However, for others the announcement passed in a purple haze. An 18-year-old Vredehoek resident who gave her name as Misty Alice said: "I don't really mind what happens."



'WHITES DECIDE' ...
Rushana Johaar



'FOR ALL' ...
Lewis Leonard



'SQUARE ONE' ...
Kevin du Preez



'LET'S GET ON' ...
Paddy Murray

CT 21/2/92

4 groups seek to join Codesa

32118 Political Staff

FORMER Ibhayi Mayor, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, has applied for membership of Codesa for the United Conciliation Party which, he says, has a membership of 500 000.

Mr Linda said the UCP was founded in 1986 and "some of its members have served for many years as councillors of local authorities".

Applications have also been received from the Mnyamana Action Party of KwaNdebele, from Paramount Chief E M Mabea II of KwaNdebele, who is head of one of the two major tribes of KwaNdebele, and from the Batlokwa tribe's national council.

De Klerk a 'democrat'

CT 2112192
Political Staff

"I AM a democrat," President F.W. de Klerk stated yesterday when he explained why public support and legitimacy for constitutional change were necessary.

"I believe that when you tamper with a constitution it is a matter on which you must be sure you have public support," he told a press conference. (304A)

If there were any fundamental changes to the constitution, it had to have the support of a sufficient number of voters to make it work.

Important changes to the constitution had to be put to the people to obtain their support and give the changes credibility, Mr De Klerk said.

CODESA

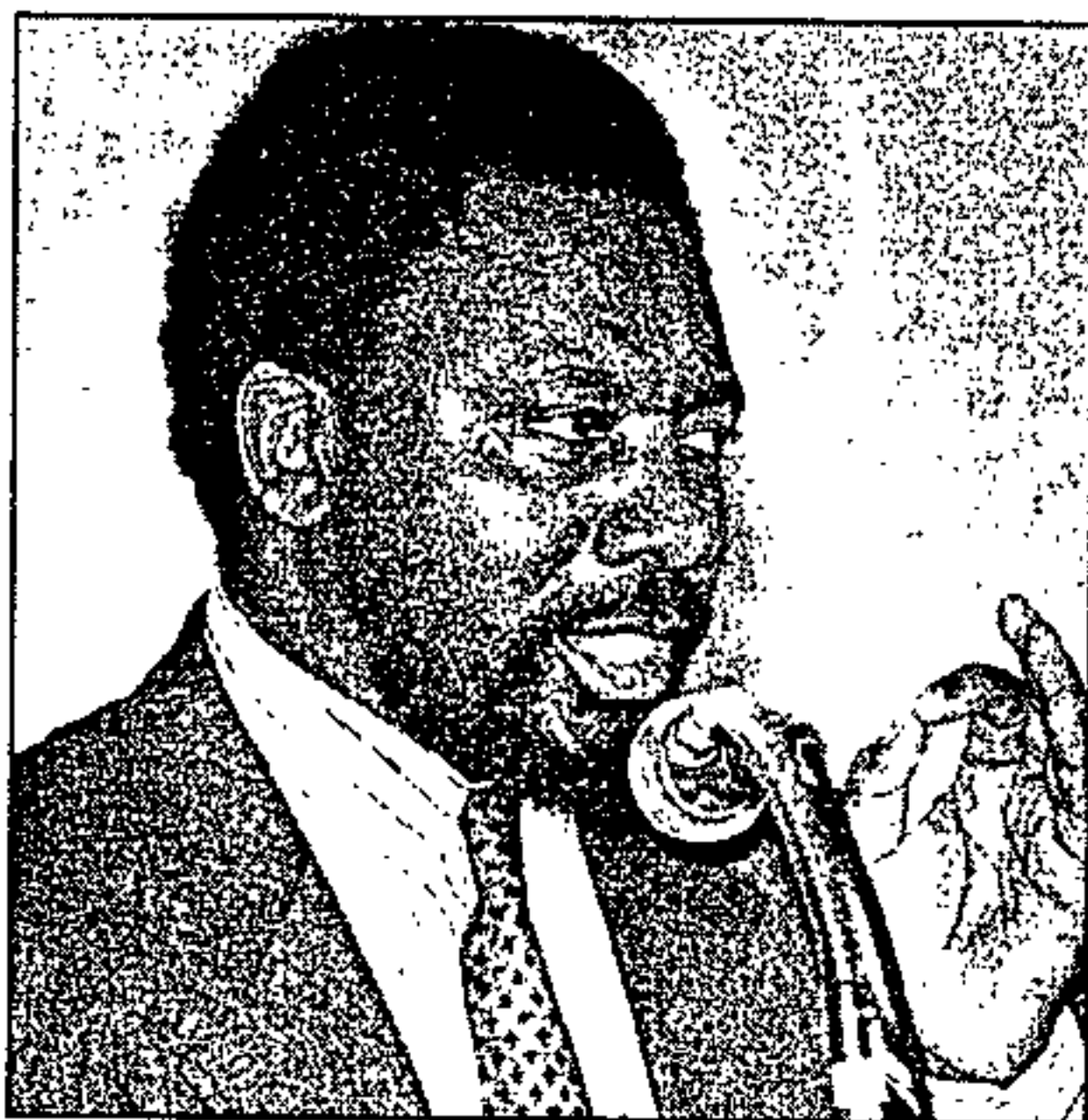
FM 21/2/92

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The momentum gathers

Perhaps it is simply a case of Codesa generating its own momentum and settling into a style of consensus. But, as if to vindicate the PAC's charge that a deal already exists, the "process alliance" between government and the ANC seems, with a qualification here and a whimper of difference there, to be bringing forth agreement on just about everything — so far.

Some of the foreign advisers on Inkatha's team mutter about the Codesa working group chairmen taking only an "impressionistic consensus" on issues before pushing on. But, at this rate, it could turn out that a new constitution (not simply its principles) may



ANC's Ramaphosa ... resisting entrenchment of regional autonomy

be substantially agreed upon by the time an interim government is installed.

At this stage, what appears to be pivotal is a decision on who will draw up the constitution. Once that is decided, says a leading ANC negotiator, it will affect the transitional arrangements.

He adds: "If Codesa, say, were to be the constitution-making body, that has other implications. Do you then retain the tricameral parliament to legislate into effect such a constitution as would have been agreed on at Codesa? How can an unrepresentative body like that be given, theoretically anyway, the power of veto over a body like this?"

"Much in terms of further movement is going to depend on how quickly we can establish an interim government, because issues of violence and so on would be better handled by a government that is more representative than the present one.

"That unlocks all sorts of things. Even if the ANC were to agree that elections must take place for a constitution-making body, they will take place under the supervision of an interim structure. The issues are integrated. For example, the question of reincorpor-

ating the TBVC states is important as it will decide who can participate in all of these processes."

The working group on transitional or interim arrangements had made little headway by Monday. It seemed to be a replay of their previous week's bunfight, of which the rapporteur's report had said: "There does not seem to be commonality on the structure or composition of the Interim Arrangement (which) is going to delay the process of finalising the work of Working Group 3."

It was, to be fair, only their second session of negotiating the hard details of transitional government; the group will be back at it next week.

Working Group 2 on the constitution, however, appeared to have scored a breakthrough on a key issue: regional government. The group decided to tackle this question first as one of the more important constitutional principles of the new order.

On behalf of the SA government, Tertius Delpoit kicked off with a plea aimed at ANC delegation leader Cyril Ramaphosa, who had earlier argued that Codesa was not the appropriate constitution-making body.

The ANC, Ramaphosa had stressed, envisaged a constituent assembly or something like it doing that job. The group, he had said, should be discussing neutral or general principles.

Delpoit disagreed, saying that if the group simply talked about neutral principles it would not take things any further and this amounted to side-stepping the real issue. He went on to say that there was a growing "sense of consensus."

Delpoit said four general constitutional principles had overwhelming support:

- ☐ Three-tier government;
- ☐ Each tier based on democratic representation;
- ☐ Each tier to have executive, legislative and fiscal autonomy (which most, if not all, delegates supported) with these powers enshrined in the constitution; and
- ☐ The central government may delegate other powers to regions.

The group should not shy away from establishing such general principles that could become the cornerstones of the new constitution, said Delpoit.

In response, Ramaphosa put forward a proposal to assist in indicating the convergence, if not consensus, on building blocks of constitutional principles. He praised Delpoit's four principles and proposed slight amendments to one.

He agreed on three-tier government with democratic representation, saying that each tier should have respect for the constitution and the Bill of Rights, that each tier should

have executive and legislative powers and that their functions should be set out in the constitution.

But Ramaphosa did not like the words "enshrined" or "entrenched". Preferring the merits of simplicity, he suggested that the steering committee should choose the appropriate words.

The house was not very convinced and Gerrit Viljoen and Delpoit laughed out loud. Ramaphosa, who ostensibly was not arguing the constitutional principle but rather whether people would understand what is meant, also agreed to the power of central government to delegate powers.



Minister Viljoen ... degree of devolution is important

In short, there was substantial agreement.

It was proposed by another delegate that the regions should be able to delegate powers to local government and the possibility of concurrent powers was raised. Interestingly, the IFP delegate basically welcomed what Ramaphosa had said before spelling out his party's thinking.

What seems to be unfolding is acceptance of a federal arrangement — though it will not be called federalism. Regionalism and regional autonomy are the preferred phrases. Despite the ANC's apparent acceptance of the need for strong regional government, however, there could well be some skirmishing next session about the extent to which regional autonomy is entrenched in the constitution.

One of the defining attributes of a federal system, say the experts, is whether central government is incapable of removing powers from or overriding a regional government.

It is not clear whether there is "sufficient consensus" to say that there are to be no circumstances under which a regional government's decision would be overridden. But there seems to be general agreement that you

(304A)

cannot have rogue regional governments that ignore the constitution or a Bill of Rights.

It is suspected that the wording used in the constitution will be fudged. There are precedents for this. Spain, for instance, has a strongly developed regional system (where the regions have different powers). Belgium's "communitarian" system looks very federal but they reject that term. It therefore looks like the SA version will be called regional government, if only to avoid the dreaded "f" word.

All of this has still to be tidied up by the steering committee. The working group will meet for two days next week, having laid a fairly solid proposal on the table.

The group could find the next issue it faces — inclusion and protection of political minorities — much tougher to tackle. How do you prevent a situation arising where minorities, however composed, are kept out in perpetuity from playing some role in government, if there is a winner-takes-all system?

Those who say the NP stance on political minorities is an old way of bringing in neo-apartheid will miss the point, which is that minority protection is a real issue in all divided societies. But whether the NP/government proposals will fly is open to question.

The ANC will probably concede coalition government, in the interim, provided it is not made part of a constitution. They may think in terms of a pact. What they will not want is to see it entrenched — a point on which there has been skirmishing on two previous occasions at Codesa.

When Ramaphosa asked the NP delegate if he could say where a constitution anywhere in the democratic world required coalition government, the delegate could not cite an example and talked lamely about Switzerland.

In fact, the Swiss have an admirable formula which is a convention and not part of the constitution. The nearest example is Belgium, where the constitution says eight members of the Cabinet must be French and eight Flemish. The prime minister can be from either.

But wherever an authority has tried to make a party coalition part of the constitution, there has been little success. Northern Ireland in 1973 and Cyprus in 1962 were not great democratic achievements.

Meanwhile, the ANC delegates have an aura about them which suggests that things will basically go their way. It was hardly surprising that Ramaphosa had been quoted in the foreign press as saying that the ANC would, magnanimously, like to have a multi-party Cabinet. ■

UNLIKELY CLASS ALLIES

FM 21/2/92

304A

Neither the Conservative Party (CP) nor the ANC — or at least its youth wing — liked this week's announcement by white education Minister Piet Marais. Even the CP failed to see that it could have advantages for those schools which want to keep their doors closed to blacks.

In fact, the CP's reaction seemed to have the Potchefstroom by-election in mind when it focused on the possible retrenchment of 4 000 white teachers by August 1 as "a crime against the white community." CP spokesman on education Andrew Gerber warned of the danger of "African standards" — not because blacks would be entering formerly-white schools (which Marais' move defers for some) but because whites

would have to pay more for education.

Gerber was able to point out that last year government gave a solemn assurance in parliament that no school would be forced to choose multiracialism — by which he presumably meant that "Model C" schools would find it financially advantageous to enrol blacks.

The ANC Youth League — quicker to respond than its parent body — touched the heart of the matter: "It is simply part of the ploy of the National Party to erode the powers of a future government and remove the base for one of the fundamental social rights, the provision of free education."

Marais' move certainly looks like an attempt to pre-empt something.

Result 'will be meaningless'

304A

Sowetan 21/2/92

THE Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday condemned State President FW de Klerk's intention to hold a whites-only referendum, saying this would maintain the status quo, and the Conservative Party welcomed the move.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkademeng said De Klerk wanted to hand over power to his brothers in the Conservative Party.

"The truth is that De Klerk is a racist oppressor of black people and he calls the referendum with the full knowledge and even inner wish that white racists, who constitute the majority of the white population, will vote for the preservation of the status quo," Nkademeng said.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said De Klerk's proposed whites-only referendum could only lead

By MOKGADI PELA

to the National Party or Conservative Party winning support "in either case of which whites will remain bosses".

"As we are fighting white *baasskap*, the struggle against whoever wins will continue," Alexander said.

The CP said: "We have faith in the good judgment of white South Africans."

Party spokesman Mr Casper Uys said: "You are not going to stem the torrent of Afrikaner nationalism which will become a flood and leave you behind," Uys added.

Codesa's Mr Murphy Morobe said his organisation would not react before Monday.

The Labour Party said the announcement showed that whites still had a veto over the negotiation process.



Spokesman Saki Macozoma announces the ANC's rejection of the whites-only referendum

Apartheid is in a crisis - ANC

Sowetan 21/2/92

304A

By Ike Motsapi

THE African National Congress and its allies - Cosatu and the SA Communist Party - yesterday warned State President FW de Klerk not to hold a whites-only referendum as this would delay the establishment of a democratic government.

The three groups said they rejected the notion of racial and ethnic referenda which they said would give whites a veto over "our country."

The alliance reiterated its call for the establishment of an interim government.

It also announced that it would embark on a programme of action between March 18 and March 21 to focus on the need for a speedy movement towards the establishment of a constituent assembly.

The alliance said De Klerk's intentions reflected the crisis "of the apartheid establishment and underlines the need to move as speedily as possible towards a democratic society."

"A whites-only referendum is not only the hallmark of racism but also has the effect of delaying movement towards peace and justice for all our people," they said.

The three groups were reacting to De Klerk's announce-

ment yesterday that he intended to hold a whites-only referendum to test the opinion of voters on his reform policies.

"I will resign if the response is negative," De Klerk said yesterday.

During a hastily arranged Press conference, Mr Saki Macozoma, of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, read a prepared statement to the waiting journalists.

Fate of negotiations

"In the course of a meeting of the tri-partite alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr John Gomomo and Mr Chris Hani respectively, we received news of President De Klerk's decision to hold a referendum for the white community.

"The prerogative to decide on the fate of negotiations resides with all the people of our country and we are convinced that the overwhelming majority of South Africans support a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the country's problems."

Poll 'bad for the future'

Sowetan 21/2/92

304A

LONDON - A whites-only referendum put the entire negotiating process in South Africa at risk, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said yesterday.

Huddleston was reacting to an announcement by State President FW de

Klerk that a whites-only referendum would be held to allow the electorate to decide on South Africa's constitutional future.

Huddleston, who is also president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, labelled the call a "dangerous and high-risk strat-

egy".

He called on Britain's Prime Minister Mr John Major to make it clear that neither Britain nor the rest of the international community "will tolerate a situation in which the white electorate can veto democratic change". -Sapa.



HUDDLESTON

FW over-reacted over Nats defeat - analyst

Southern 21/2/92

304A

THE National Party could win a referendum by between 43 and 57 percent provided there was a high voter turnout as seen in Potchefstroom on Wednesday, political analyst Mr Donald Simpson said yesterday.

Yesterday State President FW de Klerk announced that a whites-only referendum would be held to enable the electorate to choose the negotiations of their constitutional future.

The independent political analyst said if there was a large abstention by NP supporters, the results

would be much closer, and could possibly cost the ruling party the referendum.

Simpson said a referendum had to be absolutely justified in terms of national needs in the electorate's view.

The 1960 and 1983 referenda had been awaited for years by white voters, and were perceived to be completely justified.

Dr HF Verwoerd won the 1960 referendum by between 52 percent to 48 percent.

"Any idea by the voters that the referendum is for a narrow National Party pur-

pose would be completely disastrous," Simpson said.

"I believe the State President has over-reacted to the Potchefstroom by-election, which is not such a bad result for the NP and which projects that he can still win a general election on new, equalised, constituency boundaries."

Simpson said, however, the present boundaries were 14 years old and were favourable to the CP.

"The CP could win an election on them (the present constituencies) with 40,5 percent of the votes cast in any white elec-

tion.

"Would De Klerk commit 40 million South Africans to a minority of a minority in a repeat of the 1948 election?"

"I think De Klerk has been rushed into this in the heat of the moment by bad advisers," he said.

Simpson said that in the 1983 referendum only the far Northern Transvaal had voted against the NP. "The NP is the main force of stability in the country - preventing groups engaging in civil war, and its mandate is intact," Simpson concluded. - Sapa.

Quest for a Boerestaat behind the CP's victory

Sowetan

IKE MOTSAPI was in 21/2/92 Potchefstroom when voting started on Wednesday morning 304A

I WAS face to face with a young Afrikaner who spoke about his people's hopes, fears, desires and ambitions.

He told me his party would win the Potchefstroom by-election - and it did.

When I went to the CP tent I expected to be shouted off or assaulted.

This did not happen.

The atmosphere, however, became tense as soon as I entered. The CP voters and officials were not happy that *Sowetan* representatives were there. One asked colleague Harry Thatedi why we were there.

When I approached Danny de Beer, the technical supervisor for the CP's Potchefstroom election campaign, he opened his heart to me.

Courage

He said: "I admire your courage for coming here to witness how we beat the National Party in this election."

"The CP supporters are going to vote for the party in large numbers because they believe in self-determination."

"Our people do not want to dominate other population groups and are also against being oppressed."

De Beer was serious.

As he spoke, other CP members, who were listening to our conversation, nodded their heads in approval.

At this stage I asked him whether his thinking represented the opinion of other Afrikaners who are calling for a Boerestaat.

"I know you will not believe this," he said, "but this is true."

"What the Afrikaners are calling for is to be given a piece of land where they will decide their own destiny."

"The size of the land to be granted to the Afrikaner is subject to negotiations among various other groups in the country."

Issue

"It might be 15 percent or so, but that is not the issue at the moment."

"What we want is land of our own."

"We are serious in calling for a Boerestaat for the Afrikaner nation."



CP secretary Andries Beyers is congratulated by supporters after the victory.

"I can tell you right now that if the CP and other rightwing groups can be promised that their requests will be met, then the CP will definitely take its place at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa)."

"We are sincere about this."

De Beer said if Codesa or the Government could agree to take "that small step" then this will give the country a "new leap in international relations."

"There will be peace and stability in the country with

each and every group determining its own future."

However, De Beer painted a gloomy picture if their demands are not met.

"White rightwing terror will go on the rampage. There will be war."

"There will be blood on our hands in a quest for our Boere homeland."

"We are not going to allow this country to be ruled by Nelson Mandela and his friend, State President FW De Klerk."

"De Klerk has proved to the whole world that he is not fit to run this country."

"The CP has proved in recent by-elections that De Klerk no longer commands the support of the majority of white voters."

"The white people of Potchefstroom are sick and tired of what the Government is doing."

"They are going to prove today that the NP is now a spent force."

"What the CP is doing at the moment by asking for its homeland is to stop the unnecessary terror attacks that will be launched against the Government that will be running the

country."

"I want to stress that we are not against blacks as it has been made to appear."

"Our Boerestaat will need them because we believe that economic co-operation with them is vital."

"We don't have to be enemies but something has to be done before it is too late."

De Beer also criticised

De Klerk for his reform policies.

"He even tells the whole world that he has a mandate to go ahead with his reform policies."

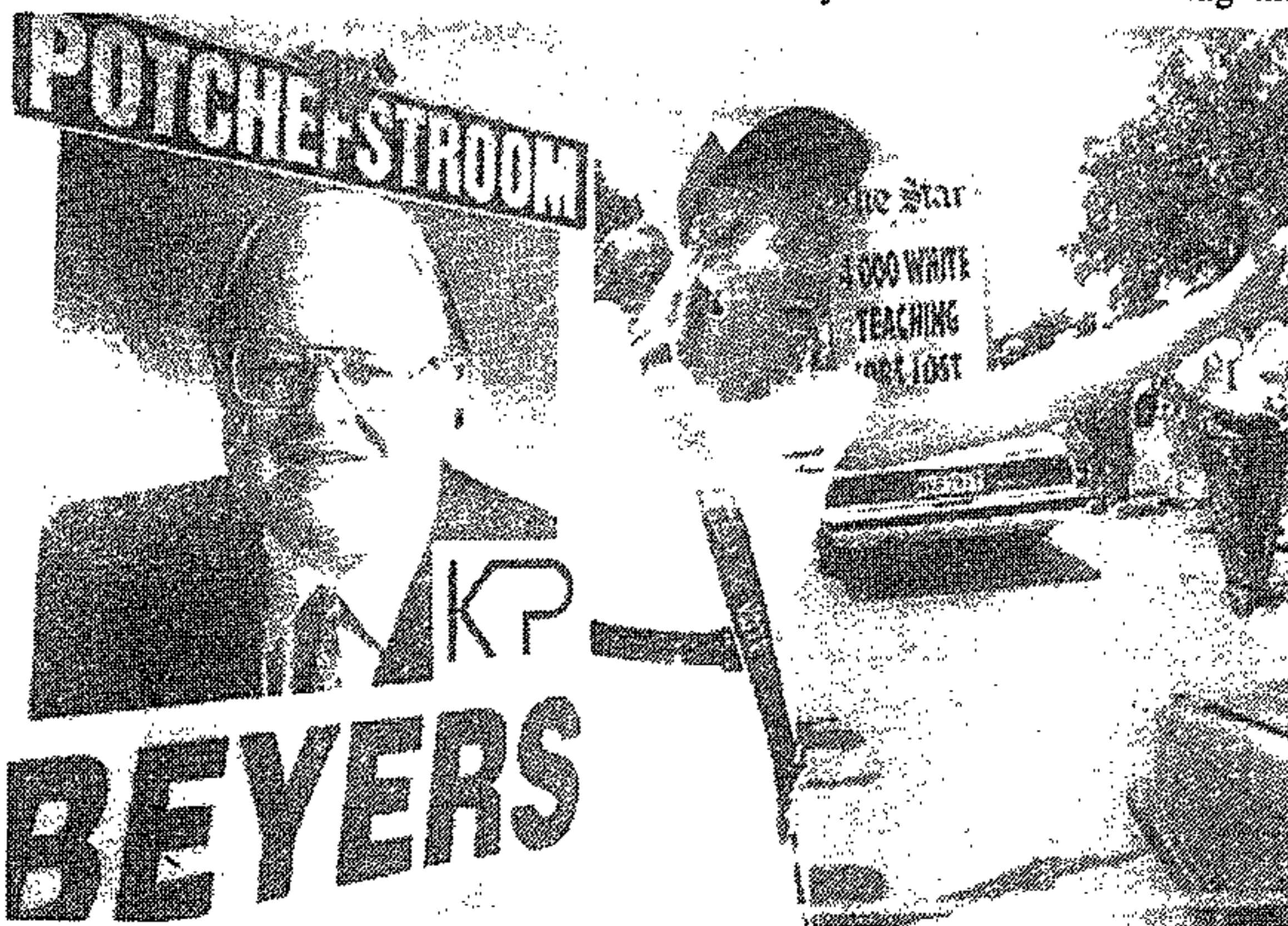
"The truth is that he is lying. Let him call an election now so that he can prove his claimed support among white voters."

"We know he does not want to do that. He is dead

scared."

"He wants to call a referendum because he can manipulate the results if they are not in his favour."

Before he parted company with me he said: "Ike, tell your people that we do not hate them. The problem is that our culture and upbringing is different from theirs, hence we cannot live together."



A CP supporter makes her feelings known.

Top Nats were not at polling booths

Sowetan 21/2/92

304A

PARLIAMENT resumed on Wednesday after a 10-day recess, and the Government will have you know that there was nothing extraordinary about this short recess.

What was indeed extraordinary was that Wednesday was also the day on which white South Africa held its most crucial parliamentary by-election in Potchefstroom.

But what was odd - call it sinister if you will - was that the national leader of the NP, State President FW de Klerk, and the party's Transvaal leader, Mr Barend du Plessis, were in Parliament's House of Assembly on Wednesday.

Observers in the public, diplomatic and Press galleries were more than a bit surprised at the presence of the NP heavyweights in Parliament.

The fact is, if the NP believed that Potchefstroom was the ultimate test of white support for the Government's reforms, why then were their heavyweights not at the polling booths?

Hangman

Similarly, if De Klerk was perceived to be the "traitor" and "hangman of the white man" as the CP so fondly calls him, why was he (De Klerk) not there, in Potchefstroom, selling his reform or even Codesa to the largely student community?

If any one segment of the population is most impressionable, and perhaps even gullible, it is the scholarly community...

It's difficult to come to terms with, and indeed to get to the bottom of, NP thinking at the moment.

What has, however, become a distinct possibility as time

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

progresses is that the Government, or the NP - it is becoming increasingly difficult to work out who is who - has in fact given up on its traditional support base.

The ruling NP has started "working with" the Democratic Party in places while elsewhere, as in Eersterus recently, it held a joint meeting with the ANC.

Bizarre

Since it became a non-racial political party, the NP has included in its traditionally bizarre lexicon the term "non-traditional support" - a euphemism for black support.

In an attempt to make sense of the apparent schizophrenia in the NP, and if one strings together the bits and pieces of information that floats around, the picture is not as bizarre as it may seem.

Consider the scenario: The ruling NP decides, because of intense international pressure in the form of economic sanctions, embargoes and boycotts, to unbridle democracy in South Africa.

But the minority within the minority, which governs the country (and the people who elected it), are in terms of its track record not prepared to unleash democracy; it has after 40 of sufficient democracy - for lack of a better term - become wealthy and very power-

NP 'heavies' were seen in Parliament

ful on a continent that is, for all intents and purposes, economically dead.

The rulers then decide that they will let go - and let black people in some way or another start having a say - without actually letting go of its hold on power.

Looking at the same scenario from another angle, the ruling NP has two options to choose from in its attempts to remake their world.

There is the apocalyptic option, where they can bring the entire country to a halt, call non-racial, one-person-one-vote elections on a common voters' role for a constituent assembly - and lose white support for "selling the white birthright".

Or they can choose the Machiavellian option by splitting in two, with the one NP winning black friends, and the other (ruling) NP influencing international leaders.

Appeal

In the meantime it undoes apartheid and starts negotiations rolling, during which time its general appeal is swelling.

This is the only logical conclusion one can draw from the hands-off approach the top leadership in the NP took with this week's by-election.

It also supports the idea that the NP has turned its back on its traditional support base.

One can continue around the same scenario, and approach it from yet another angle, and look

at it through the rose tinted lenses of Codesa...

After the announcement of the CP victory on Wednesday night, a terribly disappointed NP said the result would only speed up negotiations at Codesa.

This points to one conclusion, that the NP sees the future through Codesa and with the alliances it can build there.

It has successfully stonewalled "the revolution," undone apartheid legislation, built a new support base, accrued international acclaim and respectability coupled with investments and the promise of a glowing economy, while it has shed the trappings of racism.

Wonder

There is no clearer indication that the NP has left the mantle of apartheid to the CP than the election results in Potchefstroom.

Since there is a new, nonracial political vehicle - Codesa - in the country working towards a nonracial political order of some sort, the NP has created in the CP a new whipping boy.

It is no small wonder the national leader as well as the Transvaal leader were sitting in the House of Assembly on Wednesday while, if they were really serious about Potchefstroom, they should have been there selling nonracialism.

Apparently the majority of whites in South Africa cannot come to terms with the concept...

WHITE VOICE

SOUTH Africa will have a whites-only referendum before the end of March, President FW de Klerk announced in Parliament yesterday.

De Klerk said if his National Party lost the referendum, the Government would resign to pave the way for a general election.

The referendum, which will be held on a date to be announced early next week, is to test white opinion on negotiations.

The shock announcement followed an unusual crisis Cabinet meeting called by De Klerk early yesterday after the resounding defeat the National Party suffered against the Conservative Party in the Potchefstroom by-election on Wednesday.

The CP beat the NP by a stunning 2 140 margin. The NP totalled 7 606 votes to the CP's 9 746 in a percentage poll of about 75 percent.

De Klerk said yesterday that after the CP victory "a cry had gone out that the NP no longer

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

spoke on behalf of the white people in South Africa".

Following its victory in Potchefstroom, the CP has called for a general election in terms of the present constitution which excludes blacks from the central Government.

De Klerk's announcement is largely a response to this call.

Consulted

However, while the NP identifies its support base as being wider than only within the white community, De Klerk said he was confident that whites in South Africa supported negotiations.

"But I know that I will win a referendum," he said.

He had a date in mind but the Department of Home Affairs would first have to be consulted to

TO page 4

De Klerk

calls snap referendum



DE KLERK

FW calls snap referendum

From page 1

see on what date it would be possible to hold the referendum.

Asked about the actual referendum question the Government would put to the electorate, De Klerk said it had yet to be decided.

Confident

But he was confident that any person who supported the peaceful transformation of South Africa to a non-racial democracy in which minorities were protected, would approve that negotiations should continue.

De Klerk confirmed that

other parties at Codesa" before the announcement was made yesterday.

He accepted that he would be accused of having called a whites-only referendum during an era of political reconciliation in the country.

But the problem was one that lay in the white House of Assembly. It was one of political credibility and did not involve the Government and black people or people outside Parliament.

"I have a specific problem with a specific party in the House of Assembly. That is what the problem is," he said.

De Klerk said the envis-

one he had initially promised the white electorate. His initial promise of white approval for a new constitution still stood.

"I am a democrat. I believe that when you tamper with a constitution you must have the support of the public," De Klerk said.

Support

The Democratic Party is expected to ask its followers to support the NP during the referendum.

De Klerk said the referendum would be open to all whites in the country and it was up to extra-parliamentary political organisations to encourage or discourage white members on

YES/NO FW bombshell

Moment of truth has

arrived, whites told

STAR 21/2/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

White South Africans will go to the polls within weeks to decide whether negotiations on a new dispensation should continue, and who speaks for them.

President de Klerk made the dramatic announcement of a snap referendum in Parliament yesterday.

Observers believe that through his bold move Mr de Klerk has pulled off a tactical coup and snatched back the lost initiative after Potchestroom.

Mr de Klerk told stunned MPs that early next week he would announce the date of a referendum — and the question to be posed — to decide whether negotiations should proceed and whether the National Party or the Conservative Party should represent whites in negotiations.

"The moment of truth has arrived," Mr de Klerk said later at a press briefing after putting his job and the future of Government on the line by telling Parliament both would resign if they failed to get a mandate.

The referendum is expected to take place by mid-March after a campaign lasting three or four weeks. MPs are expecting Parliament to be prorogued as early as the end of next week for the campaign to start.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnick and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer immediately accepted the challenge — though both placed certain conditions on participation. Dr de Beer said he could

Snap poll

Will President de Klerk win his referendum, or will he lose? Tell Telstar which way YOU think the referendum will go. If you think he will WIN the referendum, phone 087-1000-110. If you think he will LOSE, phone 087-1000-111. If you have comments to add, our computer will allow you to do so. Results will be in the Saturday Star.

open the possibility of another referendum to test constitutional proposals.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament that after its Potchestroom victory, the CP was claiming that the NP no longer represented the majority of whites at Codesa.

This propaganda was gaining ground and weakening the Government and the National Party's effectiveness in negotiations.

"The time has come to test the statement that the NP no longer speaks on behalf of whites.

"The time has come for the whites to focus on the question of who they want to negotiate on their behalf on their future, the NP, the CP, or any other party."

Mr de Klerk said that a referendum would be a better test than an election. An election would be fought by weighted constituencies, some of which contained only 8 000 voters while others contained 35 000, and it could not give an accurate picture of support.

He denied that he was trying to force a white veto and said that he was calling a whites-only referendum to



Diplomats welcome

STAR 21/2/92

'bold move'

By Helen Grange (304A)

Western diplomats responded well to President de Klerk's announcement of a white referendum, saying it was a typically bold move to regain the political high ground.

Embassy sources in Pretoria agreed that although the stakes were high, Mr de Klerk had once again demonstrated his political integrity in wanting a mandate from the white electorate on his reforms.

A diplomatic source said: "It was a smart move. It will put the white electorate on the spot, and although the Conservative Party has more support than it did a year ago, would whites in a referendum vote for a return to international isolation and another outbreak of violence?"

However, the formulation of the question in the referendum would be crucial. "One sentence could make or break Mr de Klerk's political future," the source said.

A German embassy official said the move was "bold but reasonable".

"Mr de Klerk's destiny has now been linked to one question, but under the circumstances, it is very realistic. He has reached a point where he needs to be assured by the white electorate that he is going the right way," the official added.

In a carefully worded statement, the United States Information Service said that the American government continued to support the Codesa process — adding that the specifics of the tran-

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Dr de Beer said he could not commit himself until the question to be put at the referendum had been phrased.

However, it seems certain that the DP will fight the referendum — and obviously on the side of the NP.

The ANC immediately rejected Mr de Klerk's plan but gave no indication that it would try to block it.

Mr de Klerk offered to resign and call a general election if he lost.

The tactical ingenuity of calling a referendum now is that Mr de Klerk can claim to have kept his promise to the white electorate in 1989 to test with it any fundamental changes to the Constitution.

And by putting to white voters the question of who should represent them in negotiations — rather than the much tougher question of whether or not to support a specific new dispensation — Mr de Klerk has substantially boosted the NP's chances of success.

He said that only when the question to be put at the referendum had been phrased would he decide whether or not this referendum would discharge his 1989 obligation to the white electorate.

It was possible the question could be phrased to cover the 1989 promise, he said — although he kept

claiming that the NP no longer represented the majority of whites at Codesa.

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"The time has come to test the statement that the NP no longer speaks on behalf of whites."

"The time has come for the whites to focus on the question of who they want to negotiate on their behalf on their future, the NP, the CP, or any other party."

Mr de Klerk said that a referendum would be a better test than an election. An election would be fought by weighted constituencies, some of which contained only 8 000 voters while others contained 35 000, and this would not give an accurate picture of support.

He denied that he was trying to force a white veto and said that he was calling a whites-only referendum to settle a question particular to whites — who represented them in negotiations.

Dr Treurnicht said in a statement last night that the CP would accept the challenge for a referendum on condition that the question was clear and honest, that voting went according to the voters roll in constituencies, that the playing field was level, that no secret funds were used and that equal time was given to all parties on TV and radio.

The question could not be who represented whites at Codesa because the CP had already rejected Codesa.

CP sources said that Dr Treurnicht's insistence that votes be counted by constituency was not an obstacle as the CP would accept the overall vote count.

But it seems that problems could arise over his insistence that the referendum should take place on voters rolls as these are obsolete.

Current Government thinking is that voting in a referendum should take place according to the population register.

Mr de Klerk said he would discuss with Codesa whether its work should be suspended during the campaign.

More reports — Pages 3, 12 and 17

Giving his reasons... President de Klerk after making his announcement in Parliament.



Picture: AP

Referendum hallmark

of racism — alliance

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu have rejected President de Klerk's decision to hold a whites-only referendum on who they want to negotiate their future, labelling it as a "hallmark of racism".

News of the all-white referendum yesterday reached the tripartite alliance at a meeting led by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Cosatu president John Gomo and SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

They not only rejected the idea of racial and ethnic referendums but any exercise aimed at giving whites a veto.

"We are of the firm view that this reflects the crisis of the apartheid establishment and underlines the need to move as speedily as possible to a democratic society," the

three organisations said.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that his decision to hold a referendum was not an attempt to introduce a white veto.

All South Africans had the prerogative of deciding on the country's future and the tripartite alliance was convinced that the majority of South Africans supported a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the country's problems.

They expressed alarm at the suggestion of three referendums being held before a final constitution was implemented.

In terms of the Government's transitional proposals, it envisaged a referendum being held on a transitional arrangement package agreed to at Codesa and perhaps, another referendum to test a final constitution compiled by a transitional government.

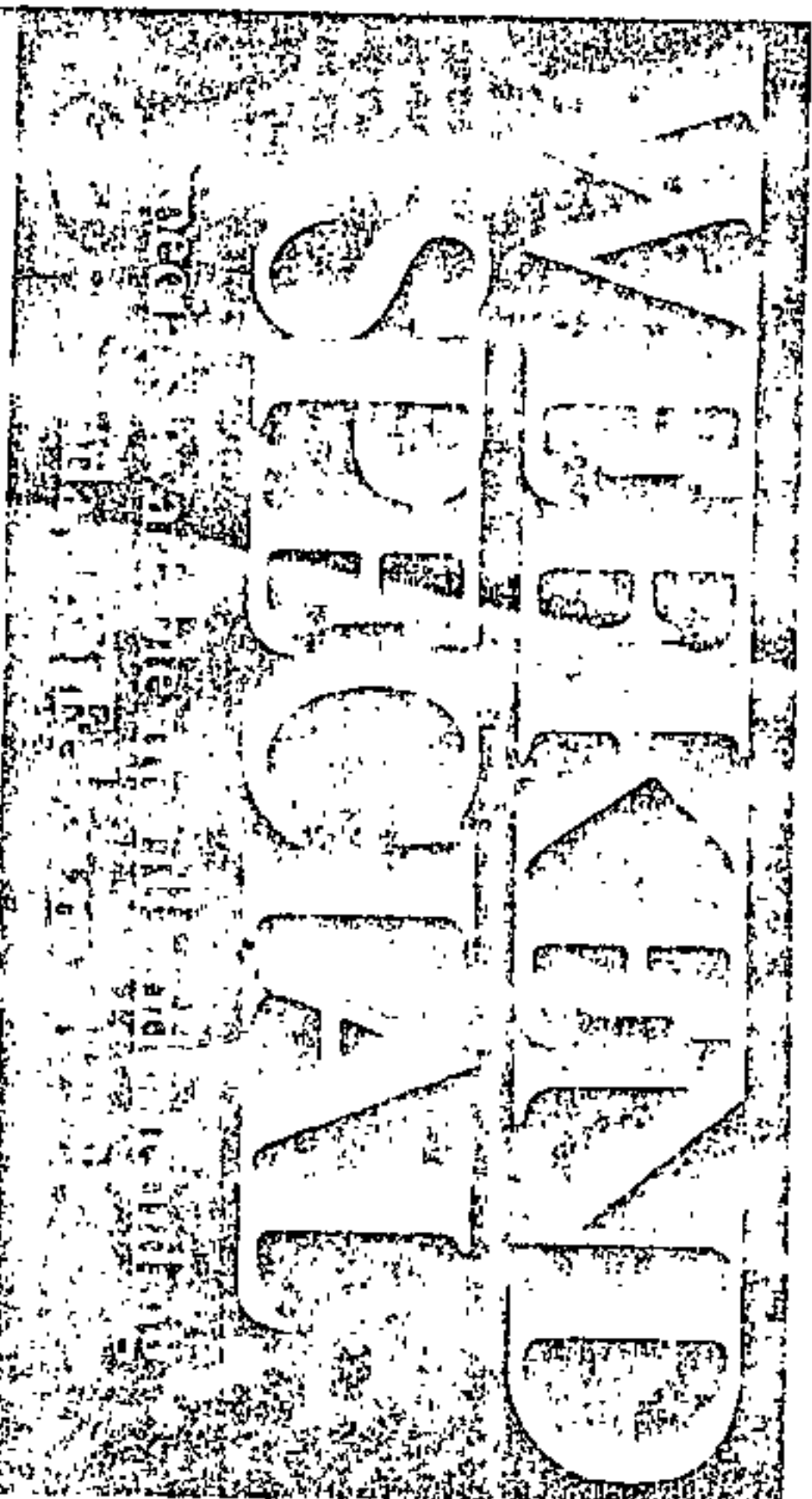
put the white electorate on the spot, and although the Conservative Party has more support than it did a year ago, would whites in a referendum vote for a return to international isolation and another outbreak of violence?"

However, the formulation of the question in the referendum would be crucial. "One sentence could make or break Mr de Klerk's political future," the source said.

A German embassy official said the move was "bold but reasonable".

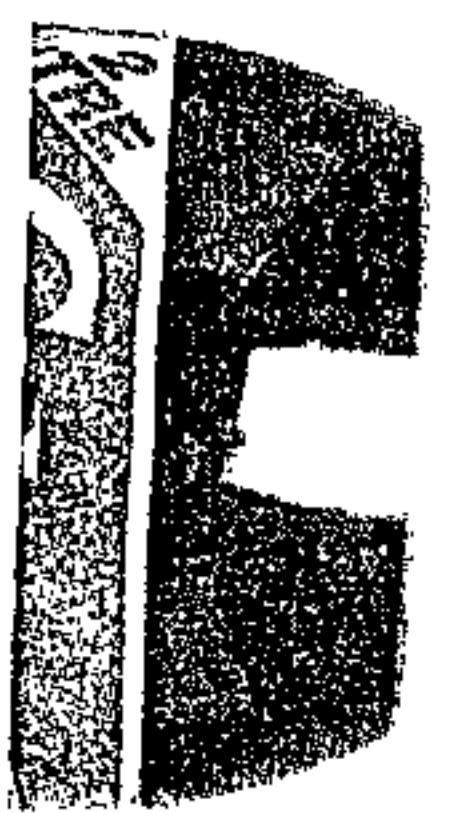
"Mr de Klerk's destiny has now been linked to one question, but under the circumstances, it is very realistic. He has reached a point where he needs to be assured by the white electorate that he is going the right way," the official added.

In a carefully worded statement, the United States Information Service said that the American government continued to support the Codesa process — adding that the specifics of the transition to a new constitution "are for the people of South Africa to decide among themselves".



Coca-Cola

2¢



20

FW will win comfortably — analyst

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The National Party will win a referendum by 57 percent to 43 percent if there is a high voter turnout as in Potchefstroom, says political analyst Mr Donald Simpson.

The independent political analyst said that if there was a large abstention by NP supporters, the results would be much closer, and could cost the ruling party the referendum.

A referendum had to be absolutely justified in terms of national needs in the electorate's view.

The 1960 and 1983 referendums had been awaited for years by white voters, and were perceived to be justified. Dr H F Verwoerd won the 1960 referendum by 52 percent to 48 percent.

"Any idea by the voters that the referendum is for a narrow National Party purpose would be completely disastrous.

"I believe the State President has overreacted to the Potchefstroom by-election, which is not such a bad result for the NP. It projects that he can still win a general election on new, equalised, constituency boundaries."

The boundaries were 14 years old and were "uniquely favourable to the CP."

"I expect rural Transvaal, Free State and northern Cape to produce a narrow CP victory."

The NP was the main stabilising force, preventing groups on the left and right from civil war. Its mandate was intact but a referendum would place it in grave danger. — Sapa.

How question put has led to 'yes' win in SA history

ARG 21/2/92 (3044)

Political Staff

A REFERENDUM to test the white electorate on constitutional changes was first formulated in 1987 by the then president, Mr P W Botha.

There was a referendum in 1960 on whether South Africa should become a republic, and in 1983 on the tricameral system, and in 1910 there was a referendum in Natal to decide whether the province should join the union.

In all of them the "yes" voters won. It has been said that a lot depends on how the question is phrased.

Mr Botha said in the general election campaign in 1987 that fundamental changes in the constitution would not be brought about unless approved by the whites.

Mr De Klerk again gave this assurance in the 1989 election.

Now he proposes what appears to be an interim referendum to settle the row between the Conservative Party and the National Party on the issue of who speaks for most whites.

Mr De Klerk said it would be a referendum to decide who they wanted to entrust with negotiations about their constitutional future.

The question is yet to be formulated and will be announced next week. The referendum will be held before the end of March.

Mr De Klerk has explained that he prefers a referendum to an election because, in the British system South Africa inherited, all votes are not equal; rural constituencies have fewer voters.

This brought the National Party to power in 1948 on a minority vote but a majority of seats.

CP politicians concede they stand a better chance against the National Party in an election, but the leader and deputy leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, have indicated they would be willing also to tackle the Nationalists in a referendum.

1960, 1983 and now 1992

Third of its kind in SA's history

ARG 2/2/92 (304A)

THE national referendum for white voters President F W De Klerk is set to announce next week will be only the third of its kind in South African history.

Professor Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town said the others had been in 1960 and 1983.

In October 1960 South Africans were asked to decide: "Do you wish South Africa to become a republic".

Out of a white voters role of 1 800 426, 850 458 said "yes", while 775 878 said "no". On the strength of the majority of 74 580 South Africa became a republic in May the following year.

In November 1983, South Africans were asked if they supported the new constitution with its tri-cameral parliament.

Of the 2 713 000 eligible voters, 76,02 percent made their mark, producing a 1 360 223 to 691 577 "yes" vote — an emphatic majority of 668 646.

TELLING
THE COUNTRY

It's a question of honour, ⁽³⁰⁴⁷⁾ says De Klerk ^{ARG 21/2/92}

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk declared yesterday that his decision to go back to the electorate to refresh his reform mandate was "a question of honour".

But he said he had "no doubt we will win".

"We are going into it without fear and anxiety because I know the majority of whites are positive and constructive," he said.

The question would focus on "the capacity to negotiate".

It would not be — and should not be — seen as a white veto, but an opportunity for white voters of the House of



Assembly to "give a verdict" on the CP's claims that it, rather than the National Party, truly represented most whites.

CP propaganda was taking its toll and hampering the government's role in the negotiation process.

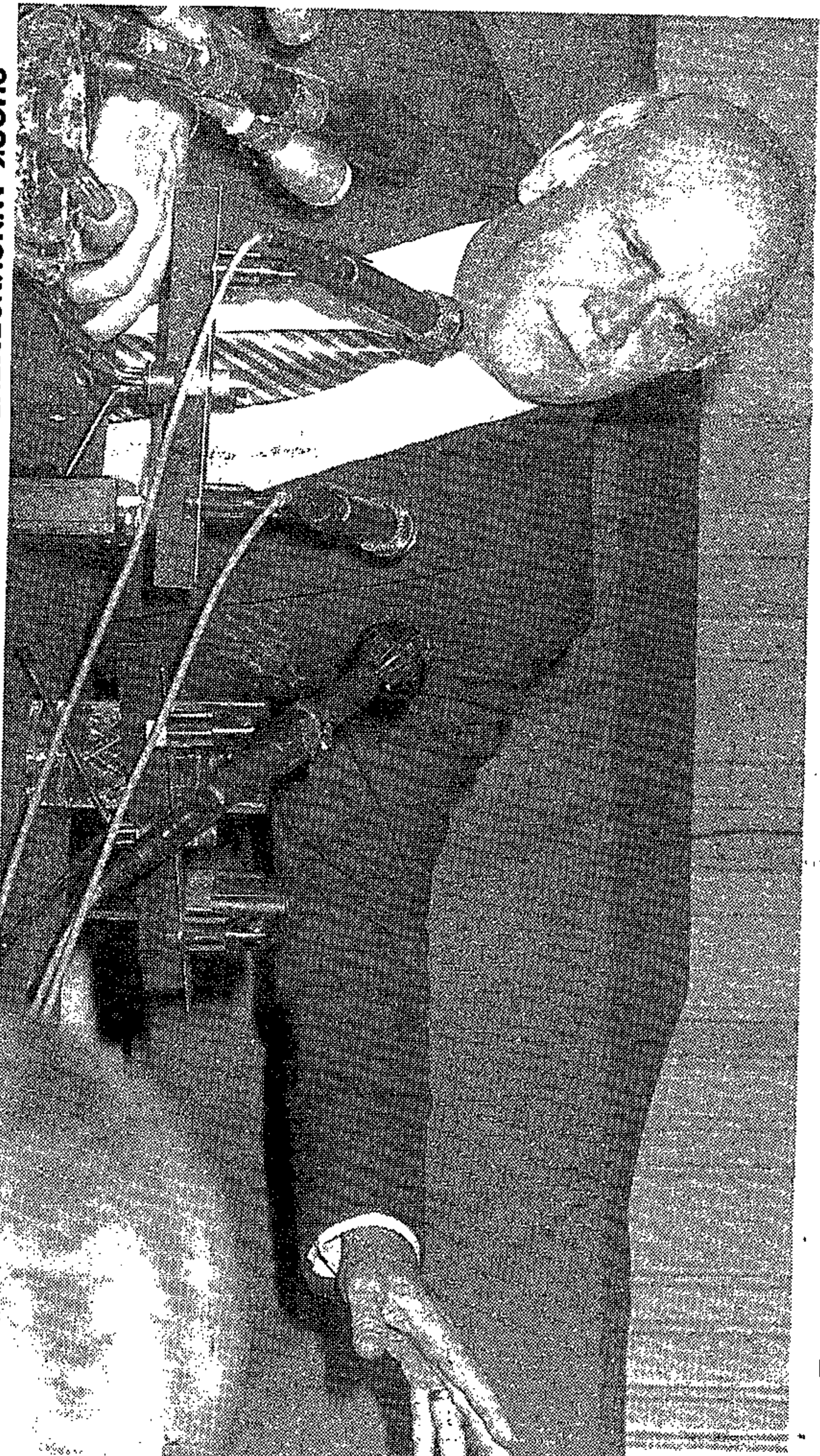
"It is important for me to disprove the allegation that I don't have a mandate, so that all the energy spent on countering the allegation can be directed rather into constitutional negotiations," he said.

Clearly in a bullish, buoyant mood, the President joked with his audience of local and international journalists.

3044 21/2/92
1426

'Bold and clever'

Nat MPs give FW ovation for taking on the right



SHOCK ANNOUNCEMENT: President De Klerk tells the Press of his decision to hold the referendum.

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff
NATIONALIST MPs sensed that something dramatic was in the air when they were told that the weekly caucus meeting would start later than usual.

They were given a message from the party Whips that it would be held at 10.30 am instead of at 10 am.

In the meantime it had become known that a special Cabinet meeting was being held at Tuynhuys. This started at 8.45 am.

At first it was assumed this was to evaluate the result in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Some were expecting some hard words about the result because there had been signs of weak National Party organisation.

Certainly the calculations of the result beforehand had been far out. MPs had been given the impression that it was neck-and-neck and that the NP would only lose by a small margin.

The dramatic announcement Mr De Klerk was to make at the caucus swept away any analysis of the by-election.

The caucus was, as one MP put it, "electrified" by Mr De Klerk's message and he was given a standing ovation.

"We knew that something had to be done and that it had to be done swiftly. It was necessary to retain the initiative against the CP," an MP said.

"It was a clever and a bold move," said another MP, flabbergasted but delighted because his leader appeared to have grabbed the initiative against the rightwing.

"This is essentially a fight between the National Party and the CP which we have to get out of the way first. Those who do not belong to these parties will have to decide which alternative they prefer," said a third MP.

The inference was clearly that the Nationalist politicians expected supporters of the Democratic Party to back the National Party in the referendum.

His move emphasised the need to move ahead boldly against the Conservative Party and to call its bluff that the National Party was no longer representing the majority of the white electorate.

After Mr De Klerk's speech there was a debate in which the rank-and-file MPs spoke and expressed their support for Mr De Klerk. There was no dissent.

MICHAEL MORRIS
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht delivered an ultimatum to the government today, declaring that the CP would pull out of a referendum unless it had a say in formulating the question.

In a resolute speech in parliament, peppered with interjections from the National Party benches, Dr Treurnicht set out the terms under which the CP would be prepared to fight President De Klerk in a whites-only referendum.

The CP would have nothing to do with a referendum on a question associated with Codesa.

The CP would insist that the question be more than simply a "yes or no" choice, but a choice between the National Party's "one-person-one-vote in one-state" option and the CP's "co-operative self-determination" option.

Meanwhile, the critical question to measure white South Africa's political will is expected to be made known on Monday, and the referendum campaign itself could be launched as early as next weekend.

Moment of truth

This emerged after President De Klerk's momentous call on whites to choose once and for all between his National Party and Dr Treurnicht's Conservative Party. It was South Africa's "moment of truth", he told journalists.

Parliament could be prorogued next Friday with a referendum campaign running for just over three weeks, concluding on March 24.

This would mean postponing the Budget. However, the Part Appropriation Bill — the mini-Budget due to be passed by the end of next week — can tide over government finances for up to four months.

President De Klerk hinted strongly at a March referendum campaign to end before the second plenary session of Codesa, provisionally scheduled for the end of March. He was anxious to avoid delaying or jeopardising Codesa.

The referendum question is expected to be announced on Monday. Mr De Klerk invited proposals on the wording "from any party". It would be drawn up through consultation.

CP conditions

Within an hour of the announcement, intense negotiations began between NP and Democratic Party leaders on how to phrase the question.

A campaign alliance is likely between the NP and DP, as DP support could be crucial to the NP. The leader of the DP, Dr Zac de Beer said his party would back a pro-Nat vote as long as the question endorsed "equality, freedom and an open society".

Even pro-ANC MPs in the DP said they would back the President because, as one put it, "he is making a sincere attempt to save Codesa".

While accepting the referendum challenge, the CP set conditions which prompted speculation that it might seek to avoid a showdown by boycotting the referendum on technical grounds.

See pages 3, 4 and 10

Treurnicht sets ultimatum

Referendum on
'our terms only'

ARG 21/02/92

30444

F W swiftly strikes back ... and regains upper hand

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

3047
AUG 21/2/92

UNEXPECTEDLY, shortly after 2.30pm yesterday, President De Klerk rose to speak in the joint chamber of parliament.

The traumatic failure of the NP to hold Potchefstroom less than 24 hours before cast a spotlight of attention, even sympathy, on him. Had he had a drubbing in caucus, some wondered?

Or did he feel personally rebuffed at the hands of a constituency with which the De Klerks have a particularly close association?

None outside the Nat caucus — now steeling themselves not to betray the shock that awaited their Opposition peers — could have guessed what was to come.

"Mr Speaker, since the General Election of 1989," he began, "the government has made much progress on the implementation of its mandate to create a new constitution ..."

Hardly had he begun when a verbal artillery of taunts and interjections opened up from the Conservative Party benches. Some held up posters of triumphant Potch candidate Mr Andries Beyers.

But the redoubtable president, speaking boldly, confidently, humoured them, pressing on with a sketch of key constitutional developments.

Some minutes later he turned to CP claims that the NP was no longer representative of whites and had no right to represent them at Codesa.

The frequency of virulence in these claims had begun to weaken the government's effectiveness in negotiations.

"Hear, hear", a CP interjector agreed.

"Yes," said Mr De Klerk, "the Honourable Member would say: 'Hear, hear'."

"The time has come ..." he began, but CP Front Benchman Tom Langley interrupted: "For an election."

When it came, the effect was stunning. Shock and disbelief spread through the Conservative ranks. In an instant, it seemed, Potchefstroom was rendered harmless.

MPs said they were astonished at how effectively President De Klerk "caught the CP off-guard". "He's called their bluff," one said.

"Potchefstroom is a thing of the past."

Optimism at Codesa over transitional agreement

W/Mail 21/2-27/2/92

By GAVIN EVANS

304A

DELEGATES at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa say they are "quietly confident" that the government and the African National Congress could reach a major breakthrough in the next fortnight in working group three, dealing with transitional arrangements.

While both parties are keeping mum on the precise nature of the compromise being forged, other Codesa sources say they are "very close to a deal on the issue of an interim government and a constituent assembly".

There are still important differences over whether there should be a tricameral count in the national referendum, and whether an elected interim government/constituent assembly should be a bicameral or single-chamber structure — but there appears to be confidence on both sides that these problems can be solved.

The past week in Codesa was marked by the formal acceptance by the government of an interim government and the ANC's agreement on a significant degree of decentralisation to the regional and local levels.

However, Codesa sources said that working group four, dealing with the future of the "independent" TBVC states, had made little progress and was "bogged down over procedural issues and over the accuracy of the minutes".

So far Bophuthatswana has rejected reincorporation; the government has proposed a slow process of testing the water, involving extensive investigation into the practical, legal and financial implications; while the ANC and its allies propose the immediate reincorporation of these territories, though they have not ruled out the idea of referenda on the issue.

Meanwhile, with the talk from both the government and the ANC being that an interim government could be in motion within the next six months, it appears that the government has made a decision to freeze its participation in all non-Codesa forums.

ANC representative Khetso Ghordan said the government had withdrawn "at the last minute" from the National Housing Forum on January 24 and from the Electricity Forum on February 6, saying it did not want interim government by stealth and that such issues should fall under Codesa.

He described both of these as significant events which had attracted broad-based representation from business, city councils and ANC-aligned

groups.

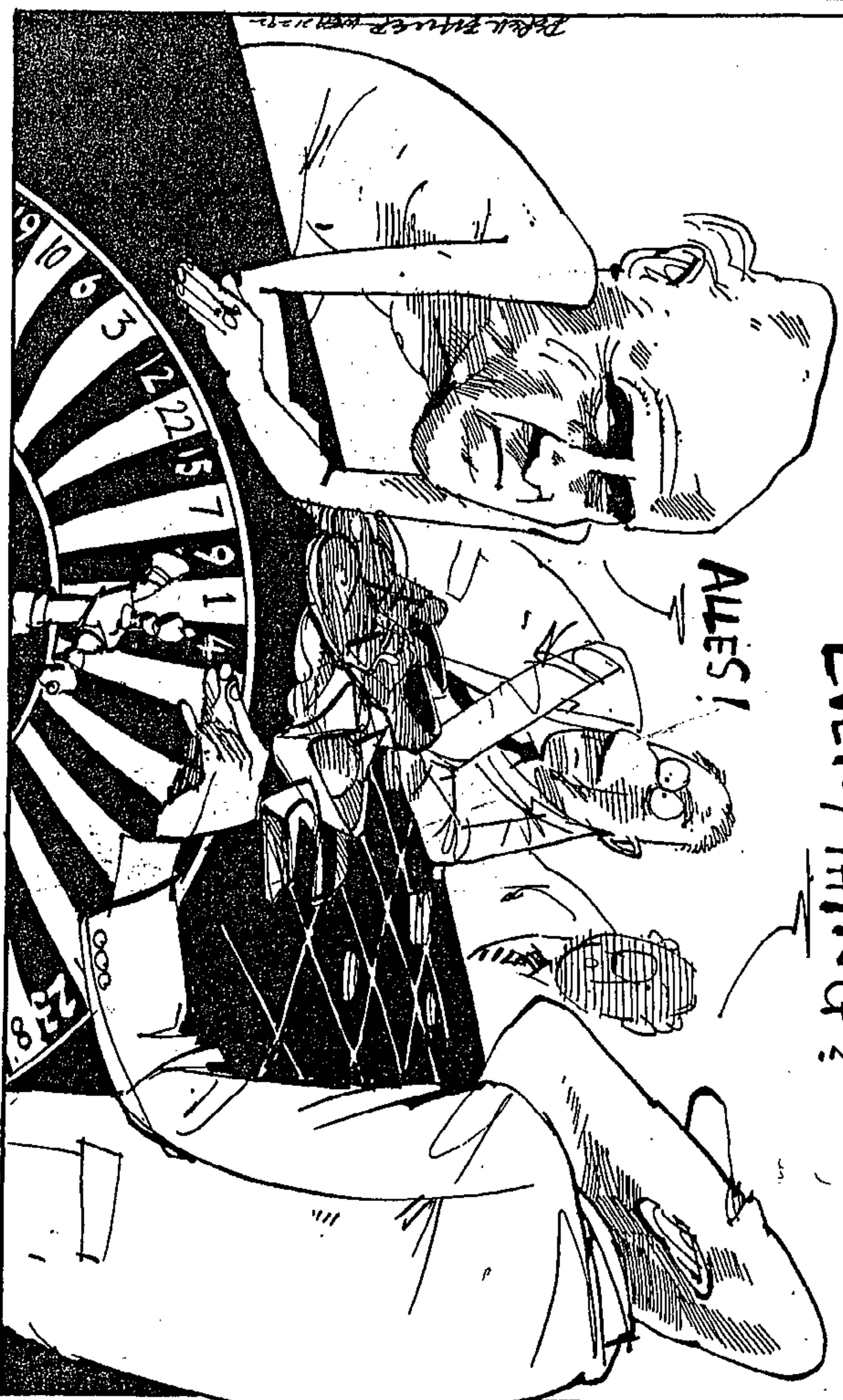
"Our impression is that they are withdrawing from these forums in order to force socio-economic issues on to the Codesa agenda, and through that on to the agenda of an interim government, perhaps in order to prolong its existence. The aim may also be to reduce the significance of civic structures and local-level struggles," Ghordan said.

But a source close to the government responded that the main reason was that it did not want to enter piecemeal agreements which would be overtaken by the national negotiations process and did not want its energies diverted from the main issues at hand.

"It's extremely difficult for government representatives to be giving input at conferences and forums when things are changing so fast through Codesa. The government's view is that policy has to be worked out first at the national level between the major parties," the source said.

EVERYTHING?

ALLES!



Take Codesa to the provinces

AG 22/2/92
(304R)

THE PARTY that offers only war and dresses up that pathetic futility as a policy

The result of the Potchefstroom by-election precipitated a political crisis in South Africa, resulting in the sudden calling of a referendum by President De Klerk. At stake now is the future of Codesa. From the distant and remote outpost of Gansbaai, political commentators

CP win
will finish
us, say
blacks

AG 22/2/92
(304R)

SOWETO residents yesterday anxiously debated a whites-only referendum they said could drag South Africa back to the dark days of apartheid.

In trains, drinking dens and dusty township streets, ordinary blacks said the result would either destroy or secure the path to democracy paved in talks between President De Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Should the Conservative Party win, we will all be finished," said taxi driver Mr Morena Khologoane.

"Everyone knows what happens when you give someone a little bit of freedom and then suddenly take it away. Chaos," he said.

Other township residents said there would be civil war if the rightist CP won the referendum and called off democracy talks aimed at giving blacks the vote.

Soweto shopkeeper Mr Khombo Ngobeni asked: "Over so many years, white elections have always tried to show some semblance of democracy where it did not exist. Is it not the time for a vote for everyone, rather than for a racist poll?"

The pro-apartheid CP, which demands separate states for the five million whites and 27 million blacks, won the Potchefstroom seat from the National Party on Wednesday.

Mr Ngobeni said: "For the many years that I have followed white elections, I always regarded them as jokes and did not care who won."

"Now I care who wins. Obviously if De Klerk loses, the majority of South Africans are going to suffer."

'Take Codesa to the provinces'

304R
R4 22/2/92

THE PARTY that offers only war and dresses up that pathetic futility as a policy has won itself another seat in the House of Assembly — a House in which there will soon be nothing left to assemble for.

To South Africans who did not enjoy the dubious privilege of voting, the white burghers of Potchefstroom have delivered their mean-spirited message.

This was not the noblest moment in Potchefstroom's history. William Hazlitt's resigned conclusion: "I believe in the theoretical benevolence and practical malignity of man", resounds far, far away, 1½ centuries later.

It is now no longer a question of whether a majority of whites actively supports the process of just reform that is taking place. It seems clear they do not.

It is a question, rather, of whether enough active opposition can be marshalled in a last-ditch attempt to halt that process. I have argued before that upon this rock the rightwing will surely falter.

President De Klerk will not be asking, in the referendum, for enthusiastic endorsement — he will be presenting a proposition to which the alternative is truly too ghastly to contemplate.

Potchefstroom is in this context a nasty, sad, futile cry in the wilderness. It will change little except to reconfirm for black South Africans the fact that whites will change, not because they want to, but because they have to. What a wasteful pity.

However, to understand that the Potchefstroom vote does not presage a nationwide white uprising against re-

The result of the Potchefstroom by-election precipitated a political crisis in South Africa, resulting in the sudden calling of a referendum by President De Klerk. At stake now is the future of Codesa. From the distant and remote outpost of Gansbaai, political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON** considers what Codesa must do to ensure its survival.



C O D E S A

form, one need only visit the remote villages of the stark and beautiful southern Cape coast whence this column is being written.

Potchefstroom has not set Gansbaai or Franskraal alight. There are no midnight blackshirt vigils. Life goes on here.

There is a comforting side to this apathy. These are hardy people, much closer to the elements than we in the cities. Their day-to-day lives are of far more interest to them than the intricacies of constitutions and transitional governments.

If pressed, they would not, to be sure, much like what was being negotiated in Johannesburg — but, they would ride it out and survive, as before. I wonder if they would even vote in the referendum.

The cities and the towns are the crucibles of the new South Africa and, therefore, a different matter of course. Whereas the term "Codesa" is all but

meaningless where I sit now, and has as much practical relevance for the Overbergs as nouvelle cuisine, it is clearly beginning to have a negative resonance among the shaken white masses in the urban areas.

Herein, I believe, lies a great and unnecessary danger, one which should be addressed before it is too late.

The most obvious problem is the alien location of the political bazaar in which our future is being traded. Johannesburgers may not much like what is transpiring at Codesa, but at least they know it is happening comfortably close by.

By contrast, there is a distinct feeling of unease in other metropolises. People in Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein and elsewhere refer to the negotiations as taking place "up there".

Now, there are obvious budgetary advantages attached to using an unprepossessing warehouse within jogging distance of Jan Smuts Airport for our

latter-day national convention, but it does nothing to imbue South Africans with the feeling that Codesa belongs to, and is a part of, their lives.

Some observers have expressed concern that Codesa has already cost R3 million. Frugality is an estimable characteristic in the current economic environment, but the criticism is not realistic in this case.

The homelands system — the undoing of which is but one task faced by Codesa — cost billions, as did Mossos. If we have to spend now on Codesa, our one chance at a workable new system, then spend we must.

Codesa's working groups should continue to meet outside Johannesburg, but the plenary sessions should be held in different towns and cities. Potchefstroom also should be considered — it is not necessarily too far gone.

On the other hand, Codesa can safely exclude Gansbaai from its venues...

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"Now I care who wins. Obviously if De Klerk loses, the majority of South Africans are going to suffer."

One Sowetan asked: "Why should the minority be allowed to determine our future?"

Another wry comment was: "Let the whites sort their problems out, we will sit at home and watch the gimmick."

An ANC staffer half-jokingly asked her colleagues to prepare themselves to resume the 30-year guerrilla warfare it suspended in 1990 in a major concession to Mr De Klerk.

"I am preparing to go back to the bush," she said, referring to ANC bases in neighbouring black states.

Soweto shebeen owner Mr Rafael Radebe said: "I wonder how many white South Africans believe they are going to exercise their democratic right on referendum day."

"I wish polling could be done in our backyards here in Soweto so that they can see what their racist policies have done to our lives."

Mr Radebe predicted the NP would trounce the CP and democracy would triumph when the country held its first nonracial elections.

Mr Abel Mnguni, unemployed for five years, said he was startled by Mr De Klerk's promise to resign and hold a general election that would exclude blacks if he lost the referendum.

"I thought that was rather cheeky of him. What does he think of the 27 million blacks whose future will be in the doldrums if he loses?" he asked. — Sapa-Reuter.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Referendum: Whites need to act responsibly

304A
ARCT 22/2/97

WHITE voters in Potchefstroom will, hopefully, have been among the last in South African history to determine their parliamentary representation on a race basis when they resoundingly spurned the National Party (9 700 of them, anyway) on Thursday.

As an exercise in political monitoring, however, it has the possibly dubious — though arguably constructive — virtue of demonstrating the extent of white fear and white resistance to change.

As it happens, the Potchefstroom by-election has prompted one of the most critical tests of public opinion South Africa has seen.

The referendum (like the by-election) imposes a very difficult responsibility on whites.

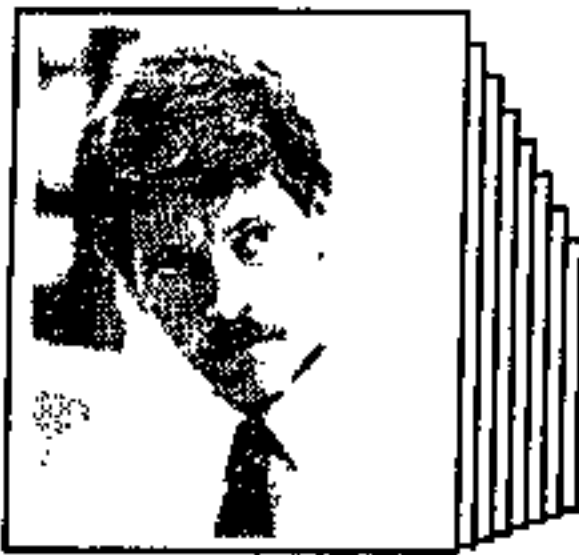
This is so precisely because both the referendum and, in retrospect, the by-election, engender all too easily the perception among whites that they, or a portion of them, as a racial interest group, actually still have the capacity to overrule the majority.

The perils of this perception will not be lost on the National Party and the style and content of its referendum campaign will have to measure up to this phenomenon carefully indeed.

For the time being, the Nationalists will have to ignore the ANC's sound advice to broaden their power base beyond the confines of the white electorate. (In fact, what Potchefstroom represents, rather than a further erosion of the schism in Afrikanerdom, is the confirmation of the idea that the NP, as a political interest group, now needs the assistance of the ANC — again, as a political interest group, not as a racial bloc — in an act of political expedience to safeguard the process of seeking a lasting political settlement.)

But credibility in the white arena clearly remains an important factor for President De Klerk ... and as long as it is important for him, it remains important for Codesa. This is remains the case even if, as a whites-only affair, it is so obviously inimical to the idea of a democratic South Africa.

However, whites need to take a long-term view.



Michael Morris



Dennis Cruywagen

A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

Beyond whatever impact a referendum might have on the immediate fortunes of the National Party, or even the negotiation process of 1992, there is little doubt that the tide will remain imperviously irreversible.

The new mainstream politics has a volition now far greater than the collective energies of white parties.

Irreversibility in itself does not necessarily contain value, but whites will be advised to reflect thoroughly on just how irreversible change really has become.

There is no longer such a thing as a quick white fix.

CODESA is playing a critical role in shaping a new South Africa, in a sense, like a parliament. Comforting as this remarkable development may be, there is little comfort in the knowledge that the Press is so comprehensively excluded from witnessing its debates.

It is to be hoped participants will heed the call by the Campaign for Open Media to Codesa to open proceedings to the media and the public.

However regular, press briefings and media hand-outs are insufficient in reflecting events fully.

More than that, the greatest danger is that the public risks losing track of what is happening to their future simply by virtue of political confidentiality.

If anything needs demystifying in South Africa, it is the notion — largely nebulous and swathed in platitudes — of a new South Africa.

The Campaign for Open Media argues that "Codesa should be open to public and Press scrutiny in the same way that the proceedings of parliament are." In fact, since Codesa in some ways has overtaken the role of parliament, it is crucial that its proceedings take place under public glare.

There is every reason to endorse these sentiments.



□ **VICTORY!** Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, raises Andries Beyers's hand after the by-election in Potchefstroom.



APPLAUSE FOR ANDRIES: Beyers and Treurnicht meet supporters during their successful campaign this week.

● Picture: KEN OOSTERBROEK

FW failed to heed writing on the wall

Mr de Klerk had been warned several times before the Potchefstroom by-election that he and the Government needed to explain its reforms to voters. They left it too late. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH analyses a particularly ugly contest.

STAR 22/2/92

to explain their reforms to voters.

"Mr de Klerk should be in a car or aeroplane travelling across the country telling voters why change is necessary.

"He should spell out the situation should the NP lose the referendum.

"Mr de Klerk did that in Potchefstroom, but it was too late," one diplomat said.

Others said the CP successfully focused its campaign in the by-election on whites' general fears of the future while the NP failed to exploit the

areas it is best at, "such as which party is best at negotiating with blacks".

Diplomats did not consider the Government's announcement of cuts in white education as having a major impact on the voting in the by-election, as more than half the voters had cast their ballots by the beginning of the week.

It is understood that part of the agreement between Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase and teacher bodies was that the an-

nouncement be made before the Potchefstroom by-election as they did not want to appear to be in cahoots with the Government.

One spin-off of the CP victory was that the party would now definitely not split, if that were ever on the cards, diplomats said.

The CP would also definitely not take part in Codesa as the party had solidified around the anti-negotiations faction in the CP.

One diplomat said diplomats supported Codesa "as the more reasonable and successful process towards a nonracial and democratic South Africa and a process which has the majority support".

Diplomats noted that they did not support a whites-only referendum but realised it was essential for Mr de Klerk to determine how much "elbow room" he had at his disposal.

It would also be advantageous to black opposition groups to know in the long run whom Mr de Klerk represented.

They said that just as the ANC needed "time out" at the time of its annual congress last July, the Government now needed the same space.

JEERING and cat-calling Conservative Party supporters forced voters at the Potchefstroom by-election to run the gauntlet all the way to the polling station.

Riot policemen eventually had to keep a path open for voters to reach the entrance to the polling booths.

But even then, when voters chose to enter through the National Party door they were taunted, while CP voters were clapped and cheered into the polling booths.

Behind the line of riot policemen, one CP supporter shouted across the path to a NP voter: "Jy is 'n meid en in my huis werk 'n meid vir my."

Diplomats are now discussing white-on-white intimidation and other implications of the resounding NP defeat in Potchefstroom.

They told the Saturday Star yesterday that President de Klerk's public relations efforts in explaining his reform policies to white voters had been poor.

They noted that unlike General Jan Smuts losing the 1948 election, Mr de Klerk had been warned several times before the Potchefstroom by-election that he and the Government needed

'Clear message' from Sandton election shocks

SANDTON'S ratepayers scored two stunning victories this week. For the first time, they banded together to find their own candidates to fight two by-elections — and both trounced their opponents by impressive margins.

STAR 22/2/92

OVERCOMING sparse resources and tight budgets, David Jordaan and Melanie Stewart — with the help of a core of committed workers — romped home in Sandton's wards 2 and 9 respectively this week.

Mr Jordaan mustered 547 votes against the National Party's Rob Davis (175), and Ms Stewart received 342 votes against independent Lyle Thole (118). The percentage polls were 29.6 and 31.9 respectively.

Both candidates, representing the bulk of the town's organised ratepayers' associations, provided similar visions of their future role as councillors.

Mr Jordaan told the Saturday Star he had read a very clear message from the election result. The people of Sandton, he said, wanted to solve their own problems in their own way rather than leaving them in the hands of national political parties.

"There was also a message to the National Party," he said. "They may have moved too far from the electorate — which reminds us of a question every councillor should also be asking themselves regularly: Am I still in touch with the constituency that elected me, am I still doing the best job possible of representing their views and interests?"

"Having spoken to hun-



PARTICIPATION: Melanie Stewart.



COMMUNICATION: David Jordaan.

hundreds of voters in the past month. I gained the impression that they felt left in the dark on vital issues affecting Sandton's future; issues such as the Metropolitan Chamber, the Joint Negotiating Forum and the merger with Alexandra and Randburg.

"They were saying in effect that they want to be in-

formed and consulted before we (the council) engage in negotiations. Our mandate, therefore, needs to be clarified before we proceed much further."

Once the taste of public participation and true democracy had been acquired, he said, the palate was ripened for more.

"If Sandton is to show the way to participative local government, now is the time to exploit all possible vehicles of communication to inform and to engage in dialogue in our own constituency before all others."

Also cause for concern, he said, was in-fighting in the council. "Now is the time to heal rifts in the ranks of our council, to put issues before personalities, to develop greater co-operation and consensus between ourselves based on shared understanding of our voters' hopes and fears and a common, future vision of the kind of town we wish to live in."

Ms Stewart voiced similar sentiments when she said there had been "a sad lack of communication" between the ratepayers and the council in many areas.

"I believe that the most pressing need is to involve

the residents, through their ratepayers' associations, in the discussions concerning the future of the town.

"It is vital that there be not just ratepayer representation, but participation as well, on such bodies as the Metropolitan Chamber and the Joint Negotiating Forum."

She told Saturday Star that her first consideration would be to address the concerns raised by the residents of her ward when they were canvassed.

"In order to maintain a constant communication, I would like to meet with residents on a regular basis to let them know what is happening to the council.

"I feel that two-way communication is vital. It is as important for the ratepayers to know what is happening in the council as it is for me to be aware of their concerns."

— Staff Reporter.

UJ gets cold feet

(304A) CT 22/2/92

Late backtrack On referendum

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A SPECIAL Nat task force will meet at Westbrook today to thrash out a battle plan for the whites-only referendum, while the Conservative Party began showing growing signs of developing cold feet on the make-or-break contest.

SOWETO LOOKS FOR AN FW WIN

See PAGE 4

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel, an der Merwe said today's brainstorming session could settle the key issues of a date for the referendum and the referendum question to be put to voters in the next few weeks.

But CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht sent a letter to President F W de Klerk last night demanding that his party be allowed to decide jointly on how the question will be framed and the referendum conducted.

As the government's election machine swung into top gear, CP speakers in yesterday's fiery debate in Parliament repeatedly backtracked on the party's earlier acceptance of a referendum challenge and dredged up a

series of new conditions that would have to be met to secure their participation in a referendum contest.

Dr Treurnicht said his party would not allow itself to be painted into a corner by participating in a gimmick (foefie) and demanded that the CP be allowed to

formulate its own referendum question. He threatened to pull out of any referendum if the question attempted to gauge who should represent whites at the Codessa talks, saying the CP was not prepared to negotiate with "a terrorist organisation" (the ANC).

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg also dug in his heels, insisting that if the government could formulate the question it wanted to put on the referendum ballot, the CP should be allowed to formulate the question it wanted alongside it.

"If you want to know who talks for the white people you must hold an election, not a referendum."

Replying to yesterday's Part Appropriation debate, State Expenditure Minister Mr Amie Venter said it was clear that the CP was planning to evade the challenge as it no longer appeared to have the stomach for a referendum.

However, Dr Van der Merwe said last night that the NP was not prepared to allow CP spoiling tactics to force a postponement of an early referendum.

Rush for referendum vote

Staff Reporter
THE announcement of a referendum has led to a rush by voters for information on how to cast

CAPE'S INFLATION BATTLE

See PAGE 19

PROTEST... ANC supporters in Johannesburg protest outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday demanding an interim government and rejecting President F W de Klerk's call for a referendum.



Heat closes army base

Staff Reporter
CT 22/2/92

TROOPERS at Wingfield military base were allowed to halt all physical activity and go for a swim as temperatures at the base soared to a sweltering 35.2 deg C yesterday.

Commander C de Vries, of the Wingfield base, said the temperature at 1pm was way above normal.

"Usually at these temperatures, if there was a breeze we would continue working, but there was nothing — it was dead calm," he said.

The D F Melan weather-office reported a maximum temperature of 31°C while that in central Cape Town was 33°C. In many places in the Western Cape it was even hotter.

In Springbok the mercury rose to more than 40°C and in Paarl, Worcester and Robertson to an unbearable 36°C. The temperature in Beaufort West was 38°C and that in Riversdale 35°C at midday.

Cooler conditions are expected over the Peninsula and southern coastal areas this weekend.

Generals 'a threat to Codesa'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Differences between conservative senior SA Defence Force generals and the government of President F W de Klerk are growing and may threaten the Codesa negotiations, says the newsletter Africa Confidential, published here yesterday.

They have closed ranks against efforts to expose the so-called

"Third Force" and inquiries of the Goldstone Commission, assuring President De Klerk that the SADF is not involved in township murders.

But, it alleges, there is evidence that "factions in the SADF, at least up to brigadier level, are working actively to frustrate a settlement with the ANC".

While a military coup in South Africa is unlikely, it says that if President De Klerk "stumbles"

(3047) CT 22/2/92
the generals would support Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis "from the NP's technocratic right" to succeed him.

Africa Confidential alleges that the concept of power-sharing in a unitary state "is encountering growing resistance within the SADF. Sympathy for something far looser than federation — perhaps a commonwealth of states as in the former Soviet Union — is spreading".

Poll rush

● FROM PAGE 1.

STAR 22/2/92
ties geared up for today's meeting at an unspecified venue in the Transvaal capital. (304A)

The CP's position hardened yesterday amid speculation that it might be looking for a way to evade Mr de Klerk's challenge, but sources said today's gathering was expected to release a joint announcement on participation in the referendum.

Both the CP and the HNP would fight the referendum, one source said.

The ANC has publicly condemned the referendum as an attempt by Mr de Klerk to manipulate a white veto over negotiations. But privately, ANC sources admit they will have to seriously consider how to approach the issue to avoid playing into the CP's hands.

Indications by some ANC sources that they will stage mass action against the referendum are likely to be reconsidered for fear of jeopardising the NP's chances.

In Parliament yesterday CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, set a string of conditions for CP participation in the referendum — prompting taunts by State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter that they were looking for an escape hatch.

And late yesterday the CP sent a letter to Mr de Klerk repeating its demand that it should be given a comprehensive role in the arrangement of the referendum.

Dr Treurnicht demanded in Parliament that the CP should have a say in drafting the all-important question to be put at the referendum.

It should not be a simple yes or no question, but should give voters a clear choice between CP and NP policy, he said.

The question should offer a choice between the CP policy of "co-operative self-determination" and the NP policy of "one-man, one-vote in one state".

Dr Hartzenberg set another important condition — that Mr de Klerk should make it clear that the referendum he announced was not the one he promised whites before the 1989

general election.

Dr Hartzenberg said Mr de Klerk had promised that the latter referendum would be a test of whatever constitutional plan emerged from negotiations.

At a press conference on Thursday after announcing the referendum, Mr de Klerk said he had not yet decided whether this would discharge his 1989 obligation.

It would depend on the way the question was phrased — although he personally believed there should be another referendum after a new constitution or interim constitution had been agreed to.

The Democratic Party is waiting to hear how the NP phrases the question before committing itself to a strategy.

However, it is almost certain it will join the fray on Mr de Klerk's side, as he badly needs it to do if he is to win convincingly.

Mr de Klerk made it very clear this week that he would prefer the the ANC to stay out of the fight, at least publicly.

He likened the referendum to a schoolyard scrap between the CP and the NP and said the intervention of outside parties could turn it into a mob brawl.

Clearly he fears that for the ANC to take sides with him would be the kiss of death in the eyes of the undecided conservative voters he needs to woo.

After the NP's 2140-vote trouncing in Potchefstroom, political analysts agreed that Mr de Klerk could only count on winning 53 to 56 percent of the vote in a referendum — far too close for comfort.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw has made it clear that the referendum will almost certainly have to be based on identity documents and not on voters' roll, which the CP has demanded.

He said that voter rolls were too ina-

rate to provide basis for a p-

NP spoke Goetzer sa- seemed to ing to h- election

The CP egey seems to be ven if it poses th overall count a referendum it may be able to win a majority of constituencies — and claim that it has in effect won a general election.

After the hodge Potch

STW 22/2/92

CODESA's working groups should continue to meet outside Johannesburg, but the plenary sessions should be held in different towns and cities.

SO the party that offers only war and dresses up that pathetic futility as a policy has won itself another seat in the House of Assembly, a house in which there will soon be nothing left to assemble for.

To South Africans who did not enjoy the dubious privilege of voting, the white burghers of Potchefstroom have delivered their mean-spirited message.

This was not the noblest moment in Potchefstroom's history. William Hazlitt's resigned conclusion, "I believe in the theoretical benevolence and practical malignity of man", resounds far, far away, one-and-a-half centuries later.

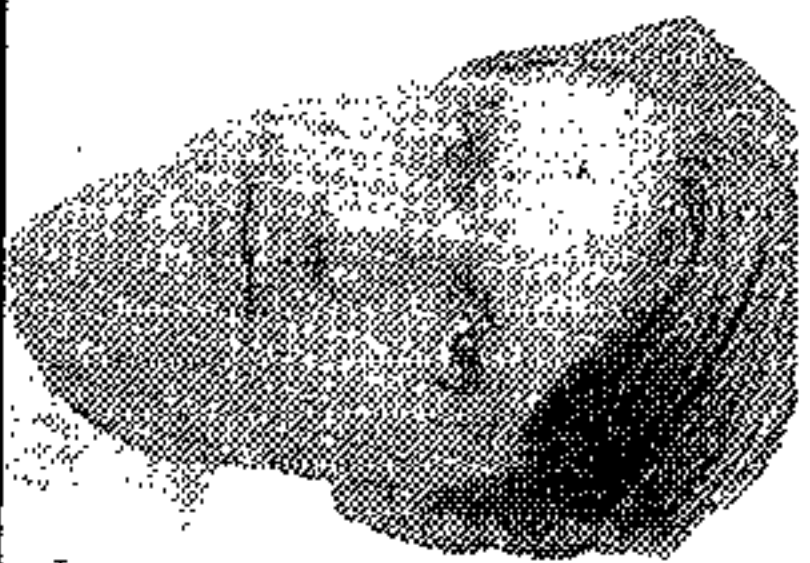
It is now no longer a question of whether a majority of whites actively supports the process of just reform that is taking place. It seems clear they do not. It is a question, rather, of whether enough active opposition can be marshalled in a last-ditch attempt to halt that process. I have argued before that upon this rock the right wing will surely falter. President de Klerk will not be asking in the referendum for enthusiastic endorsement, he will be presenting a proposition to which the alternative is truly too ghastly to contemplate.

Potchefstroom is in this context a nasty, sad, futile cry in the wilderness. It will change little except to reconfirm for black South Africans the fact that whites will change not because

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

(3044)

SHAUN Johnson



they want to, but because they have to. What a wasteful pity.

But to unders and that the Potchefstroom vote does not pre ,ge a nationwide white uprising against reform, one need only visit the remote villages of the stark and beautiful southern Cape coast, whence this column is being written. Potchefstroom has not set Gansbaai or Franskraal alight, there are no midnight black-shirt vigils. Life goes on here.

There is a comforting side to this apathy. These are hardy people, much closer to the elements than we in the cities. Their day-to-day lives are of far more interest to them than the intricacies of constitutions and transitional governments. If pressed they would not, to be sure, much like what is being negotiated in Johannesburg — but they would ride it out and survive, as before. I wonder if they would even vote in the referendum.

The cities and the towns are the crucibles of the new South Africa and therefore a different matter of course. Whereas the term "Codesa" is all but meaningless where I sit now, and has as much practical relevance for the Overbergers

as nouvelle cuisine, it is clearly beginning to have a negative resonance among the shak-en white masses in the urban areas. Herein I believe lies a great and unnecessary danger, one which should be addressed before it is too late.

The most obvious problem, to my mind, is the alien location of the political bazaar in which our future is being traded. Johannesburgers may not much like what is transpiring at Codesa, but at least they know it is happening comfortably close by.

By contrast, there is a distinct feeling of unease in other metropolises. People in Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein and elsewhere refer to the negotiations as taking place "up there". Now there are obvious budgetary advantages attached to utilising an unprepossessing warehouse within jogging distance of Jan Smuts Airport for our latter-day national convention, but it does nothing to imbue South Africans with the feeling that Codesa belongs to and is a part of their lives.

Some observers have expressed concern that Codesa has already cost R3 million. Frugality is an estimable characteristic in the current economic environment, but the criticism is not realistic in this case. The homelands system — the undoing of which is but one task faced by Codesa — cost billions, as did Moss Gas. If we have to spend now on Codesa, our one chance at a workable new system, then spend we must.

Codesa's working groups should continue to meet outside Johannesburg, but the plenary sessions should be held in different towns and cities. Potchefstroom should also be considered — it is not necessarily too far gone.

In Gansbaai, on the other hand, Codesa can safely leave well enough alone.

Blacks in fear of return to racism

STAR 22/2/92

306A

SOWETO residents yesterday anxiously debated the whites-only referendum, which they said could drag South Africa back to the dark days of apartheid.

In trains, drinking dens and dusty township streets, ordinary blacks said the result would either destroy or secure the path to democracy paved in talks between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

"If the CP wins, we will all be finished," said Morena Kholoane, a taxi driver.

"Everyone knows what happens when you give someone a little bit of freedom and then suddenly take it away. Chaos."

Other township residents said there would be civil war should the Conservative Party (CP) win the referendum and

RICH MKHONDO

call off talks aimed at giving blacks the vote.

"For the many years that I have followed white elections, I always regarded them as jokes and did not care who won," said shopkeeper Khorombi Ngobeni.

"Now I care who wins. Obviously if De Klerk loses, the majority of South Africans are going to suffer."

"Why should the minority be allowed to determine our future?" said one Sowetan.

An ANC staffer half-jokingly asked her colleagues to prepare themselves to resume the 30-year guerilla war it suspended in 1990 in a major concession to the De Klerk government.

"I am preparing to go back to the bush," she said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Callers say De Klerk will win^{STAR} 22/2/92

PRESIDENT de Klerk will win his referendum, according to callers who phoned in to The Star's Telephone Poll yesterday. (304A)

Of the 1102 callers, 820 said Mr De Klerk would win a referendum and 282 thought he would lose.

Most callers expressed concern at the possible consequences if the Conservative Party had to win.

"I believe what De Klerk is doing for the country is in the best interest of all.

"The CP has an ox-wagon mentality. They are working on people's emotions instead of working on people's sense of responsibility," one caller said.

"It would be the worst setback if De Klerk loses. The country would be back with its old problems of sanctions etc," a caller from Johannesburg said.

Call an election, challenges P

STAR 22/2/92 304A
Widespread reaction from broad spectrum as referendum looms

THE National Party should forget about its "referendum gimmick" and call a general election, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, told Parliament yesterday.

"If you want to know who talks for white people, you must hold an election, not a referendum," he said.

The CP would not take part in the referendum if it was not satisfied with the question put, and demanded half of the television time devoted to the poll.

Reaction to the announcement of the referendum has come from a wide spectrum of organisations. A selection of the comments are:

● The NP's Johan Lemmer questioned whether the CP would accept the referendum result if it lost.

He said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht opposed negotiations because he was "the prisoner" of Dr Hartzenberg.

● Derek Christophers of the NP said that calling a referendum was a stroke of genius which would rekindle hope in South Africa and provide the spark for an economic upswing. Nobody in the world believed the CP could carry out its policies without bringing about a civil war, he said.

● Piet Matthee of the NP told Parliament that black South Africans, supported by the entire world, would unite in mass action against the State if the CP came into power.

"South Africa will be economically crippled. It is even probable that the United Nations will intervene

militarily," Mr Matthee said.

"The CP's way is the way of suicide for the Afrikaner and for whites in South Africa."

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the crushing CP victory in Potchefstroom was not a rejection by whites of the peace process in South Africa or of President de Klerk's leadership.

He said the referendum announced by Mr de Klerk on Thursday would simply be a testing of white South Africa's support for progress towards a new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi urged Mr de Klerk to word the referendum question so that he moved away from a commitment by the NP to give white South Africans what amounted to a veto right over constitutional development.

He said Mr de Klerk had responded boldly to the by-election defeat, adding that the peace process must go ahead.

● Isak Kruger said the Labour Party was against the proposed white referendum in principle, but he

hoped whites would vote for the NP.

● Anwar Ismail of the NP said the referendum result would leave only one candidate standing.

He was sure this would be Mr de Klerk — "but he won't be walking off into the sunset, he will be facing a new dawn".

● Narend Singh of Solidarity said claims by the CP that it would win a general election were exaggerated as it had only won three of the nine by-elections since 1989.

● Geoff Engel of the Democratic Party called on Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis to postpone the Budget date because of the referendum.

If the result of the referendum was a "no" vote, none of the badly needed foreign investment would come into South Africa and the already beleaguered financial rand would fall even lower.

● In Bisho, Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said there was "nothing more unambiguously democratic" than a referendum.

"Naturally, I lament the fact that there will be another race-based vote, but it is unfortunately necessary to establish where whites stand."

● The Black Sash said a whites-only referendum was a dangerous political strategy in this unstable period in South Africa's history.

It would give weight and importance to the white voter by seeking a white mandate.

"The referendum has the potential to further destabilise the political climate. It may arouse great anger in those who are not white and are thereby excluded from the referendum," it said.

Business jitters over poll

PRESIDENT de Klerk's announcement this week of a white referendum has created economic uncertainty, business leaders warned yesterday.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce president Dr Sam Motsuenyane said: "If the CP wins and people like (President) de Klerk are forced to resign, the whole structure of Codesa and negotiations would be very seriously undermined."

Mr de Klerk's defeat would lead to insurmountable instability, conflict and even civil war, he said. But if Mr de Klerk emerged victorious, he would come out with a strengthened resolve to lead South Africa

THABO LESHILO

ca to democracy.

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) president Attie du Plessis said it was important that uncertainty about who should represent whites at Codesa be resolved as a matter of urgency.

"If it now happens that a question mark hangs over the mandate of the most important role player, it is wise to resolve any possible uncertainty."

He said the AHI welcomed the indication that the referendum would be finalised "as soon as possible" for the sake of the country's economy.

**MICHAEL MORRIS, TOS WENTZEL
and Weekend Argus Political Staff**

ALL the major parties involved — directly and indirectly — in the critical referendum contest are moving to battle stations today.

The marshalling of political forces across the country comes in the wake of President De Klerk's bombshell announcement in parliament on Thursday following the National Party's crushing defeat in Potchefstroom.

■ In Cape Town, a Cabinet task group is meeting at Westbrooke today to devise a referendum strategy for the NP (full story below).

■ In Pretoria, leaders of the major rightwing parties and groupings — including the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties — are meeting today to thrash out a joint strategy.

■ In Johannesburg, the ANC and nine other Patriotic Front parties in Codesa delivered a tough message condemning the whites-only referendum, but signs have emerged that the ANC is willing to soften its position to boost the chances of a pro-negotiations vote.

Analysts believe the ANC could play a key role in influencing white opinion.

The HNP launched its referendum battle in Pretoria by displaying its first "Away with De Klerk" posters yesterday.

The CP's position hardened yesterday amid speculation that it might be looking for a way to evade Mr De Klerk's challenge, but sources said today's gathering was expected to release a joint announcement on participation in the referendum.

Both the CP and the HNP would fight the referendum, one source said.

The key elements of the CP's response so far have been conditions to be met before it

More on the referendum drama, pages 18 and 19.

would consider taking part in the referendum.

Dr Treurnicht initially laid down five: an honest and clear question; voting by voters' roll and constituencies; a "level playing field"; no use of secret funds; and equal radio and television exposure for parties involved.

He went further yesterday, saying it should not be a "yes or no" question, but one offering a choice between "co-operative self-determination" or "one-man, one-vote, one state".

He also demanded a say in formulating the question, and insisted votes be counted and announced immediately, constituency by constituency, as in a general election.

Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg also said the CP would insist on an absolute assurance that referendums Mr De Klerk had promised white voters on constitutional changes would still be held, in addition to this one.

Nats believe the CP might be setting the scene to duck out of a fight.

Mr Piet Coetzer MP, National Party information director, said: "Confronted by the moment of truth, they are opening up fire escapes for themselves."

An NP source described the CP's demand for voting and counting by constituency as "trying to get an election by stealth".

Nationalist politicians are trying to taunt the CP into taking part because they realise a referendum would be a sterile exercise without it.

Analysts say Mr De Klerk could conceivably press ahead with a referendum on his own, but would need a substantial majority for the exercise to be credible.

On the other side of the political spectrum, the ANC acknowledged that a CP victory would be tragic and disastrous.

Well-placed sources indicated that the ANC was obliged to be seen firmly opposing the poll.

However, it was noted that the movement would assess its strategy once Mr De Klerk announced the referendum question.

Battle stations

Major parties are meeting today for talks on strategy

APR 22/2/92

(304)

first quarter
new moon
full moon

Time and
place of
easterly

Penins
Boland

A stormy, eventful three years for FW — and now this!

(3044)
ARCT 22/2/92

AFTER becoming the leader of the National Party in January 1989, Mr F W de Klerk found himself up against it already — he had a tough time while the-then President Mr P W Botha clung to power.

He weathered the storm, astutely consolidating his position until he finally became president.

The ups were often in the area of foreign relations where he has made important breakthroughs that are leading to South Africa's readmission to the international world.

He has visited 30 countries — 16 in Europe, 11 in Africa and one each in North America, the Middle East and Asia.

The highlight of these was his visit to Washington in September 1990 when he got the Bush administration to accept the irreversibility of his reform plans.

The ups were also in his efforts to get a multiparty conference on constitutional reform going, after meetings

President de Klerk has had his share of ups and downs in his short, but eventful, term of office, now in its third year. A report by **TOS WENTZEL** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff...

with the African National Congress and many other parties during the year before Codesa held its first meeting last December.

There are indications of some ups at Codesa for Mr De Klerk and many of his ideas on a transitional government, elements of federalism in a new system and protection for minority groups are beginning to find acceptance there.

Most of his downs have been in the party political field. It has been said that, like General Smuts before him, he has made friends for South Africa overseas while he has lost Afrikaner support at home.

This has been shown by a number of by-elections, the latest the one in Potchefstroom, which have shown substantial growth for the Conservative Party.

Some of Mr De Klerk's biggest downs also have been in

the areas of security.

Here, the impression has been he was not always in full control although some of the problems, like the operation of shadowy elements in the military and the police, were inherited from the Botha era.

After revelations about the operations of the clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau, he announced far-reaching steps to slash and control secret funding and appointed a committee from the private sector to investigate existing secret projects.

His plans for controlling and bringing down violence, also, have not always worked out well.

Now, with his referendum announcement, Mr De Klerk has moved to try and counter what has become one of his biggest downs — the allegations and indications that he no longer speaks on behalf of the majority of the whites.

NP keeps small lead among urban whites

THE National Party enjoyed more support among urban whites than the Conservative Party, according to a survey conducted last month.

Research Surveys found that 48 percent of urban whites would vote for the NP while 39 percent supported the CP and other rightwing parties.

"It would seem then that at this stage, the NP has the edge on the CP," said Research Surveys spokesman Dr Jannie Hofmeyr.

Although these figures appeared to contradict the result in the Potchefstroom by-election, Dr Hofmeyr said the figure became understandable when looking at the differences between language groups. The Potchefstroom constituency consists mostly of Afrikaans-speakers.

ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

The poll found that 52 percent of Afrikaans-speakers would vote CP while 39 percent would vote for the NP.

On the other hand, 60 percent of English-speakers would vote for the NP while only 19 percent favoured the CP.

Dr Hofmeyr noted that an important consideration was the people who would not vote in an election.

At least 23 percent of respondents in the poll, conducted in mid-January among 800 white females and 500 white males, said they would not vote for any party, suggesting that a segment of the white electorate was disillusioned with politicians who they perceived to have failed in the reform process.

"This segment is likely to follow whichever party comes up with a constructive solution to the country's problems and which they perceive to have the ability to pull the country together.

"The most likely candidate in this scenario would be the NP rather than the CP."

This trend was particularly evident in Durban where 40 percent of the respondents said they would abstain from voting in an election.

Language differences were evident in the number of respondents who said they would vote — 71 percent of English-speakers said they would cast their vote compared to 83 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Research Surveys noted that CP membership skewed to the PWV, with NP membership showing a slight bias towards the Cape.

FEARS

■ Codesa goes on
■ 'Call in EC'
■ CP changes tune



NELSON MANDELA

CHAOS

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CHAOS will reign if the Conservative Party comes to power.

This is the opinion of political organisations, analysts and trade unions who say if the CP wins next month's referendum, and goes on to win a white general election, the country will face political, economic and social disaster.

The white referendum is expected to be held on March 18. State President FW de Klerk has promised that if his reform initiatives are rejected, his government will resign and call a white election.

Challenge

On Thursday CP spokesmen accepted De Klerk's referendum challenge unconditionally with gusto.

By Friday, however, in speeches in parliament, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and deputy leader Fedi Hartzenberg announced that the CP would only participate if it could set the key question. The apparent reason for the CP's somersault is that people within the leadership now fear



BANTU HOLOMISA ... The EC must mediate.

they could lose the referendum, causing serious embarrassment to the party which has in recent months been goading the government into testing the will of white voters.

Politicians and commentators canvassed by City Press stopped just short of predicting civil war in the event of a CP win, but expected massive social upheaval.

■ ANC leader Nelson Mandela said a CP government would be a tragedy. He expressed confidence that the constitutional initiatives currently underway would not be halted.

■ ANC spokesman Saki Mazonia said: "A CP win would be a threat to stability. It would take us back to the status quo before Mandela's release and the untangling of the ANC. It is probable that the CP will go to jail and others into exile."

He said the ANC would adapt its tactics to suit the times.

He added: "If we are seen as assisting De Klerk, the CP would use this to lash at the government. At the same time, we cannot operate on the basis that De Klerk is our friend."

■ Transkei Military Council chairman Major-general Bantu Holomisa called for the European Community to be brought in to mediate and avert civil war. A CP victory would not affect Transkei.

He said: "We are on the side of the ANC, the PAC and the Patriotic Front. We are dedicated to this and nothing will change our position."

■ Leading Afrikaans academic Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University said a CP government would be an "unmitigated disaster."

"Domestically we will see conflict the like of which we have never seen before. Internationally we would also see unprecedented isolation."

"If black leaders demand more and more from De Klerk,

this will strengthen the CP image of the State President being a weak leader who is dictated to by blacks and especially the ANC."

■ Azapo secretary general Don Nkomo said a CP victory "would be welcome to us ... It would clear up the current confusion and place the struggle and the enemy in sharper focus."

■ Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said a CP win would make no big difference to the workers who would fight for their rights under either government.

■ Former PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said the possibility of a CP referendum victory was unlikely.

He said the CP was devoid of any vision and bankrupt in policy to deal with the current political dynamics in SA.

He said: "For South Africa to go forward is difficult, to go back is impossible. This is the crux of the choice between De Klerk and Treurnicht. For whites there is no choice - it is an opportunity to escape the past."

The African National Congress and others who had an interest in effective negotiations towards a non-racial democratic outcome should urge whites to support De Klerk in the referendum "or at least refrain from messing up the climate prior to the referendum."

even if they were stowed down.

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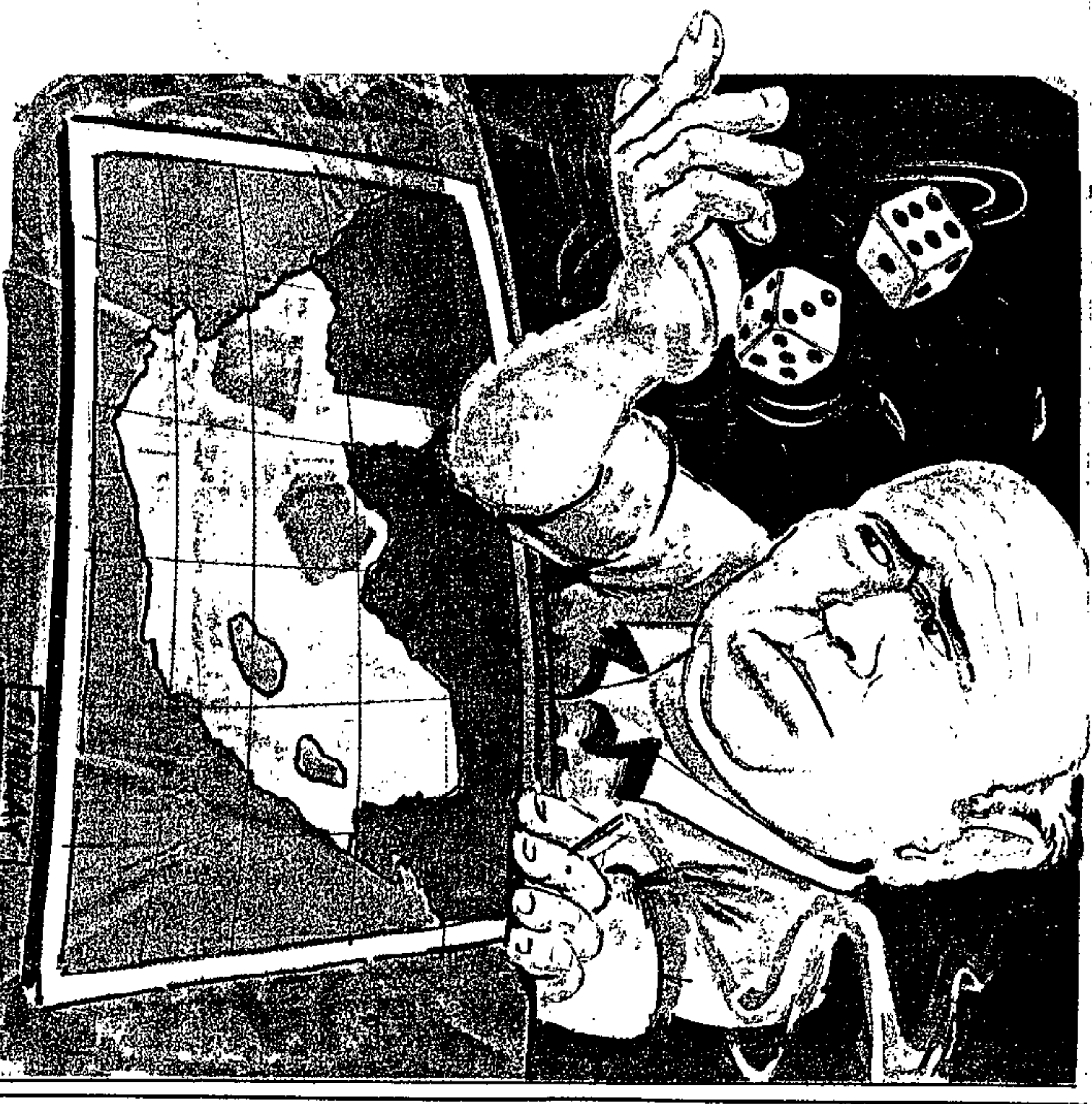
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"If black leaders demand more and more from De Klerk,



Hunger striker's 73rd day

By SOPHIE TEMA

BOPUTHATSWANA activist Christopher Makgale enters his 73rd day on hunger strike today - making it the longest hunger strike on record.

This week, members of the Bafokeng community and representatives of the Matleng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref) picketed the Bop consulate in Johannesburg demanding the immediate release of Makgale and other political prisoners.

Makgale is reported to be in solitary confinement in the sick bay of Odi Prison after being moved from Odi Hospital. C/Pen 23/2/92

The Bophuthatswana Commissioner of Prisons last week said there were no political prisoners in the homeland.

He said as far as he knew Makgale was not a political prisoner because he had been found guilty of murder.

Makgale was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in December last year for the murder of the government-appointed chairman of the Bafokeng Tribal Authority.



World gives SA warning on 'no' vote

STimes 23/2/92
304A

IF South Africa reverted to apartheid as a result of a "no" vote in the forthcoming referendum, the country was certain to be excluded from any partnership with the rest of the world, Commission of the European Communities vice-president Dr Martin Bangemann has warned.

Dr Bangemann's fears have been echoed elsewhere, particularly in the business community. And foreign governments have made it clear that any moves towards neo-apartheid would push SA into the economic ice-age.

Japan's political officer in the Republic, Mr Yasushi Naito, said his country — SA's third-largest trading partner — had not issued a formal statement.

But he added that, in his opinion, if the CP won and committed itself to supporting peace initiatives and "promoted the construction of a new SA through peaceful means, we will support them".

"But I am not sure the CP is committed to those initiatives. For potential investors — particularly those in Japan — there is a fear that SA will go backwards," he said.

Dismay

Although British politicians are expressing themselves strongly on the issue — with one Tory MP saying during an SABC television debate that the thought of a future CP government was "appalling" and that Britain would place severe financial constraints against such a government — the British government has issued a more carefully worded statement. (Britain is SA's second-largest trading partner after Germany.)

The statement said: "The path of reform on which SA has embarked is the only course which will achieve full re-integration into the international community, and enable SA to attract the investment it needs for economic growth."

A spokesman for the Canadian embassy said his country would be "dismayed" if SA backtracked to neo-apartheid.

The United States took a neutral line after Thursday's announcements but offered a strong endorsement of reform measures, declaring that SA had made "significant progress

Sunday Times Reporters

toward the elimination of apartheid".

It also lifted the US Export-Import Bank embargo — which has denied aid to US exports to SA since 1979 — paving the way for International Monetary Fund assistance to South Africa.

State Department spokesman Mrs Margaret Tutwiler said: "A healthy economic situation in South Africa is critical as a new non-racial constitution is negotiated."

The Commonwealth countries — comprising Britain and 50 former colonies — indicated how seriously they viewed the referendum by dispatching a two-member delegation — the organisation's international affairs division director Mr Max Gaylard and his assistant, Mr Moses Anafu — to discuss the political situation with Codesa participants. They arrive today.

Simon Barber reports from Washington that the mood supported President FW de Klerk.

Rigid

Senator Nancy Kassebaum said: "The referendum provides an opportunity for white South Africans to decide either to continue toward non-racial democracy — with the uncertainty this entails — or to turn back to rigid apartheid, which I believe would lead to economic, social and political chaos."

Charmain Naidoo reports from London that Britain's Labour Party believes Mr De Klerk needs "understanding and time to play out this rash hand".

Poll of '83 sets a standard for white SA's day of truth

By MIKE ROBERTSON and NORMAN WEST

STWes 23/2/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk believes the March referendum should be conducted on the same basis as the 1983 tricameral poll.

Mr De Klerk said in an interview with the Sunday Times: "I am convinced that the previous referendum went down well. Organisationally, it was a success."

The president was responding to questions on whether an extended period of voting, which resulted in more than 14 000 special and postal votes being cast before polling day in the Potchefstroom by-election, would be allowed.

He replied that although final decisions still had to be made on the procedures for the referendum, lax rules for prior polling had not applied in the 1983 poll.

"It was very easy for people to vote. If we use that set of rules, regulations and procedures again then there is no need for an extended period."

Special votes would be limited to those people who could not get to the poll on referendum day.

"Those are people outside the country, people who can't be moved and people who are in hospital," Mr De Klerk said.

He and his key strategists were locked in an all-day meeting at Westbroek yesterday to plan their referendum strategy as well as to decide on its date and the wording of the question.

The closest indication of the referendum date came from Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who said the refer-

endum would be held before presentation of the Budget on March 18.

Mr De Klerk said the final phrasing of the question would relate "to the issue of constitutional change".

Letter

Meanwhile, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has written to the president asking for a meeting at which to negotiate the wording of the referendum question as well as procedures for the poll.

The CP leader said in his letter that as the poll was being called to decide who could claim to speak for the majority of whites, it was only fair that competing parties should decide

the wording of the question and the rules of the referendum.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP wanted to have an input in deciding the manner in which the referendum would be conducted and the manner in which votes were cast, controlled and counted. It also wanted a say in determining the date of the referendum and the period over which campaigning and balloting could take place.

He proposed that a CP-nominated committee meet a committee nominated by the president to decide these matters.

A senior NP source said yesterday that although the actual wording of the referendum question would only be made known by Mr De Klerk tomorrow or Tuesday, one word certain to be excluded was "Codex".

(cont)

He said the question could be based "on the principle of decisions taken at the provincial congresses of the NP, where there was a unanimous vote in favour of total equality of all citizens in all respects through the sharing of power".

Mandate

He said the referendum would not necessarily be about "a new constitution" but rather for the NP to "get a fresh mandate" from the white electorate.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the DP would insist the referendum question was about principles, not parties or personalities. It must not degenerate into a kind of "beauty contest", he said.

Last night DP national chairman Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens, con-

firmed that the DP caucus had met and formulated suggestions to submit to Mr De Klerk.

Parliament is expected to adjourn on Friday to allow members to prepare for the referendum.

Mr Andrew said the DP's line of thinking was that the question should be "explicit and uncomplicated".

It should ask voters: "Are you in favour of peaceful negotiations for a democratically elected government in an undivided South Africa with equal rights and guaranteed rights for all South Africans - Yes or No?"

He said the DP would want the question to be "sufficiently explicit and comprehensive" so that there should never be reason again to go back to the white electorate for a mandate for a democratic constitution.

Region	Yes %	No %
Beaufort West	61	39
Bloemfontein	51	49
Cape Town	74	26
Durban	81	19
E London	67	33
George	58	42
Germiston	58	42
Johannesburg	70	30
Kimberley	49	51
Kroonstad	44	56
Pietermaritzburg	64	36
Pretoria	33	67
Port Elizabeth	69	31
Rosettenburg	51	49
Rooibosport	43	57
Total	57.1	42.89

How they'd vote

DONALD SIMPSON, the analyst who correctly called the Potchefstroom by-election results, estimates President De Klerk will win his referendum by a narrow margin.

In the final vote, 1.2-million whites will vote "Yes" to a pro-reform question and 947 600 "No". The government will triumph by 57.11 percent as opposed to 42.89 percent. The estimate is arrived at by taking the 1983 referendum results by regions (the same regions will be used again) and factoring in subsequent electoral shifts in party support.

Mr Simpson, an independent political analyst based in Potchefstroom, has used Professor Dirk Laurie's data base and technique from the 1983 referendum and applied it to the coming referendum.

Graphic: LEE EMERTON.

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FW's Secret
STWes 23/2/92
Trump card

THURSDAY, February 20, 8.40am. A small group of National Party back-benchers board a bus at Acacia Park, the housing estate for MPs outside Cape Town, and head for Parliament. They have a 7am study group meeting.

The party has 26 study groups which concentrate on the various areas of government. They meet each Thursday and are addressed by the relevant ministers.

The bus ride was, therefore, nothing out of the ordinary. But this week, by the time the bus was on the N1 heading towards Table Mountain, the MPs began to get an inkling that something big was happening.

During the early hours of the morning, all the chairmen of the study groups had been contacted by their ministers and informed that they would not make it.

The conversation in the bus went something like: "Dave, phoned this morning and said he wouldn't be able to make it."

"That's strange. My minister also phoned."

"So did mine."

By the time the bus reached Parliament the MPs were abuzz.

REFERENDUM

By MIKE ROBERTSON (3041)

Political Correspondent

The reason the ministers could not make it was that after the results of the Potchefstroom by-election were known, President F.W. de Klerk decided to hold an emergency meeting of his top lieutenants.

As Mr De Klerk said this week, he had, for some time, been concerned that the Conservative Party was achieving success in its campaign to portray him as not having majority support among white voters.

He felt this was weakening his hand at the negotiating table, or, as he put it, "People want to negotiate with people they know can deliver."

After hearing the Potchefstroom result, Mr De Klerk believed his negotiating power would have been undermined even further.

The time had come to act. Either the CP would be stopped in its tracks or he would fall while trying to stop it. When the cabinet members gathered on Thursday morning they had

De Klerk's swift decision wins him back his doubting MPs

STIMES 23/2 HZ

all had a chance to digest the seriousness of the situation which had arisen as a result of the thrashing the NP received at Potchefstroom.

One minister said: "The meeting was characterised by a realisation of the seriousness of the situation and the need to do something... the worst was to do nothing."

There was general consensus about the need to go to the white voters, but some in the cabinet believed it would be better to delay calling a referendum until a clearer picture of an interim government and of a future final constitution had emerged from Codesa.

But, it was argued, another by-election loomed in Welkom. The CP was certain to build on its seat with an increased majority. Another by-election victory would build momentum to do nothing.

At caucus meetings MPs usually have a chance to question ministers on new legislation before Mr De Klerk addresses his party.

This time, however, when the ministers were asked about pieces of legislation, each one replied: "Dit staan oor."

By the time Mr De Klerk came to speak the atmosphere was almost electric.

One MP said: "I had the same feeling as when PW (Botha) sent in a message to say he was resigning as party leader."

Mr De Klerk did not mince his words. Not only had the NP lost badly in Potchefstroom, he said, but it was developing the image of a losing party.

The President outlined three alternatives:

● Sweat it out.

● Go for a referendum.

● Go for an election.

"Before we get out of this caucus we are going to make a decision," Mr De Klerk told the MPs.

Mr De Klerk bawled each suggestion from his party members personally, leaning slightly forward and holding up his left hand to indicate patience whenever someone tried to

interject before he had fully dealt with each proposal. Without saying so, he made it quite clear that options one and three were out.

NP caucus members were unwilling to say what suggestions were made from the floor but, according to one, "there were some weird ones."

Recently things have not been going so well for Mr De Klerk in his caucus. Unhappy that they were not being kept sufficiently informed and afraid that changes were taking place too quickly, many members at the beginning of this parliamentary session did not even bother to stand up, as is custom, when the president entered the caucus room.

But on Thursday, after two hours of discussion, they rose as one and applauded long and loud.

"We felt we had gone in a defeated party and come out winners," an MP remarked, summing up a new buoyancy clearly apparent among the NP rank and file.

The rest of the country will have to wait just four weeks to find out whether that judgment was correct.



Cleverness is fine, but where's the leadership?

304A

S/Times 23/2/92

BY calling for a referendum to renew his mandate to negotiate, President De Klerk has cut the Gordian knot of Afrikaner right-wing politics, but he has not gone to the root of his problems.

Tactically, the referendum is a brilliant move. It compels white South Africans to face up to the realities, which they have so far been very reluctant to do, and it traps all liberal and left-wing voters into making a show of support for the National Party, if only for fear of the alternative.

That alternative is simply appalling. Defeat of the National Party in the referendum would presage certain defeat in a general election, especially since Mr De Klerk, like General Smuts in 1948, has been lamentably careless in failing to order a redelimitation of constituencies.

Dr Andries Treurnicht says soothingly that he would continue to negotiate with black leaders, but on the basis of separate development. That is fantasy. No African leader would negotiate on that basis, and Mr Nelson Mandela could not, even if he wished, prevent a return to "armed struggle" by the rank and file of the ANC.

"Armed struggle" might well be a pitiful affair — a few bombs, some random AK-47 fire in the night, the assassination of black policemen — but it would be sufficient to trigger full-scale, universal and immediate sanctions. This time Britain, Germany and Switzerland would throw their support behind the campaign.

All prospect of economic recovery would be lost. On the contrary, capital flight, emigration, military service and the decline of living standards would soon inflict greater hardship and unhappiness than during the worst days of the Eighties. The international intervention would be ferocious.

Behind this referendum lies a simple truth: the civilised world has decided, in one of those rare moments of moral consensus such as led to the eradication of slavery in the last century, that white domination of southern Africa must end, and end quickly. Therefore, it will end.

The only choice remaining to white

South Africans is whether they yield up power sensibly and wrest from the process a liberal constitution to protect the rights and liberties of every person, or whether they go down fighting in a last, futile battle, and find themselves cast on the mercy of their conquerors. For Afrikaners it would be worse, far worse, than 1902.

President De Klerk has put before us a choice of a future and, however the question is phrased, the gravity of that choice is not in doubt.

Fortunately, provided the ANC can control the mad-dog element on its left who want to exploit the referendum to spread disorder and fear in advance of the voting, there is little chance that President De Klerk will lose. We are all trapped into voting for him, even those callow political commentators who think it cowardly to prefer the Nationalists to greater evils.

My long-range guess, for what it is worth, is that Mr De Klerk will get not less than 55 percent of the vote, and he may get a good deal more. But then he needs to face up to the fact that his tactical brilliance as a politician has not been matched by his performance as head of government.

THE announcement, on the eve of the Potchefstroom by-election, of another radical shift in education policy requiring the retrenchment of 4 000 teachers in the middle of a depression was so inept and so calculated to aggravate the anxieties of white parents that it came close to being political sabotage.

Personally, I don't think it a bad idea to transfer the responsibility for education to parents and principals, with the central government merely setting the syllabus, providing subsidies and offering specialist back-up. However, the latest policy proposals seem to me to contain a concealed racist agenda, besides squandering the scarce resources of a country crying out for education.

However, for the moment the only point I wish to make is that such radical innovation cannot simply be dumped on the public from on high. By his clumsy handling of the matter, Education Min-

ister Piet Marais has done nothing but show himself unfit to govern.

Nor is he alone. VAT was a good idea, handled with equal ineptitude by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. He proved completely incapable of defusing a campaign by major newspapers, more ignorant than malicious, to exaggerate the inflationary effects of the tax and so discredit it in advance. In the end he was desperately lopping bits off his policy to throw to the wolves, thereby confirming his critics in their prejudices.

PRIVATISATION was a good policy, abandoned halfway because the government could not resist the pressures either from the white special interests or from the blacks who plan a future as corrupt as our past. The withdrawal of the support that enabled farmers to build up R17-billion of debts in the good years was a sensible policy which promised, in time, to lower the ridiculous cost of land, but it has been tardily executed. Now the farmers have hit a bad year, and the result is catastrophe.

The settlement of urbanising millions of black people is both good policy and inescapable, but the authorities fall around absurdly, issuing and withdrawing edicts, while the ordinary people, struggling to understand what awaits them and their families, grow angrier and more fearful. Nobody explains, nobody tells them where we are going. Nobody talks to them.

This is the nub of it. In Britain's gravest hour, Winston Churchill promised blood, sweat, tears and toil, and his people responded. In our gravest hour, our leaders shuffle and sidle, they duck and weave to avoid the hard questions, and they scuttle off in their Mercs to their over-plush offices and their palatial homes. They are not of their people, nor even among them. They are above and beyond, isolated by status, and they are making a thorough mess of steering us through this transition.

That is why we have been cast back on Mr De Klerk's tactical brilliance.

KEN OWEN

ANC plan for

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE ANC has accepted the government's proposals for dividing South Africa into nine regions, but with one major difference — it proposes a 10th region which amounts to a Xhosa homeland.

The ANC's proposals — contained in a discussion document drawn up by the constitutional department of the organisation — creates a region comprising the Ciskei, Transkei, East Griqualand and Border.

If accepted, the proposal would, ironically, meet long-time ambitions of successive homeland leaders for a united Xhosa homeland.

The discussion document states the boundaries should not be taken as representing official or definitive views as to the precise outer limits of the regions.

The objective of the document was merely to give a rough indication of what the regions should look like, the document states.

The division of SA into regions, said the document, did not contradict the ANC's commitment to a united, non-racial country, as the powers and functions of the regional governments would be limited.

The ANC's proposals are similar to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's 1981 proposals for the creation of nine economic regions, but with three qualifications.

Whereas the DBSA's proposal required Transkei be divided into two on economic lines, with the northern part being a portion of the Natal region and the southern part in the Eastern Cape, the ANC's proposal cuts the Eastern Cape region in half to create a 10th region.

Consult

This 10th region would include the present Ciskei, Border, East Griqualand and Transkei areas, the northern boundary to coincide with the 1910 frontier of the Cape Province and Natal.

A second qualification on the DBSA's proposals is that the 1910 boundaries should be followed wherever relevant and, thirdly, a mechanism must be created for relatively minor adjustments to be made after consultation with people living near the borders.

Like the DBSA, the ANC proposes SA should be divided into the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Northern

Transvaal and PWV regions. The Border/Transkei is the ANC's proposal for a 10th region.

Size

The criterion for the breakdown of SA into regions is that they should be economically and socially functional with appropriate communication links.

The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development and should not be fragmented.

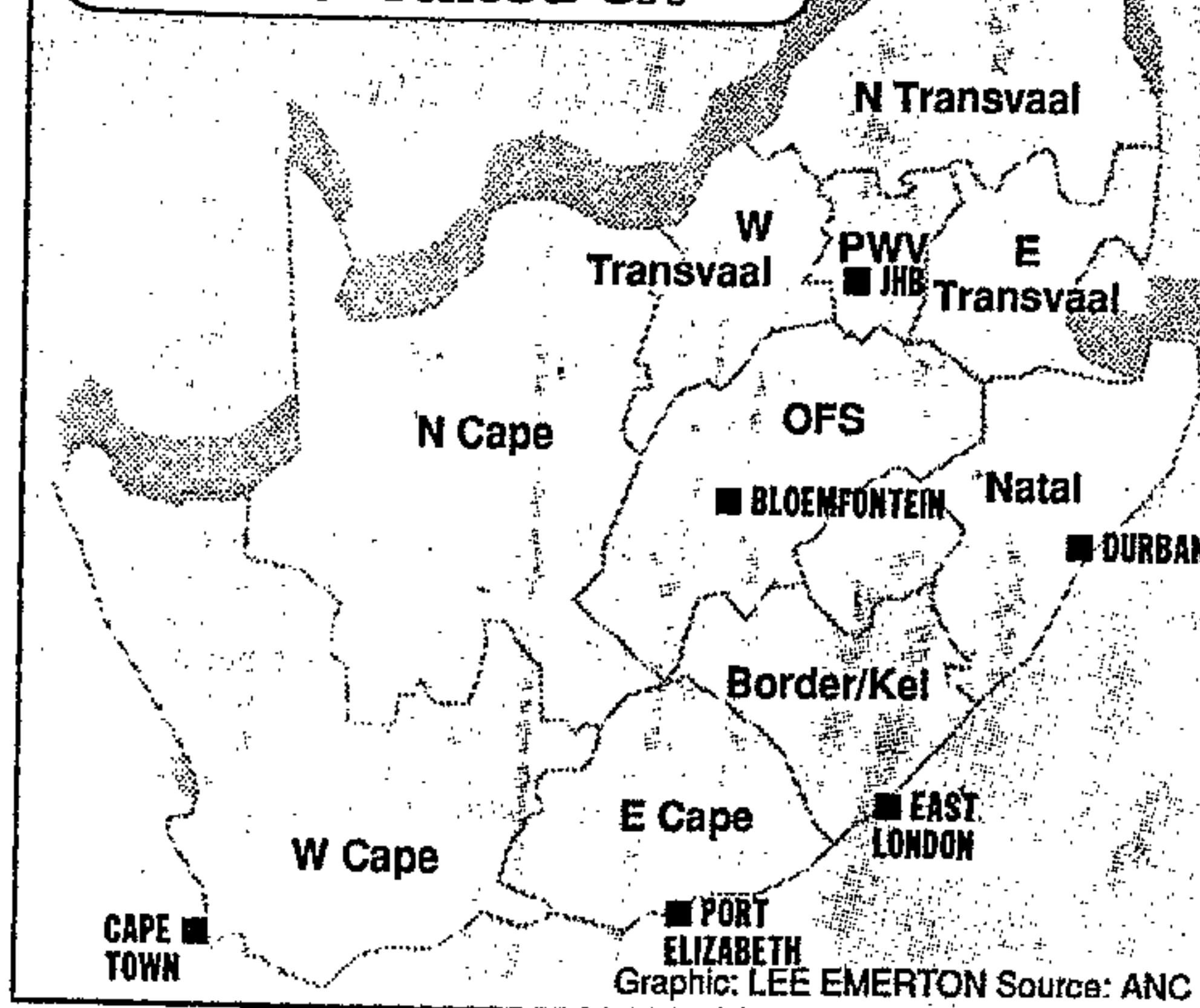
The old provincial, dis-

trict and magisterial boundaries which did not carry racist overtones should be followed and size, population, economic activity and geographic positioning should be considered.

The ANC's proposals, besides the addition of a 10th region, differ marginally from the DBSA's proposals.

The document proposes that the Northern Cape, which includes the western districts of Bophuthatswana, should also include

Ten Proposed Regions for a United SA



Mafikeng/Mmabatho, following the 1910 boundaries.

These two areas would then be excluded from the Western Transvaal.

The Orange Free State region, which includes the Qwa Qwa and Thaba Nchu districts, would include Sasolburg if the 1910 boundaries are followed. Sasolburg is included in the PWV region under the DBSA's proposals.

The ANC's proposal for Natal differs from the government's in that it excludes the northern Transkei, which becomes part of the 10th region.

Powers

The document proposes the constitution should entrench the powers of the regions, which would not be exclusive but exercise concurrent powers with the national government. National legislation would prevail in case of conflict.

The regions would not be autonomous but their powers could not be taken away without a constitutional amendment.

The ANC sees the tasks of the regions as being complementary to national government functions.

Regions would not be able to contradict national policy, although they would have a say in shaping that policy.

The regions would also have leeway in the implementation of national policy.

The discussion paper emphasises that the regions would be based on non-racialism, democracy, development and accountability at all levels.

Xhosa region

Black-beating 'fun' at white pool

By DAN DHAMINI

CP Press 23/2/72

304A

CURIOUS black bystanders at this week's by-election in Potchefstroom again bore the brunt of fighting racism.

They claimed that exuberant rightwingers assaulted them, just for fun.

The Potchefstroom by-election was won by the Conservative Party's Anglès Beyers.

City Press was told by blacks in the town that most of them had no interest in the proceedings but were attracted by a massive CP float.

Telkom employee Johannes Lebitse, one of the first victims

to be assaulted by CP supporters in broad daylight, said he thought whites were "a bit civilised" and would not attack him for fun.

"It happened in Ventersdorp and now it's in Potchefstroom. They seem to be doing it for fun. They do not attack other whites because they know they would meet opposition because all whites are armed and blacks are not.

"They take out their frustration on us because we are defenceless and therefore their soft targets," said Lebitse.

Lebitse, who sustained a cut on the lower lip following a

heavy punch from one of his two attackers, doubted the culprits would be brought to book.

"I sought help from the NP supporters and they arranged that I should lay a charge. But the police did not take me to the scene to identify my attackers."

George Mahasela told City Press that he was walking past a well-known hotel in the town when he was confronted by four burly khaki-clad white men who seemed intoxicated.

He said they told him that during the CP reign, no black person would be allowed in town after 10 pm.

"I attempted to run away, but

decided against it when one of them pulled out his gun and took aim. I had to surrender and they started kicking and beating me with fists. I could not fight back because they were four and very huge. Nobody came to my rescue.

"After the ordeal, they started laughing as if they enjoyed what they had been doing. One of them gave me a can of beer and they said I should run," said Mahasela.

Western Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant P Ramatsoele said police were still investigating.

FOR someone who barely 24 hours before had made a decision which, if it goes wrong, will plunge South Africa into its deepest crisis, President FW de Klerk was remarkably relaxed.

He was seated in an armchair in his elegantly furnished office and had before him a sheaf of transcripts from the previous day's press conference. But he barely referred to them as he outlined the reasons behind his decision to put his, his government's and the country's future on the line in calling a referendum next month.

"This is the way you settle a dispute in a democratic society," he said.

The Conservative Party, he explained, had on the basis of a series of by-election victories — the most recent being Potchefstroom this week — achieved some success in "cultivating a suspicion that I no longer represent a majority of the very voters who in the first place elected the National Party in 1989".

This suspicion, Mr De Klerk said, was weakening his position in the negotiating process.

Catalyst

"People want to negotiate with people who can deliver. I have no doubt that I have majority support for what I am doing, but this perception has been cultivated and the way in which to settle it with-

The day after his momentous decision to call a white referendum, President FW de Klerk granted the Sunday Times an interview in his Tuynhuys office. He was relaxed, confident and unrepentant.
MIKE ROBERTSON reports

The case for a

STimes 23/2/92



to a basic set of principles or a new constitution, to get the stamp of approval from the people who will be affected by it.

"For that reason, I don't think a referendum at this point can necessarily comply with this requirement. But until the question is finally formulated I would not like to commit myself. We might come up with a question which might require further referendums somehow or the other."

Asked whether, in a referendum on an interim or final constitution, white votes would be counted separately, he said: "It has always been my approach that, while the present constitution is in place, I would like to know that the voters of each house of Parliament support the changes, because amendment of the present constitution requires the support of the majority party in each house."

"But I would also like to know how those not represented in Parliament think, and I would like to know how all South Africans, if you look at them as a nation, think."

Painful

"Whatever happens in future referendums, I don't look at it as a racist approach. I look at it from the viewpoint of the imperfect

out any "touch" is the democratic way."

Mr De Klerk said the decision to go for a referendum was not an impulsive one. He had thought of it as a possibility for some time. Potchefstroom served as a catalyst.

The president argued that a referendum would provide a much better test of the mood among whites as it "offers one man, one vote without any discrimination against any voter participating in such a referendum" (by this he means leading in favour of rural constituencies) "and it clears the debate of unnecessary side issues."

"One needs an answer on the crucial question affecting South Africa's future at this point."

Test

The crucial question, he said, was "constitutional development and how to arrive at a new constitutional dispensation".

The final wording of the referendum question had not been decided but when it was, he said, it would "relate to the issue of constitutional change, and the debate will focus on the process as well as the substance".

Mr De Klerk said he believed that in the minds of voters the referendum would serve as a test of his performance, that of the National Party and of the negotiation process.

"The essence is that we need to ensure that the voters of the House of Assembly give a clear-cut indication with regard to the direction in which we are going and of the negotiating process itself. That inevitably brings personalities into it, because I advocate a specific direction

Referendum

3049

Most South Africans realise it would be disastrous to try and turn the clock back. Most South Africans know in their bones we cannot turn back, that there is no other solution but a negotiated settlement which is inclusive of all South Africans

and I am supportive of a specific style of negotiation, whereas Dr Treurnicht takes the opposite view on direction as well as on the negotiation process itself. We and the DP, on the other hand, have no axe to grind."

Mr De Klerk said that the decision to go for a referendum was taken only after consultation with the cabinet and the NP caucus.

"Obviously you would have a variety of options on an issue such as this," he said, "but when the decision was taken there was enthusiastic acceptance." He had no doubt that both the cabinet and the party were fully behind him. He said that personally making such a decision was a "heavy responsibility", especially when the possible far-

reaching consequences were taken into account.

But, he added: "In the final analysis, in our system it's a responsibility which the leader must accept. In that sense one is deeply aware of the seriousness of the decision and of the heaviness of the responsibility. But that is what leadership is all about."

Strategy

Mr De Klerk said the National Party had not yet made a decision on whether its interim-government proposals, now being hammered out at Codesa, would be known before the referendum.

"I foresee that negotiations in Codesa will not come to a stop because of the referen-

dum. We will now have to decide, and this will be done shortly, how we combine our activities within Codesa and the fighting of the referendum. You can definitely expect that on the issues of principle the government will provide concise and specific statements, but we must still decide exactly on our strategy within the framework of Codesa as well as the referendum campaign — how, where and when we will do exactly what. We are very hard at work in this regard."

The president indicated that he did not see the referendum as a substitute for one which would allow voters a chance to reject or support a final or interim constitution.

But he was not so clear on whether he would regard this

referendum as fulfilling his political undertaking in 1989 to allow whites a veto on changes to the existing constitution. That could be determined only once the question was framed.

He said: "I believe, apart from any previous undertaking, that it makes good sense once you have agreed

constitution which we have until it is replaced by another one. I feel it must be done constitutionally."

Throughout the interview Mr De Klerk exuded confidence. Asked why, he said: "I have an inherent confidence in the voters who will be involved. They are not wild, aggressive, radical people. Most South Africans want a peaceful solution. Most South Africans realise it would be disastrous to try and turn the clock back. Most South Africans know in their bones we cannot turn back, that there is no other solution but a negotiated settlement which is inclusive of all South Africans."

Given such conviction it was not easy to get him to contemplate what would happen if he lost. After thought he replied: "I think disaster. International isolation which will be much more painful and much more extensive than the isolation out of which we are now moving. I think internally, consolidation, irrespective of political beliefs and philosophy, of more than 90 percent of the people against a minority government which bases itself on racial grounds. That is a recipe for conflict."

He should know. He has been there before.

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE ANC and the government have made a secret breakthrough in negotiations in the same week that President FW de Klerk called an all-white referendum to test his support.

The ANC and its allies have accepted in principle the government's proposal for an elected interim government and legislature which will draw up a new constitution.

This boost to negotiations now gives President De Klerk a trump card to play in the tough referendum battle that lies ahead. It shows to his supporters that he is able to achieve success in negotiations.

Up to now the ANC has insisted that a multiparty interim government, appointed by Codesa, should govern for a short time. During this period a body would be elected to draw up a new constitution after which there would be democratic elections.

The government last year made concessions to the

THE CASE FOR A REFERENDUM: P19

ANC's demand for an interim government and elected constituent assembly by proposing that an elected interim government could also draw up a constitution.

After weeks of intense negotiations between the two sides, however, the following has been achieved:

- The ANC accepts in principle an elected government and legislature which will be responsible for governing the country until a final constitution is drawn up.

- The NP has proposed that any party that gets a minimum of five percent of the vote in a national election should get representation in the interim legislature and any party that gets a minimum of 15 percent should be part of an interim "multiparty" executive cabinet. The ANC response is awaited.

Tough negotiations, however, still lie ahead about the exact form of the interim government and who should oversee the elections.

The ANC has proposed that the country be governed for three months by a "National Governing Council" appointed by Codesa and comprising all 19 parties at Codesa.

Under this body, multiparty cabinet committees would have authority over the electoral process, the Budget, the state media, the security forces and foreign affairs.

This body, which would oversee elections of an interim government and Parliament, would be unable to pass any laws which would hamper the electoral process. The interim government, meanwhile, would govern for only nine months.

The government's response is awaited.

The acceptance of the principle of an elected interim government was reached this week after extensive discussions within the ANC, the tripartite alliance (SACP, Cosatu and ANC) and with members of the Patriotic Front.

Confusion

This significant leap forward in negotiations comes not a moment too soon for Mr De Klerk.

This week, stung by charges that he does not represent whites after the National Party's by-election set-back in Potchefstroom and growing confusion over the negotiating process, he called for a whites-only referendum which will ask for an endorsement of his reform path.

The referendum will be held before the Budget is presented on March 18. The rapidity of events has, meanwhile, caught all parties off guard.

Yesterday the Conservative Party asked to meet Mr De Klerk to discuss the wording of the question to be put to the white electorate.

This weekend Mr de Klerk and his top advisers remained cloistered at his

□ To Page 2

STimes 23/2/92

304A

SECRET FOR FW DE KLERK

ANC accepts Nat plan for interim government

FW's secret trump card

STimes 23/2/92

304A

From Page 1

official Cape Town residence to draw up the question.

The ANC and its alliance partners, meanwhile, are still battling to find a uniform response to the holding of the all-white referendum.

This week the ANC said it rejected the notion of racial and ethnic referendums, and any exercise aimed at giving whites a veto over the country's future.

But top ANC sources have conceded they are hoping whites will vote in large numbers to support President De Klerk. The ANC cannot, however, come out in open support for President De Klerk as this could alienate its membership, drive white voters to the Conservative Party and compromise its stand against ethnic elections.

International attention is also intensely focused on

the referendum outcome. Most foreign governments have limited themselves to statements encouraging white South Africans to vote for reform, but privately conceded a defeat for Mr De Klerk would have devastating consequences for their relations with South Africa.

Four killed

FOUR men were shot dead and three injured in two incidents of unrest in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, yesterday.

Still safe

NO DEMAND for the extradition of Ethiopian dictator Colonel Haile Mariam has been received by Zimbabwe.

PAC fury

THE Pan Africanist Congress accused Natal police of using abusive language while arresting a PAC bodyguard.

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Whites want return to old-style apartheid

C/Pren 23/2/92

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BLACK people interpreted the NP's by-election loss at Potchefstroom as an indication that whites were not really serious about reconciliation and wanted to return to old-style apartheid, *Beeld* said this week.

Patrick (Terror) Lekota, head of the ANC's intelligence department and a senior NEC member, told the Transvaal morning daily that the results of the Virginia (last year) and Potch by-elections were a disappointment for the ANC.

"We believe though that this retreat is not because of racial feelings. Many whites feel insecure on whether an ANC government can offer them security. They feel unsure about a government which they have not yet seen in power and of which they do not know the leadership.

"The result emphasises that the ANC would have to market its policy among whites in such a manner that it creates trust in the future which is presently being negotiated in Codesa," Lekota said.

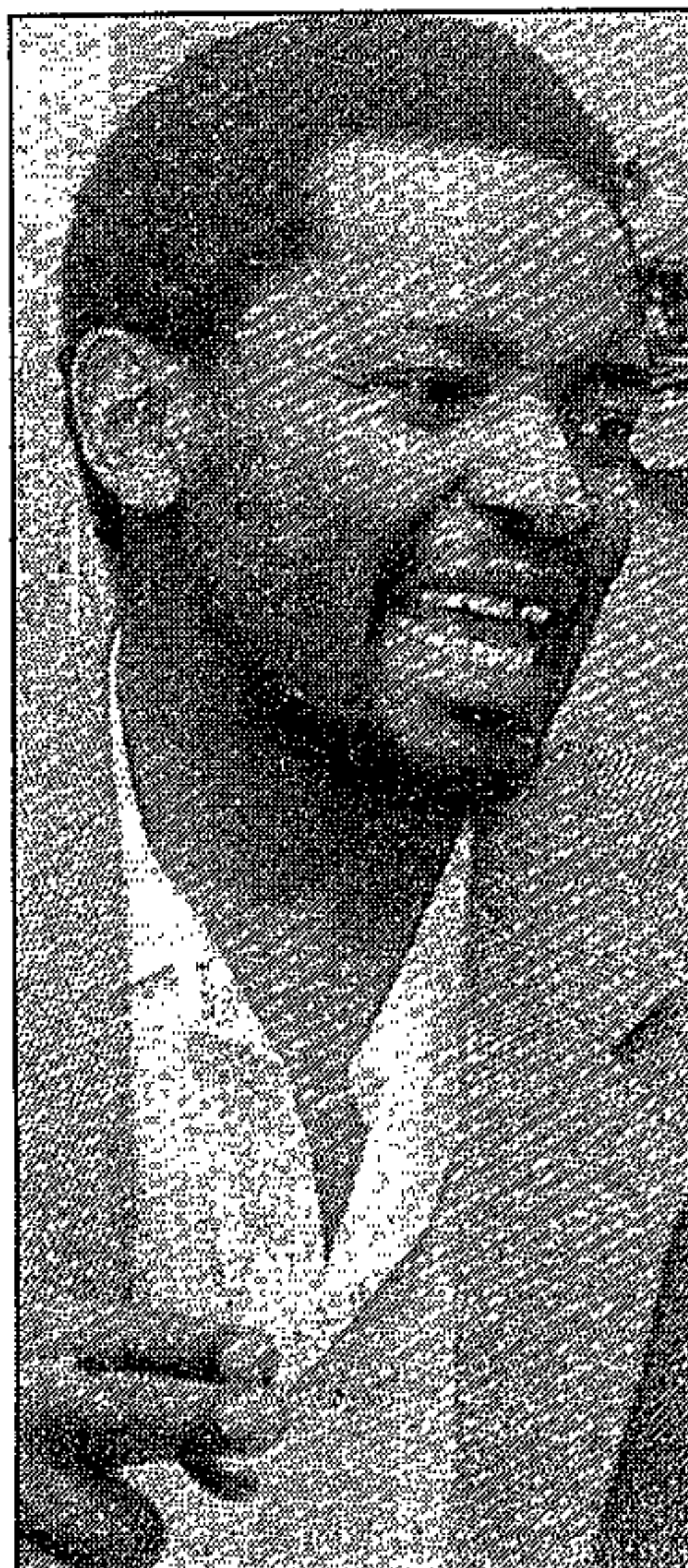
Inkatha's Musa Myeni, however, said the by-election result did not show support for CP policies. Rather, he maintained, it was a rejection by voters of the fact the ANC and the government had "ganged up" at Codesa.

Sowetan assistant editor Thami Mazwai told *Beeld* the result could strengthen the hand of the PAC and Azapo, who could now tell their supporters that whites were not seriously interested in negotiations, and that they had therefore been correct in boycotting Codesa.

Mazwai added the result was a warning to the government and the ANC to make sure they took

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying



LEKOTA ... Disappointment.

their supporters along with them during the negotiation process.

□ □ □ □

SA COULD have a transitional government by June and a fully elected government by 1994 if Codesa achieved consensus in the

near future on such a proposal by the government and the ANC, *Beeld* political correspondent Arrie Rossouw wrote this week.

Senior government sources confirmed to Rossouw that legislation might be passed by the present sitting of parliament to allow black ministers to be taken up in the cabinet.

The plan is for representatives of Codesa's principal parties to be taken up into the cabinet as a first phase to so give extra-parliamentary parties a supervisory role over elections, referendums, state media, security forces and aspects of the Budget.

A second phase after June would work out the details of a transitional constitution and parliament, followed by elections for those next year. A fully elected government might be in power by 1994, the sources said.

□ □ □ □

THERE was a determined effort by the military intelligence establishment in the early 1980s to destroy the National Intelligence Service, former NIS chief Niel Barnard told *Die Burger*.

Barnard, now a Codesa negotiator, told the Cape morning daily the NIS and the military had clashed in their interpretations of security information.

The NIS felt the solution to the "security problem" lay in SA's internal politics.

Military Intelligence, on the other hand, felt the core of the problem was "the communist threat fueled from neighbouring countries". They wanted to gain control over neighbouring countries and wanted to wipe out all communists in some way or other, Barnard said.

WE live in a strange country. All over the world people's attitudes change with time, but not ours.

Exactly 43 years ago, the National Party of DF Malan came to power on the ticket of swart gevaar.

The NP campaigners depicted a poor, undernourished and weather-beaten black person and asked the white electorate whether they would like their daughters to marry "this man".

The answer was a resounding no and they came to power.

All other successful NP white elections were based on this swart gevaar. It worked wonders.

This week, the wheel turned a full circle. The same scarecrow used by the NP to elevate their status and allow them to rule this country for 43 uninterrupted years turned against them.

The NP's crushing defeat by the CP in the Potchefstroom by-elections came as a result of this swart gevaar.

Don't get me wrong. I'm not gloating over the Nats demise, nor am I

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

Beware the

wit gevaar

CP 23/2/92



tea in their offices.

How easily we can forgive. The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was deputy minister of Bantu Education in 1976 when this country was set on fire because of his department's insensitivity in forcing Afrikaans down the throats of black pupils.

Do whites want to see the same Dr No lead this country to another disaster?

No matter how hard the media tries to downplay the CP victory as insignificant, it should send a clear signal to all those involved with Codesa.

The white and the black community know little about what is taking place behind the scenes in Codesa.

The ANC, in particular, should guard against making the same mistakes as the NP, which apparently failed to reach out to its constituency on the progress made in Codesa.

Also, Nelson Mandela should learn from FW de Klerk's failure in Potch. He should cut down on his overseas trip and concentrate on dealing with domestic matters.

We have a lot to learn from Potch.

elated at the CP's victory for it means nothing but complete disaster for the entire country.

I am not even meaning about my black skin being dragged through the mud by people who claim to know more about blacks than blacks themselves.

It's just that one is puzzled by the attitudes of certain whites in this country.

Those who voted CP in Potch are not only short-sighted, but hellbent on self-destruction. Are they aware that blacks' attitudes have now hardened more than ever before?

If they think they are successfully retreating to the laager, blacks will

successfully retreat to making this country ungovernable.

History has taught white rightwing elements nothing. This country is on the brink of a serious economic catastrophe and a victory for the CP in the referendum or a general election will bring more disaster.

Just imagine the CP telling us to go back to 80 Albert Street to queue for our dom passes.

Imagine them telling us that we can no longer work and live in Johannesburg because some of us were born in Umtata, Cofimvaba and Mzimkhulu. Imagine them trying to reintroduce job reservation

for whites. That will be enough seed for a revolution.

One wonders what goes through the minds of CP supporters when it is quite clear to all that the violence we see today, the high crime rate in their own suburbs, and the economic, social and political disasters, are a direct result of apartheid.

These snobs are ungrateful that we blacks are a forgiving lot.

Despite all the racial insults they hurl at us, we still have room for them to participate at Codesa. We still have leaders like Brig Oupa Gqozo and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi inviting them for a cup of

Genius or blind panic?

C/Per 23/2/92

304A



DE KLERK ... It can be safely assumed he planned the referendum well in advance.

By Tim du Plessis

A STROKE of genius or a last-ditch move by a politician in deep trouble and on the point of losing contact with political reality?

These are two ways political strategists view President FW de Klerk's announcement on the whites-only referendum.

There is nothing in between; it will either pay a massive political dividend or it will leave behind a scorched earth South Africa.

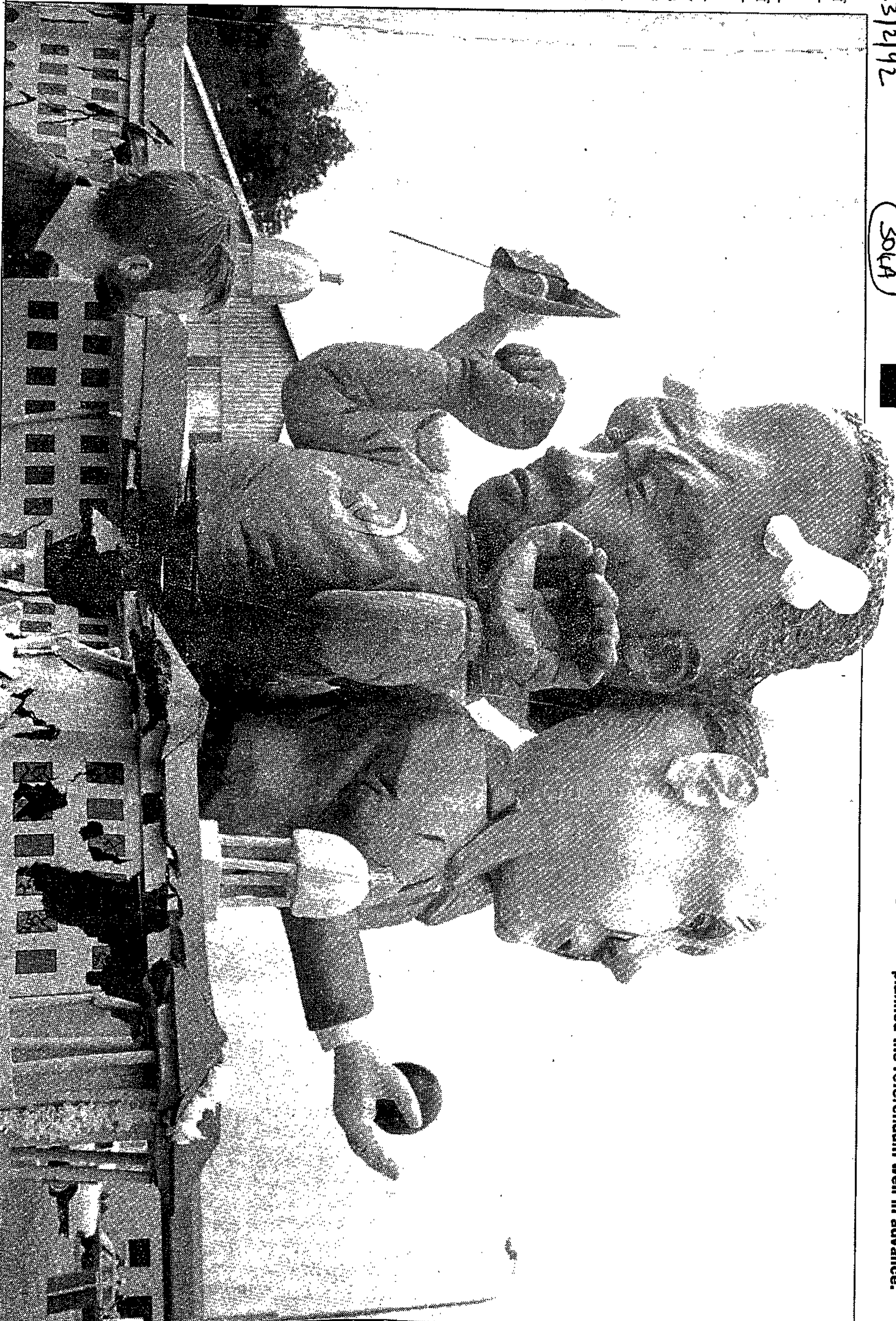
His announcement paid an early dividend on Thursday afternoon by taking attention away from the humiliating defeat the Nationalists suffered in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Despite the new dimension introduced by the referendum announcement, it cannot be argued that the government received an ominous warning from Potchefstroom voters.

Losers

Judged purely on that result, the government would lose a referendum among white voters, while a general election would sweep the Conservative Party into office.

Leaving the grievances aside, it is a cold fact that there are a disturbing number of whites who don't understand there is simply no alternative to the present negotiations and still think the CP's alternative of Verwoerd-



PLAYING GAMES ... This satirical model on show at the Potchefstroom by-election shows how the CP sees the leaders in the Codesa negotiations. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

De Klerk's gamble pays out all or nothing

workable alternative. A substantial part of the message from Potchefstroom is that De Klerk and his Ministers must not wait until 10 days before polling day before they hit the voters with a blitzkrieg to explain their policies and expose the CP's unworkable plan. They must do it all the time.

In fact, they must spend more time explaining to the people in the dorps and the voorstede of the cities their policies and actions than they spend in negotiations at

Codesa.

Fortunately for them, the referendum will now force them to do just that. It can safely be assumed that De Klerk planned this referendum well in advance. He probably realised towards the end of last year that he was confronted with two hard political realities: ■ He had to give whites their promised referendum.

■ The ANC's rejection of the idea of negotiating a package at Codesa only to submit it afterwards to a possible white veto, was fully justified. So he decided to bring the referendum forward to sidestep the ANC's rejection. What remained after that decision was taken, was the timing of his announcement. His eventual timing — while the country and the international community were still reeling from the shock of Potchefstroom — was absolutely brilliant.

He immediately grabbed the headlines and seized the moral high ground of white politics with his courage and the underlying morality of his decision. Suddenly the Nats were off the hook and the Potchefstroom results became a part of South African history.

Despite the fact that this referendum is largely irrelevant and probably irritating to black South Africans, four crucial weeks in South Africa's life lie ahead. Once and for all white South Africans are going to be forced to face the hard realities of their country. De Klerk knew all along that a day like this would come sooner or later. He is counting his bets on the fact that the majority of whites are in the final analysis rational human beings who will, when confronted with the alternatives, endorse his direction.

It can thus be safely assumed that the government's campaign will focus on the fact that what the CP has to offer, in those immortal words of John Vorster, is "too ghastly to contemplate". If everything goes according to De Klerk's plan, he will perform a great duty to his country because he will rid the body politic of the nagging question of what to do about the rightwing.

If there is a resounding "yes," the white rightwing won't disappear, but it will be relegated to its rightful place as an insignificant, albeit noisy minority. If the other possibility is true — that he is losing touch with political reality and is underestimating white resistance to Codesa and full democracy — we can all predict the consequences of that. The prospect of a CP government and the ruin it spells for the country will be De Klerk's best ally in this referendum — and the reason why he may well win it.

FW installed as Potch chancellor

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

The dynamics of change in South Africa required all universities to respond to new circumstances with imagination and vision without relinquishing proven values and standards, President de Klerk said last night in his message as the new chancellor of Potchefstroom University.

"In facing this challenge, international experience can be helpful," he said.

Mr de Klerk said that if South Africa wanted to draw foreign investment, the country would have to keep up with the technological revolution and that universities would have to supply high-level manpower.

He said the expected pressure on the State Budget in the next decade indicated that larger subsidies for universities would not be possible.

"The State cannot carry the financial burden of providing such education alone. Therefore, the present subsidy formu-

la for universities has to be revised," Mr de Klerk said.

He announced that Rijks University of Leyden in the Netherlands had approached Potch University about a bilateral agreement which would include student and lecturer exchanges, joint projects and symposia, and the joint training of advanced postgraduate students.

Mr de Klerk was installed as the seventh chancellor of Potchefstroom University at a ceremony at the university yesterday.

Conservative students, who had opposed the chancellorship of Mr de Klerk, were conspicuously absent.

Mr de Klerk followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, the Rev W J de Klerk, the first registrar of the university and later chairman of the council; and his father, Senator Jan de Klerk, chancellor of the university from 1961 to 1979.

The inauguration ceremony was attended by representatives of foreign governments as well as university chancellors, including ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, chancellor of the University of Fort Hare.

PAGE 1 OPINION

Conquest or conciliation?

WHEN white voters go to the polls next month, no matter how the question is phrased, they will know they are making a momentous and final choice between President De Klerk and Dr Treurnicht, between the Conservatives and the Nationalists, between a suicidal last stand at Masada and an uncertain trek into uncharted territory. The referendum, to use the cliché, will be a hinge of history. There will be no going back. Beneath this choice, however, lies a deeper, a more profound, question that waits to be answered not only by whites: will the new South Africa be built on conquest or conciliation? One nation living in uncertain peace or two nations perpetually at war?

The PAC and its armed wing, APLA, have chosen the path of conquest, seeking to overthrow the white population and to subjugate them. The Conservatives and their various right-wing allies, spurred on by immigrant psychopaths and racist mercenaries, have also chosen the path of war, seeking to complete a conquest begun in 1652 and never finished. Neither side, it seems fair to say, understands the cost of its choice.

VANITY

APLA can succeed only at the cost of driving skills and capital abroad, and of driving the remaining whites into an utterly desperate defence that will leave South Africa a wasteland. The Conservatives cannot succeed at all. When, as members of the all-powerful National Party, they had their best chance to fulfil their monstrous dreams, they lacked both the clarity of purpose and the resolution, and they expended their strength in maintaining a life of self-indulgence, sloth, corruption and ostentation. When Chief Albert Luthuli once offered a white audience in Pretoria a chance to partition the country along the 30th parallel, on a line running through Ermelo and East London, and to give whites all the land to the west, he was laughed off. Instead, the energy of the nation was diverted into building opera houses which stand now as monuments to vanity, as Israel's *kibbutzim* stand as a monument to resolution. Anyway, the moment has gone. Apartheid, which was not even an honest attempt to achieve nationhood by partition, has aroused the enmity and disgust of all mankind. Besides, President De Klerk's reform policies were born from the failure of President Botha's *kragdadigheid*, and that failure has taught the black people of South Africa their strength. As Mr Nelson Mandela said, they would do to the Conservatives what they did to the Nationalists: make the country ungovernable, break their will, and bring them, albeit kicking and screaming, to the negotiation table to sue for terms.

SORROWS

This raises the danger of hubris among black people. Already there are signs of arrogance,

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not only in APLA's belligerent policies but also in the proposal to exploit the referendum as a pretext for "mass mobilisation". The tactics of conquest cannot be employed in the search for conciliation, and it does the ANC neither credit nor any benefit to dismiss every expression of opinion among whites as "a veto".

Between the aggression of the PAC and the defiance of the Conservatives, the search for a peaceful co-existence will be difficult enough, to try to force the white minority population under a yoke, against its will, is to court the limitless sorrows of minority rebellion against a constitution that lacks sufficient legitimacy. If the ANC seeks conciliation rather than reconquest of the land, it will abjure tactics that play into the hands of the extremists.

What is at stake in this referendum, and will be at stake later in the making of a constitution, is the very survival of this land and its people. This is a time to think deeply, and to act with restraint.

Cape Town kick-off as President embarks on vast referendum campaign blitz

FW's Joarnston

ARC 24/2/92

(3047)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

AN extensive referendum campaign that will take President De Klerk through the cities and vast areas of the interior will begin next Monday in Cape Town and move through the Boland.

Nationalist MPs held meetings at the weekend to arrange the blitz.

This emerged as Mr De Klerk today consulted opposition leaders about the wording of the referendum question and the proposed date.

Polling day is confidently predicted to be Tuesday, March 17.

Mr De Klerk was expected to consult Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer early today and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht this afternoon.

The rightwing is demanding a joint say in the wording of the question and in how the referendum will be run. It has sent Mr De Klerk a letter containing these demands.

Meeting

Dr Treurnicht said from Pretoria today that a member of Mr De Klerk's staff had contacted him to arrange a meeting with Mr De Klerk. He would be back in Cape Town this afternoon.

CP chief of information Dr Pieter Mulder said the party's decision on participation in the referendum would depend on the reaction of the government.

Party leaders are declining to say whether the CP will refuse to take part if its demands are not met.

Government sources fear that the CP is looking for a way out of the referendum in the hope that this will thwart Mr De Klerk's attempt to



BLOODED PROTESTER: A pro-communist protester, bleeding from a wound on his head after a clash with police, hangs on to a truck during a demonstration in Moscow yesterday. The anti-Boris Yeltsin demonstrators clashed repeatedly with police as they tried to march through central Moscow in protest against the Russian president's economic reforms. Full report on page 3.

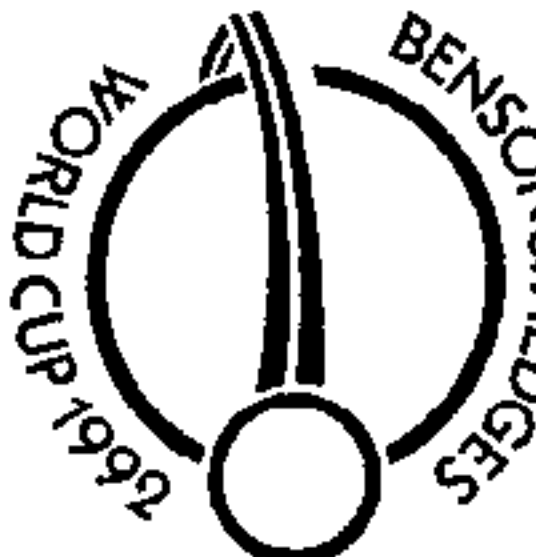
What readers say

Donald, Kirsten and McMillan top poll —
Rushmere, Bosch and Henry left in cold

ROBERT HOUWING, Sports Staff

supplied by Sun Sports and a media

Most popular choice for the team



KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

Surprise move as CIA agrees to release files

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency is to release its secret files on the assassination of former President John Kennedy, apparently as part of a move to disprove wild theories of conspiracy and corruption which have been given currency by recent books and films on the tragedy.

Several new books, claiming variously that the assassination was planned by Cuba's President Fidel Castro, the Mafia, political insiders, and even former President Lyndon Johnson, who was vice-president at the time, have been published recently.

They have spawned at least one popular film on the assassination which gives credence to claims that there was a conspiracy.

So convincingly have the conspiracy theories been promoted that straw polls have shown a majority of Americans do not believe they were told the truth about the killing at the time.

In response, the US Congress has moved to open secret files now held in the US national archives under the mandatory 30-year secrecy rule to demonstrate that the conspiracy theories were thoroughly investigated and found to be false. The FBI also is said to have indicated its willingness to make its files available.



John Kennedy

It is not known what files the CIA has concerning the assassination, but among the conspiracy theories is one which holds that the CIA, and other groups in the US intelligence establishment, were involved in a plot to kill President Kennedy.

The CIA has conceded that it investigated the whereabouts of its agents at the time of the assassination, but insists that this was merely a routine inquiry aimed at trying to discover which agents might be best placed to conduct subsequent investigations.

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Party leaders are declining to say whether the CP will refuse to take part if its demands are not met.

Government sources fear that the CP is looking for a way out of the referendum in the hope that this will thwart Mr De Klerk's attempt to get a clear mandate for reform.

March 17 was apparently decided as the date at a weekend meeting of government and National Party leaders at Westbrooke where strategy for the referendum was discussed. But Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw declined to confirm the date. An announcement is expected by tomorrow.

'We are ready'

Mr Louw said special steps would be taken to prevent people from voting twice.

Ultra-violet scanners had been ordered from overseas and a chemical substance would be applied to voters' hands.

Mr De Klerk said today he was being "totally swamped" by positive reaction from all sectors, including individuals who were usually apolitical.

His impression was that the electorate realised the importance of the referendum and enthusiasm for it was surprisingly high.

"We are ready and motivated," he said.

DP leader Dr De Beer appealed to people of colour not to prevent whites from voting.

Speaking at a business club meeting in Pretoria he said there should not be actions that would prevent reformist whites from voting or scare uncertain whites into voting for reaction instead of reform.

● See page 2.

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'Anti-coup' referendum

De Klerk's move is 'a pre-emptive strike to keep conspirators in their

dens'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — President De Klerk's referendum is a pre-emptive strike to stave off the possibility of a coup, says the Independent newspaper.

Success would keep the conspirators in their dens. Defeat would amount to a bloodless coup with disastrous consequences.

In an essentially gloomy assessment of South Africa after Potchefstroom, John Carlin, writing in the Independent on Sunday, says talk of a possible coup is widespread.

Carlin says the word "coup" has been spreading in Pretoria — in bars where police and army officers gather, among civil servants, at the dinner tables of university professors and on the diplomatic cocktail circuit.

"Details are always short. But then there is talk of plots to kill De Klerk and Mandela, to poison the blacks' water supply, to drop bombs in Soweto."

Although such talk is generally dismissed by pointing to the problems of running the country post-coup, "it does not take into account the fanaticism, fear and ignorance in white hearts, the hearts of the generals not excluded.

"And surprising as it may seem, senior sources confirm that De Klerk and his cabinet are taking the rumours seriously."

Carlin says the rumours are being taken seriously because the security forces, and in particular the army, do have the capacity to seize power.

"They have the information, the resources and the fire-power to paralyse the country in 24 hours."

He says a majority of police and army officers is opposed to Mr De Klerk's reforms.

"And, most important, an apocalyptic vision is shared by a substantial proportion of the white population and a majority of Afrikaners.

Carlin talks of the growing rift between the generals and the government in the person of Defence Minister Roelf Meyer who, he says, has become "completely alienated".

The same point, and the first warnings of mounting restiveness in the upper echelons of the Defence Force, was made last week by the impeccably-sourced and authoritative London weekly, *Africa Confidential*.

Mr De Klerk has confronted the white electorate with a choice "between the laager and the world, between the bright lights of international acceptability or outer darkness, between the future and the past," Carlin writes.

His gloom is shared by other South Africa-based British correspondents. Writing in the Sunday Telegraph, Fred Bridgland warns that the referendum gamble might turn sour.

He says that if the Conservative Party decides to boycott the ballot and Mr De Klerk obtains less than 50 percent of the votes cast, he will have failed to show he has the support of most whites.

"If De Klerk insisted on continuing at Codesa with less than 50 percent of the vote in a referendum boycotted by the right wing, it would be as a lame duck representative."

Bridgland adds: "Afrikaners and other whites are also increasingly tired and frightened by the rising crime and political violence, deepening economic recession and lowered standards in health and education that have accompanied De Klerk's two years of reform."

A handful of analysts believe De Klerk could soon go the way of Mikhail Gorbachev.

And Bridgland quotes Stellenbosch political guru Professor Sampie Terreblanch as saying: "De Klerk has lost his grip on white politics. The Potchefstroom defeat is terrible. It presages a new round of Afrikaner nationalism which has already cost our country dear.

"My prediction is that the NP is finished and the political process will now accelerate so fast that an ANC government will be in power, some way or another, within a year."

Vote SA on to path of hope, says Zach

PRETORIA. — Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer has appealed to non-whites not to prevent whites from voting in the forthcoming referendum.

He urged white voters to vote against the Conservative Party in the referendum, warning that if the rightwing party took power, "repression and conflict would follow as night follows day".

Addressing members of the Burgerspark Business Club in Pretoria, he said he sympathised with non-whites who had condemned the holding of a white referendum.

"But please, for the sake of South Africa, our friends must

not act in such a way as to prevent reformist white people from voting or to scare uncertain whites into voting for reaction instead of reform. (304A)

"We Democrats don't like the idea of an all-white referendum, but we will put everything we have into winning it."

He said it was tragic that the CP rejected Codesa — "an exciting and promising process". The CP was lying in wait to destroy it like a submarine with torpedoes aimed at a convoy.

Dr De Beer said the CP leaders had no workable policy. They continued to exploit natural

white anxieties and non-political circumstances like recession and drought to try to snatch power for themselves. ARG 24/2/92

He said there was more at stake in the referendum than there ever had been in South African history.

It was probable that there would be peace and prosperity on one path and the destruction of "everything we hold dear" on the other — an apocalyptic clash between good and evil.

Everyone should ensure that South Africa was placed on the path of hope, Dr De Beer said. — Sapa.

US backs negotiations

STAR 24/2/92 (304A)
WASHINGTON — The senior Republican Party member on the US Senate's African affairs subcommittee, Senator Nancy Kassebaum, has urged white South Africans to "stand up and be counted" in support of change in the coming referendum.

Mrs Kassebaum said she supported President de Klerk's decision to call a referendum, and described it as "a bold step".

Among black American leaders, the only reaction so far has been from the executive director of TransAfrica, Randall Robinson, who

said the Potchefstroom by-election result was proof that President Bush had lifted sanctions too soon.

He said Mr de Klerk could not be trusted politically and he questioned the motives behind the referendum. (S)

The State Department, which has publicly declared a policy of neutrality towards all groups in South Africa, said in a brief statement that it supported Codesa and believed the future course of South Africa should be determined by South Africans themselves.

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A multicoloured mask stands in the foreground of Venice's St Mark's Square as a carnival starts off on Saturday. In the background is the Doge's Palace. Picture: AP

CP will face split after losing poll, says Innes

8/Day 24/2/92

304A

DIRK HARTFORD

SOCIO-ECONOMIC pressures would blow apart a new constitution if parties negotiating it could not agree on industrial policy to tackle high unemployment and inflation, labour consultant Duncan Innes says.

Addressing about 60 top businessmen and trade unionists at the Innes Labour Brief's 1992 socio-political scenario presentation last week, he said Codesa negotiations would lead to an interim government by year-end and a constituent assembly by 1994. Innes believed the CP would lose the referendum and split into two groupings, supporting Codesa and the AWB.

Factors that could derail this scenario include escalating armed struggle by the right wing and the PAC's Apla, and an unlikely intervention by security forces to try and maintain the status quo. The refusal to budge on demands for ethnic autonomy or self-determination by the IFP, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the right wing were also factors.

Innes said the ANC's support base would continue to grow this year, while black support for both the PAC and President F W de Klerk would fall. ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa was the "rising star" who could be a future State President, he said.

He expected violent clashes between the

ANC and IFP to continue, while the IFP would retreat to its Natal power base and might try for independence along the lines of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba.

Right-wing violence would grow, particularly if the CP lost the referendum. If it won, mandatory, universal economic sanctions would be introduced, negotiations would collapse and there would be violence and instability leading to civil war.

Innes said negotiations at Codesa were about finding a majority rule system that entrenched minority rights. Because the ANC couldn't overthrow the government and government couldn't rule effectively without the ANC, they needed to share political power. He said Codesa's major issues were what interim government meant and whether federalism or centralism would prevail.

Independent Mediation Services of SA director Charles Nupen said key labour issues this year would be efficiency, productivity, training and participation, affirmative action, collective bargaining, wage bargaining, levels of bargaining and the macro economic debate. The question of union rights was whether they would be negotiated now or legislated later.

Industrial and Development Organisation

Must we choke before we spare a thought to trees,
our best (environmental) friends?

NP may change poll act

3047
24/2/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his cabinet are confident they can win a general election against the Conservative Party and will do so, if they have to, by changing the Electoral Act.

Any future election, whether exclusively for whites or not, will be contested on the principle of proportional representation.

A senior National Party source confirmed at the weekend that if Mr De Klerk were forced to fight an election against the CP, whether before or after a referendum, it would not be fought on a constituency basis.

This was one of the unhealthy Westminster elements which the NP had been steadily campaigning against as being unsuitable for the South African situation.

For this reason it had not resisted the principle in Namibia or in demands by the African National Congress.

Nationalists point out that past governments have come to power — and they admit it suited the NP at the time — without an overall majority in votes.

Critical

The NP only gained the outright numerical majority after the 1958 general election.

In the crucial situation South Africa finds itself in at present, only the voice of the true majority, in whatever community, could be considered a valid response to the question of constitutional reform and negotiations.

Such a critical exercise could not be thwarted by a constitutional quirk which might deliver the government into the hands of a de facto minority.

If the CP campaign to boycott or disrupt the referendum casts any doubt on its outcome or if Mr De Klerk finds himself defeated by such a plebiscite, the Electoral Act will be amended and a general election based on proportional representation will be held.

However, like an improbable defeat in the referendum, making such a choice is not likely to confront the government before the entire nation goes to the polls to elect those who will write the constitution, a cabinet source said. — Sapa

Countdo

Date and question today...

304A
C1 24/2/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will today start the referendum countdown by announcing both the date and question which white voters will have to decide on in the next few weeks.

And the Conservative Party — which last night was threatening to boycott the make-or-break poll and warning of a possible right-wing "uprising" — is expected to announce today whether it will be taking the fight or flight option.

After a weekend of frenetic planning by political parties and Home Affairs officials, March 17 — the day before Budget Day — has been flagged by politicians as the likely date for the whites-only showdown.

One of the key figures at the weekend brainstorming session by top Nats at Westbrooke, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, last night ducked all direct questions about a possible date for the referendum, saying only that it would be held "very soon" and that the NP was "confident of winning".

He also ruled out any significant postponement of the Budget as a result of the referendum, arguing that even if the government lost such a contest it would still have a majority in Parliament and it would be "some time" before an election was held.

President De Klerk, who said at the weekend that the referendum would go ahead with or without the CP, has been handed a "draft text" of the referendum question by the Nat task force.

But senior Nationalists said Mr De Klerk would "probably contact" CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht before announcing the phrasing of the vital question at a press conference in Cape Town some time today.

An irate Dr Treurnicht said last night that he had still not heard from Mr De Klerk following a letter sent to his Tuynhuys office late on Friday demanding that the CP be allowed to decide jointly on the question and the arrangements for the referendum.

He slammed the lack of proper consultation on the sensitive issue as "totally unacceptable" but said the CP would finally decide on a possible boycott of the poll at an executive meeting this afternoon.

Government ministers said the first they had heard about the CP letter

was in press reports on Saturday morning. A frantic search at Tuynhuys had failed to produce anything but the party eventually obtained a copy which has now been forwarded to Mr De Klerk.

The CP's Free State leader, Mr Cecil Pienaar, yesterday predicted that the government was going to "run into trouble" because of its lack of consultation: "People may rise up and destroy the country."

Cricketers should vote for FW — Ali

PERTH. — South African cricket chief Dr Ali Bacher gave his support yesterday to the reforms of President F W de Klerk and said he believed players here for the World Cup had an obligation to support them.

Dr Bacher will demand that the players vote in next month's referendum.

"The team is playing in the World Cup because President De Klerk erased apartheid from the statute books and because of the support from the African National Congress," he told journalists.

"There is a responsibility for all of the players to exercise their rights because the referendum is of great significance."

"The players must record their sentiments on this issue," he said, adding that cricket was playing a significant role in ending apartheid. — AFP

CP members are particularly incensed at the "unilateral" announcement by Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw that one of their key demands — that the referendum results be counted and announced on a constituency basis — would not be met.

CP information director Dr Pieter Mulder also complained that ineligible voters might "try for white" on referendum day because of the issuing of non-racial books of life since 1986.

He also insisted that the question should not merely test whether whites were for or against negotiations but whether they favoured a one-person, one-vote system in a unitary state or self-determination for peoples.

Mr De Klerk said at the weekend that the question would deal with the process and substance by which South Africa should arrive at a new constitutional dispensation.

In a hint at the way the government is expected to handle one of the shortest but most acrimonious campaigns in the country's history, Mr De Klerk said South Africa could look forward to "disaster", comprehensive international isolation and conflict between a new minority government and 90% of the population if the CP came to power.

● Swedes to hold ban until after the poll — Page 2

Aussie defeat gives S



BORDERLINE ... Aussie captain, wicketkeeper Ian Smith during his match at the weekend. New Zealand

'Nerves' could be big factor

From MICHAEL OWEN-SMITH

BOWRAL. — The South African camp is pleased about Australia's shock defeat by land in the opening Benson and Hedges match at Auckland on Saturday.

"It shows that the Australians can be all," said cricket manager Mike Proctor ahead to South Africa's opener against Sydney on Wednesday.



KIWI CELEBRATIONS ... New Zealand captain Martin Crowe (standing) and bowler Gavin Larsen smile after they caught and bowled Australian Tom Moody.

WASHED-OUT GAME 'BLESSING' FOR S

See BACK PAGE

CP in disarray as NP ignores boycott threat

BILLY PADDOCK

(304A)

CAPE TOWN.— The CP started retreating yesterday and was on the defensive for the second time in 48 hours following President F. W. de Klerk's challenge to fight it in a referendum. *Monday 24/2/92*

Backtracking and in a certain amount of disarray, some CP members were gearing themselves for battle while others were looking to new preconditions to avoid participation in the referendum.

A senior CP source said the party's hooftaad (chief council) would meet today to decide the next course of action. He said there was a lot of concern about ID documents being used, because since 1986, all racial classification had been dropped from the document and the CP was concerned that non-whites wanting to influence the vote could "play for white" and commit fraud.

Failing De Klerk acquiescing to the new set of demands which CP leader Andries Treurnicht called for in a letter sent to the President on Friday night, the CP would boycott the referendum.

However, at meetings on Saturday and yesterday, the NP hierarchy decided on the question to be asked and set the date for the referendum without acceding to Treurnicht's demands.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw also announced referendum arrangements on Saturday night, rejecting CP demands that votes be counted by constituencies and that the new identity document should not be used because it did not specify race.

An incensed Treurnicht said yesterday he was angry government had unilaterally announced the arrangements.

His party was a bit hamstrung and had lost the initiative because De Klerk had not responded to his letter demanding direct involvement in drafting the question and planning the referendum, he said.

He said with his boycott threat being rejected by De Klerk, who had gone ahead without first replying to his letter, the CP would "wait and see what the question is".

This is the second time the CP has stepped back after De Klerk's surprise announcement on Thursday.

It is understood that Treurnicht's letter

□ To Page 2

Disarray

Monday 24/2/92

(304A)

□ From Page 1

to De Klerk went missing and the NP heard about it only on Saturday. However, an NP source said the question as formulated had taken into account what the CP said in Parliament.

On Thursday Treurnicht accepted the challenge and said as long as the question was clear and fair, and there was equal media coverage, the CP would take on the NP for the white vote.

But by Friday morning the CP started to retreat and made further demands, insisting it should be directly involved in phrasing the question to be put to the electorate,

and insisting that time allocated to the CP should be equal to the combined coverage given the NP and the DP.

It also insisted that the CP be involved directly in planning and arrangements for the referendum along with the Department of Home Affairs.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said if the CP tried to run away from the challenge the NP "would give them hell" for cowardice, following their boasting that they represented the majority of whites.

'Tragic' to stop reform

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — British Confederation of Industry spokesman Mr Neville Thomas said he sincerely hoped President F W de Klerk was successful in the referendum and received a mandate to do everything he had set out to achieve.

"It will be tragic if there is a setback at this stage," he said.

(304A) CT 24/2/92
Anglo American spokesman Mr Michael Spicer said the referendum decision was a bold and courageous move and there was no doubt the government would have to work hard to make choices in front of the white electorate. He was sure the white constituency would see there was no going back.

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut

president Mr Attie du Plessis said it was imperative that negotiations now taking place at Codesa be accelerated in the interest of the country's reform process.

"If the authority negotiating on behalf of a certain constituency is questioned, it is important that that uncertainty is removed as credibly as possible."

Date and text to be released

D-day today for snap poll battle plans

8/0am 24/2/92

304A

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is expected to announce this afternoon the text and date of the referendum question which gives whites an opportunity to endorse or scuttle the reform process.

An NP special task force, including senior Cabinet members, met at the Westbrooke presidential residence in Cape Town on Saturday to draft the question, finalise the date and work out NP battle plans for the campaign leading up to the referendum.

A senior source at the meeting on Saturday refused to divulge the date ahead of the official announcement expected this afternoon, but said the referendum would not affect the Budget.

The source said the Budget would be presented to Parliament either on March 18, as planned, or so soon afterwards that it would make little difference to the business sector or to other arrangements surrounding the Budget.

Another source involved in planning the referendum said two dates had been spoken of, March 17 and March 24, but he refused to be more specific.

It seemed likely that the referendum would be held on March 17 and the Budget delayed until March 25, another well-placed source said. This was in keeping with Foreign Minister Pik Botha telling diplomats that the referendum would be held before March 18.

Both NP and CP members agree that the balance of power in the referendum lies in the hands of English-speaking whites and especially the DP vote.

DP spokesman have said De Klerk can

BILLY PADDOCK

count on the their party backing a yes vote, so long as the question does not mention political parties or individuals and was broadly in line with DP policy.

Meanwhile, the NP swung into campaign mode at the weekend with numerous task groups meeting throughout the country to kick off an extensive NP referendum campaign this week.

They have caught off guard the CP's hoofraad, which only meets today to decide on a course of action, and the NP will strive to retain that advantage.

The Home Affairs Department is also working overtime to finalise arrangements and issue timeously the identity documents required for voting in the referendum.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said his staff had been ordered to work "around the clock" to issue the documents in time for voting.

"We will try our best and maybe think of something to beat the time limit," he said. Voters without identity documents might be issued with temporary documents just for the referendum.

The department had not yet resolved the question of how to prevent voters from voting twice and it was possible that ID books would be marked with an indelible dye.

Plans to accommodate South Africans living abroad had also not been worked out yet.

CP spokesman Piet Mulder said he was concerned that there were so many people

□ To Page 2

Snap poll

8/0am 24/2/92

304A

□ From Page 1

who had never been issued with racially categorised ID documents that some non-whites could "try for white" to swing the vote in favour of a "yes" vote.

Most observers are convinced that De Klerk will win the battle by a fair margin, but they question whether anything less than a 60-40 win will be enough to resolve

the question "once and for all".

Election analyst Donald Simpson, who accurately forecast the outcome of the Potchefstroom by-election, claims De Klerk would win a referendum by about a 58% to 42%.

● Comment: Page 8

UK industry spokesman supports De Klerk in quest

BRITISH Confederation of Industry spokesman Neville Thomas said he sincerely hoped President F W de Klerk was successful and got a mandate to do everything he had set out to achieve.

"It will be tragic if there is a setback at this stage," he added.

Anglo American spokesman Michael Spicer said it was a bold and courageous move and there was no doubt the government would have to work hard to make choices in front of the white electorate. He

was sure the white constituency would see there was no going back.

When asked what the effect of the announced referendum on business confidence would be, he said it would be a difficult period but the intention was to make the period as short as possible, which was a good thing.

AHI president Attie du Plessis said it was imperative that negotiations now tak-

ing place at Codesa be accelerated in the interest of the country's reform process.

"If the authority negotiating on behalf of a certain constituency is questioned, it is important that that uncertainty is removed as credibly as possible.

"The calling of a referendum, which deals decisively with this, is important to ensure that a general atmosphere of stability is created. Such a stability is certainly in the interest of the business community at large," Du Plessis said.

SHARON WOOD

Soweto looks for an FW win

ET 24/2/92 304A

SOWETO. — What do the residents of Soweto think about the referendum? The issue was apparently debated at length last night.

In trains, drinking dens and dusty township streets, people discussed the referendum in which they will not be taking part.

"Should the CP win we will all be finished," said Mr Morena Kholoane, a taxi driver in Johannesburg's Soweto township.

"Everyone knows what happens when you give someone a little bit of freedom and then suddenly take it away. Chaos," he said.

Other township residents said there would be civil war should the Conservative Party win the referendum and call off democracy talks aimed at giving blacks the vote.

"Over so many years white elections have always tried to show some semblance of democracy where it did not exist. Is it not the time for a vote for everyone, rather than for a racist poll?" asked Soweto shopkeeper Mr Khorombi Ngobeni.

"For the many years that I have followed white elections, I always regarded them as jokes and did not care who won," said Mr Ngobeni. "Now I care who wins. Obviously if De Klerk loses, the major-

What will the question be?

WHAT will the question be in the referendum? Yesterday two experts gave an idea of how it could be phrased.

Dr Alex Boraine of Idasa, who said he tried to "make it honest", said: "Are you in favour of a new constitution for South Africa which will be negotiated by the leaders of all political parties, leading to a democratic and non-racial South Africa?"

Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said what was needed was a question that need not be answered with the traditional "yes" or "no".

His question: "Which of all the political organisations in SA would you like to represent you in constitutional negotiations? Please note that you are entitled to nominate any political organisation, irrespective of whether such organisation is represented in Codesa, or the House of Assembly, or not."

ity of South Africans are going to suffer."

"Why should the minority be allowed to determine our future?" said one Sowetan.

"Let the whites sort their prob-

lems out, we will sit at home and watch the gimmick," was another wry comment.

An ANC staffer half-jokingly asked her colleagues to prepare themselves to resume the 30-year guerilla warfare it suspended in 1990 in a major concession to Mr De Klerk.

"I am preparing to go back to the bush," she said, referring to ANC bases in neighbouring black states.

Soweto shebeen owner Mr Rafael Radebe said: "I wonder how many white South Africans believe they are going to exercise their democratic right on referendum day.

"I wish polling could be done in our backyards here in Soweto so that they can see what their racist policies have done to our lives."

Mr Radebe predicted that the NP would trounce the CP and democracy triumph when the country held its first non-racial elections.

Mr Abel Mnguni, unemployed for five years, said he was startled by Mr De Klerk's promise to resign and hold a general election that would exclude blacks if he lost the referendum.

"I thought that was rather cheeky of him. What does he think of the 27 million blacks whose future will be in the doldrums if he loses?" he asked. — Sapa-Reuter

DP to work for 'yes' vote

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party would vigorously promote and maintain its own identity in working toward the success of a "yes" vote in the forthcoming referendum, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said at a meeting of the Natal Coast regional council in Durban at the weekend.

He said the referendum would be an immensely important event which was being described as a "high noon" in the country's history.

While the DP had regretted the "whites-only" nature of the referendum — announced by President F W de Klerk last week — it would be keen to participate, provided the question put to the voters tested their support for a principle and not a person or a party.

CI 24/2/92

30411 Callers reject De Klerk's Sowetan move 24/2/92

THE majority of callers participating in a *Sowetan* phone-in poll on the referendum are opposed to the move by President FW de Klerk to test the opinion of whites only on negotiations.

Of the 282 callers, 167 were opposed to the referendum while 115 supported it.

William Holola of Alexandra said De Klerk was wrong to make it an exclusive domain of whites.

Joe of Alexandra said De Klerk was right and people should not be afraid of a referendum.

Reginald Moabi of Khuma said De Klerk had shown his true colours.

"He has proved beyond doubt that he has no place for black people."

Doril of Kimberley said De Klerk was right in asking for a fresh mandate from the electorate.

IT's safe to assume that the white electorate this past weekend spent most of their free time discussing next month's referendum.

Whites have, since the very early days of colonisation in Southern Africa, determined their collective future based on how they are able to control black people, as it were.

To put it crudely; whoever "knew how to deal best with the blacks" was boss.

The central Government has over these years gone from white hands to white hands to white hands. White power was secured through various means of control - always over blacks.

Each white government then, came out with a "better" permutation of laws, rules and regulations, all of which were, effectively devised to secure white privileges.

And all this time whites in this part of the world are not indigenous - not in the true sense of the word. Permanent European settlement in South Africa started at about the same time as in, say America, where the first permanent white settlement was established in 1607.

Even though European settlement started in the Cape less than 50 years after it did in America in 1652, whites have swelled to an overwhelming majority there while in South Africa they have remained a privileged minority. But that is another story.

It has by and large been accepted that whites are an integral part of the country - for the time being at least.

The coming whites-only referendum - which, in reality will serve to determine (yet again) how best to deal with indigenous Africans - will be within the framework of white parliamentary politics with little or no chance of the extra-parliamentary groups impinging on it in any threatening way. The whites-only referendum was called after a by-election in Potchefstroom where the ruling National Party lost.

Nats, CP fight over control of blacks

Sowetan 24/2/92

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent



NP'S de KLERK



CP'S TREURNICHT

The referendum, which will be held sometime late in March, thus goes right to the heart of arrogant white control in South Africa.

The basic premise for the referendum, according to State President FW de Klerk, lies in "a specific problem", he said, "with a specific party" in Parliament's white House of Assembly.

De Klerk's analogy for the "fight" between himself and the leader of the Conservative Party was like two bickering boys. He preferred that nobody else got involved in the little fight because it might turn into a "mob fight".

The very words he used to sum up the "fight" between himself and the CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the ferocity with which he lambasted the far-right in Parliament indicated intense petulance.

It appears, then as if the greater issue, that of reaching a political settlement in the country and allowing black people an equitable say in determining their own lives, has effectively been placed on the back burner.

What is, however, more alarming is that De Klerk could lose the referendum, and the far right (white minority) could take over

from the present Right-wing (white minority) and control South Africa. The white political parties in Parliament's white House of Assembly have said that this referendum was about principles and not parties.

If so, then why create a chance for the far right to take over? De Klerk is going back to the white population to find out if he, the white president of South Africa, can go and negotiate black participation in the land of their birth.

In other words, the future of black people has been placed on hold until whites have sorted out who has a better way of dealing with them.

It is not just political negotiations that are coming to a standstill.

Parliament is expected to adjourn for two to three weeks on Friday, to give the white parties in the House of Assembly time to hit the campaign trail. At the same time the Department of Home Affairs will facilitate and administer the referendum.

The Government can barely afford to rescue the country's farmers from the devastating drought in the country. Crime and violence has risen to anarchistic levels.

The economy in South Africa is so bad, it has been

likened to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

But all of this has to be placed on hold while the two white boys are fighting over who knows best how

to deal with blacks.

The middle-of-the-road Democratic Party has suggested that it would place itself squarely behind the National Party in its quest

for a yes majority in the referendum.

But the DP is part of white control as well. It too has differed only with the ruling NP on "how to deal

with the blacks".

At the same time there is a possibility that white ANC supporters will help De Klerk secure a yes vote. Accepting that there is nothing for which an argument cannot be produced; what is the moral argument for perpetuating white duels to decide black self-determination?

If there is a political one, then why does the present government feel so insecure about its decision to unleash democracy?

Or do black democratic rights remain contingent on a white veto?

SOWETAN readers have given President FW de Klerk's all-white referendum the thumbs-down. In a phone-in poll conducted at the weekend, readers were asked whether De Klerk was right or wrong to hold an all-white referendum. Of the 282 readers who responded, 167 said he was wrong and 115 said he made the right move. See page 2

Day of reckoning

From page 1

The referendum has sent both the NP and CP into activity and at the weekend both started devising strategies and tactics for the poll.

Early signs appeared at the weekend of CP nervousness over the referendum and political commentators suggested that the party had had its bluff called and were backing down. *Sowetan 24/2/92*

While the CP remained adamant it could win the referendum, chief whip Mr Koos van der Merwe said at the weekend the party would not participate if it was not satisfied with the conditions of the referendum, including the phrasing of the question.

A Cabinet task group met at Westbrooke, where the presidential house is, at the weekend to formulate a strategy for the referendum.

In Pretoria, rightwing political parties were at the weekend also gearing up for full-scale participation.

Late on Friday, Patriotic Front participants in Codesa sent a tough message to the Government, condemning the all-white referendum and senior African National Congress sources suggested yesterday that the movement would, however, try and secure a pro-negotiations majority for De Klerk.

See also page 9.



Sowetan 24/2/92
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is expected to announce the date for the whites-only referendum today.

He is also expected to announce, at a Press briefing in Cape Town, the question he will put to the white electorate.

The question will ask for a simple "yes" or "no" answer, which would grant or refuse the Government a mandate to continue negotiating a new political dispensation for South Africa with justice for all and built-in protection for minorities.

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

The announcement of the referendum came as a bombshell last Thursday, the day after the National Party was thrashed by the rightwing Conservative Party in a by-election in Potchefstroom.

To page 2

Western aid stops

MOVES to co-ordinate Western aid with South African parastatals in anticipation of a black and white interim government have been stopped in their tracks by the snap whites-only referendum on reform.

For about a year, Western donors have been moving towards co-operation with parastatals such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, once branded mere beautifiers of apartheid, but now widely respected. Sapa-AP

304A

Question 'won't be gimmick'

March 17 likely date for poll

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

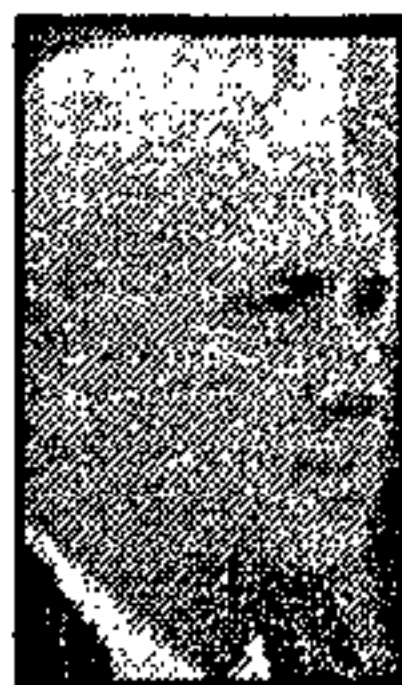
President de Klerk is scheduled to announce today the date and the question for the make-or-break white referendum — with March 17 being the most likely choice.

Informed NP sources said last night that March 17 had been provisionally agreed upon at a brainstorming session which Mr de Klerk held with his top strategists at Westbrooke in Cape Town at the weekend.

NP sources said the question to be posed had also been agreed upon provisionally, one that would satisfy Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer and would not be a "gimmick" — as feared by the Conservative Party.

Dr de Beer insists that the question should make clear that those who support the Government are voting for proper democratic values, including equal rights in a unitary state.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr de Klerk are expected to meet today to discuss CP demands of some involvement concerning the way the referendum is conducted.



Meeting today ... F W de Klerk and Andries Treurnicht



The CP has threatened to boycott the poll unless certain conditions are met, including a fair and unambiguous question which offers voters a clear choice between CP and NP constitutional options.

Government sources, however, fear that the CP is deliberately looking for a way out of the referendum in the hope that this will thwart Mr de Klerk's aim of getting a clear mandate for reform.

The sources said they believed that the CP strategy — led by hardline deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg — was that if the CP pulled out, interest in the referendum would wane and it would be difficult to attract a "yes" vote equal to 50 percent or more of all possible voters.

This would allow the CP to say that Mr de Klerk had failed to win a mandate.

It was felt the March 17 date would satisfy the NP's feeling that the referendum should be got out of the way as soon as possible.

It would also allow the main Budget to be delivered on March 18 as scheduled.

One consideration which could affect the choice of a date is that the ANC plans to mount a campaign of mass action against the Budget.

Sources believe this could influence voters against the Government.

The Government and the ANC met last night — as part of ongoing bilateral discussions between the Government and various groups — but it was assumed the referendum was high on the agenda.

And in the CP camp, strong differences of opinion about whether to take part are likely to be resolved at a meeting of the party's executives in Cape Town later today.

CP sources denied differences of opinion were causing tension, and said they merely concerned strategic questions and did not run along ideological lines.

Meanwhile it is expected Mr de Klerk will be in touch with Dr de Beer to inform him of arrangements for

● To Page 3

P.T.O.

Poll date likely to be March 17

STAR 24/2/92 304A

● From Page 1

the referendum before going public with them.

Mr de Klerk will then hold an international press conference to announce both date and question.

● The ANC is expected today to submit details of its transitional arrangements when the five Codesa working groups meet at the World Trade Centre.

Although fundamental differences still exist between the ANC and the Government on transitional arrangements, there has been a convergence between the two sides on the principle of an elected body compiling a new constitution.

While the Government insists that an elected transitional government fashion a new constitution, the ANC demands an elected constituent assembly draws it up.

One of the ANC's proposals has been that a constituent assembly also acts as a legislature.

Other issues to be dis-

cussed today are the participation of the Zulu king and traditional leaders in Codesa and an addendum to the Declaration of Intent to accommodate Inkatha.

After discussions last week between the members of the Patriotic Front, who are also participants in Codesa, it was decided that traditional leaders should be consulted on their proposed participation.

The ANC is expected to submit its proposals on regionalism in the working group on constitutional principles.

The ANC has proposed the establishment of 10 regions, using the 1910 boundaries wherever relevant, and allowing for the creation of a commission for minor adjustments if necessary. The regions are: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border/Kei, Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, PWV, Eastern Transvaal, Free State and Natal.

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THERE were growing expectations in political circles today of a Conservative Party boycott of the referendum, amid signs of a rift in the rightwing on the issue.

As a CP MP indicated today that the party would urge its supporters not to vote, the Herstigte Nasionale Party announced it would take part in the poll. CP leaders have spent hours debating their decision.

The party's executive said after meeting in Cape Town until late last night that a decision would be announced at a Press conference this morning.

There was a strong feeling in CP circles that Mr De Klerk had not met the party's conditions for taking part.

These are that the referendum must be on a constituency basis and that it must be more than a simple "yes" or "no" question. Dr Treurnicht wanted it to be a choice between the National Party's "one-person-one vote" option and the CP's co-operative self-determination.

Nationalist politicians awaiting the CP's decision expected a decision not to take part would immediately be exploited by the government as a sign of the CP "running away" from the fight.

And they felt the HNP decision might cause embarrassment to the CP.

Last opportunity

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais has said the right must take part because this was the last opportunity to stop an interim government that would include communists. If the rightwing parties consolidated they could win the election.

Even if the CP does decide to fight the referendum it is likely to come with a string of conditions and qualifications.

President De Klerk maintained at a Press conference that even a CP decision to boycott the election would in fact mean a form of participation as the CP would campaign to get its supporters not to vote.

Mr De Klerk and Dr Treurnicht had a 35-minute meeting yesterday afternoon, which the president described as "civil, but cool".

It was clear that Mr De Klerk had not accepted any of the CP conditions. He has given the party until 4 pm to make representations on the methods to be used in running the referendum.

Meanwhile Democratic Party leader Dr De Beer, whose followers might play a crucial role in the referendum, has said his party would throw its full weight behind a "yes" vote.

He expressed some reservation that the question referred directly to the State President, but said it remained acceptable.

"It includes a notion of a new South Africa and refers to reform."

He was confident white voters would go for the "yes" option because the alternative was "too ghastly to contemplate".

Dr Treurnicht:
Leader in a crisis



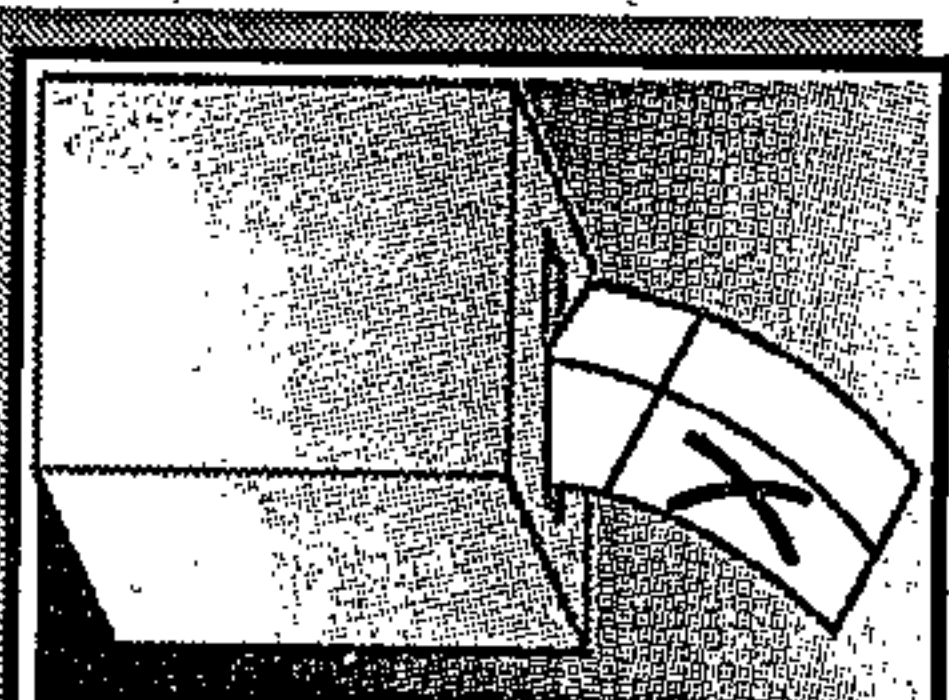
The CP agonises

● Indications of rift in right

● CP conditions 'not met'

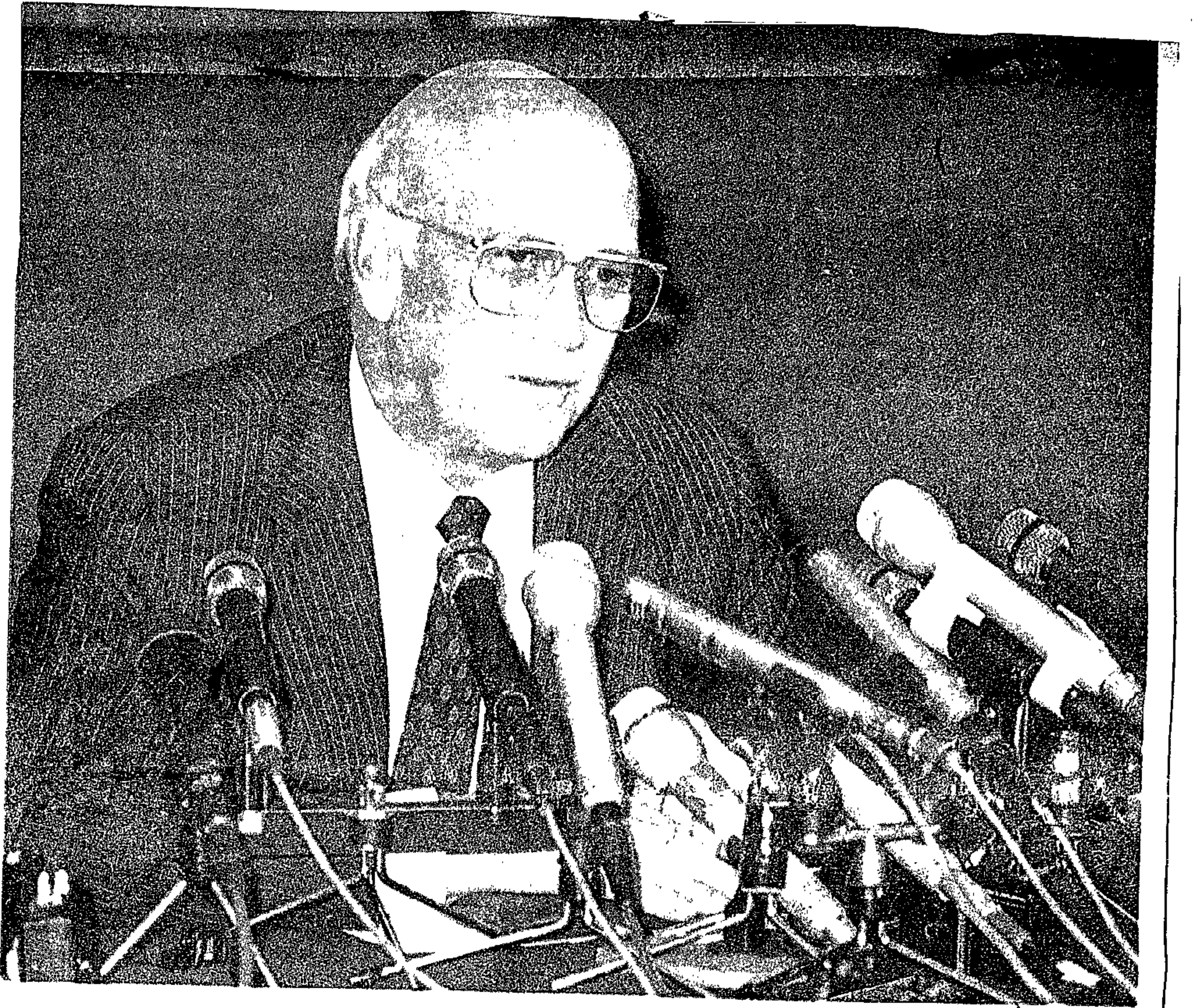
● Boycott expectations grow

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304A



MARCH 17

"Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus
FACING THE PRESS: Speaking into a forest of microphones, President FW de Klerk answers questions on the referendum at an international media conference in Cape Town.

David Welsh reflects on the constitutional alternatives for South Africa

STAR 25/2/92

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Within a framework, we must agree to disagree

CONSTITUTIONS create the institutions of the State and establish the arena of competitive politics. They provide a mechanism for the peaceable regulation of conflict on a continuing basis.

Constitutions like the (largely unwritten) British, or the 200-year-old American, put down roots of legitimacy.

They become time-hallowed, and put iron constraints around the behaviour of politicians, bureaucrats, soldiers and citizens.

It would be naïve to suppose that constitutions alone can "solve" conflicts. Successful constitutions rest on a compact among citizens that expresses an agreement to disagree within a framework of commonly accepted ground rules.

Without that prior agreement it will be unlikely that a constitution will enjoy legitimacy or serve as a conduit for conflict.

Should the constitution be massively detailed, trying to antici-

pate every conceivable contingency, or should it, in Napoleon Bonaparte's words, be "short, though vague"?

Where levels of mistrust are high, as in South Africa, there is a good case for saying that the constitution should be fairly detailed and specific.

Should the constitution be difficult to amend — that is, rigid — or flexible? There is a golden mean between a constitution that is excessively rigid and one that is so flexible that its resistance to the whims of politicians is limited.

Stated abstractly, the golden mean should be a constitution that is difficult, though not impossible, to amend. Major amendments require, in effect, a renegotiation of the original compact.

Obviously the constitution should provide for a democratic political system. But what is meant by democracy? Usually it is defined in terms of

three fundamentals: universal adult suffrage in regular, free elections; the protection of civil liberties and judicial independence.

Democracy is a great deal more than "majority rule": its core is institutionalised tolerance, bargaining and negotiation, and peaceful persuasion.

There is a surprisingly high degree of consensus in South Africa on democratic fundamentals, as the Codesa declaration of intent showed. But the principles accepted by Codesa are highly general, and the going will get far heavier when efforts are made to give them concrete expression.

The difficult issues will include: whether the system should be federal or unitary, or, alternatively, whether the issue should be fudged (as is the case with Belgium and Spain) by simply providing for regional government with significant powers. Should the system be presiden-

tial, with a strict separation of powers, as in the United States, or prime ministerial/Cabinet, or a combination of the two, as in France, where, as the description has it, the president and the prime minister have to cohabit politically even if they come from different parties?

This issue is controversial: however most scholarly opinion inclines to the view that stable and effective government is better promoted by prime ministerial/Cabinet systems.

The most difficult issue facing South Africa's constitution-makers will be how "winner takes all" outcomes are avoided.

This is a recurrent issue in deeply divided societies: the Catholics of Northern Ireland, although they make up a third of the population, never enjoyed significant political leverage in all the 50 years of the Northern Ireland Parliament's operation. So, too, has been the fate of the

Ceylon Tamils of Sri Lanka and echoes of the same problem underlie French-speaking Quebec's restiveness in Canada.

South Africa's structure of conflict is complex, and the precise configuration of future voting patterns cannot be predicted, but it can be reasonably assumed that the long legacy of racial strife will profoundly shape preferences.

Conversely, it would be unrealistic to suppose that class or ideological divisions will supplement or eclipse racial ones, so that voter preferences vary without regard to race. Nothing like this has happened in the USA.

The best one can hope for is a politics that encourages alliances across colour lines and a coalition government in which all significant political parties are represented. Proportional representation tends, though not invariably, to encourage a multiparty system and coalition government. Could coalition government as

proportional representation in the executive be constitutionally required? To my knowledge no constitution in the world has such a provision, with the slightly different exception of Belgium, where the constitution requires parity of French and Flemish speakers in the Cabinet.

A third possibility is a coalition pact; solemnly entered into by the major parties, prior to the inception of competitive politics. The rationale would be that a fledgling South African democracy is likely to be incapable of withstanding the strain of the high stakes of winners take all elections.

Constitutions, however, finely crafted, cannot by themselves create democracy. That, as the scholarly literature shows, is the task of skilled and wise political leaders. □

● David Welsh is Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town.

Senior assistant editor Joe Latakomo warns of the grim consequences of intransigence

NP, ANC are in it together

STAR 25/2/92

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THERE are probably several reasons why the African National Congress, homeland leaders and participants in the tricameral system do not wish to publicly support President de Klerk in his call for a whites-only referendum. But there is at least one compelling reason why they should: they are all in this together.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has tried, over the months, to get this message through to his own organisation and its supporters — seemingly without much success. The argument that it was Mr de Klerk's business to deliver the white constituency is superficial, for one could just as well argue that it is Mr Mandela's business to deliver the black constituency — about which there is equal doubt.

The truth is that the two, having embraced and taken to each other, have to continue relying on each other for each to be able to deliver his constituency.

It could be argued, as it often is, that both parties need only consid-

er bringing with them a substantial majority of people — black and white — for a settlement to work. Again, however, the matter is not as simple as that.

The threat of a great number of Afrikaners "going into the bush" is real, and whether the country can withstand another period of protracted, bloody guerrilla activities is doubtful. Indeed, what we have seen in the form of the ANC and PAC "armed struggle" could well be Sunday school picnic stuff by comparison.

Potchefstroom could therefore provide the turning point for whites. Mr de Klerk, having written off the seat well before the election date, clearly made the election far more important than it should have been.

He could have dismissed it as irrelevant in terms of the process now under way in Codesa, and thereby limit the ripples caused by the sounds of victory from the direction of Potch.

He could also, in the process, have achieved something else: a reduction in the victory margin for the CP, for there is no doubt

that the more importance the Government attached to the election, the more the right wing went out to ensure victory. The very survival of the right wing, at least in the form of the CP, depended on their performance in that election.

Analysts say that the right wing sent a clear signal to the Government. Nobody seems to recognise that they also sent a clear message to the black majority: and the message was simply the old "swartman in sy plek", the rallying cry that served the National Party so well in 1948 and subsequently. The message is one of intolerance, of hatred.

It was clearly demonstrated when even a post office technician, who turned up at the polling station to carry out necessary work, was beaten up just for being black. It is a message that blacks have taken note of.

Dr Andries Treurnicht seemed to temper his party's position slightly when he said that if the De Klerk Government was forced to resign, and a general election is

held which brought the CP to power, he would continue the negotiating process.

This was a somewhat different approach, recognising as he did Codesa as a forum for negotiation. However, he still stated that his party would restructure Codesa so that negotiations take place on an ethnic basis.

The question, clearly, would be who would remain in that forum.

Is the CP flexible enough to be able to change its position in this regard? After all, even the National Party held the same view only a few years ago.

And yet, the danger exists that if that came about, South Africa would be plunged into the worst crisis it has yet seen.

Mass action, a return to bloody guerrilla war, even stronger international isolation than we have ever had before, would follow. Mr Mandela has said that the CP would be brought down in the same manner that the NP was forced to the negotiating table.

A CP government would have only one choice which could satis-

fy its supporters and that is bloody repression.

But such bloody repression will be met with further rebellion, further mass action, bringing the economy to an absolute standstill.

Capital flight will increase, the brain drain will accelerate, and there will simply be no sympathy from the rest of the world.

That grim scenario brings us back to the question: can the ANC and the Government's other partners in Codesa grow up enough to realise that they will sink together, unless Mr de Klerk delivers something?

First, the ANC has to temper its position on nationalisation. Then, Cosatu will have to be seen to be playing a constructive role in the reconstruction of the South African economy, rather than being seen as the obstructionists who view "the bosses" as something to be scorned, ridiculed and isolated.

The Western world will be hoping to get a clear signal on the issue of sanctions: the ANC position of holding off until an interim government has to be reviewed; they arrived at that position be-

cause it was generally assumed that an interim government would be in place within six to 12 months. Current developments must surely change this scenario.

But having done that, can the ANC convince its own supporters of the need for all these actions, without losing out to the Left?

Is there a danger that its supporters will believe that their organisation is compromising on too many fronts without advancing the struggle? To be able to counter this, the ANC needs the Government to show results of the negotiation process.

The instinct for self-preservation, created by the economic recession and black violence, among whites is not unique to South Africa. But then, one should not underestimate the blacks' capacity to defend themselves from race hatred.

For this reason, unless the country is to sink into bloody civil war, an economic Marshall Plan is needed to kick-start the economy and set us on the road to prosperity all round. □

ANC transition proposals

THE ANC yesterday formally presented to Codesa its proposals for constitutional transition, which offer measures to reassure whites and rule out significant participation in government until a constituent assembly is elected.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposals had been agreed to by ANC branches, its SACP/Cosatu alliance partners, members of the patriotic front participating in Codesa and, in principle, by government.

The proposals entail a two-stage process: the first to "level the playing field", culminating in the election of a constituent assembly, and the second to draft a new constitution and have the assembly govern until it is adopted.

The first phase entails the establishment of a powerful interim government council once agreement had been reached on all

TIM COHEN

issues at Codesa. The council, consisting of all participants in Codesa and possibly other parties as well, would oversee:

- Two independent non-partisan commissions — one an electoral commission, in which the international community would participate, the other a media commission;
- Four multiparty committees on security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government; and
- The activities of the tricameral Parliament, the Cabinet (which would continue as is) and all homeland governments.

Not more than six months after Codesa reached agreement on the process, elections for a 300- to 400-seat constituent assembly would be held. Parties which received 5% and more of the vote would take

□ To Page 2

ANC

seats on a proportional basis.

Within a period of six to nine months of being constituted, the assembly would draw up a new constitution, taking decisions by a two-thirds majority.

This body would also act as an interim legislature, with the tricameral Parliament falling away once the assembly became operational. A multiparty interim Cabinet would then be appointed.

ANC national executive committee member Joel Netshitenzhe said government agreed in principle with the proposals. But government wanted Codesa members to take part in government in the first phase, which the ANC rejected because it did not want its members co-opted.

Government wanted the tricameral Parliament to coexist with the constituent

assembly in the second phase, which the ANC also rejected.

Ramaphosa said at a news conference yesterday the ANC was still discussing the specific "sunset" clauses it intended proposing, which would be introduced principally to reassure whites. They would lapse after a certain amount of time.

Examples he gave of sunset clauses included entrenched seats for whites, and regulations inhibiting the complete overhaul of the public service.

NEC member Mohammed Valli Moosa said the whole process could not begin unless agreement was reached on the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Ramaphosa denied news reports that there had been any prior agreement with government on the ANC's proposals.

From Page 1

DP and business backing for a 'yes' vote

THE DP and organised business yesterday threw their full weight behind a "yes" vote in the March 17 referendum.

The CP's leadership was still meeting last night to formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's announcement.

Earlier CP leader Andries Treurnicht said he and senior party members had met De Klerk for 30 minutes to discuss the CP's conditions, as expressed in Parliament and in a letter to De Klerk.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation's national working committee would discuss a strate-

gy on the referendum tomorrow, while the HNP said it would call on its supporters to register a "no" vote.

Sapa reports DP leader Zach de Beer said his party would fully support a "yes" vote. He was confident white voters would take this option because the alternative was "too ghastly to contemplate".

De Beer expressed some reservation that the question referred directly to the President, but said it remained acceptable. "It includes the notion of a new SA and refers to reform," he said.

De Beer said if De Klerk was obliged to resign after the referendum, the CP would probably win a subsequent election, with dire consequences for the country.

"If that happened sanctions would be reintroduced, conscription would continue, the war on the border would start again, SA would be excluded from sport, mass action would begin in earnest and there would be dreadful conflict."

SHARON WOOD reports that Sacob president Hennie Viljoen welcomed the announcement that the referendum would be held on March 17.

Business Day Reporter

26/2/92
25/2/92
6/10/92

3047

Business 'must support peace moves'

THEO RAWANA

action, and to rejoin "the global village".

The signing of the peace accord and the successful launching of Codesa had shown that politicians appeared to have the will, the capacity to compromise and the negotiating ability needed to bring about a democratic and just society.

The white referendum would have the advantage of removing uncertainty, Wrighton said. Whites faced the stark choice between a negotiated democratic constitution and the possibility of civil war and a return to isolation.

"For the first time whites have to vote with their heads and not their hearts," he said. The referendum would also compel the international community and the ANC to spell out their vision for a new SA.

Wrighton said involvement in emerging local and regional dispute resolution committees must be seen as an investment in stable business environments.

SA COMPANIES should ensure their employees were involved in the emerging local and regional dispute resolution committees, Premier Group chairman Peter Wrighton said yesterday.

Opening the Printexpo/Pakprocess and Foodpro exhibition at Nasrec, he said it was essential that business used its organisational ability to mirror the national peace process at local level.

"Involvement in these structures must be seen as a business investment in the creation of stable environments."

Wrighton said that while politicians were expected to provide the macro framework for growth, business should be pro-active in ensuring investment actually took place, and that entrepreneurial skills were harnessed.

In the search for a solution, the private sector needed three elements -- to establish confidence and stability, get the consensus of all players on a common plan of

Banks urged to handle farmers with sympathy

GERALD REILLY

Maize Board the go-ahead for the immediate importation of 300 000 tons.

Nampo GM Giel van Zyl estimates the crop could fall below 2.5-million tons, necessitating the importation of more than 4-million tons at a cost of about R2.5bn.

Sapa reports that the Transvaal Agricultural Union's Dries Bruwer said SA did not have the capacity to handle the amount of maize imports required which he put at



Premier Group chairman Peter Wrighton yesterday addressed the opening of an exhibition at Nasrec near Johannesburg. Referring to next month's referendum, Wrighton said: "For the first time whites will have to vote with their heads not their hearts. The referendum will also compel the international community and the ANC to spell out their visions for a new SA."

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

THE outside world's past contributions to ending apartheid can be endlessly debated. Some argue that foreigners were an impediment and the sanctions they imposed served merely to hamper the pace of change. Others contend that President F W de Klerk would not have acted as he has over the past two years were it not for external pressures that gave him no choice.

The issue at this stage is, or at least ought to be, academic. With SA's future dangling in the balance, the focus should be on the present. And currently, outsiders are being as helpful as they can be both in steering SA away from fresh folly and helping it prepare for the economic recovery without which no political negotiation has much chance of bearing long-term fruit.

South Africans across the spectrum must surely be aware of what will happen if De Klerk is defeated in the forthcoming referendum. Their country will be isolated as never before with horrible consequences for all its people. Sanctions will not even have to be reimposed — although undoubtedly they will be — because the hidden hand of the marketplace will descend as a not-so-hidden iron fist. And make no mistake, it will crush everyone without a thought in the world for their politics.

Whoever is tempted to believe that the mayhem which will ensue from a CP victory is preferable to the uncertainties of life under a non-racial government should think hard on this: whatever stance it has taken in the past, the international community is working overtime to prevent SA's next government from doing the very things most feared by those who might be tempted to vote against De Klerk.

The interfering uitlander is no longer lecturing the SA government on the evils of apartheid. He is badgering the ANC and its allies on the stupidity of their hitherto most cher-

Americans trying to ensure that the new SA succeeds

6/Dec 25/2/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

ished policies. He is letting them know that nationalisation, expropriation and other forms of commandist redistribution will not wash if they hope to have access to the resources that will enable them to meet the expectations of their constituents.

It is hard to imagine a colder bucket of water than the one the IMF poured on the ANC's traditional economic thinking in its recent staff paper, *Economic Policies for a New SA*. Redistribution, said the authors, could be achieved only through sustained economic growth, which in turn required higher levels of savings, both public and private. So, comrades, do not start squandering wealth and investor goodwill on nationalisation. Do not put any additional squeeze on the already overburdened white taxpayer. And, above all, do not try closing the wage gap between blacks and whites by artificial wage increases.

Nor is it just "neo-colonialist" governments, businessmen and institutions who are delivering the message. The mail is flooding in from all sides, even from countries which have traditionally been the ANC's staunchest protectors. Zambia's new president Frederick Chiluba was

asked last week what he thought of the ANC's nationalisation rhetoric. "Just let them try," he replied contemptuously. "Surely they have learnt from what has happened everywhere else in Africa."

It is suddenly a very tough world for the ANC out here. Time was when Nelson Mandela or Cyril Ramaphosa addressed a foreign audience you needed a knife to cut through the sentimental adulation. Now, as Mandela himself recently admitted, it takes the same instrument to deal with the hostility to the ANC's economic policies. One might add that a veritable machete is required whenever the subject of Mandela's relationship with Colonel Muammar Gaddafi arises.

Mandela and his colleagues are being told, in effect, that the same sanctions that were applied to make Pretoria mend its ways will be applied to an ANC government if it commits itself to building socialism. Only this time it will not take years of campaigning to get the sanctions written into legislation or adopted as national policies. No \$700 000 a year

lobbyists will be necessary.

Foreign companies will not have to be legally restrained from investing. Bankers will not have to be convinced by boycotts and other domestic activism not to lend. There will have to be no new Gramm Amendment to prevent SA obtaining BOP support from the IMF and loans from the World Bank. If the ANC does what it has said in the past it wants to do, foreign capital and investment will dry up automatically. Investors will pack their bags and leave without waiting to be told.

There is, of course, a more positive side to all of this. If the outside world has begun to deliver large doses of unvarnished truth to the ANC, it is not doing so because it finds amusement in kicking a village idiot. Fact is, almost everyone wants the new SA to succeed. Evidently this is a point many white South Africans, bound up in their fear and loathing of outsiders — Americans in particular — are still having difficulty hauling aboard.

US officials have made themselves hoarse recently trying to get across the message that they will support an SA application to the IMF. That is how they wish to be

understood when they say, as they said for the nth time on Thursday, that "we would be prepared to consider a proposal for an IMF facility for SA subject to the terms of the Gramm Amendment".

To explain: the administration believes that any conceivable SA proposal has already, without even having to be submitted, met three of Gramm's four conditions which relate to the removal of market distortions caused by apartheid.

The fourth requires SA to be experiencing "a genuine balance of payments imbalance that cannot be met by recourse to private capital markets". At present, the government is quite deliberately not having such an experience, and is limiting the economy's growth potential as a result. But it will have decided to have the experience when it applies to the fund. The fourth condition, therefore, is moot.

In sum, so long as Pretoria presents the IMF with a request that meets the fund's own technical criteria, the US will cast its decisive 19% share of the votes in SA's favour, regardless of whether a new government and/or constitution is in place.

Taken in conjunction with President George Bush's statement on Wednesday formally reopening the US Export-Import Bank's trade credit window to SA importers, this means all formal restraints the US federal government has placed on SA access to international capital markets have effectively been removed.

Why is the US doing these things? For the benefit of The Citizen's editorial writer, who seems to have slipped into the Yank-bashing mode after being guiled by a claim that Washington recently halted a \$1.6bn arms sale to Saudi Arabia, here is what the vile Americans said last week: "A healthy economic situation in SA is of critical importance as a new nonracial constitution is being negotiated. In this regard, we want to be as helpful as possible." For once, believe them.

Aeroflot hopes to fly to Jo'burg

LINDEN BIRNS

RUSSIAN airline Aeroflot is to send a delegation to SA this week to negotiate an air services agreement which would allow the world's former biggest airline to start direct flights between Moscow and Johannesburg.

Aeroflot's local representative Ramoz Sodawski yesterday declined to say when the airline hoped to start flights, but confirmed a delegation was to hold talks with Department of Transport officials. *B1 Day*

It is believed Aeroflot is keen to start flights before the middle of the year, but it is not known whether it hopes to implement scheduled or charter flights. *25/2/92*

It could not be established yesterday whether the Aeroflot visit was related to that by a Russian delegation led by Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, to arrive in SA this week.

Last year SAA and Aeroflot signed an agreement which allows the two carriers to issue tickets on each other's behalf and for Aeroflot to market SA as a destination.

SAA CE Gert van der Veer said at the time that the airline had no immediate desire to start scheduled flights to Moscow.

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, Aeroflot has been split into 24 companies, representing the different states that made up the union.

The Russian arm suffered heavy losses last month when the Federation gave the go-ahead for the trebling of fares on international routes.

SA and Russia 'to set up embassies'

B1 Day 25/2/92

DARIUS SANAI

SA AND Russia are set to establish full diplomatic relations for the first time with the arrival of a Russian delegation in this country.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's arrival on Thursday will coincide with that of a German political and economic delegations led by German Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann.

A Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman said yesterday that Kozyrev, who visited SA in December when Russia was still part of the Soviet Union — would be in SA "as the guest of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha".

Satellites

Informed sources said yesterday Kozyrev and Botha would almost certainly sign an agreement establishing full ambassadorial relations.

SA and Russia are currently represented by interest sections in Moscow and Pretoria, established late last year.

SA has already established full diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, all former Soviet "satellite states" in central Europe.

Möllemann, who is Germany's equivalent of a trade and industry minister, will be accompanied by 30 bankers and businessmen, said a German embassy spokesman.

A spokesman for the German-SA Chamber said yesterday the arrival of the busi-

ness delegation with Möllemann was important, but did not signal the beginning of a wave of investment in SA by German companies.

"With some parties not clear on their nationalisation policy and saying they will not honour foreign debts, German firms are adapting a 'wait and see' attitude," the spokesman said.

A member of the centrist Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP) in the ruling coalition, Möllemann will be the highest ranking German minister to visit SA, but a source close to the German government said the visit should not be seen to be granting a German seal of approval to the SA government.

The source said this would only come with visits by Chancellor Helmut Kohl or Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher — and these were unlikely to occur before an interim government was in place.

The embassy spokesman said Möllemann would meet ANC President Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk, Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo during his five-day stay.

He would also host a banquet attended by De Klerk celebrating the 40th anniversary of the German-SA Chamber of Commerce.

● See Page 11

"Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

YES

NO

CT 25/2/92

30111

It's March 17

Crisis

caucus

as CP

divides

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE MARCH 17 referendum will probably be the last chance white voters will be granted to approve or reject reform, President F W de Klerk announced last night.

The move has thrown the Conservative Party into crisis and the deeply divided party will only decide today after an emergency caucus meeting whether to boycott the make-or-break poll.

Compounding the CP's dilemma, Mr De Klerk last night also said "a win is a win" and that the government would regard a simple majority of those participating in the referendum as a sufficient mandate to continue with negotiations for a new constitution.

Describing the whites-only contest as "a momentous moment in the history of our country", the President said voters would be asked to respond with a "yes" or a "no" to the following question:

"Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on 2 February 1990 and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

MAIN PLAYERS . . . President F W de Klerk announces the date and question for next month's referendum (left) and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is non-committal about his party's participation in the poll.



Picture: ERIC MILLER (AP) and BENNY GOOL

Mr De Klerk's refusal to buckle to Conservative Party demands that it jointly frame the crucial referendum question has plunged the party into a huge dilemma on whether to fight or opt out of the "last chance" contest.

The CP leadership spent much of yesterday locked in consultation, but after a four-hour emergency executive meeting CP information director Dr Pieter Mulder said a final announcement would be made only today.

He said the CP would launch "a campaign" today — but refused to say if this would be aimed at a boycott of the crucial test of white opinion or winning the referendum.

A CP source said last night that the decision could go any way but emphasised that the party did not intend leading its supporters "to the slaughter".

Adding to the CP's headache was an earlier announcement by Mr De Klerk that South Africa had now come to "the crossroads" and that the poll would go ahead with or without the CP.

He said that if the government won the referendum it would not feel bound to test white opinion again on the outcome of constitutional negotiations if it considered such an exercise "repetitive".

Mr De Klerk said that as the government would spell out what it hoped to achieve from negotiations during the three-week referendum campaign it could regard a "yes" vote as satisfying its commitment to consult white voters.

"It would be meaningless if we win the referendum, if we attain in negotiations what we say we are going to negotiate to once again go back and say 'Now we have kept our promise, we have had success, you have already authorised it, you must now renegotiate it'."

"If I get a 'yes' now and succeed in delivering on the mandate I feel, there won't be a need for a specific test of the same on those issues again," he said.

Mr De Klerk refused to give in to Conservative Party demands for a role in framing the question during a "civil but cool" 11th-hour meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday with a CP delegation led by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

However, in a minor concession, he invited the CP to make inputs by 4pm today on the technical regulations that will govern the constitution.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference that he believed the question that would be put to whites was reasonable and offered them a "clear and unambiguous choice".

He submitted that there were two clear political mainstays among whites in South Africa:

- Those who backed a new, negotiated constitution that would eliminate racial discrimination and ensure both democratic participation and adequate security in the form of maintaining vested values and rights.
- Those who sought a solution through partitioning South Africa into sovereign states linked to ethnic or racial diversity. This group would wish to say "no" to the current reform process.

Mr De Klerk emphasised that he did not view the whites-only poll as "a slight" against other races or as an attempt to enforce a white veto.

"We are dealing with a difference in white ranks which now has to be resolved once and for all," he said. It would soon be necessary to commit the government to binding agreements flowing from negotiations, he said.

"I have to know that those who gave me a mandate in the first place are still by me and are authorising me now to go ahead."

Mr De Klerk also announced yesterday that the budget would be delivered as planned on March 18.

Marike to attend summit

PRETORIA — Marike de Klerk, wife of the President, has accepted an invitation to a summit meeting of wives of heads of state on Economic Advancement of Rural Women in Geneva this week, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday. *8/10/92 25/2/92*

The ministry said De Klerk was invited by the president of the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The summit meeting is being held under the auspices of the fund.

The Ministry said the purpose of the summit was to mobilise international political will to advance the economic development of the developing world's rural women. — Sapa. *(304A)*

Simple majority 'will be enough'

FW's reform put to the test on March 17

304A
B/day 25/2/92

CAPE TOWN — White voters will go to the polls on March 17 in what could be the last whites-only referendum to decide on the future of negotiations, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Announcing the date of the referendum and the question to be put to voters, he said a simple majority would relieve him of the need to go back to white voters to approve the outcome of constitutional negotiations.

He stressed the Budget would go ahead as planned on March 18 but Parliament might start sitting later in the day to allow MPs time to return from campaigning.

The question to be put is: "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990 and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

De Klerk said: "If I get a 'yes' vote now and succeed in delivering on the mandate, then there won't be any specific need for a further test of the same constituency on those issues again."

He said this applied to both the first phase of change, an interim government and changes to the constitution, and the final constitution. If the negotiated constitution was substantially different from his mandate, this might require him to go back to his (white) constituency.

The NP had publicised its constitutional proposals and had tabled its principles at

BILLY PADDOCK

Codesa. He would campaign for a "yes" vote on this basis. "We will not say yes to a suicide plan so this would satisfy my promise to the white electorate in 1989."

De Klerk's announcement followed a "civil but cool" 30-minute meeting with CP leader Andries Treurnicht at Tuynhuys where he had offered the CP the opportunity to participate in contributing to the arrangements for running the referendum.

He said the deadline for contributions to

The referendum question is:
"Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

the arrangements was 4pm today but he insisted that the referendum would be conducted on the same basis as the one in 1983.

He said any eligible voter could walk into any polling station with his ID document and vote. The count would be conducted on a regional level and co-ordinated nationally. There would be no constituency-based votes or counts.

The CP was slow to react and at the time of going to press was still deliberating on whether to participate in the referendum or call a boycott. One member said nearly

□ To Page 2

FW's reform

304A
B/day 25/2/92

all the party's preconditions had been ignored by De Klerk and the decision could go either way.

De Klerk said the referendum would go ahead as planned even if the CP withdrew from his challenge to do battle democratically. "I know the CP well enough. Not taking part is participating. It is just a different way of participating. They will be launching a campaign in this case of urging people not to vote. They would just be choosing a different platform from which to conduct their campaign," he said.

The referendum brought SA to a momentous place in its history, a crossroads

of vital importance. "No one can reverse the process that has begun. It has a momentum of its own and will go ahead."

He rejected all claims that he would have to get a substantial majority to win the mandate conclusively and resolve the CP battle. He quoted H F Verwoerd at the time of the Republic referendum: "A victory of one will be a victory and a mandate."

He said: "A win is a win. A simple majority is all that is necessary for democratic elections or referendums. If I get a bigger majority it will just strengthen my hand."

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1

ANC deadline for change

(304A)
CT 25/2/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC unveiled detailed transitional proposals yesterday which it believes will win acceptance at Codesa.

The proposals were tabled during a Codesa working group meeting on transitional arrangements.

According to the ANC, the transitional period would not last more than 15 months before "full-blooded democracy".

At a press conference, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa denied weekend reports that the ANC had struck a secret deal with President F W de Klerk's government over the proposal.

"There has not been an agreement between the ANC and any party, including the National Party and the government, on this scenario," Mr Ramaphosa said.

The two-stage proposals are separated by elections for a constituent assembly (CA), a demand of the Patriotic Front.

The ANC envisages that the CA number between 300 and 400 delegates to ensure the representation of as many parties as possible.

First stage

Central to the first stage — not more than six months — is a proposal for an all-powerful "interim government council", which will oversee the tricameral Parliament, present cabinet and TBVC states and other homeland governments.

The CA will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

Parties which receive 5% and more of the vote will have seats on a proportional basis in the CA.

The CA will operate both as a constitution-making body and as a legislative assembly.

"The constitution-making process should not exceed nine months."

When the CA operates as a constitution-making body — "the main task" — it will take decisions by a two-thirds majority, the ANC said.

"As a legislative body it will pass legislation relevant to the transition and operate on the basis of consensus."

The first phase will follow agreement reached at Codesa. The tricameral Parliament will then legislate to give legal power to the "interim government council", which will be able veto and initiate legislation. — Sapa

Codesa 'no' to referendum

By IKE MOTSAPI

304A

DELEGATES at Codesa yesterday rejected the whites only referendum called by President De Klerk last week because they believe it threatens the existence of the body.

A Sowetan source said 16 of the 19 delegates all agreed that a referendum was not necessary. The source said the National Party supported the move and the Democratic Party and Inkatha, while saying that a referendum was not necessary, could not give their full support.

However, a Government official told delegates that proceedings at Codesa will not be interrupted while campaigns for a referendum are being held by the concerned parties.

The official said it was imperative that Codesa should continue to complete its task.

Moment of truth

Moment of truth for De Klerk's reforms

From page 1

distate by people across the country.

He said the only doubt about the emerging political future in South Africa was among CP supporters and which was also the reason for proclaiming a referendum, he said the referendum, because it excluded black people, should not be taken as slight.

"There is no doubt in anybody's mind that the overwhelming majority of them (black people) are supportive. Sowetan 25/2/92

"I don't know of any meaningful support among South African blacks for partitioning."

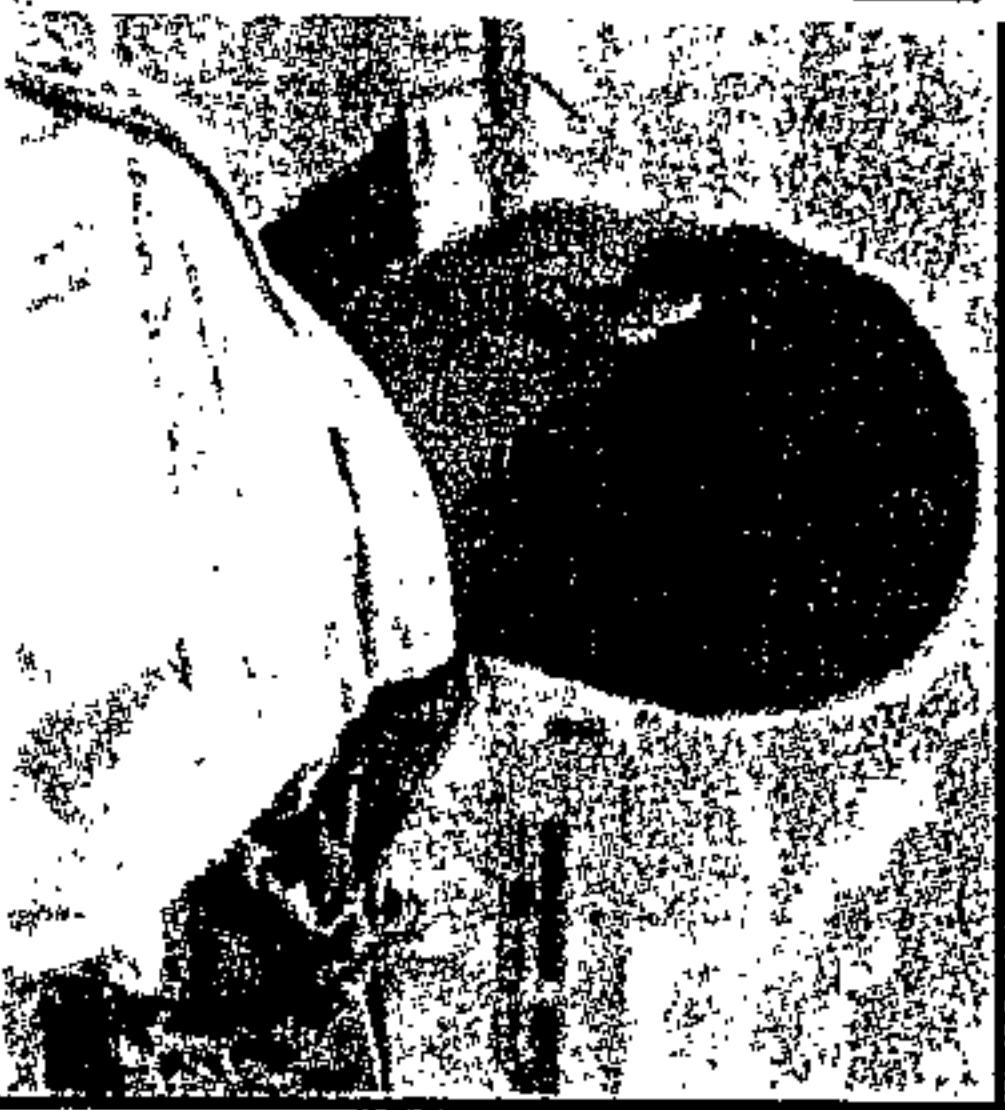
He said the referendum was aimed at sorting out differences among whites "once and for all".

Foreign diplomats indicated soon after the announcement of the referendum last Thursday that a "no" vote would plunge the country back into the dark abyss of international isolation.

Reacting to this yesterday, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said that it was "premat-ure", and dismissed it as propaganda.

"It's a threat against South Africa ... They're trying to influence the outcome of the referendum," Treurnicht said.

When the whites cast their votes on referendum day and the outcome is negative, the nation could face devastating consequences. De Klerk has undertaken to quit and call an election which could bring the CP to power.



WHITE South African voters face their political moment of truth in a referendum on March 17.

They will decide whether their future lies through political power-sharing with the black majority or not.

State President FW de Klerk, whose minority white National Party has ruled South Africa for decades with an iron fist, has put the question to the white electorate: "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation."

De Klerk has asked for a simple yes or no in the

March 17

Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

referendum.

The Conservative Party is to announce their response to the referendum question and date today.

At an international press conference in Cape Town, De Klerk said he was confident white voters would give him a new mandate.

He coolly brushed aside the notion of a "no" vote. Only the Conservative Party would benefit from it. He said the CP's policies were regarded with

To page 2

ANC plans for interim govt

Gowefan 25/2/92

304A

THE ANC yesterday submitted to Codesa its proposals for an interim government which would prepare for the election of a constituent assembly.

In a paper presented to Codesa Working Group 3 by NEC member Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC said the interim structure would also have to level the playing field.

"They should ensure equal treatment for all organisations, especially in the election campaign," the ANC said in the paper.

Three categories of structures would be needed in these instances. First, an independent commission had to be appointed by Codesa and non-partisan groups.

The ANC suggested that "electoral commission made up of South Africans of integrity" supervise elections.

The organisation added: "It (the commission) will have sole and exclusive con-

By IKE MOTSAPI

trol on the electoral process with powers to validate and invalidate election results.

"Media commissions made up of South Africans of high standing to ensure fair and balanced reporting. Emphasis will be on an independent communications authority which will take charge of all State broadcasters and appoint new boards. This will also cover the TBVC territories."

●The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa yesterday opposed efforts to have the Zulu king take part as a delegate at Codesa.

Instead, Contralesa proposed that King Goodwill Zwelithini be allowed to attend Codesa's proceedings only as an observer.

And, the Bophuthatswana government issued a statement saying although they were part of Codesa, they were, however, not bound by the convention's decisions.



THABO MBEKI

FW stakes all on 'yes'

Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?

By Peter Fabricius
Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk last night staked his political life on a "yes" vote in what is almost certain to be the last all-white referendum in South Africa.

Announcing the date of the reform poll and the wording of the question to be put to voters, Mr de Klerk made it clear that if he received a fresh mandate, he would consider himself empowered to enter into binding agreements at Codesa.

If he were defeated in the referendum, he told white

NP, ANC in it together — Page 20

voters. "I shall accept your verdict". A white election would have to follow in this event, observers said.

Mr de Klerk made his announcement on a special television broadcast, followed by a media conference in Cape Town. The referendum will be held on March 17, and the question before voters is: "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on 2 February 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

The announcement followed directly after a half-hour meeting between the president and the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who was accompanied by senior party leaders. Mr de Klerk rejected the CP's proposed wording for the referendum question, saying it did not accurately reflect that party's policy.

In yesterday's statement Mr de Klerk said it would "soon be necessary for me to commit the Government to binding agreements ... I have to know that those who gave me a mandate in the first place are still standing by me and are authorising me anew to go ahead. On March 17 you will have the opportunity to do so."

He told the media that in the referendum campaign the NP would be making its constitutional plans very clear.

If these plans became "part and parcel" of the new constitution it would not be necessary again ask for support for the new constitution. He was sure the NP would win the referendum and that the "Sword of Damocles" it would be finally removed — it would be clear who really represented whites in constitutional talks.

"We have reached a momentous moment in our country's history. We are at the crossroads. It is very important that every voter gets the opportunity to express himself."

Mr de Klerk stated unequivocally that the NP would plough ahead with the referendum, whether or not the CP took part.

He said this would present the NP with an especially difficult task to motivate voters because of the absence of a "contest". But he was sure that even if the CP did not take part, it would actively campaign for voters to boycott the referendum. This, in fact, was "a kind of participation".

Mr de Klerk said he would not regard a poll of less than 50 percent as a "no" vote. He said it would be impossible

● To Page 3



Public face . . . a confident President de Klerk announces the question and date of the referendum. Picture: AP

FW gambles all

STAR 25/2/92 (304A)

● From Page 1

in a poll based on identity cards to establish clearly what a 100 per cent poll was. The NP would regard the total vote in the 1989 general election as a guide to what constituted a full poll.

He would also regard "50 percent plus one vote" as a mandate, although the Government would obviously prefer a stronger mandate.

He said parties had been invited to make inputs regarding the logistical arrangements for the poll, but no further consultation was possible on the phrasing of the question or on the fact that the referendum would be conducted on the basis of identity books.

Mr de Klerk said the question to be posed in the referendum was fair because it offered voters a clear and unambiguous choice.

There were two clear political mainstreams among whites.

One consisted of those who associated themselves broadly with the necessity of a new negotiated constitution which would eliminate discrimination but offer adequate security, and all who supported these ideas could vote "yes", even if there were large differences of opinion among them.

The second stream comprised those who sought some form of partitioning of South Africa into sovereign states linked to race or ethnicity, and these people would wish to say "no" to the question.

Mr de Klerk confirmed that the Budget reading would go ahead the day after the referendum and confirmed plans for Parliament to

rise this Friday for the referendum campaign to begin.

The ANC's national working committee will meet tomorrow to consider the referendum question, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

The ANC wanted to allow time to "get the question settled throughout the land" before it would issue its considered response, he said.

In her response to Mr de Klerk's announcement, Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party did not support ethnically based referenda but would nevertheless ask its white members to vote in favour of reform.

Government sources have indicated they would prefer extra-parliamentary groups to stay out of the fray.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said his party would throw its full weight behind a "yes" vote. He had reservations about the State President being included in the wording of the question, but said he "could take the rough with the smooth".

The date and question were both acceptable.

Dr de Beer expressed confidence that white voters would go for the "yes" option because the alternative was "too ghastly to contemplate".

The DP and NP would liaise so that they did not duplicate efforts to get voters to the polls.

He said that if the white electorate opted for a "no" vote in the referendum, Mr de Klerk would be morally obliged to resign.

This would probably result in the CP winning the general election which followed and "there would almost certainly be a civil war".

Boycott by CP is likely

STAR 25/2/92
(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party will almost certainly boycott the whites-only referendum.

This is the conclusion that has been drawn following yesterday's convening of the CP's chief executive, which conferred for several hours in Cape Town after President de Klerk's announcement.

The executive reached a decision, but announced that it would be made known only at 10 am today.

However, The Star believes that the CP has decided not to fight the referendum, and that this decision will be conveyed to the party's parliamentary caucus at an 8 am meeting.

The decision would significantly aggravate tensions within the party and also divide the forces of the Right.

There is a strong pro-referendum faction within the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party has already committed itself to the fray.

However, it seems that the anti-referendum faction led by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has prevailed.

Although a CP boycott would disappoint the Government, President de Klerk made it clear last night that the referendum would go on without the CP.

Senior National Party sources expressed fears at the weekend that the CP's strategy might be to pull out and so try to deny President de Klerk the opportunity of claiming a clear mandate for reform.

De Klerk hopes for big 'yes' vote on March 17

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk says he will regard a simple majority in the referendum as a renewal of his mandate for reform, but has acknowledged that a large "yes" vote would strengthen his hand.

The NP would be "working for a very good majority".

After a "civil, but cool" 35-minute meeting with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and senior CP MPs yesterday, Mr De Klerk launched the referendum campaign with a television announcement of the date and question, rejecting CP demands for constituency-based voting, and hinting that the March 17 poll could be the last whites-only referendum.

Mr De Klerk said last night the referendum would go ahead with or without the CP.

It was up to parties to decide for themselves whether or not to take part, he said, adding:

"The referendum is there for the voters. It remains a choice for every voter whether he wishes to stand on the sidelines, or exercise his vote and influence the future."

The absence of the CP in the campaign would create a "considerable motivation task" because the element of contest which stirred voters would be absent to a large extent.

But, Mr De Klerk added: "I know the CP well. Non-participation is still participation, but just in a different way. They will have to campaign to get people to stay away."

"Only a party which does not believe that its policy will convince voters will back down from the opportunity I have presented in this referendum."

Speaking at an international news conference, Mr De Klerk:

● Appealed to the white electorate to express itself on this crucial question;
● Reiterated that the whites-only referendum was not a veto, that "no slight" was in-

tended and he appealed to blacks to allow whites to express their choice uninhibitedly.

● Announced that he would not hold a second referendum among whites if he succeeded in getting the constitutional principles and procedures spelt out and approved on March 17 included in the final product of negotiations with the ANC and others. He was, however, in favour of the testing of the final product itself in a referendum for all.

Mr De Klerk said he believed the question was inherently fair and clear, and he would consider a simple majority, rather than a two-thirds "yes" vote, as a mandate to continue.

"We are at a crossroads and it is of the greatest importance that we make sure every voter gets the opportunity to express himself. I wish to go further in negotiations in the knowledge that my hand is strengthened, to protect what is worth pro-

tecting, avoid domination, defuse violence.

"I believe that only if we achieve an accord between the diverse leaders of South Africa in the sun, which avoids domination and provides for security and economic stability, will this country really have a future."

"We will put that case between now and March 17 and accept the result."

"That does not mean negotiations stop, or the NP changes its feelings or that I remove myself from the scene or that the NP is sidelined."

"I believe with everything in me that nobody can reverse the process which has begun. It has a momentum of its own," Mr De Klerk said.

Acknowledging the uncertainty among many South Africans, he said: "Uncertainty can only be solved when you get the product of negotiation on the table".

APR 25/2/92

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ARG 28/2/92

Codesa branch looks at tribal participation (504A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa's enlarged sub-committee on the participation by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders has met for the first time.

The purpose of yesterday's meeting was to "work out strategies" said sub-committee chairman Mr T J Mohapi, of QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party.

Codesa's management committee last week rejected an initial report from a smaller four-man subcommittee, and decided to expand it to eight.

Mr Mohapi said the sub-committee had only received a few submissions on the issue, which was not good enough.

The sub-committee has been extended to include SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo, ANC executive member Mr Jacob Zuma, Democratic Party member Mr Colin Eglin, and Transkei's Brigadier T T Matanzima. — Sapa.

Poll to be run along same lines as in 1983

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE March 17 referendum will be run on much the same lines as the 1983 referendum, though some modifications are expected to be announced later today.

And, in the event of the Conservative Party boycotting it, results will be measured against the outcome of the 1989 general election, rather than simply the total potential vote.

Mr De Klerk said last night: "The result of the 1989 election provides the best test for the interpretation of the result than just to look at the total number who can vote.

"If 20 percent stayed away in the fully contested 1989 election, to count that for 'no's' would be unscientific."

Mr De Klerk yesterday conveyed to the Conservative Party the government's clear preference for running the referendum along 1983 lines.

However, "a few modifica-

tions" were being considered and would be announced today.

Mr De Klerk said: "We believe it is preferable to use the same basic rules as in 1983. It worked well, the result was accepted and everybody agreed the rules were effective. It made it easier for the voters. Using a constituency-based system would make it harder for the voters."

The government was not prepared to consider deviations from the 1983 system.

"We also feel strongly that the referendum is there to test the will of the whole core of voters, and would therefore like to see a repetition of the counting of votes in regions. We have no objection to making the results available on a regional basis, and then also the total result.

"The purpose of a referendum is to find out how the people feel about a specific question, not to test opinion by constituency."

Up to 60pc majority predicted

Political Staff (364A)

PRETORIA. — Political analysts back President De Klerk to win the March 17 referendum with a majority of up to 60 percent.

Professor Dan Kriek of the Department of Political Science at Unisa predicted a 55 to 60 percent Yes vote.

"The question leaves no doubt as to what the referendum is about. The Herstigte Nasionale Party has said it will participate and this will make it very difficult for the Conservative Party to stay out.

"People understand it will be disastrous to turn back. People want direction. This (political rights for blacks) is a question which has remained unanswered for 300 years and people want it to be answered now," he said.

Human Sciences Research Council general manager Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said the odds were in favour of a Yes vote.

"If the No vote triumphs, there will probably be an election, which will lead to great uncertainty and will affect the economy very badly," Professor Schlemmer added.

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town predicted that a Yes vote of more than 60 percent could be expected.

Political analyst Mr Donald Simpson, who correctly forecast the CP's 2 000-plus majority in the Potchefstroom by-election, predicted a 59,5 percent Yes vote.

Agreement on minorities

A KEY Codesa committee said yesterday it had accepted that a new constitution should provide a meaningful role for political minorities.

The proposal by the steering committee of the constitutional principles working group is the culmination of discussions on one of Codesa's most sensitive issues.

The working group has specifically decided against debating what detailed measures should be adopted, leaving this task to a future constitution-making forum.

The decision, which must still be ratified by the working group as a whole, is a compromise between the ANC's position, which seeks to limit measures which detract from majority democracy, and that

of the NP.

The working group will also decide when it meets again on Monday on a steering group proposal to resolve the problematic issue of regionalism.

The proposal suggests, among other things, that there should be three tiers of government, all with legislative and executive powers.

Codesa sources expect that both proposals will be accepted by the working group, after which they will need to be ratified by Codesa II.

The NP yesterday tabled a document on

☐ To Page 2

Minorities

political minorities which calls for measures beyond "the mere introduction of a liberal-democratic constitution".

"The NP believes sustainable democratic structures should not be equated with simple or unqualified majoritarian rule."

Safeguards such as the concept of a constitutional state, the supremacy of the constitution, a justiciable charter of fundamental rights, an independent judiciary and mechanisms to prevent the abuse of power are not sufficient for the SA situation, the NP document argues.

In other countries, these safeguards have "failed to prevent the suppression of minorities or to allay their fears of suppression to such an extent that they refrain from engaging in destabilising activities", the document says.

The document cites examples from the Belgian and Swiss constitutions, which go beyond simple majority rule.

The Belgian constitution provides for an equal number of French- and Dutch-speaking ministers in terms of a "parity princi-

ple", while the Swiss conventions provide for representation in the cabinet from non-German speaking cantons.

The NP suggests the same measures are contained in its proposals: a collegiate presidency, proportional representation and constitutional autonomy of institutions at all levels of government, among others.

In another development at Codesa yesterday, members of a working group subgroup concerned with the electronic media agreed to investigate whether there were any limits on political parties' freedom of expression.

Following a dispute about whether there were any measures limiting political groups' freedom to air their views in the media, the group has agreed to investigate whether there are statutory provisions which prevent any political party from:

- ☐ Establishing and continuing its own means of mass communication;
- ☐ Exercising press freedom; and
- ☐ Enjoying access to established printed media.

ANC's twin-edged plan

STAR 26/2/92 (3044)

The latest ANC blueprint for the transition period and beyond is both a concession and a challenge to the Government, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

THE MAJOR parties to negotiations are nearing an advanced stage in designing a mutually acceptable "package" for how South Africa should be ruled during the transition and how a final constitution should be drawn up.

It is a process not unlike that of building model aeroplanes. Each has been busily cutting and gluing pieces together, and showing the product of their labours to the others. Each has then gone back and altered its model in the light of what it has seen, trying to make it look a little more like the others. The ultimate object of the exercise is to settle on a single structure which includes parts taken from each — and can still fly.

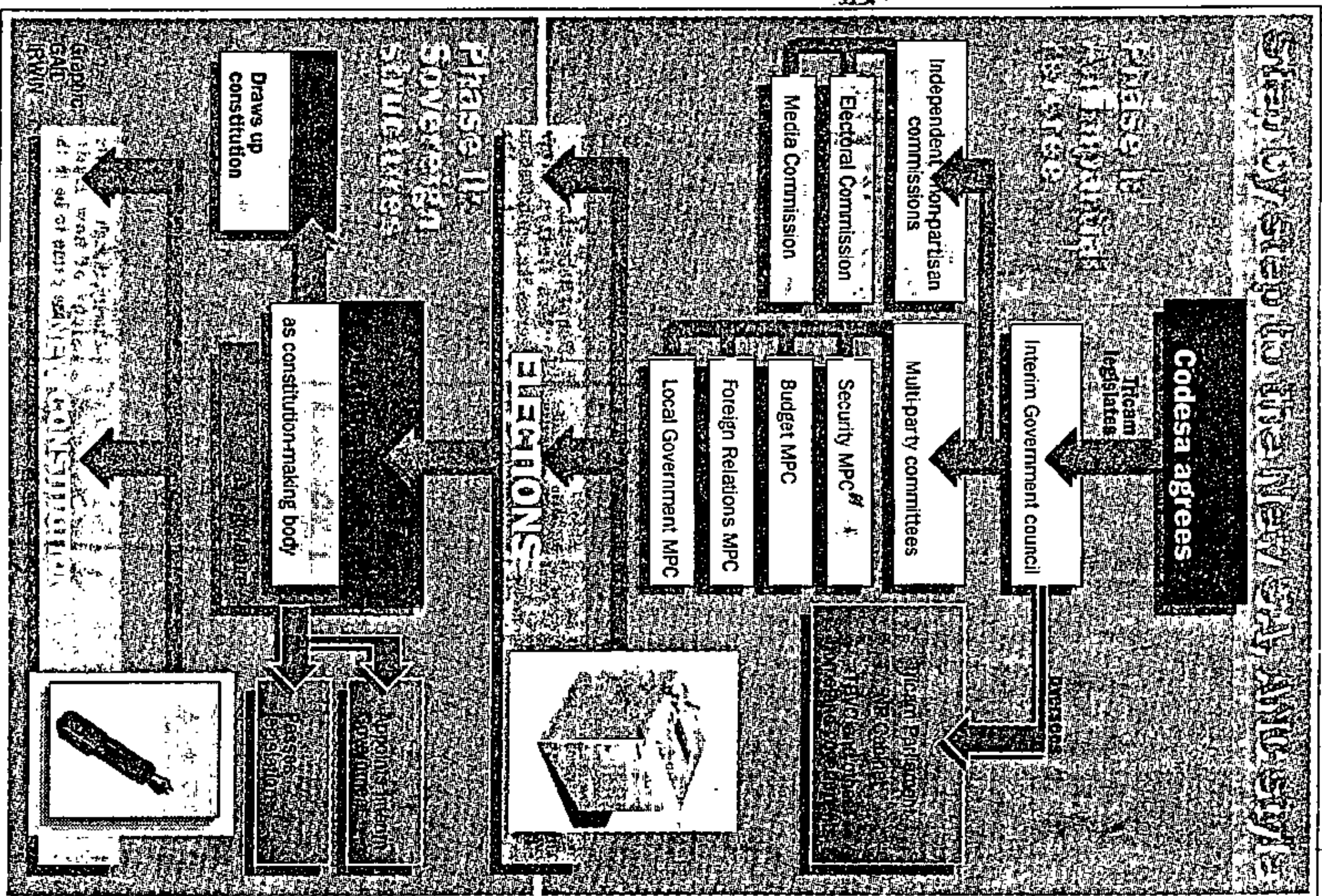
This is the context in which the ANC's newest model for interim government and constitution-making, presented at Codesa this week, should be seen. It is an adaptation of earlier positions, and includes clear attempts to address the Government's concerns, but without discarding the principles of the original design. It will, no doubt, prompt an updated model from the Government.

In two areas, in particular, the latest ANC scenario seeks to satisfy — or at least take the sting out of — Government objections.

Firstly, the Government has insisted from the outset of the negotiations process that it would not accept a transitional arrangement which involves leaping into a "constitutional vacuum", or ceding power to an unelected body which would rule by decree. The ANC previously demanded that the present Parliament be dissolved or suspended, and power transferred in toto to a representative, but unelected, body.

Now the ANC is proposing that the tricameral Parliament be maintained — possibly in a rationalised form — in order to give legislative effect to decisions taken by an "interim government council" appointed from the ranks of Codesa. This offers the Government a compromise: Parliament survives, but loses its ultimate authority.

Secondly, the Government has been set against the idea of



a constituent assembly (CA) drawing up a new constitution ever since the ANC first proposed the body. Now, however, the ANC proposals offer the possibility that a CA could operate as a legislature subject to checks and balances at the same time as it performed its constitution-drafting function.

This would allow for an interim Cabinet operating under sufficient or even full consensus, and interim measures such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority for legislation to be passed. There would also be agreement that all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the vote under proportional representation, would be represented in the CA.

In these and other areas, the ANC and Government positions are converging markedly — not to the extent that full agreement is imminent, but rather in the sense that details of similar concepts are being debated.

The ANC's detailed step-by-step plan for a two-step path towards a final negotiated solution is set out, in its distinct phases, in the accompanying diagram. In summarised form, it would operate as follows:

Phase one, which can only come into being once agreement has been achieved on the matter at Codesa, would seek to "level the political playing field". Interim structures would be charged with ensuring equal treatment for all political competitors, particularly regarding elections.

Codesa would appoint from its ranks an interim government council (IGC), in effect a supreme transitional Cabinet with final powers over Parliament and homeland structures. Beneath the IGC would operate independent commissions charged with overseeing elections and ensuring equal access to the public media. There would also be four multiparty committees, enjoying final control in the key areas of security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

The international community would be invited to become involved, at least at the level of the electoral commission.

Phase one would lead to elections for a CA. The first phase should not last for more than six months beyond the date of its inception.

Phase two begins once the CA has been elected. All South Africans over 18 would vote on the basis of proportional representation.

The main task of the CA would be the drafting of a final constitution, but it would appoint an interim Cabinet and perform transitional legislative functions. The process of constitution-making should not exceed nine months, and incentives and penalties would be devised to ensure the timetable was adhered to. The constitution could include "sunset" clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

The new ANC "transitional package" takes the tactical light to the Government: it cannot but demand a serious and considered response from Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his strategists. There are certainly still points of difference — the Government will argue that the IGC is still a form of "rule by decree", for example — but many of its elements will not be easily dismissed.

The likely next step is a revised Government plan, swallowing what it feels it can swallow from the ANC blueprint, and finessing those areas with which it still has problems. The model aeroplane-building route to agreement is a long one, requiring patience — but it has achieved an extraordinary amount thus far and is speeding up all the time. □

Poll result crucial to future investors

8/20/89 26/12/19

WILLIAM GILFILLAN

THE outcome of the referendum will play a major role when international companies assess the political risk of making an investment in SA, director-general of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) Sir John Banham said yesterday.

Speaking at a lunch hosted by the South African Chamber of Business in Johannesburg, Banham said SA's transport and general infrastructure and the large home market provided great potential for foreigners to invest in SA.

But political instability and a command economy would dissuade people from investing here.

Banham humorously illustrated the inefficiencies brought about by a command economy by noting that piles of rubbish left over after the last world war could still be found on side streets in eastern German cities.

He said the Pacific Rim countries, India and the Gulf states would all compete with SA in vying for foreign

investment by UK firms.

India was becoming increasingly attractive considering it was currently deregulating its economy and also it had an instant market of 200-million middle class consumers.

And the Gulf region was excellently located as it was so central, he believed.

"But SA also has attractions for foreign investors. These include a world class transport infrastructure and — if the economy develops — a potentially large home market," he said.

The opportunity to serve the many other markets in southern Africa increased the attractiveness, Banham added.

"But businessmen don't like uncertainty, either political or economic. And therefore CBI members will be watching out closely for any portents on both the political and economic fronts," he stated.



Sacob president Hennie Viljoen, left, meets Confederation of British Industry director-general Sir John Banham at a lunch hosted by the SA Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's decision to call a whites-only referendum after Potchefstroom was correct both in terms of realpolitik and economic realities. It was neither an impulsive response to a disappointing by-election result, nor a foolhardy gamble.

Indeed, to have acted otherwise and deferred taking a necessary decision would have been to speculate on events, over which he has little or no control, coming to his rescue — thus putting the whole Codesa process at greater risk.

Realpolitik made the referendum decision unavoidable for two reasons. The first concerned a matter of principle, the second the difficult question of process management. The importance of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to negotiations is that they respectively claim to be — or are accepted as being — able to deliver whites and blacks en masse to a constitutional compromise. If their credentials in this regard come into doubt, they are duty-bound to demonstrate that they still have support, or to hand over to someone else. The ANC and others have a word for it — legitimacy.

Potchefstroom raised a question mark over De Klerk's legitimacy to negotiate on behalf of whites. That legitimacy needs to be restored.

The second matter of realpolitik — process management — relates to judgment and leadership. Trends of opinion within the white electorate, especially within De Klerk's own Afrikaner constituency, have been moving against him for some time. This has been inevitable, given the turbulent politics and economics of the new SA and the drought.

The miracle is that, despite all of these, he and his government can still muster such large support among white farming communities. That support is a measure of their understanding of how much things have changed and of the fact that the institutions of the old SA (which, until comparatively recently, had served their interests well) have ceased to be viable. But it would have been taking too great a chance on that understanding in the face of further likely economic and related social deterioration, to have done nothing.

However, it is the economic reality which forms the background to the present crisis. That is most important and inescapable. This has to

Time for De Klerk to present IOU to Bush for payment

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B/Pan
26/2/92

RONNIE BETHLEHEM

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do primarily with the relationship between the SA and global business cycles, and where we are currently in respect of both.

The SA cycle lags the global cycle by about 12 to 18 months, and the global cycle has not yet turned from the bottom of a protracted recession. Not only De Klerk, but also US President George Bush and Britain's Prime Minister John Major (both of whom have to face the judgments of voters in 1992) had hoped that the state of the global economy would have been more favourable to their re-election chances. In the circumstances, because of global influences, the likelihood is that the domestic SA economic situation will continue to get worse rather than better in the next six months.

In purely business cycle terms, SA must follow, not lead, its main trading partners. For local policy to be different would require not only domestic political urgency, but also the financial wherewithal to reflate and to ensure that a new upswing can be maintained. Unless it can be its quick benefits will just as quickly be lost; they would not then produce their desired political effects.

Ideally, the SA economy should be in a sustained recovery when the negotiations on a new constitution reach their climax. Despite all that has happened in the past week, and all that can be expected to happen in the wake of Potchefstroom, the economy can still be in such an upswing at the appropriate time if De Klerk plays his cards right.

In the recent past the government has mismanaged the relationship be-



□ COHEN

tween economics and politics on a number of occasions. It has wanted the benefits of tough monetary policies without a preparedness to accept uncomfortable supporting fiscal requirements.

The introduction of VAT was bungled. The timing of the announcement of white teacher retrenchments and of the imposition of substantially higher education costs on an already hard-pressed white parent population was an invitation to further disaffection. Had government acted earlier and with greater

determination, the battle against inflation would, politically speaking, have been less drawn out and debilitating.

Mass black unemployment has already become the central issue in the quest for social and political stabilisation and hence, also to sustainable economic growth. Yet it evidences no macroeconomic ideas as to how to combine tough demand management with a clear need for job-creating initiatives. Lacking is a strategic vision for the economy, and the connection between such a vision and what is happening politically.

The factor most favourable in the SA economic picture is the net reserve position. This has shown a positive turnaround of about R7bn since the end of 1989. Then the total of the country's gross gold and foreign currency holdings exceeded the short-term foreign liabilities of the monetary banking sector by approximately R3bn — almost exactly, incidentally, the position that prevailed when President P W Botha delivered his fateful Rubicon speech. Once more, SA has demonstrated that when monetary policy is tight and fiscal policy not too profligate, it has remarkable financial resilience.

The net reserves, however, even at their much improved level, are not high enough to allow, by themselves, for a premature stimulation of the economy. Especially given global cyclical developments, only a limited domestic expansion would, through greater imports, quickly result in their depletion. This is to say nothing of what the effects on them would be were large capital outflows

to be triggered for any extra-economic reasons.

The third interim agreement with foreign banking creditors about debt repayment is still in force, and SA's relationship with the IMF, the World Bank and other international financial institutions have still not been normalised. It was bordering on the fatuous for US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen to suggest that SA spend its way into a balance of payments deficit in order to satisfy the last and critical Gramm Amendment requirement to enable the US government to vote for a release of IMF funds.

One wonders what the reaction of the IMF technical staff has been to such a suggestion. In a US election year, and remembering previous occasions when Republican presidents with Democrat-controlled congresses have failed to deliver on their promises, it would be reckless in the extreme for De Klerk to follow such a course.

But De Klerk holds an important IOU which has on it the moral signatures of all G-7 countries, the US included. That IOU concerns the bold changes he has already initiated in SA and the need now to change the Gramm specifications to permit IMF lending to SA while the onerous requirements of the third interim agreement remain in force. SA may not get its desired new constitution if its economy continues to stagnate.

If black unemployment continues to rise, social and political tensions driven by a decline in real per capita incomes, and hence crime, will also continue to increase. Whites will retreat further into shells of anxiety, anger and defiance. If an economic recovery is to be initiated in advance of a global recovery for these reasons, it is going to have to be given backing and sustainability. Also, whatever is done to generate cyclical improvement here must not compromise longer-term restructuring requirements.

De Klerk must now present his IOU to Bush for payment. He must move without delay and without apology for any embarrassment caused. And Mandela should be giving him every encouragement even if, as regards the IOU, it is encouragement he can offer only privately before the referendum.

□ Bethlehem is JCI group economics consultant. The views expressed here are his own.

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Codesa's management committee effectively called on whites yesterday to take part in the referendum and to vote "yes".

A statement said Codesa was trying to find a way to a new democratic SA and the "door is open to all political groupings to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy". *Bibby 26/2/92*

It went on: "We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value the future of themselves and their children to support the process of negotiation that has been started at Codesa."

There was no other way to avoid future turmoil, unending strife and economic col-

Codesa launches appeal to whites

(3041)
lapse for every inhabitant of SA. "All South Africans — black and white — stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war," it said.

It was only through negotiation that a peaceful road could be found to peace, justice and security for all, it said. This was the only way to satisfy the just aspirations of SA's diverse peoples to assert and protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

Private sector mobilises to back 'yes' call

A PRIVATE sector initiative to campaign for a "yes" vote in the March 17 referendum has been launched.

This, together with an intensive campaign by the NP, will see millions of rands being spent in support of the reform process, mainly in the print media.

The private sector initiative, chaired by businessmen Chris van Wyk and George Thomas, has raised about R500 000 in one day for "a strictly non-party political campaign" in the print and electronic media.

The fund was conceived by Times Media Limited (TML) MD Stephen Mulholland, who said yesterday its purpose was to give businesses which wanted to support a posi-

By day 26/2/92

MARCIA KLEIN

tive vote on a non-political basis the opportunity to do so. The campaign would start "almost immediately", he said.

"We will not be able to advertise on SABC TV or SABC radio, but we will be able to flight adverts on M-Net."

Mulholland believes the SABC will not accept any advertising in terms of its charter, but that M-Net has decided it will flight advertising.

An M-Net spokesman said yesterday the station was still considering whether to flight referendum ads. However, it is believed it decided last night to allow NP and

private sector advertising.

In support of the fund, TML is to provide its services free. Advertising agency Initiative will provide its services at cost, and many media companies will be offering discounts.

Mulholland said Van Wyk and Thomas had been working day and night to secure funds, and they had already received support from many companies.

The budget was "a moving target", and any funds raised but not used would be refunded to donors.

It was vital that there be a strong "yes" vote, he said, and as far as business was

□ To Page 2

Private sector

concerned a positive outcome was in the interests of shareholders.

Government's advertising campaign has been awarded to Saatchi and Saatchi, Klerck & Barrett. Chairman Hennie Klerck confirmed yesterday his agency had been awarded the campaign, which would probably be launched on Sunday.

Klerck said that apart from the NP, other political parties, interest groups and

the business community were looking at the campaign as a project of national concern. In this light it was not an NP campaign but "a referendum campaign by 'yes'-thinking people".

SWF Technologies yesterday placed a full-page advert calling for people to vote for positive reform. MD Mike Lepastrier said although his was a small company, it felt strongly enough about the issue to place the advertisement.

□ From Page 1

AWB reverses boycott stance

Divided CP opts to take part in poll

B/Daw 26/2/92

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BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The CP caucus yesterday overturned its executive committee decision to boycott the referendum and persuaded leader Andries Treurnicht to announce that the party would take part to vote against government's reform initiative.

At a news conference yesterday Treurnicht said there were strong divisions within the caucus on the strategy to follow and it had had to be put to a vote. After long hours of debate, "we decided on our strategy democratically", he said.

"The executive discussed the matter (on Monday) night and there was the inclination to boycott. But we realised that we had to take our caucus with us and they gave the indication that we must fight and call for a 'no'," he said.

He refused to give a vote breakdown, saying only: "We voted in the caucus and the decision was positive."

He said government deserved to be rejected. "I therefore call on all whites to reject Mr (F W) de Klerk's reforms with great enthusiasm in his own referendum."

The CP had been in close contact with other right-wing parties, including the HNP and the AWB, to form a united front.

Last night AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche reversed his stance on the referendum. Earlier yesterday Terre-Blanche told the Pretoria Press Club participation in the referendum would amount to an act of betrayal. However, at a public meeting

in Verwoerdburg he said the AWB would support CP calls for a "no" vote.

Treurnicht rejected suggestions that this referendum would be the last whites-only poll. "The government is in a hurry to surrender power but after March 17 the white nation will still be here and will still demand its freedom." The CP would demand another whites-only election to decide on major constitutional changes.

Should he lose this referendum, Treurnicht said he would not resign. "Should we lose, it is the loss of one battle, not the end of the war, not the end of the struggle for survival in freedom of a people."

Should the NP lose, however, he said there was no way it could then present the Budget that day. De Klerk's government would find it very difficult to pilot through a Budget when it had lost all credibility.

Treurnicht also expressed the CP's "strongest disappointment" in the "ridiculously short" time to prepare for the referendum. "It is altogether unfair," he said.

Government leant over backwards to find consensus with the ANC on vital constitutional matters, but refused to find consensus with the CP on a referendum, rejecting all its conditions.

He said the CP would put to voters its idea of a commonwealth of nations and "it will not take us 74 years, as in the USSR".

□ To Page 2

CP to vote

He dismissed the threat of sanctions being reimposed should the CP come to power, arguing that many foreign countries were eager to drop sanctions anyway.

It depended on the style of government and the success of a CP government in getting other black leaders and their nations to co-operate in a commonwealth.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday it was a pity the majority of South Africans could not take part in the referendum "so that the CP could get the hiding of its life".

The ruling parties in the Johannesburg

and Pretoria city councils yesterday urged their residents to vote "yes". Durban is expected to follow suit this week.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference also urged a "yes" vote, as did Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson. He said a vote for the continuation of reform was critical to ensure SA was stable and internationally accepted. The consequences of a "no" vote would be "a disaster to say the least".

● Comment: Page 14

□ From Page 1

Codesa rolls out the red carpet to all

Yesterday Codesa evaluated events in the country. At the same time it appealed to all organisations still outside the assembly to throw in their lot with that body.

304A

Sowetan 26/2/92

WE are gathered here at Codesa to find a way towards a new democratic South Africa. The door is open to all political groupings to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy in our effort to reach a just negotiated settlement.

It is only through the process of frank discussion and negotiation that a peaceful road can be found to build a future in which all our people can work together to create a life of peace, justice and security for all.

It is only through this process that we can begin to seek an answer to satisfy the just aspirations of our diverse peoples in their quest to assert and to protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

We declare that there is no unbridgeable gap between unity and diversity. All of us here are committed to seeking



a route of individual freedom; a route without domination of one group over another within our common border.

There is no other way for South Africa to find its rightful place among the comity of nations in our interdependent world.

There is no other way to avoid a future of turmoil, unending strife and economic collapse for every inhabitant of our land.

All South Africans - black and white - stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war.

We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value their future and their children's to support the process of negotiation that has been started at Codesa.

NP constitutional proposals to be based on universal franchise

Sowetan 26/2/92

306A

THE National Party yesterday proposed a constitution that would - among other things - protect minority groups and be based on a universal franchise.

In a document submitted to Codesa's Working Group 2 yesterday, the NP also gave two examples of a constitution that would guide people given the task of drafting it.

In the document, titled "The meaningful participation of political minorities," the NP quoted Article 86 of the Belgian constitution, which it said provided that apart from the prime minister, the Cabinet consisted of an equal number of French- and Dutch-speaking ministers.

It also quoted Article 96 of the Swiss constitution, which it said it provided that not more than one citizen of any canton may be elected as a member of the seven-member Cabinet.

"This formal provision thus does not provide for minority political representation, but again one should look beyond a formal provision. A whole set of very strong conventions have been developed in this regard, that is the Cabinet must include at least members from two non-German speaking cantons, the cantons Zurich and Bern each has at least one representative," the NP said.

The NP said a system must be sought which would ensure the following:

- That universally accepted values and norms in South Africa were maintained;
- Based on universal franchise in a democratic structure of government;
- That it was free from apartheid and discrimination in any form;
- Established an ordered and orderly society;
- Made good government possible;
- Ensured justice for all;
- Promoted a market-oriented economy coupled with private initiative and social responsibility;
- Accommodated the cultural differences in South Africa; and
- Enabled all South Africans to share in peace, progress and prosperity.

The NP said the constitution should create a system based on universal adult franchise in a sustainable democratic structure of government.

"Examples of the successful accommodation of political minorities in relatively deeply divided societies are indeed very few, and it should be considered that societal divisions in these cases do not follow the same pattern as in South Africa," the statement said.

Anglo boss backs 'yes' vote ^{304/1}

Sapa 26/2/92
ANGLO American Corporation and De Beers chairman Mr Julian Ogilvie-Thompson yesterday commended State President FW de Klerk for calling a referendum and said he would throw his weight behind a "yes" vote.

Ogilvie-Thompson said the vote for the continuation of the reform process was critical, despite other current positive political developments such as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

He was speaking at the opening of a R54-million De Beers scientific and manufacturing complex on Monday.

He said the consequences of a "no" vote would be "a disaster to say the least".

"I have no doubt that President De Klerk's decisiveness

in calling a snap referendum will be rewarded by white South Africans displaying good sense.

"Certainly it seems absolutely critical to me that people of all political parties should do their utmost to ensure a 'yes' vote.

Meanwhile, two businessmen have launched a campaign for a positive vote in the referendum.

A statement yesterday said the fund, suggested by Times Media Limited managing director Mr Stephen Mulholland, would seek financial support from business for a non-party political campaign.

The fund would be jointly chaired by Dr Chris van Wyk and Mr George Thomas. - Sapa.

CP says yes to referendum

304A
Sowetan 26/2/92

THE Conservative Party will take part in next month's referendum and will afterwards strive to destroy President FW de Klerk, regardless of the outcome.

Speaking like someone who had already lost the referendum, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Cape Town yesterday that the March 17 poll would not be the last battle in the "ongoing fight for white survival".

"If we lose, it will be the end of one battle but by no means the end of the war," Treurnicht said.

The CP agonised for 24 hours over whether to accept De Klerk's challenge and participate in the referendum.

After lengthy discussions, first in its executive leadership and afterwards in its parliamentary caucus, a vote was taken in favour of participation - the CP will encourage a "no" vote.

Speaking to the media

after the announcement was made late yesterday, CP member of Parliament, who has been branded a verligte, Mr Koos van der Merwe said his party planned "to bring President De Klerk down".

He said the CP was confident of victory and that it would move forward after the referendum and hold a general election.

He said the CP had adopted the slogan "The Struggle Continues". It said it would carry the slogan through and into the

new South Africa.

"We are not trying to move back (into the old system) we are trying to move forward into the future," Van der Merwe said.

Treurnicht also said yesterday that foreign governments, the Commonwealth and the British Government "were waiting to lift sanctions against the country".

He suggested that Western governments would rush to invest in a South Africa under the CP.

Callers have mixed views on referendum

304A

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night expressed mixed views on President FW de Klerk's call for a whites-only referendum.

Responding to a question by host Tim Modise, the first caller said De Klerk had taken a bold step in the right direction.

He said De Klerk needed all the support from peace-loving South Africans.

John of Ennerdale said he hoped to see the Conservative Party winning the referendum.

Echoing John's senti-

Sowetan 26/2/92



ments was Peter of Kagiso, who said: "It is about time that whites in this country showed their true colours. That can only happen if the CP wins the referendum."

Peter from Katlehong and Phillip of Cape Town, however, said they wished to see De Klerk winning the

referendum.

"A CP win may derail the progress already made. That's what the country does not need," Peter said.

"South Africa cannot afford to be taken back to the dark years of apartheid. I fully support De Klerk and his Government for the bold step they have taken," Phillip added.

"Discussions at Codesa are not only restricted to the interests of the white population of the country but centre on the benefit of all South Africans," another caller said.

304A

"The ANC will do all it can to ensure that this historical opportunity does not pass us by."

Welcoming the CP decision, a spokesman for the Boerekommando said the organisation would request all its members to vote "no" in the referendum.

“no,” he said. “I gave us the right to advise our people that we should fight for non-participation in the campaign.”

CP hardliners defeated

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“no,” he said. “I gave us the right to advise our people that we should fight for non-participation in the campaign.”

Veiled call for a 'yes' vote

STAR
Political Staff 26/2/92

The Codesa management committee, representing all 19 parties in the negotiating forum, has issued a dramatic call to South Africans not to turn their backs on the peace talks.

The unprecedented statement warns that there is no alternative to the negotiations process.

"The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war," it said.



The statement, issued yesterday, comes just as the campaign gets under way for next month's vital white referendum on reform.

Titled "We dare not turn our backs on history", the dramatic call carries tremendous weight.

Represented on the management committee are, among others, the Government's Gerrit Viljoen, the ANC's Jacob Zuma the Inkatha Freedom Party's Frank Mdlalose and the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin.

The statement urges South Africans to accept that Codesa is the only alternative to bloodshed, and appeals for support for the process.

Some observers have interpreted this as subtle encouragement to whites to vote "yes" in the referendum.

"It is as close as a body like Codesa, which represents so many different interest groups, can come to a unified position on the referendum," one source told The Star.

Codesa: We dare not turn our backs on history

We are gathered here at Codesa to find a way towards a new democratic South Africa. The door is open to all political groups to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy in our effort to reach a just negotiated settlement.

It is only through the process of frank discussion and negotiation that a peaceful road can be found to build a future in which all our people can work together to create a life of peace, justice and security for all.

It is only through this process that we can begin to seek an answer to sat-

isfy the just aspirations of our diverse peoples in their quest to assert and to protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

We declare that there is no unbridgeable gap between unity and diversity. All of us here are committed to seeking a route of individual freedom, a route without domination of one group over another within our common border.

There is no other way for South Africa to find a rightful place among the community of nations in our interdependent world.

There is no other way to avoid a fu-

ture of turmoil, unending strife and economic collapse for every inhabitant of our land.

All South Africans — black and white — stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war.

We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value the future of themselves and their children to support the process of negotiation that has been started at Codesa.

NP moves to include minorities

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The National Party yesterday proposed at Codesa the formal inclusion in a new constitution of meaningful participation by political minorities.

It proposed the inclusion of this principle instead of accommodating it by relying on the development of appropriate conventions.

The NP proposed in the working group on constitutional principles that the principle should not be entrenched in the constitution by a single clause but should be included through various mechanisms and structures.

Various elements in the NP's constitutional proposals, such as a multiparty presidency, were designed to accommodate the

meaningful participation of minority parties.

The NP proposed to the working group last week that "... the principle of fair treatment of, and effective participation by, minorities must be embodied in our constitution".

Elaborating on the submission yesterday, the NP said "sustainable democratic structures should not be equated with simple or unqualified majoritarian rule".

"We could have a long debate on whether the fear of domination of some of South Africa's ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities is realistic or not, but if we are to deal with our constitutional future in a responsible manner, the mere existence of such perceptions should be accepted as a reality which must be accounted for in a new constitution," the NP said.

Bid to oust CP as city opposition

STAR 26/2/92

By Jacqueline Myburgh 304A

The CP might have won Potchefstroom, but they have lost Johannesburg, independent councillor David Neppe said last night as he and three fellow independents announced their intention to oust the CP as official opposition in the Johannesburg City Council.

Former DP councillor Clive Gilbert has resigned from the DP caucus and aligned himself with the independents. The other independent councillors who intend taking on the four-man CP caucus are Sam Moss, Professor Harold Rudolph and Desiree Simpson.

Speaking for the group at an impromptu press conference late in the afternoon, Mr Moss said the City Council could no longer "afford the luxury of an opposition like the CP".

"There can't be a more precious time to form a dynamic opposition that can ask relevant questions."

He said it had become clear in the debate concerning the March 17 referendum that the CP was irrelevant.

CP leader in the council Jacques Theron was shocked to learn of the independents' intentions. "I suppose it's a sign of the times, the CP is not very popular in certain circles," he said.

He questioned the legitimacy of the move, saying the independent councillors had not been elected as an alliance.

Mr Theron said if the independent's bid succeeded, the role of the CP would not change.

Management committee chairman Ian Davidson was also surprised since he said the independent councillors did not have a caucus.

(30411) (44)

Billions hang on March poll

ARLT 26/2/92

Bush warns SA not to go back on Codesa

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — In its first public reaction to the March 17 referendum, the Bush administration warned today that any retreat from the Codesa negotiations would be "a devastating step backward toward international isolation and domestic discord in South Africa".

The warning came as initiatives in Congress to set up a multi-billion dollar aid package for South Africa were suspended pending the outcome of the referendum. A defeat for President De Klerk undoubtedly would lead to the collapse of the scheme, Congressional advisors said today.

And officials suggested that moves now under way to facilitate loans and financing for South Africa through the

International Monetary Fund and the World Bank probably would be "put on hold" until a clear signal had come from South Africa's whites on what the country's future course would be.

Only last week the Bush administration declared in a statement that it was prepared to consider an IMF loan application from South Africa — an indication that funds were not only available, but that Washington was eager to assist in the rehabilitation of South Africa's economy.

In a statement today, the State Department said the US "fully and firmly" supported negotiations through Codesa. "We are pleased at reports that discussions in the Codesa working groups will continue during the referendum campaign.

"The referendum is an internal matter for South Africa. However, its

results will have profound implications. Retreat from negotiations would be a devastating step backward toward international isolation and domestic discord in South Africa."

On Capitol Hill, aides involved in initiatives to set up the multi-billion dollar aid package, the so-called Solaz-Dellums initiative, said informal talks would be suspended until the outcome of the referendum was known. "For all practical purposes US-South African relations have been anaesthetised until we know what the whites decide," one said.

But contingency plans probably would be drawn up for the reintroduction of sanctions and other measures aimed against any pro-apartheid government that might emerge in the wake of the referendum, he added.

Seven A-Gs to become politically independent

STAR 26/2/92

By Michael Morris
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's attorneys-general are to be made politically independent in terms of legislation tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Attorney-General Bill makes the seven attorneys-general answerable to Parliament, removing them from the present risk of political manipulation.

It overtakes provisions in the Criminal Procedure Act which at present place attorneys-general under the direct "control and directions" of the Minister of Justice.

In the new Bill, the minister's powers are substantially circumscribed.

Furthermore, in contrast to the present procedure by which attorneys-general are appointed by the Civil Service Commission, only the State President will be empowered to make ap-

pointments in terms of the new legislation.

The president may suspend an attorney-general only for misconduct, continued ill-health or incapacity to carry out his duties, and must present the reason to Parliament. Parliament will be empowered to overturn the decision.

The Justice Minister will be restricted to "co-ordinating the functions" of attorneys-general and may only request information, or reasons for a decision, from an attorney-general.

Ministry sources said yesterday that this already applied in convention, rather than law. The new Bill would formalise the political independence of attorneys-general.

The six provincial attorneys-general and one local attorney-general, in Johannesburg, would, in turn, be required to report directly to Parliament each year.

Parties square up for big fight

ARG 26/2/92 (304A)

Political Staff

REFERENDUM contenders were squaring up today for a short, tough fight following the dramatic swing in the Conservative Party in favour of a "no" vote.

Parties have started preparing election material, including pamphlets and posters, and arrangements are being made for a large number of meetings.

The rightwing today went out of its way to counter suggestions that there were sharp divisions in its ranks after a recommendation for a boycott was overturned by MPs.

The National Party and the Democratic Party have had talks to co-ordinate their campaigns and a CP spokesman said its workers had been busy throughout the night making preparations.

The rightwing decision has come as a relief for the government. Nationalist leaders said today it would now be easier to motivate white voters. They had also feared intimidation if the CP had decided not to take part.

(Continued page 2, col 8)

Parties square up for fight

ARG 26/2/92 (304A)

(Cont from page 1)

It was a day of high drama in Conservative Party yesterday after the executive decided to recommend that the party should boycott the referendum.

This decision was taken after a long meeting on Monday night. Yesterday a stormy caucus meeting decided to reject this recommendation.

Insiders say the executive's meeting was emotional with members angry because they were being railroaded into what they considered an unfair test.

With party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and the deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, supporting the recommendation to boycott, it was decided that the party should not participate.

In the caucus yesterday matters went the other way, with younger MPs especially — led by the controversial Mr Koos van der Merwe — pressing for participation.

CP's old guard forced to campaign for a 'no' vote

30414

26/2/92

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE Conservative Party leadership has been forced by a majority vote among its MPs to campaign for a "no" vote in the referendum.

Sharp differences have emerged between the old guard, which includes some of the party's most senior MPs, and a more powerful group in the caucus, prompting speculation last night of further damaging clashes within the ranks.

The differences were brought to a head when a firm recommendation by the executive of the party's head committee on Monday night that it should not take part in the referendum was overturned by a majority vote at a special caucus held yesterday. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht confirmed this when he announced the decision that the party would take part. He admitted there were opposing and strongly held views in the caucus but said the CP was a "democratic party" and the vote in favour of participation was accepted.

He made it clear the party would link its participation in the referendum to renewed demands for a general election on constitutional changes.

Dr Treurnicht said the party was presenting the government with an "ultimatum" on this. "The National Party came to power through election on a constituency basis. This is the customary way it could be defeated and replaced."

The executive based its recommendation not to take part on

considerations such as the "ridiculously short" time allowed for the campaign.

Clearly, however, the majority of MPs felt that the party would have been in an untenable position if it did not take part, facing instead a massive Nationalist onslaught that it was running away from a fair fight.

In his statement at a press conference yesterday, Dr Treurnicht appeared to deal mainly with the objections to participation and, in response to subsequent questions, made several conflicting statements on whether the CP would seek a "no" vote or a stayaway.

He said the government had leaned over backwards to find consensus with the ANC on extremely vital constitutional matters, but had refused to find consensus with the CP on the referendum, and rejected all conditions raised by the CP.

The government had disregarded President De Klerk's undertaking that a referendum would be held on the parliamentary voters' roll.

This was done even before the CP put its proposals to Mr De Klerk. The government could give no acceptable assurance that only whites would be able to vote in this referendum.

In this respect, the referendum was unreliable. The government was not giving an unequivocal undertaking that vital constitutional changes would be subject to the will of the white electorate. "Such a government deserves to be rejected."

ARG 26/2/92

Treurnicht causes confusion over referendum turnabout

(36414)

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CONFUSION last night surrounded contradictory statements by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on his party's decision to contest the referendum.

In a prepared statement, he said: "I... call on all white voters to reject Mr De Klerk's reforms with great enthusiasm in his own referendum."

Initial uncertainty seemed to be cleared up when, at the press conference late yesterday at which the statement was issued, Dr Treurnicht said in a response to a question: "The decision (of the caucus) is that we are taking part in the referendum."

However, in response to the very next question, Dr Treurnicht said: "It will be the effect of our campaign that people will refrain from voting."

In the next breath, he added: "It is not a campaign for an abstention. It is a campaign to vote 'no', but we will also demand a general election to replace the government."

Finally, he spelt out that the caucus "discussed (the issue) and gave the indication that we must fight and must advise our people to vote 'no'."

Questioned on what the CP's target percentage would be in the referendum, Dr Treurnicht declined to be drawn, saying only that "a majority of one is a majority".

After pointing out that losing the referendum would be like "losing one battle, rather than the war", Dr Treurnicht responded to the suggestion that he was already conceding defeat by saying: "As I have already said, this is not the end of the white nation."

Just as the National Party had lost general elections before 1948, "we believe in the long run people will realise the only alternative to a unitary state under majority rule is the policy of the CP".

He added: "I say if, even if, we should lose, that is not the end of the world, not the end of the white nation."

March 17 triggers ^{30/4/87} rush for documents

Political Staff

URGENT priority is being given by the Home Affairs Department to processing identity document applications from whites eligible to vote in the referendum.

With the referendum only 21 days away, whites without their identity documents in order are crowding into Home Affairs office queues — sometimes for hours at a time.

The rules in the referendum are expected to be officially released today. ^{ARC 26/2/92}

The referendum is likely to be run along the lines of the 1983 referendum which was not run on a constituency basis.

This makes it possible for citizens away from home to send in their vote by post.

Only South African citizens will be able to vote. Immigrants with identity documents reflecting only permanent residence would not qualify.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw said that scanners would be used to ensure that people arriving at the polling booths had not voted before.

A chemical would be applied to each person's finger after they had voted to ensure they did not double vote.

It is likely that the votes will be measured against the poll of the 1989 general election rather than the total potential vote.

● Requirements for an identity document are photocopies of original documents signed by a commissioner of oaths — including birth certificate, marriage certificate, driver's licence, permanent residence permit and proof of naturalisation (where applicable) — and two photographs.

Codesa: We dare not turn our backs on history

6 We are gathered here at Codesa to find a way towards a new democratic South Africa. The door is open to all political groups to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy in our effort to reach a just negotiated settlement.

It is only through the process of frank discussion and negotiation that a peaceful road can be found to build a future in which all our people can work together to create a life of peace, justice and security for all.

It is only through this process that we can begin to seek an answer to sat-

STAR
26/2/92
(304A)
isfy the just aspirations of our diverse peoples in their quest to assert and to protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

We declare that there is no unbridgeable gap between unity and diversity. All of us here are committed to seeking a route of individual freedom, a route without domination of one group over another within our common border.

There is no other way for South Africa to find a rightful place among the community of nations in our interdependent world.

There is no other way to avoid a fu-

ture of turmoil, unending strife and economic collapse for every inhabitant of our land.

All South Africans — black and white — stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war.

We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value the future of themselves and their children to support the process of negotiation that has been started at Codesa. **9**

Opponents of Codesa plan a new front

CAPE TOWN — Four organisations opposed to participation in Codesa meet in Cape Town today to discuss the formation of an "alternative patriotic front".

Representatives of the PAC, Azapo, New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action will also discuss a campaign of pamphleteering, pickets and placard demonstrations to coincide with the Codesa II session expected at the end of March or in April. (30/1/92) (1/2/92)

New Unity Movement public relations officer Norman Maharaj said the organisations were intent on forming an alternative patriotic front "constituted in terms of the principle of non-collaboration".

The organisers also hoped to involve Sacos in discussions.

Maharaj said an action campaign to oppose Codesa would be initiated at a national level.

Azapo, one of the prime movers of last year's Patriotic Front conference in Durban, later withdrew from the proceedings because of the attendance of parties represented in the tricameral Parliament and homeland governments.

Although represented in the Patriotic Front, the PAC subsequently withdrew from the Codesa negotiations. — Sapa.

SBBW 1461/7/E

President de Klerk is now facing two urgent tasks, writes Allister Sparks

Danger lurks in the CP rift

STAL 27/2/92

(3044)

THE Conservative Party's long wrangle over whether to participate in the referendum has revealed not only the deep divisions within that party but also the nature of its danger to South Africa.

For this was a dispute between the constitutionalists and the warhawks.

We know from Dr Andries Treurnicht that the executive committee met on Monday night and recommended a boycott.

They must have known, from the projections of polling specialists, that they will almost certainly lose the referendum, and so wanted to cloud the result with the statistical confusion a boycott would produce.

But when the recommendation was put to the parliamentary caucus on Tuesday morning, the constitutionalists in the party objected. There are reports they threatened to resign.

The reasons are clear. Apart from the stigma of running away from a fight, which is anathema in Afrikaner politics, a boycott decision carried implications that men like Koos van der Merwe and

other "verligtes" were not prepared to go along with.

It would mean the Conservative Party had abandoned the course of constitutional action to which it claims to be committed.

It has already spurned the opportunity to present its case for "self-determination" to Codesa.

To spurn the opportunity to get the general election it has demanded — and which it can get by winning the referendum and having President de Klerk honour his pledge to resign — would be to leave no further constitutional options open to it.

The only option left would be the one of violent insurrection.

That is the course the constitutionalists balked at following. There is a fundamental rift here. In the end a vote was taken and the constitutionalists won. Ferdi Hartzenberg and his hawks were defeated. But it must have been close.

This split will be reflected throughout the right-wing community. It is a major gain for Mr de Klerk. Round one goes to him. I predict he will win between 58 and 60 percent of the votes.

There are also other reasons for

this positive prediction.

Mr de Klerk's real master-stroke was putting himself on the line. This makes the official question on the ballot paper irrelevant: the real question is whether you want De Klerk or Treurnicht as President.

This enables Mr de Klerk to switch the focus away from general anxiety about where he is leading the country to stark horror at where Dr Treurnicht would lead it. He can paint a Doomsday scenario of the consequences of a Conservative attempt to return to apartheid — worse-than-ever sanctions, unemployment and general hardship as infuriated blacks and an outraged world rise up against a white community more isolated than ever.

It is a scenario the United States has already hinted at with a leak from Washington that it would put a Conservative government in South Africa in the same category as Iraq's Saddam Hussein — a regime so unacceptable that the US would launch a concerted campaign of sanctions and other measures to topple it.

Another factor is that for the first time in South Africa's history

the entire media — the English and Afrikaans Press and the SABC — will all be campaigning on the same side.

The Conservative Party will be swamped. It won't be able to concentrate its forces the way it did in Potchefstroom, where canvassers visited some voters seven times. Its forces will be thinly spread over the whole country in a short, sharp campaign.

But there is no room for complacency. The defeat of the Conservative Party in the referendum will not remove the right-wing threat.

It is likely to respond in two ways. One is that, with the chances of forcing an election gone, the arguments of those who have been pressing for the party to put its case for "self-determination" to Codesa will be greatly strengthened.

The other is that those itching to turn to revolutionary violence will feel there is no longer any point in holding off.

I believe the Conservative Party will split — and with that the likelihood of insurrectionary violence will increase.

This presents Mr de Klerk with

two urgent tasks. First, he must use the referendum to do what he has failed so lamentably to do until now, which is to get out into the country and explain himself to white voters.

Mr de Klerk must explain why he, a good Nationalist who devoted himself for years to the cause of apartheid, who led his people in that direction and filled their heads with nightmarish fears about what the alternative would be, suddenly changed two years ago and led his people towards that alternative.

The more I travel about South Africa, and the more I listen to phone-in radio shows, the more appalled I am at the scale of political confusion and inarticulateness that exists.

White South Africans have no tradition of thinking for themselves. Ours is a society that has followed leaders blindly and swallowed ideologies unquestioningly. Now suddenly these people have been abandoned by a President who has veered sharply off course without adequate explanation, leaving them milling about like lost sheep.

The other thing Mr de Klerk

must do is look to his security forces. With the prospect of right-wing insurrection likely to increase after the referendum, Mr de Klerk cannot afford a police force and army whose readiness to put down such a rebellion is open to question.

Some estimates put support for the CP and other far-rightist groups at between 80 and 95 percent in the police force and 70 to 80 percent in the army. This extends to senior command levels.

Mr de Klerk has been far too sanguine about this with his bland denials that there is any fifth column or "third force". Now he must act. He is looking to white liberals and social democrats to support him in the referendum, and this we must do. There can be no question of boycotting it on the grounds that a whites-only plebiscite is unacceptable, for to limit the "yes" vote is to aid Dr Treurnicht and there can be nothing more unacceptable than that.

But if we are to support him we have the right to demand in return that he clean up his security forces. He is the Commander-in-Chief. He must assert that authority. □

Pledge on security forces

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Roelf Meyer started out on the referendum campaign trail yesterday by reassuring whites that government would not surrender control of the security forces during transitional negotiations at Codesa.

Ostensibly responding to the ANC's proposals tabled at Codesa on Monday, he left a Cabinet meeting to join government's Codesa spokesman Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpert, and warned the ANC there would be "no unconstitutional joint control over the security forces".

The ANC's proposals, however, acknowledge the tricameral Parliament would first have to implement constitutional changes before such joint control.

Meyer also warned that until there was a substantial lessening in violence and crime, negotiations could not make pro-

BILLY PADDOCK

gress. "In fact we will have to stabilise the situation permanently before we can move forward" to transitional arrangements.

He insisted all South Africans could expect government to sort out the security situation. Until the relevant Codesa working group gave the go-ahead on the violence issue, progress in implementing transitional measures would be held up.

Reinforcing President F W de Klerk's warning to the ANC on Monday about satisfying his 1989 promise to the white electorate, Meyer said: "We accept nothing that is not compatible with our own eventual constitutional goals and principles."

Despite government signing the Codesa declaration of intent to do everything in its

□ To Page 2

Pledge

power to implement Codesa decisions, he said it was unacceptable to the NP that Cabinet take its orders from Codesa.

Meyer also rejected any foreign involvement in transitional structures.

Meanwhile, the ANC tripartite alliance yesterday issued a statement condemning the referendum because of its ethnic and racial basis, but in a veiled reference urged its supporters to back a "yes" vote.

"We call on all those who consider negotiations the best vehicle to usher in a peaceful future for all of us, to do everything in their power to defend the process

so that we can transform our country into (one) ... in which all South Africans will be able to live with dignity," it said.

De Klerk was condemned for gambling with SA's future and the referendum question was criticised. It gave the impression "that he is responsible for the negotiation process now unfolding ... The NP was dragged into the negotiations. The struggles waged by our people, led and guided by the tripartite alliance, were responsible for the unfolding processes."

● See Page 6

● Comment: Page 14

From Page 1

Cash flows in for 'yes' vote campaign

THE Private Sector Referendum Fund has raised more than R1m for its campaign to promote a yes vote in the March 17 poll.

Joint chairmen Chris van Wyk and George Thomas said this amount had been received in just two days in response to the fund's initiative to promote a positive result.

In a new development, it appears that the SABC's CCV channel and SABC radio have agreed to carry the campaign, after indications on Tuesday that the corporation would allow no advertising on the referendum. Van Wyk and Thomas said this would ensure a very wide audience.

They said the fund's media cam-

paign was firmly in place, with space booked in a wide range of newspapers nationally. Airtime has also been booked on M-Net and Radio 702.

Agency Initiative was briefed on Monday evening, and by 230pm on Tuesday it presented a TV, radio and print campaign which would include five or six print executions and about five TV commercials, Times Media Ltd GM marketing Peter McKenzie said yesterday. The fund was also negotiating for hoardings at the SA Grand Prix and at various cricket grounds in Australia.

He said the fund was hoping to

raise "quite a few million rands".

An M-Net spokesman confirmed yesterday that the station would accept all paid advertising that conformed to codes of the Advertising Standards Authority. M-Net said the placing of ads did not imply that the station endorsed the products, and the station reserved the right to veto adverts.

A CP spokesman said the party was still planning its strategy for the referendum, and a decision might be made known today.

Advertising campaigns by the Private Sector Referendum Fund and the NP will break in full force in this weekend's Sunday newspapers.

MARCIA KLEIN

Major changes needed to address problems

Sowetan
27/2/92

BASIC social challenges facing the black community in South Africa were yesterday identified as housing, joblessness and education.

The guest speaker on Radio Metro's Talkback Show, sponsored by *Tribute* magazine as part of its fifth anniversary celebrations, was Mr Molatlhegi Tlhale, Azapo's political education commissar.

He said the three aspects were a deliberate creation of the Government.

"Fundamental and qualitative changes will

have to take place before these aspects can be remedied. And that can only happen if the Government was removed and replaced with that of the people."

Tlhale's sentiments were echoed by the ANC's deputy head of the welfare department Mr Dali Mpofu who, however, differed with him on the methods of combating the problems.

"I agree with Azapo on the challenges facing the black community and I will also like to add that they will plague us for long time.

"However, it needs to be

remembered that the ANC had already held talks with organised commerce to address socio-economic problems."

Tlhale disagreed and said these forums were only addressing the symptoms of the problem.

"These aspects can only be fairly addressed by a government which will accept responsibility towards the people."

He added that problems related to jobs should be left to "people in charge of commerce and industry and bodies like trade unions."

Reincorporation a test for Codesa consensus principle

304A
B/12247-27/2/92
THE question of what constitutes sufficient consensus is set to be seriously tested at Codesa for the first time as political groups differ on whether Bophuthatswana's refusal to be reincorporated prevents agreement on the future of the TBVC states.

Transkei's military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa confirmed yesterday that government delegates considered Bophuthatswana's rejection of reincorporation to be a bar to sufficient consensus.

In terms of Codesa's standing rules, groups should arrive at decisions by sufficient consensus, although the term is not specifically defined. However, it is widely interpreted to mean there should be broad support for a proposal, and that government and ANC should also agree.

But government and NP representatives have said sufficient consensus on reincorporation can be achieved only if the TBVC states themselves also agree.

As all the groups in Codesa, other than Bophuthatswana, had agreed in principle that the TBVC states should be reincorporated, Holomisa said he believed sufficient consensus had been achieved.

He suggested that groups may argue that since Bophuthatswana had not signed

TIM COHEN

the Codesa declaration of intent, they were in effect observers at Codesa, and their refusal should not be taken into account.

The Bophuthatswana government is not prepared to accept reincorporation even if authority is delegated to second and third-tier governmental structures in the region. It favours a confederal arrangement between independent states in the region and argues in favour of "extended boundaries that meet its historic claims".

Although the majority at Codesa have agreed on the principle of reincorporation, documents indicate differences on how the reincorporation should take place.

Views differ from the SACP's statement that government should simply invalidate the laws that nominally gave the territories their independence to Inkatha's view that the method should depend on the wishes of the residents of the territories.

There are also differences about the timing of reincorporation.

ANC delegates have argued that the process of constitutional change should be preceded by reincorporation, but Holomisa insists that reincorporation could take place only once the tricameral Parliament has been abolished.

Ex-Inkatha man's life threatened

PRETORIA — Former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mbongeni Khumalo's life had been threatened by members of the organisation since his decision to make certain revelations about its activities to the Weekly Mail, a committee of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation heard yesterday.

Khumalo told the committee sitting in Pretoria that since he had given the information to the Weekly Mail and testified before the Goldstone Commission, he feared he would be killed. *B/Day*

The committee of the commission is investigating allegations of SADF funding of front organisations sponsoring violence. *27/2/92*

Khumalo said the reason for his resignation from Inkatha in February 1989

was that he had observed contradictions in the organisation that suggested it was not promoting peace. He had observed "extensive leaks" between the SADF military intelligence and Inkatha and the fostering of violence by Inkatha.

Asked by counsel for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, Louis Visser, why he had not brought his "disillusionment" with the organisation to its attention before resigning, he said it was not possible to do so and "still live".

Visser put it to Khumalo that what he had told the Weekly Mail and his evidence before the commission amounted to "gossip stories and inferences".

He said Khumalo had denied in an application for employment to the KwaZulu government that he had any criminal convictions, whereas he had several. — Sapa.

Officials net thousands for using own homes

SEVERAL Cabinet Ministers, deputy Ministers and parliamentary officials are receiving monthly payouts varying between R5 998 and R8 700 to compensate them for using their privately owned homes instead of official state-owned residences, a Public Works spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The department's parliamentary official, Andries Meiring, said where qualifying officials owned homes in Cape Town and in Pretoria, which they used instead of state residences, they received a double payout, at present received only by Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff.

This week the Financial Mail reports that at least 25 officials are making use of the scheme, expected to cost the state at least R2,5m in the 1992/93 financial year.

Meiring said the estimated cost for the current financial year was R2,1m, or a R1,7m saving on the estimated costs of providing official residences.

According to the Financial Mail, Cabinet and Ministers' Council members participating in the scheme included Pik Botha, Gerit Viljoen, Adriaan Vlok, Sam de Beer,

B/Day 27/2/92
304A
25/2/92
LINDEN BIRNS
Rina Venter, Kraai van Niekerk, George Bartlett, Louis Pienaar, Org Marias, Leon Wessels, Kisten Rajoo, Jacob de Villiers, Yunus Moolia, Baldeo Dookie, J N Reddy and Abe Williams.

Meiring said the first four tiers of payouts were paid by the Public Works budget, while the fifth was financed by the four provinces and the Ministers' councils.

First-tier payments, for Cabinet Ministers, Parliament's Speaker, the President's Council chairman and Ministers in the Ministers' councils, were R8 727.

Parliament's Chief Whip received a second-tier monthly payment of R7 481, while the chairmen of the three Houses of Parliament and the President's Council deputy chairman were paid the third-tier monthly rate of R6 678.

The fourth-tier R6 456 monthly benefits were paid to deputy Ministers, while Provincial Executive Committee members and ministerial representatives of the Ministers' councils qualified for the fifth and lowest-tier payments of R5 998.

Charles Schulz



JSE 'fights for honest market'

B/Day 27/2/92
MERVYN HARRIS
THE suspension imposed on a broking member by the JSE this week was further indication of efforts to maintain a fair and honest market, JSE executive president Tony Norton said yesterday.

He was commenting on the decision by the general committee of the JSE to

suspend Frank Brewer from Monday, March 2, to the close of business on Friday, March 6.

Brewer, formerly a director of Frankel, Max Polak, Vinderine, was found guilty at a special meeting of the committee on February 25 of a charge of failing to comply with a committee decision while a director of the firm.

Norton said SA was experiencing a deterioration in white-collar behaviour, and people were tending to breach rules more frequently than used to be the case.

"We are aware that standards have slipped and the JSE has undoubtedly been feeling some of the effects of such behaviour."



By Allister Sparks

THE Conservative Party's long wrangle over whether to participate in the referendum has revealed not only the deep divisions within that party but also the nature of its danger to South Africa.

For this was a dispute between the constitutionalists and the war-hawks.

We know from Dr Treurnicht that the executive committee met on Monday night and recommended a boycott. They must have known, from the projections of polling specialists, that they would almost certainly lose the referendum, and so wanted to cloud the result with the statistical confusion a boycott would produce.

But when the recommendation was put to the parliamentary caucus on Tuesday morning, the constitutionalists in the party objected. There are reports they threatened to resign.

The reasons are clear. Apart from the stigma of running away from a fight, which is anathema in Afrikaner politics, a boycott decision carried implications that men such as Koos van der Merwe and other "verligtes" were not prepared to go along with.

Masterstroke

It would mean the Conservative Party had abandoned the course of constitutional action to which it claims to be committed. It has already spurned the opportunity to present its case for "self-determination" to Codesa. To spurn the opportunity to get the general election it has demanded —

Deep divisions over referendum reveal danger of CP to SA



DR TREURNICHT: Horror at where he would lead SA.



FERDI HARTZENBERG: He and his hawks defeated in split.

There are also other reasons for this positive prediction.

Mr De Klerk's real masterstroke was putting himself on the line. This makes the official question on the ballot paper irrelevant: the real question is whether you want De Klerk or Treurnicht as President.

This enables Mr De Klerk to switch the focus away from general anxiety about where he is leading the country to stark horror at where Dr Treurnicht would lead it. He can paint a Domsday scenario of the consequences of a Conservative attempt to return to apartheid — worse than ever sanctions, unemployment and general hardship as infuriated blacks and an outraged white community more isolated than ever.

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He must explain why

Now suddenly these people have been abandoned by a President who devoted himself for years to the cause of apartheid, who led his people in that direction and filled their heads with nightmares fears about what the alternative would be, suddenly changed two years ago and led them towards that alternative.

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gies unquestioningly.

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There can be no question of boycotting it on the grounds that a whites-only plebiscite is unacceptable, for to limit the "yes" vote is to aid Treurnicht and there can be nothing more unacceptable than that.

But if we are to support him we have the right to demand in return that he clean up his security forces. He is the Commander-in-Chief. He must assert that au-

Prawns seem only hope amid ruins of Mozambique

OF ALL the British ghosts I encountered on a long journey through Mozambique last week, the strangest by far was the ruined empire of Sena Sugar Estates at Inyanga on the Zambezi, an hour's flight by light plane from Quilmane on the coast.

Deep in the bush, visiting beleaguered villages in Renamo rebel country, our small company was walking slowly on a steamy morning from the administrator's office about a kilometre away.

I observed that astonishingly we were passing through an avenue

now in bloom. The WF Deedes travels to blocks of apartments, shabby after 15 years of war, are not attractive, derelict mansions in the but nestled between them are small, lovely graceful capital unmo- tested by property developers and samples the country's main export — giant prawns.

The best place to have a good cry is down on the shore, a mile outside Maputo. The sand stretched as far as the eye can see — in the country's north. Here, solitary and stuck in the sky like a building that housed all the communications equipment. The heavy roof had caved in. They were working

NEWS IN BRIEF

B/0aw) -27/2/92 (28) 304A
Attorney-General Bill

A BILL entrenching the independence of attorneys-general was tabled in Parliament yesterday. According to an explanatory memorandum, the Attorney-General Bill was intended to place the independence of an attorney-general beyond any doubt.

During his opening speech to Parliament on February 1, 1991, President F W de Klerk gave an undertaking that attention would be given to the status of attorneys-general.

Codesa set to fly after a little tinkering

Sowetan 27/2/92.

304A

THE major parties are nearing an advanced stage in designing a mutually acceptable "package" on how South Africa should be ruled during transition and how a final constitution should be drawn up.

It is a process not unlike that of building model aeroplanes. Each has been busily cutting and gluing pieces together, and showing the product of their labours to the others.

Each has then gone back and altered its model in the light of what it has seen, trying to make it look a little more like the others.

The ultimate object of the exercise is to settle on a single structure which includes parts taken from each - and can still fly.

This is the context in which the ANC's newest model for interim government and constitution-making, presented at Codesa this week, should be seen. It is an adaptation of earlier positions, and includes clear attempts to address the Government's concerns; but without discarding the basic principles of the original design.

It will no doubt prompt a new, updated model from the Government side.

Sting

In two areas in particular, the latest ANC scenario seeks to satisfy - or at least take the sting out of - Government objections.

Firstly, the Government has insisted from the outset of the negotiations process that it will not accept a transitional arrangement which involves leaping into a "constitutional vacuum", or ceding power to an unelected body

FOCUS

The latest ANC blueprint for the transition period and beyond is both a concession and a challenge to the Government, a Sowetan Correspondent reports.

which will rule by decree.

The ANC had previously demanded that the present Parliament should be dissolved or suspended, and power transferred *in toto* to a representative, but unelected, body.

Now the ANC is proposing that the tricameral Parliament be maintained - possibly in a rationalised form - in order to give legislative effect to decisions taken by an "interim government council", appointed from the ranks of Codesa. This offers the Government a compromise: Parliament survives, but loses its ultimate authority.

Secondly, the Government has been set against the idea of a constituent assembly drawing up a new constitution, ever since the ANC first proposed the body. Now, however, the ANC proposals offer the possibility that a CA could operate as a legislature subject to checks and balances at the same time as it performed its constitution-drafting function.

This would allow for an interim Cabinet operating under sufficient or even full consensus, and interim measures such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority for legislation to be passed. There would also

be agreement that all parties receiving more than five percent of the vote under proportional representation, would be represented in the CA.

In these and other areas, the ANC and Government positions are converging markedly - not to the extent that full agreement is imminent, but rather in the sense that the details of similar concepts are now being debated. Earlier on in the process, the competing basic concepts seemed wholly incompatible.

The ANC's detailed step-by-step plan for a two-step path towards a final negotiated solution, in a summarised form, would operate as follows:

PHASE ONE, which can only come into being once agreement has been achieved on the matter at Codesa, would seek to "level the political playing field". Interim structures would be charged with ensuring equal treatment for all political competitors, particularly regarding elections.

Codesa would appoint from its ranks an interim government council (IGC), in effect a supreme transitional cabinet with final powers over Parliament and homeland structures.

Beneath the IGC would operate independent commissions charged with overseeing elections, and ensuring equal access to the public media. There would also be four multi-party committees, enjoying final control in the key areas of security, the budget, foreign relations and local government.

The international community would be invited to become involved, at least at the level of the electoral commission.

Phase one would lead to elections for a constituent assembly. The first phase should not last for more than six months beyond the date of its inception.

PHASE TWO begins once the CA has been elected. All South Africans over 18 would vote on the basis of proportional representation.

The main task of the CA would be to draft a final constitution, but it would appoint an interim Cabinet and perform transitional legislative functions. The process of constitution-making should not exceed nine months, and incentives and penalties would be devised to ensure that the timetable was adhered to.

Sunset

The constitution itself could include "sunset" clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

The new ANC "transitional package" takes the tactical fight to the Government: it cannot but demand a serious and considered response from Dr Gerit Viljoen and his strategists. There are certainly still points of difference - the Government will argue that the IGC is still a form of "rule by decree", for example - but many of its elements will not be easily dismissed.

The likely next step is a revised Government plan, swallowing what it feels it can swallow from the ANC blueprint, and finessing those areas with which it still has problems. The model aeroplane-building route to agreement is a long one, requiring patience - but it has achieved an extraordinary amount thus far and is speeding up all the time.

FW walkabout in city to get votes

Political Correspondent

THE government's "yes" vote drive will move into top gear early next week when President F W de Klerk launches an American-style campaign for votes in the Cape Town area.

National Party strategists say that Mr De Klerk will concentrate on personalised appearances and meeting ordinary people in the street rather than mass meetings.

However, the NP's traditional election workhorse, Mr Pik Botha, will address 10 major meetings in all four provinces during the hectic three-week campaign.

In their first formal reaction to the referendum, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance yesterday

sharply criticised Mr De Klerk for gambling with the future of the country by calling a whites-only referendum.

But the tripartite alliance at the same time warned that should the designs of the right wing to torpedo the Codesa negotiations be realised, "thousands of South Africa's children, black and white, will be used as cannon fodder in a situation that can only mean more blood-letting".

While the alliance stopped short of urging whites to vote "yes" on March 17, it nevertheless called on "all those who consider negotiations the best vehicle to usher in a peaceful future for all of us to do everything in their power to defend the process."

As the Conservative Party moved yesterday to draw all right-wing groupings into forming a united front for a "no" vote, senior members of the National Party and the Democratic Party also began discussions on ways in which the "yes" campaign could be co-ordinated.

NP and DP MPs said their parties were likely to concentrate on their areas of traditional strength to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort and resources.

The rules for the referendum will be spelled out at a press conference in Cape Town today. ● The Methodist Church yesterday called on its white members to vote "yes" in the referendum and the Cape Town City Council is expected to make a similar call.

Govt certain voters' roll will be ready

304A

B/day 27/2/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs officials are confident that they will have the voters' roll up to date and ready for the March 17 whites-only referendum.

The final arrangements for conducting the referendum are to be announced today. Officials could not give all the details yesterday as they were still working on the rules and regulations.

One official said the department had continued keeping racially classified records, in keeping with retention of a tricameral Parliament, up to date on computer.

Ready

He said the voters' list was updated every month. "I can tell you right now that the figure for white voters as at the end of December 1991 is 3 269 780," he said.

The referendum would be based on the February list which would be ready in time.

He said that the computer records were based on birth registrations.

Only those people who had registered their births after June last year would have no racial classification. This was a very small minority, he said.

As soon as people applied for their identity documents at the age of 18 or above, they were entered automatically onto the voters' roll.

The confidence of the officials contradicted CP claims that there were more than 500 000 missing voters, that voters' racial classification could not be ascertained and that the

referendum was not being conducted on voters' rolls.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said government had disregarded President F W de Klerk's undertaking to conduct the referendum on voters' rolls, especially when Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw announced that ID books would be used.

He also said government had not given adequate assurances that only whites would be able to vote and this would result in the referendum being unreliable.

Another Home Affairs official said referendum officials would be putting indelible dye on voter's hands, as they did in the Namibian independence elections, to prevent double voting.

The dye remained on the hands for about a week and could only be seen under ultra-violet light.

Another official said the department had been processing identity applications at the rate of 140 000 to 150 000 a month or between 6 000 and 7 000 a day.

He said there was hardly any backlog in issuing documents.

Most whites were applying for a re-issue of identity documents, and had their identity numbers which could be checked against the computer.

These re-issues were very fast, and the few whites that were first-time applicants were easily identified and were being given priority attention with staff working around the clock.

A week the CP would like to forget

STAR 27/2/72

(3064)

WHOEVER said a week is a lifetime in politics must have been thinking of the seven days that have just passed in South Africa.

A week ago today, the Conservative Party was sailing on a great cloud of euphoria following a convincing 2 140-vote victory over the National Party in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Today it is staggering to its feet after an extremely shaky start to a referendum campaign which may in the end destroy the party in its present form.

Little wonder then that Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort remarked roguishly yesterday: "Never has a party seemed so sincerely regretful about winning a by-election."

Such is the strategic power of a Government that has decided to stop looking over its right

shoulder, and instead face its noisy challenger head-on.

Not long ago, a CP by-election victory of Potchefstroom's magnitude would have sent the NP scuttling back into its shell and putting the brakes on reform.

This time, President de Klerk simply turned up the power, outflanked the right-wing laager and moved on.

And instead of looking im-pregnable as it did a week ago, the laager now looks rather isolated and silly.

So comprehensively has the playing field changed, that Dr Treurnicht is now openly conceding that the CP would not even reintroduce apartheid if the party came to power.

Perhaps it is a little premature to say so, but the conservative and ambivalence in CP ranks over the referendum suggests that the right-wing bogey is now in the process of being

The CP has been outflanked by President de Klerk on the referendum, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS — and after May 17 the party may never be the same again.

laid to final rest. If Mr de Klerk can win this referendum well — and everything now suggests he can — the right wing as an "insystem" political threat will be all but behind him.

He will have discharged his last restrictive obligation to his old all-white electorate, and consigned it to just a corner of the whole political playing field — and with it the old-style CP.

The party's handling of the 48-hour crisis suggested it was well aware of this possibility.

Dr Treurnicht's announcement made it obvious that this referendum is a contest that the CP would have preferred to wish away if it could.

His statement first listed all the Government misdemeanours which the CP had been

forwarding as reasons not to go into this fight. Then it switched tack, uncomfortably, to conclude that the CP should nevertheless go into the referendum to get rid of a government capable of such things.

This veiled the fact that none of the CP conditions for participation had been met, but it was a thin coating.

The CP had pained itself into a corner and had to resort to bashing its way clumsily through the wall to get out.

This week Dr Treurnicht at first seemed confused about what the CP's final strategy actually was. At one point he confused reporters completely by saying the effect of the CP campaign would be that people would refrain from voting —

thus suggesting the party would be pushing for a stayaway after all. Later he corrected himself, confirming that the CP would campaign for a "no" vote.

The division and confusion in the CP ranks was not just in the minds of journalists and NP propagandists.

Impeccable sources confirmed that the executive head committee firmly decided on Monday night not to fight the referendum.

And then the next day, in an unprecedented move, the caucus rebelled against its leadership and overturned its decision by a narrow margin.

It is understood that the vote in the executive was also split — by either seven to two or six to three.

Leading the boycott camp in the executive was headline deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg. But rumour has it that even Hartzenberg supporters such as Cape leader Jan Heon stood against him on this issue.

In the caucus, according to some sources, it was Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe — the maverick of CP politics — who led the rebellion against the leadership.

No details have emerged regarding precisely who supported him. Some CP sources confirmed Dr Treurnicht's claim that the voting followed strategic rather than ideological lines.

But CP-watchers believe nonetheless that Dr Hartzenberg's defeat this week tipped the balance of power in the CP in favour of the Van der Merwe camp which rejects the Hartzenberg strategy of going for power, preferring to enter nego-

tiations to try to bargain for a volkstataat much smaller than the present "white" SA.

Come the referendum, this camp may well be strengthened. If Mr de Klerk wins and the CP's dream of gaining power through the ballot box finally recedes, the option of negotiating a lesser stake in the future of South Africa will be considerably enhanced.

That could be the moment when the cracks in the CP finally metamorphose into a split.

What will happen to the Hartzenberg faction then is hard to say. Unless it takes up arms, the most it can hope for — as Dr Treurnicht has twice suggested obliquely this week — is to resign itself to wandering in the political wilderness for decades, waiting for the day that, as in the Soviet Union, the "new SA" fractures into a commonwealth of sovereign states. □

SA athletes back on world stage by April

STAR 27/2/92

By Dave Beattie

South African athletes will be back on the international stage in April — and the door to Barcelona is open.

A two-man delegation from the International Amateur Athletics Federation — senior vice-president Lamine Diack and IAAF member for Africa Hassan Agabani — wound up their brief visit to South Africa last night with the announcement that they would recommend provisional membership of Athletics SA at the next IAAF Council meeting on March 7.

Mr Diack said that while only the full IAAF congress could bestow full membership, provisional membership would open all international doors to South Africa.

The "problems" with South African athletics concerned unity, he said. The IAAF had wanted all three athletics bodies to unite and the two delegates had been asked by IAAF chief Primo

Nebiolo to visit South Africa again in an attempt to sort out the problem.

The two men held talks with President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Athletics SA, and the group which refuses to join the unity process, the SA Athletics Board.

Mr Diack said the African Unity athletics meetings would take place in Dakar on April 18, and in South Africa on April 24/25. "That's the way we will celebrate South Africa's return to the African sports family," he said.

Both men looked forward to seeing SA athletes at the World Cup in Havana.

I will recommend that Athletics SA be a member of IAAF... Lamine Diack, IAAF vice-president.



ANC alliance calls for white 'yes' vote

3047

STAR 27/2/92

Political Staff

The ANC has called on whites to vote "yes" in the reform referendum.

This is the effect of a carefully worded statement issued after a crucial meeting yesterday of top officials representing the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu.

The statement, issued in Johannesburg, condemned the referendum as racist and made it clear that the organisations would rather it was not taking place.

But in recognition of the fact that President de Klerk would definitely go ahead on March 17 — and that a "no" vote might bring the Conservative Party to power — the alliance implied heavily that whites should participate and vote "yes".

ANC sources said that although the statement did not call in as many words for a "yes" vote, "this is its clear intention". Sources said the ANC

could not be seen to be endorsing an ethnic referendum which it had already condemned, but that its followers would understand the "realpolitik message".

Other sources added that the ANC might be concerned not to "kill the NP with kindness" by appearing to offer clear support, which would be exploited by the right-wing.

The statement had harsh words for Mr de Klerk, however. "We reject the referendum, which is ethnic and racist, and condemn President de Klerk for taking this gamble with the future of our country."

"The referendum question gives the impression that he is responsible for the negotiations process now unfolding in our country. The National Party was dragged into negotiations. The struggles waged by our people, led and guided by the tripartite alliance, were responsible for the unfolding processes."

It's gazetted!

PRETORIA. —The referendum was officially proclaimed in the Government Gazette in Pretoria yesterday. According to a copy of the ballot paper reproduced in the Gazette, voters will be required to draw a cross to indicate whether they vote Yes or No. (304A)

The question "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on 2 February 1990 and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?" will be printed in Afrikaans and English.

ARG 27/2/92

(304A)
Autonomy
for AGs ^{STAR} 27/4/92
welcomed

By Michael Sparks

A Bill granting attorneys-general greater political autonomy, which was tabled in Parliament on Monday, has met with a favourable response from the attorneys-general of the Transvaal and the Free State.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau welcomed the Bill, though he added there were a number of steps before it became legislation.

"I think the most valuable aspect of this new legislation is that it will be seen as additional assurance to the public of the political independence of the attorney-general's position," Mr von Lieres said.

This means that on an important case, an attorney-general could be called before a parliamentary committee, which Mr von Lieres regarded as a good thing.

Free State Attorney-General Tim McNally said that although he had not seen the latest version of the Bill, he supported it.

"I am in favour of anything that underlines the independence of the attorney-general," Mr McNally said.

The new legislation means that although attorneys-general are still appointed by the State President, they no longer have to conform to requirements applicable to civil servants.

'No' vote 'means drop in standards'

PEOPLE who voted "no" in the March 17 referendum were condemning themselves and their fellow South Africans to a declining standard of living, Mr Brian Goodall (DP Edenvale) has said.

Speaking in the House of Assembly during the debate on the Additional Appropriation yesterday, he said the major question during the referendum was whether South Africans would be better off if they voted "yes" or "no".

While social expenditure was necessary to back political reform, the government had to recognise the importance of judicious use of State resources.

"We simply cannot afford to waste a cent," he said.

Each of the 34 votes and the five schedules of the Additional Appropriation were passed unanimously. — Sapa.

(304A)

ARG 27/2/92

R1,7-m for Codesa travel, accommodation

A TOTAL of R1 717 000 had been spent on travel and accommodation for delegates attending Codesa 1 on December 19 and 20 last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has said.

Speaking during the debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said that although the government had foreseen expenditure related to constitutional negotiations, his department had been unable to quantify it beforehand.

His department, therefore, required an additional appropriation of R14,4 million compared to the R14,257 million allocated

ARC 27/2/92 (30417)
to it in the past financial year.

For Codesa 1, a total of R905 000 had been spent on delegates' accommodation, R512 000 on their private and public transport and R300 000 on internal air travel.

Expenditure on Codesa from January to March this year was about R1,4 million for accommodation, R800 000 on private and public transport and R500 000 on internal airfares.

No daily allowances had been paid to Codesa delegates, only their travel and

accommodation costs and those of foreign observers included in delegations at pre-determined rates.

Of the R1,8 million requested for the National Peace Accord, R1,4 million had already been spent on advertising and marketing it and the workings of its secretariat.

Market researchers Markinor had been paid R360 000 for a national opinion survey on key issues such as peace, constitutional development and certain constitutional concepts for the negotiations. — Sapa.

'Yes' vote urged by ANC and partners

Political Staff

204A
AEG 27/2/92
The ANC has called on whites to vote "yes" in the reform referendum.

This is the effect of a carefully worded statement issued after a crucial meeting yesterday of top officials representing the ANC/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance.

The statement, issued in Johannesburg, condemns the referendum as racist and makes it clear that the organisation would rather it was not held.

But in recognition of the fact that President De Klerk will definitely go ahead on March 17 — and that a "no" vote might bring the Conservative Party to power — the "tripartite alliance" implies heavily that whites should take part and vote "yes".

ANC sources said although the statement did not call in as many words for a "yes" vote, "this is its clear intention".

Sources said the ANC could not be seen to be endorsing an ethnic referendum which the organisation had already condemned, but that its followers would understand the "realpolitik message".

Other sources added that the ANC might be concerned not to "kill the NP with kindness" by appearing to offer clear support, which would be exploited by the rightwing.

The vital paragraph of the statement read: "The negotiation process is under threat, at this moment, from the rightwing whose main aim is to torpedo Codesa and the negotiations and reimpose Verwoerdian grand apartheid."

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa called on white South Africans yesterday to vote for President De Klerk's reforms to prevent the rightwing torpedoing Codesa, Sapa reports from Johannesburg.

A Conservative Party referendum victory could lead to civil war, he warned while being interviewed on Radio 702.

The ANC was against a white plebiscite, but the rightwing threat forced it to back President De Klerk and call on whites to vote "yes" in the referendum, he said.

● Meanwhile, the whites-only referendum has been sharply criticised in an editorial in the official ANC publication, Mayibuye.

In its March edition, the publication said blacks had nothing to celebrate, writes Dennis Cruywagen of The Argus Political Staff.

"The issue of a referendum has been shorn of all pretences of democracy. For no nimble footwork could hide the racism in De Klerk's original proposal for a so-called non-racial referendum."

Call on city council to endorse 'yes' vote

ARG 27/2/92 (3049) (45)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

THE city council is to be asked to call on all white Cape Town residents eligible to vote in the March 17 referendum to support the reform process.

Executive committee chairman Mr Richard Friedlander said he would put a motion of exigency before the council at its monthly meeting today asking it to endorse a "yes" vote.

He said he thought his council colleagues would support his motion calling on white voters to record "the unqualified support of this city for the reform process".

He said: "My main consideration is to get people to vote. They must not be put off by the euphoria and think it's okay not to vote."

Mr Friedlander said it was essential that people took part.

"A 'no' vote would bring absolute devastation to the country. The future of all citizens is at stake. It's essential that the reform process continues."

Mr Friedlander said he was not a member of the National Party, "but all who are not against reform must stand together to ensure that reform gets the go-ahead."

R12m for March 17 (364A)

THE March 17 referendum is expected to cost R12,3 million. *RCG 27/2/92*

This was said by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, in the House of Assembly during the Additional Appropriation debate.

He told questioner Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) the money would come from the State Revenue Fund. — Sapa

SACP objects to Moscow upgrading diplomatic ties

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



3044

STAR 2 1/2 192

The South African Communist Party has called on the Russian Federation not to take the "pre-mature and counter-productive" step of upgrading diplomatic relations with South Africa.

A delegation headed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozыrev is to arrive in South

Africa today.

A spokesman for the Russian interest section in Pretoria said he was not ready to comment on the SACP's objection, but after studying the statement might contact the party to clarify the position.

It is understood that relations between the two countries will be upgraded to ambassadorial level during the visit.

The SACP condemned any at-

tempt to upgrade diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa, saying it was premature and counter-productive.

Full diplomatic relations should be established only once interim transitional arrangements were in place because relations would then be with a more representative and legitimate authority, the SACP said.

"Throughout our difficult

years of struggle, the oppressed and exploited people of our country received the full political, moral and material support of the people and political and public organisations of the Soviet Union.

"It is, therefore, a matter of great regret that the present Russian government should see fit to upgrade its diplomatic relations now," the SACP central committee said.

ANC bid for joint control of security forces rejected

STAR 27/2/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has strongly rejected ANC proposals for joint control of the security forces during the transition to a permanent new government.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said in a statement yesterday that "no form of unconstitutional joint control over the security forces will be accepted by us".

The statement was in response to the ANC's transitional proposals which were published in the organisation's journal *Mayibuye*.

They recommended that Codesa should appoint an interim government council which would oversee the present Cabinet and tricameral Parliament and in turn appoint multi-party committees representing all the Codesa delegations to supervise the security forces, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

Mr Meyer said that by "unconstitutional" control he meant control by decree.

He was asked why he characterised the ANC proposals as unconstitutional when the ANC had suggested that the present tricameral Parlia-

ment should enact legislation to bring about the interim government council and its subordinate bodies.

Mr Meyer said the Government's objection was that the ANC proposals implied a legislative status for Codesa which it did not really have.

He said Codesa was looking at the possibilities of various phases in the transition. A first phase could involve adding people to the Cabinet and a second could involve changes to the composition of Parliament.

Unacceptable

Responding to the ANC proposals for the transition, the statement said they showed encouraging movement towards the Government's approach.

But there were still elements of unconstitutional structures in the ANC proposals. This was not acceptable, the statement said.

The Government was "not interested in foreign involvement in transitional governmental structures".

"Insofar as the ANC's scenario may include anything like that, it is not acceptable to us."

This referred to the ANC proposal that the "international communi-

ty should be intimately involved" in the transition, especially in the supervision of elections for a constituent assembly.

The climate of violence would have to improve before the transition could be entered.

Asked if the Government was determined not to enter binding transitional arrangements until the ANC had finally renounced the armed struggle, Mr Meyer said this was being discussed with the ANC.

The statement said the Government was not prepared to accept anything that was not compatible with its eventual constitutional goals and principles.

However, they were confident that Codesa would reach agreement on interim arrangements.

Mr Meyer said he thought that none of the present transitional plans would be the one finally agreed to.

He said the Government and the National Party would have to scale down their participation in Codesa to concentrate on the referendum campaign.

Executive members would occasionally have to send substitutes to Codesa meetings, but he did not believe this would slow down progress.



Long wait . . . queues formed at the Home Affairs Department in Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, yesterday after the announcement that only white citizens with identity books will be able to vote on March 17. Picture: George Mashini

US suspends aid plans pending referendum result

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau 27/2/92

WASHINGTON — In its first public reaction to the March 17 referendum, the Bush administration has warned that any retreat from the Codesa negotiations would be "a devastating step backward towards international isolation and domestic discord in South Africa".

The warning came as initiatives in Congress to set up a multibillion-dollar aid package for South Africa were suspended pending the outcome of the referendum.

A defeat for President de Klerk undoubtedly would lead to the collapse of the scheme, congressional advisers said yesterday.

And officials suggested that moves to facilitate loans and financing for South Africa through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank probably would be put on hold until a clear signal had come from South Africa's whites on what the country's future course would be.

Last week the Bush administration declared it was prepared to consider an IMF loan application from South Africa.

ANC path to constitution

South 27/2-3/4/92

By Quentin Wilson

304A

AMID the fuss about the whites-only referendum, the ANC's proposed path to a new constitution has gone almost unnoticed.

The movement's proposal was tabled at Codesa this week, suggesting a two-step approach that could result in a constitution within 15 months.

The first of the two phases aims to set up three categories of structures to control the route to a constituent assembly.

This would involve establishing:

- an Interim Government Council — a body made up of parties in Codesa which oversees the tri-cameral parliament, the NP cabinet and structures in the TBVC and self-governing territories.
- Multi-party Committees with complete control over the impor-

tant areas like security, the budget and foreign relations.

- an Electoral Commission to validate election results and a Media Commission to take charge of all state broadcasting and to elect new boards.

The proposal says these interim structures "will be charged with the task of levelling the playing field. They should ensure equal treatment for all organisations, especially in the election campaign."

The second phase of the proposal suggests elections for a constituent assembly which would also operate as a legislative assembly.

It will also appoint an interim cabinet, preferably from all parties in the constituent assembly.

The National Party, swamped by referendum preparations, are biding their time before making clear-cut interim proposals.

The white Left will hate voting in the referendum, write Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh

Saying 'yes' with a grimace

STAR 28/2/92

304A

FATE can be cruel. Having spent decades in dangerous and costly struggle against the National Party Government and its policy of apartheid, white extra-parliamentary leaders are now steeling themselves to vote in the referendum — in support of that Government's policies.

It is not something the white Left is finding easy to swallow.

Prominent figures complain bitterly at being caught in a situation in which they are convinced their long-held beliefs have been vindicated — but in order to see them to fruition, they have no choice but to vote for the "old enemy".

The timing, phrasing and apocalyptic nature of the March 17 poll presented the white Left with a ticklish — in some cases agonising — dilemma.

This week prominent white extra-parliamentary figures were wrestling painfully with the issue. These deliberations continued until Wednesday night when the ANC and its South African Com-

munist Party and Cosatu allies finally issued a statement which came as close to urging a yes vote as these organisations could be expected to come, given the fact that they are policy-bound to reject ethnic polls.

The genuine anguish was illustrative of the pace, and unexpected nature, of changes in the South African political landscape.

It also provided a sneak preview of the kinds of "realpolitik" decisions which might have to be taken in future — when informal "anti-Right" alliances might emerge in elections.

Old personas non grata like the Government and homeland leaders might have to be embraced for tactical reasons, no matter how reluctantly.

Voting "yes" for Mr de Klerk in the referendum is in this sense a dry run.

Most white anti-apartheid leaders, contacted by The Star before the ANC alliance's announcement, freely conceded that they were tormented by the decision which faced them.

Many privately confessed relief at the fact that in the end it would be Nelson Mandela who would be providing ultimate guidance.

All agreed that the matter was far more complex than had been the case in previous referendums or elections, and that opposition to the Nats per se was no longer enough to force them to take a clear-cut stayaway decision.

Ironically, they shared with the Conservative Party a fundamental objection to the referendum question — albeit for different reasons.

The question as framed by Mr de Klerk, they said, meant a "yes" vote implied active support for reform as conceived and applied by the Government.

They complained that while they were eager to endorse the necessity of continuing reform — as specifically embodied in the proceedings at Codesa — they were loath to lend their implicit support to President de Klerk as one competing actor in that process.

Nevertheless, it seemed clear even before the ANC announce-

ment that when the moment of truth arrived, most would take the "lesser of two evils" option, and vote to prevent the CP from winning a victory for reaction.

Former chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum, Mike Olivier, was one of the few who were prepared to say so before the sanction of the ANC was received.

He said the white Left had to take a strategic view of the referendum. One had to accept the nature of the situation and the way the question was phrased, and ignore the fact that one was voting tacitly for the National Party.

A yes vote was essential, "even if it goes against the grain".

Mr Olivier said there was a danger in "backing off" and creating white apathy.

It was important to demonstrate "how small the CP support base" was.

The referendum was shot through with confusing cross-currents, he said. Dr Treurnicht and Mr de Klerk were still viewing politics in racial terms.

Mr Olivier was confident the

NP would win the referendum but added that Mr de Klerk would afterwards say that he obtained a mandate for whites, and not from the NP.

But there was no choice in the matter, Mr Olivier said — he would rather see change than a delay in the negotiation process.

Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission said that, taken at face value, he did not have an insurmountable problem with the question, but he was concerned that 85 percent of the population was excluded from the referendum. He remained personally undecided on the issue yesterday.

Others contacted by the Star said the referendum was a legacy of apartheid, and whites should have freed themselves of the shackles of apartheid a long time ago when they were told to do so.

One prominent figure had a disarming answer to the dilemma, however: she said she wouldn't have to make up her mind because she had a British passport.

Now that the issue of voting is settled, it can be expected that a

campaign of sorts will be mounted by the white Left to place it on record that not all "yes" votes can be interpreted as direct support for President de Klerk.

It will be argued that the vote is for negotiations and against the CP — Mr de Klerk will receive a mandate to continue negotiating, but will not be able to claim that his own specific policy positions have been mandated by all whites.

Nevertheless, referendum day could see some interesting characters lining up at the booths to make their crosses in an all-white poll.

The implication of the ANC statement is that such prominent figures as Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Suttner and Neil Coleman — to name a few at random — will be there.

Some who have returned from exile might not have identity books, and may therefore be spared the ambivalent experience. But for the others, as one Afrikaans white activist put it, it will be a case of, "Ons eet met baie lang tande". □

Graham Linscott reports on the liberals who are holding centre stage

Good reason for Democrats to smile

STAR 28/2/92

(3647)

WHY are Democrats chuckling so much these days? On television the other night, Kobus Jordaan, the DP MP for Umhlanga, was positively wreathed in smiles. At one point the SABC's Marieta Kruger had to ask him what he was laughing about.

He was laughing, Mr Jordaan explained, at the Nats! Dr Stoffel van der Merwe saying his party had been given a mandate at the 1989 election.

It was the DP who had campaigned in 1989 along the lines of what the Nats now propagated, Mr Jordaan said.

They had been pilloried for it at the time. What was that about mandates?

It captured the present comfortable position of the DP who, unlike the Nats and the ANC, have

not been required to budge an inch from former positions.

Today they are at the centre of things in Codesa, the only people with a sure instinct for federalism, checks and balances in government, the rule of law and the other liberal conceptions without which, it is becoming fast apparent, there can be no political settlement.

The DP is like a well-lubricated hub around which the rest of Codesa turns.

Add to this the fact that, for the first time since the 1950s, the liberal vote is going to be worth more than twopence and it is easy to see why Mr Jordaan and his colleagues look like cats who have taken the cream.

If Mr de Klerk is to win the referendum, his margin of victory is

likely to be attributable almost entirely to the DP vote.

It surely puts the DP in an extraordinarily influential position. One thinks back to an alliance at the 1983 referendum for the tricameral system of parliament.

Then the New Republic Party (still a significant force with its power base in the Natal Provincial Council and its unique relationship with the government of KwaZulu) supported the Government — and almost immediately began to lose its identity and its influence.

It delivered P W Botha a greater "yes" vote from Natal than anywhere else in the country, but began to be colonised by the Nats, some of its public representatives crossing the floor.

In the 1987 election, the coloni-

sation was confirmed, the NRP being blown out, soon to disband.

Is something similar going to happen between the Nats and the DP? But who is colonising whom? Mr Jordaan's chuckles on TV suggested that the answer to this could be rather less straightforward than an equation with just numbers.

An extraordinary situation, to be sure.

Nobody can say quite what the future holds for the DP, whether it will eventually merge with the Nats or be deserted by voters who cannot tell the difference between the two.

But for the moment it is having a marvellous time.

As with the Cheshire Cat, at least the smile is likely to linger. □

THE TRANSITION

The players converge

The ANC believes that the new constitution should include "sunset" clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

Their nature has not been fully worked out but secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says: "I can refer to situations which we can relate to: Zimbabwe had 20 seats reserved for white people for a specified period. In Ghana, soon after independence, no major change could take place with regard to the civil service for a stated period."

The other side of this coin concerns sunrise clauses to "address the aspirations of our people as a whole."

This emerges from the ANC's proposals on interim government arrangements presented to Codesa this week. The sunset clauses, with an offer of multiparty interim rule, suggest that a strategic compromise is being floated.

Government, of course, wants such high-minded intentions translated into principles that will be constitutionally entrenched. The NP observed this week that "constitutional conventions are not mere ad hoc assurances and informal agreements."

Meanwhile, the ANC believes that implementation of the first phase of transition (see charts) should take place within months.

The starting point, explains ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli, is Codesa's arriving at agreement

on all the matters it is engaged in by the second half of the year. Once those agreements are reached, they would have to be made law by the present parliament.

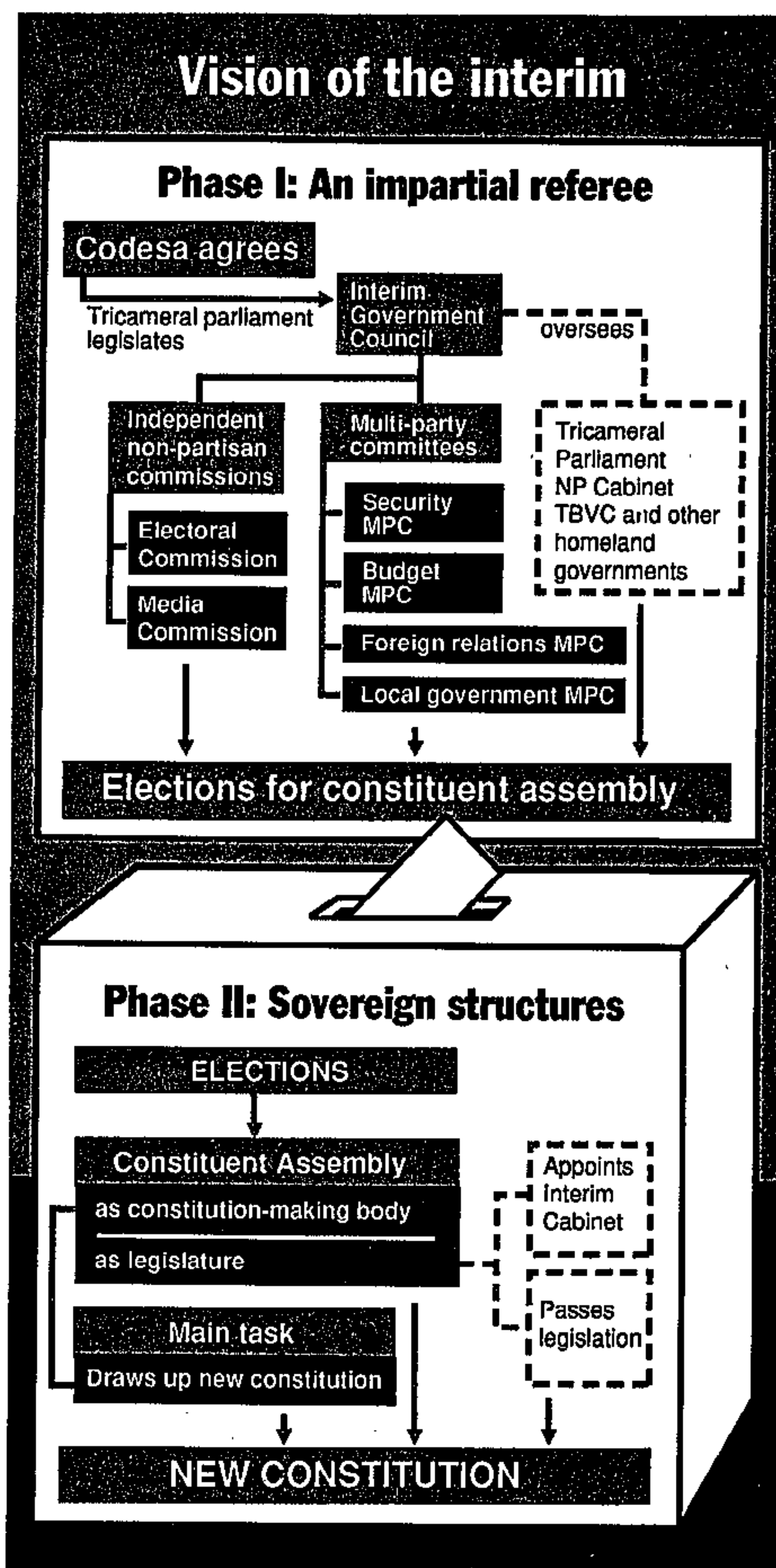
Phase One is intended to end before the year is out, and it would wind up when elections are held for a constituent assembly of 300 or 400 seats. The issue of voter registration and identification is still under negotiation. The main purpose of this assembly would be to draft a new constitution within nine months. It would also take over all legislative functions.

Part of the assembly's functions would be to appoint an interim Cabinet, thus continuing the interim government, which will be based on the principle of national unity. This situation will continue until a new constitution is drawn up and implemented. Much of

this seems to tally with what the NP is prepared to accept.

Different options would then be available: the elected assembly could, as happened in Namibia, transform itself into the first national assembly; or it could be dissolved and fresh elections held.

Either way it seems that the pace of change will accelerate by the month. ■



Source: ANC

FM 28/2/92

~~304A~~ 304A

POLITICAL PERKS FM 28/2/92 Houses in order

304A

Political office bearers are being paid between R6 000 and R8 700 a month compensation to live in their own houses instead of in official State residences to which they are entitled. The beneficiaries include Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and members of provincial executive committees.

At least 25 officials are taking advantage of the scheme which is expected to cost the State more than R2,5m in the coming financial year. Details of the scheme were supplied to the FM by the Department of Public Works in response to questions.

The issue was raised in parliament this month by the CP's Casper Uys during the

white "own affairs" additional appropriation debate. Uys asked Minister's Council chairman Magnus Malan for details of a sum of R257 000 which was requested for compensation payments to ministerial representatives for the use of their own houses.

Malan said the payments were in terms of a scheme applicable to all political office bearers. It gave them the choice of living either in their own homes or official residences. Ministerial representatives were included in the scheme for the first time at the beginning of last year. Before that they were entitled to only R1 500 a month.

Malan said entry into the scheme was conditional on the private house being within 40 minutes' travelling time from the person's office. It also had to be of the same standard as the official residence to which the office bearer would be entitled. He said four of the six white "own affairs" ministerial representatives were participating in the scheme. Applications from the other two were turned down "because the standard of housing was not considered to be on a par with that of a ministerial representative."

In its replies to the FM, the department said a compensation scheme was first introduced in 1982, but only "limited use" was made of it. A new scheme came into operation in 1990 in an effort to cut the costs of maintaining and administering official residences.

continue.

FM 28/2/92

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

The department says a thorough investigation showed that it cost the State more than R15 000 a month to provide an official residence for a Minister. This included a capital cost component based on an average value of R846 000, maintenance, the provision and maintenance of furniture, gardening and cleansing services and administration costs.

In addition, the State did not have enough official residences to provide accommodation for all political office bearers and it was therefore "only fair" that those who used their own houses should be compensated "on an equitable basis."

The officials entitled to use the scheme (with the monthly amounts they are paid): Ministers, the Speaker and Chairman of the President's Council (R8 727); the chief whip of parliament (R7 481); the chairmen of the three houses of parliament and the deputy chairman of the President's Council

(R6 678); Deputy Ministers (R6 456); members of provincial executive committees and ministerial representatives (R5 998). The cost of municipal services and taxes is also refunded. The compensation is taxable.

Ministers participating in the scheme were listed as: Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, J N Reddy, Baldeo Dookie, Adriaan Vlok, Sam de Beer, George Bartlett, Kraai van Niekerk, Rina Venter, Jacob de Villiers, Yunus Moolla, Kisten Rajoo, Louis Pienaar, Org Marais, Leon Wessels and Abe Williams.

Deputy Ministers were: S V Naicker, Wynand Breytenbach, Theo Alant, Johan Scheepers, David Graaff and Fanus Schoeman. Other office bearers were President's Council chairman Willie van Niekerk, parliamentary chief whip Alex van Breda and President's Council deputy chairman Johan Heyns.

The department also listed Phillip Saunders as a participant in his capacity as

chairman of the House of Representatives, but he resigned earlier this month. The department was unable "in the time available" to give details of which MECs and ministerial representatives participated in the scheme. There are 21 MECs and at least 10 ministerial representatives.

The estimated costs of the scheme in the current financial year — excluding compensation for municipal services and rates, and excluding MECs and ministerial representatives — will be R2,1m. However, the department says this represents a saving for the State of R1,7m on the estimated cost of providing official residences.

Participation in the scheme means some State residences have been sold. In the 1990/1991 financial year three were sold in Pretoria and Durban by public tender for a total of R1,2m; recently, two were sold in Cape Town for a total of R2,7m. The proceeds were paid into the State Revenue Account. ■

Bridgehead to democracy

 FM 28/2/92
 (3044)


Alf Stadler is professor and head of the Department of Political Studies at Wits University. Here he discusses the latest referendum in the light of earlier divisions in Afrikaner politics.

The decision to hold a referendum next month indicates the alarm Nationalist leaders registered after Potchefstroom and the urgency of their desire to staunch the party's wounds before it bleeds to death. Whether or not President F W de Klerk wins the referendum is obviously important but, even if he gets 55% or so of the white vote (including the support of the DP), it is hardly going to look like a resounding defeat for the Conservatives.

The rapid decline in Afrikaner support for the NP since 1989 has strong parallels with the situation the South African Party faced before its defeat in 1924 and with the United Party before 1948.

At their inception both parties commanded the support of a majority of Afrikaner political groups. Within a decade their linguistic complexion had changed remarkably: by 1924, the South African Party had an Afrikaner leadership within an English-speaking electoral base. Something of the same happened to the United Party after 1938. These defections resulted from the disaffection of Afrikaners at what they saw as the dilution of their national identity.

The price that Afrikaner leaders like Botha and Smuts paid for effecting broad centrist alliances, aimed at generating a

more inclusive national identity, was to alienate Afrikaner support — particularly on the peripheries of society and the economy.

Afrikaners, specially those living in the countryside, responded to populist, nativist and anti-elitist movements. The leaders of these movements (Hertzog and Malan) contrasted their own commitment to the principles of national self-determination with what they presented as the lack of principle of men like Botha and Smuts. They formed nationalist parties which rapidly mobilised massive electoral support from among Afrikaners. It took only a decade for Hertzog to win power; 14 years for Malan.

From the early Sixties, populist movements reminiscent of those early ones began to re-emerge in attacks such as the one that Dr "Ras" Beyers launched against the "self-styled elite Afrikaners" whose dominance he described as more distasteful than British rule. Typical of these attacks was Jaap Marais' claim that the "soul of the party" had left with the group that was to form the HNP.

There was much to fuel their anger. The wealth of Cabinet Ministers was ostentatiously displayed. The presidency of Nico Diederichs provided something of a carnival for Afrikaner *nouveaux riches*. There was a sting of class arrogance during the Seventies in statements such as the one by a Minister that if he had held office in the Thirties he would have used influx controls to keep poor whites out of the cities.

As it turned out, Verwoerd, Vorster and P W Botha were remarkably successful at holding the centre against these populist assaults on their power. The HNP languished for a decade with hardly an MP. Even the

more promising CP looked containable for most of the Eighties. But from February 2 1990, the challenge from the Right of the NP has escalated alarmingly as it exploits the resentment of whites faced with the loss of social, economic and political hegemony.

What is of great interest is that in choosing to hold an all-white referendum, De Klerk was demonstrating that for all the innovations he has introduced, he is after all an Afrikaner politician, who feels impelled to seek legitimacy from a white electorate.

One important cost of rightwing and populist attacks on the centrist Afrikaner leadership is the price paid by non-Afrikaner groups for keeping "moderate" Afrikaner leaders in power and the "extremists" out. They have had to abandon their own political identities and dilute their principles despite sometimes deep-rooted antipathies.

The submergence of the DP's principles and interests within those of the Nationalists follows a long tradition. The Natal factions in 1910, the Unionists in 1920 and the Dominion and the Labour parties in the Forties and Fifties provide clear precedents for the moves recently made by the DP.

The genuinely novel factors are, of course, the ANC and the imminence of a nonracial constitution. The pressure of the CP will almost certainly affect the way in which the ANC comports itself during the next little while.

Yet there is a difference between the ANC and the parties which gave up their identities to save Smuts' governments. The ANC does not wish to preserve a reforming Afrikaner elite but to use it as a bridgehead to undermine white power. It is, after all, the majority-bent party.

A blank scoreboard

FM 28/2/92

The CP claimed after its Potchefstroom victory that it represented most whites. Its agony over whether to boycott the referendum revealed that it is not so sure and its leadership lacks the will to carry the fight to the NP.

There is no doubt that the question is simple and fair: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?" Anyone who does not understand the implications of this question has been asleep since President F W de Klerk took office.

When the decision to campaign for a "no" vote was finally made on Tuesday, the CP's rank-and-file MPs were clearly pleased. The indications were that the leadership had been outflanked and demoralised by the referendum announcement; the party executive apparently recommended a boycott.

This was overruled by the caucus — the only realistic option if the party was to escape ridicule. The decision may yet cause unease in Nat circles. Many Nat MPs will be reluctant to canvass in their constituencies, in competition with CP workers who have nothing to lose from a last, desperate appeal to a gloomy electorate.

The CP suspects, now, that it will lose the referendum. But De Klerk and everyone else would be wise not to take victory for granted. The consensus this week seemed to be that De Klerk would get between 55% and 60% of the vote — hardly a guaranteed landslide, and far short of the two-thirds majority achieved by President P W Botha in 1983.

A rugby metaphor is probably appropriate: however strong the favourites are, they still have to get points on the board. ■

Cash inflow tied to progress Chalker

CAPE TOWN — Development funds would not flow into SA until there was progress beyond Codesa and all parties were committed to sound economic policies, Britain's Overseas Development Minister. Lynda Chalker has stated.

"There is no going back now, but we want to see the CP, the PAC and Azapo joining in and I don't think donors in general will say the whole thing's going forward until all parties are involved."

SA's government of the future had to tackle the bitter social and economic legacy of apartheid, she said in an interview in the latest issue of Leadership, published yesterday.

31 May 28/2/92
Political Staff

A new constitution could not do that and an early return to economic growth was vital.

"That is why I have long advocated the early abolition of all economic sanctions, and we do believe that, as well as getting the investment, much more assistance will be needed in SA."

"But I think donors do want to see progress and, unfortunately, the failure of the CP and the other parties to join in, and even the less than wholehearted consent, perhaps, of some in Inkatha, is wearying for people who want to help make this change."

Chalker said it was difficult for her to say what sums of money SA could expect if these problems of participation were overcome.

Until there was a commitment by all parties to sound economic policies "you won't get the international financial institutions, who will be major donors, to come up with large sums at all."

"What I am keen to do is make sure that throughout the world SA's needs are understood, and to get the commitment of all political parties in SA to tackle those needs by having a non-racial government system."

"If we can show that to donors, they will respond," Chalker said.

POLITICS

Citizens worldwide can vote

31 day 28/2/92

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

HOME Affairs Minister Gene Louw yesterday said all white SA citizens throughout the world would be entitled to vote in the March 17 referendum, but they had to have with them either their old (blue) identity document (book of life) or the new green one.

Only ID documents or temporary identity certificates would be acceptable as a form of identification. Passports, the old green laminated identity card or drivers licences would not be accepted.

Temporary ID documents would be issued to people who were required to hand in their ID books for official purposes, such as the incorporation of driver's licences, or had lost their documents. Fingerprints would be taken and individuals would have to supply the necessary photographs — an extra two for the temporary document.

Louw said those who had two ID documents should present their old blue books at the polls as these still contained the racial classification.

He said all the documents issued since July 1 1986 did not contain racial classification, but this would not provide too much of a problem.

Home Affairs had computer facilities available at all its regional offices. These were connected with the population register and could be used to determine whether a person was a white voter.

Louw said his department was giving priority to issuing identity documents to those eligible to vote in the referendum. He urged people to apply, but warned that no assurance could be given that the documents would reach the voters in time.

All people who physically could not go to polling stations, such as those in hospitals and old age homes, would be entitled to cast special votes on the three days preceding voting day — March 13, 14 and 16. A voter would be able to cast a special vote only if he made a sworn statement that he would not be able to attend a polling station within SA on March 17.

Home Affairs officials would visit these institutions to allow people to vote.

Citizens travelling abroad, in foreign missions and embassies, including the TBVC states, would also be entitled to special votes, but they had to visit an embassy or consul office in a foreign country. They would also have to take their passports as well as an ID document.

All special votes outside the borders of SA would have to be cast on Wednesday March 11 and Thursday March 12.

"After a voter's right to vote on polling day has been determined, it will be checked by means of an ultra violet lamp whether the person has not already voted so as to prevent double voting," he said.

Voters' left hand would be marked with an "invisible harmless fluid" visible only under ultra violet light and not removable for a number of days.

Louw went to great pains to reassure the public that the fluid was harmless and would leave no mark or colour and had been used very successfully internationally.

"It is anti-bacterial, anti-allergy and anti-everything. I just hope its not anti-referendum," he said.

The ID document would also be marked

as a further indication that a ballot paper had been issued to the holder before he would be entitled to enter the voting booth.

Louw said the country would be divided into 15 referendum areas as in the 1983 referendum. Chief referendum officer Piet Colyn would appoint a referendum officer for each of the areas.

The 15 areas, with the registered number of white voters as at January 31 1992, are: Pretoria (559 965), Beaufort West (36 857), Bloemfontein (111 573), Durban (273 931), George (63 503), Germiston (309 755), Johannesburg (491 843), Cape Town (470 881), Kimberley (71 060), Kroonstad (132 792), East London (102 831), Maritzburg (107 884), Pietersburg (98 676), Port Elizabeth (136 254) and Roodepoort (306 814).

People will be able to vote at any of the 1 300 to 1 400 polling stations. A list of locations would be published soon.

Once polling had ended, the presiding officer would seal the ballot box and hand it over to the polling officer who would examine the seals in the presence of the agents of political parties.

It would then be opened to verify the number of ballot papers. The officer would seal it again with the certified ballot paper report.

These boxes would then be sent to a central counting location in the region.

As soon as a result from an area is confirmed it will be announced within the referendum area and simultaneously in Cape Town. The final results are expected between 10am and noon on March 18.

De Beer and FW to share platform

cr 28/2/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

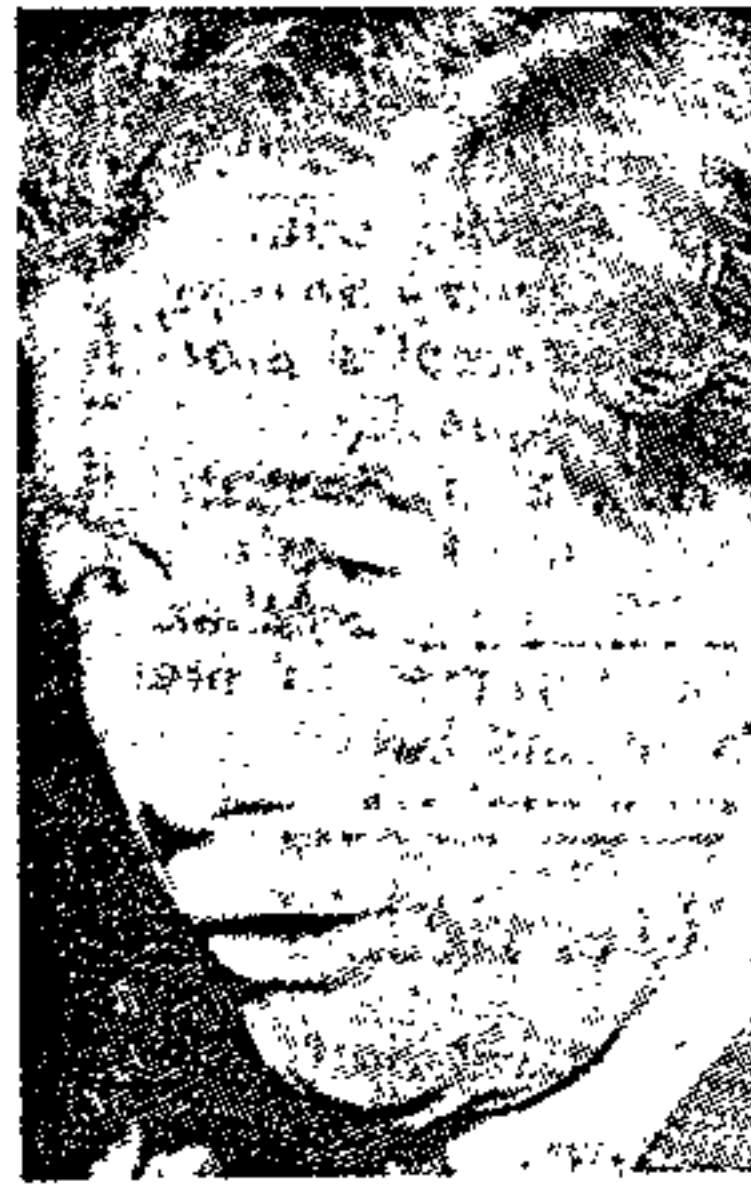
DEMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer will briefly join President F W de Klerk's referendum road show on Monday when the two party leaders share a platform in the Cape Town City Hall.

The joint initiative follows an agreement between the NP and the DP to actively co-operate in their bid to achieve an overwhelming "yes" vote in the March 17 poll.

The two parties have formed joint campaign committees in a number of regions and will be working closely together on strategy in the coming three weeks, members of both parties said yesterday.

However, some DP MPs — including the party's chief whip Mr Dave Dalling — yesterday expressed misgivings that the campaign was being used to cultivate a "personality cult" around Mr De Klerk in his battle with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Dalling told Parliament yesterday: "We are voting 'yes' not because we support the NP and the State President but because we support the principle of seeking to establish a new democratic dispensation through negotiation."



JOINT PLATFORM . . . President F W de Klerk and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer to speak on Monday.

The joint one-hour meeting will cap a day of hectic canvassing that will see Mr De Klerk travelling throughout the Boland. The American-style "meet the people" drive will kick off with a 10-minute address in the Stellenbosch Town Hall.

After meeting with students at their university residences, Mr De Klerk will have lunch on campus before talking to wine farmers in the area.

This will be followed by a visit to the Boland Teachers Training College in Wellington and to pensioners and then busi-

nessmen in Malmesbury.

After the Cape Town City Hall meeting, starting at 8pm, Mr De Klerk could visit some popular night-spots in the Cape Town area to talk to ordinary people in his highly personalised campaign.

The first salvoes of the referendum war were fired yesterday during a noisy debate that MPs appeared to use as a warm-up for when they leave Parliament for the hustings on Friday.

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Voters taking part in the March 17 referendum will have their left hands marked with an invisible fluid to prevent them from voting twice.

Announcing arrangements for the referendum, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw told a news briefing yesterday that before voting, voters would have to put their hands under an ultraviolet light which would detect the fluid.

He stressed that the liquid — which would leave traces for several days — was harmless and would not leave permanent marks. "It is anti-bacterial, anti-allergy and anti-everything. I just hope its not anti-referendum."

Voters will be able to cast their votes at

Fluid will prevent cheating in ballot

any of up to 1 400 polling stations. Those unable to vote on March 17 can do so on March 13, 14 and 16. People who will be outside SA can vote on March 11 or 12.

All voters will have to produce either their old (dark blue) or new (green) ID documents. Passports will not be accepted.

Although ID books issued since July 1 1986 do not specify race, all Home Affairs regional offices have computer equipment to check would-be voters' race.

The referendum outcome is expected to be known by noon on March 18.

● See Page 6

Sports enthusiasts would be stumped

THE referendum question President FW de Klerk posed to white South Africa on Monday was given a new twist by South Africa's cricket victory over Australia in the World Cup on Wednesday.

As euphoric callers to radio stations saw it, the big question had become: "Do you want to stay in world sport and see a repeat of this triumph?"

The radio-listening public was under no illusion about what a no vote would mean to their favourite religion, sport. And political observers were in agreement with them.

"A Conservative Party victory in the referendum portends a CP victory in a general election held immediately afterwards," said political analyst Donald Simpson.

What would that mean to ordinary South Africans?

CP spokesman Koos van der Merwe said on Tuesday the CP had no intention of bringing back apartheid. Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht echoed his view in a TV debate that evening, comparing the reforms of the 1980s to a flood that had washed away all the trees on a farm. "You don't go look for those trees in the sea and try to replant them; you rebuild your farm," he said.

All this means, however, is that the CP will not make the mistake the National Party made in 1948 by giving its racist policies a name.

Apartheid will remain the core of every policy decision by the CP.

In the future the CP envisages, there is almost no chance of international sport, let alone open trade, cultural exchange or racial harmony at home.

According to informed sources, the CP has already decided that there should be no overt reintroduction of racist measures: the "Whites Only" signs won't make a comeback, there will be no Group Areas Act and existing mixed marriages would be tolerated, at least officially.

However, there is a strong likelihood of the reintroduction of sweeping security legislation, backed by the kind of state of emergency powers much loved by ex-president PW Botha.

On a structural level, neither the Convention for a Democratic South Africa nor the tricameral parliament would be disbanded. Codesa would

This week's cricket victory under scored the fact that sport will be among the most significant victims of a no vote.

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

be restructured along ethnic lines and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would be offered the opportunity to lead a Xhosa state. He would probably refuse, followed by the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and the possibility of its being banned again.

Leaders like Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope would be offered a radical partitioning of South Africa, probably after a great deal of public agonising. Most of Natal would be offered to Buthelezi and the House of Delegates, while most of the Cape Province would be divided between Xhosa and coloured states. Parts of the Transvaal would be given to expanded versions of Bophuthatswana, Venda, Lebowa and other homelands.

This would leave the CP with a much-reduced white state consisting of half of the Transvaal, three-quarters of the Free State and a strip in northern Natal — no more than a quarter of the existing South Africa.

Except for the townships, there is no prospect of ethnic groups being represented outside their homelands. One plan even sees the townships being divided and linked to the various homelands.

From this conglomeration of separations, the CP would attempt to form a confederation of "independent states", along the lines of the Soviet Union's disintegration into the Commonwealth of Independent States. CP leaders are fond of quoting the Soviet experience, and seem to believe that the Soviet Union failed because it attempted to force different ethnic nationalities into a homogeneous nation.

The CP's foreign policy is based on the mid-1980s Pik Botha school of diplomacy, with its central tenets being: "To hell with the world; let them bring their sanctions".

Publicly CP leaders state that they do not expect new sanctions, but it is understood that privately they see future sanctions as a reality,

and not a very undesirable one — because they believe that South Africa was more economically sound under sanctions.

Furthermore, they believe the old maps of Africa and the communist world have been changed forever and there will be little support for sanctions from individual nations anyway.

One of the more bizarre sources of their confidence, say insiders, is their belief in the worst prognoses of the Aids epidemic. According to the projected figures they most avidly quote, Aids will effectively destroy the urban, educated African elite.

Time is on their side, they believe, but meanwhile they won't be taking any chances. Influx control into the white state would be reintroduced, under the guise of some form of passport control. In the same vein, documentation along the lines of the pass laws would be introduced requiring people to prove they belong in a particular area. This may be done in an extremely subtle manner, such as putting the onus on employers to supply their workers with relevant documentation.

It appears unlikely that the CP would come up with a dramatically different education system, besides curtailing any further move towards integration in schools. According to Hennie Kotze and Anneke Greyling's *Political Organisations in South Africa: A-Z*, Christian national education will be the norm for the white population, and education will be strictly segregated.

However, there are views within the CP that, while government schools must be desegregated again, private schools should be allowed to continue with their existing policies — albeit under enormous financial and other pressures to conform.

Sport would be returned to the state in which it existed for a few brief months in the mid-1970s: non-racial sport will only be allowed on the international level. And since international participation is dependent on integration at a domestic level, a CP victory would mean a sudden cul de sac on the road back to world sport.

This fact is probably the least significant in the broader socio-political scheme of things, but in terms of political symbolism it has taken centre stage.

Question 3
Suggested Solution Continued

SPORTSHOES (PTY) LTD
Balance Sheet at 30 June 1981

Employment of Capital
Current Assets

Stock - Merchandise

16 000 - 62,50 + 290

= 292,50 + 3 100 = 2 000

Accounting Policies
Stock

Stock is valued at the lower of cost or net realisable value on a FIFO basis, consistent with previous years.

'EC will ask for yes vote in referendum'

GERMAN Economic Affairs Minister Jurgen Mollemann said last night the EC would ask for white South Africans to vote "yes" in the coming referendum because a "no" result would "disturb hopes and wishes all over the world". (304A) (S)

He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport at the start of his short SA visit.

Mollemann warned that no foreign investor would invest in SA in a "phase of civil war" that would result from a "no" outcome.

He said Germany — in a bid to promote the negotiation process — would be prepared to intensify its economic and political co-operation with SA and to integrate the country fully in the world economy.

28/2/92
Asked about the ANC's economic policy, Mollemann remarked that socialism and communism had not worked elsewhere in the world and he could not see it working in SA.

He would report his findings to the European Economic and Foreign Affairs ministers' councils on Monday. — Sapa.

Sunlight dawns on ANC proposals

W/maul 28/2 -5/3/92

304A

T IRED of burning its fingers on politically loaded terms, the African National Congress has turned to poetic metaphors to win support for its proposals. Included in its blueprint for the drawing up of a new constitution, revealed at a press conference on Monday, are "sunrise and sunset measures".

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa explained: "These are measures aimed at building confidence in the new dispensation among all South Africans."

To illustrate a sunset measure, he used the Zimbabwean example where

20 seats for whites were reserved in parliament for a limited time. Sunrise measures will be aimed at meeting the aspirations of those who have been disadvantaged by apartheid.

The problem with all the sunlight dawning at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is that neither the government nor the ANC wants to be seen in a compromising position.

While the ANC's proposals undoubtedly bring it closer to the government, the organisation has emphatically denied making any moves to accommodate objections to its earlier

The African National Congress introduced 'sunrise and sunset measures' to the constitutional deliberations this week.

PAUL STÖBER reports

proposals. And this week Defence Minister Rieff Meyer rejected "unconstitutional elements" in the ANC scenario, adding: "We accept nothing that is not compatible with our own eventual constitutional goals and principles."

The ANC has proposed a two-stage

process for drawing up a new constitution. The first stage would require the agreement of Codesa and involve the establishment of interim structures which would ensure the equal treatment of all organisations before and during an election campaign.

By providing for these structures, and any decisions they might make, to be legislated into existence by parliament, the ANC is seen to be responding to the government's insistence that "all transitional arrangements must be constitutional".

However, parliament would be overseen by an interim government

council made up of all parties in Codesa. The council would also oversee the National Party cabinet, the "independent" TBVC states and the "self-governing" territories, and be able to veto and initiate legislation.

Multi-party committees would take complete control of the most important areas of government: security, budget, foreign affairs and local government.

Two independent, non-partisan commissions, consisting of South Africans appointed by Codesa, would monitor the electoral process and the media. The electoral commission would have sole control of the election process and have the power to validate or invalidate election results.

The chief emphasis of the media commission would be the establishment of an Independent Communications Authority to take charge of all state broadcasting institutions and appoint new boards. This authority would also cover the TBVC states.

Agreement on this point will not be easy as control of the media continues to be a sensitive issue. On Tuesday, the sub-group concerned with electronic media began an investigation to establish whether there is any legislation which limits political parties' access to the electronic or print mass media.

Stage one in the process of drawing up a new constitution, which the ANC envisages will take no longer than six months, would lead to elections for a constituent assembly.

Stage two would begin when all South Africans over the age of 18 elect a constitutional assembly on the basis of proportional representation. Parties which achieve more than five percent of the vote will be given seats at the assembly.

The assembly will have as its main task the creation of a new constitution, but it will also serve as a legislature to pass statutes relevant to the transition.

Decisions about the constitution will be taken by a two-thirds majority but legislation will be passed on the basis of consensus.

An interim cabinet, consisting of all parties represented in the assembly, would form the executive arm of the constitutional assembly.

According to the proposal, a new constitution should be drawn up within nine months, after which new elections could be called or the assembly could transform itself into the first legislature.

At this point the sun will rise or set, depending on your view of the new South Africa.

The ANC is confident it will be able to win over the majority of parties attending Codesa. But one problem is the centrality of the TBVC states in the success of the proposals.

While most of the bantustan governments may go along with the ANC, the Bophuthatswana government has issued a statement to the effect that it will not be bound by any decision of Codesa which impinges on its sovereign status.

Reporter 'stripped' for a story

DE WAAL

ist Karen Lotter take off money or to write a

the case, now
Magistrate's
charge be
mit an
ing to or



Lucky Dube



Naas Botha



Brenda Fassie

Fearful of celebrity sob stories

you like an earful of
s tortured harangue
and's exploits? Or
of Naas) on the
dress seven
Or Lucky
a court
endy
her

Local celebrities are cashing in on the 'dial 087' mania.

PHILIPPA GARSON

'phoned in for an earful

have a cup of tea (or a list of other refreshment alternatives) with me ... you'll get to know what kind of a person I am ... that's why I'm singing in my new album I'm not a bad girl. I'm one person that's very loving, I've got a very good heart, I'm very giving ... NOT A BAD GIRL ... (the song).

... wins the prize for the ... with his astonishing ... (although ... no doubt pre ... of course ... born ... advice-giving professionals like Dr Paul (on sex) and Maureen Kark (Weight-winners).

Parrot Publishing adopts a selective approach when it comes to personalities. Says director John ... "We take local artists if we ... they've got a story to tell ... worthy and of interest."

... wleging that people's ... differ widely, his ... to develop a ... rubbish on ... mind that ... re popu- ... ma- ... b-

across as natural and nice and not at all boastful. But do his fans really want to pay R1,40 a minute to hear that his car's stuck in Beaufort West? And will their hearts beat any faster at the news?

Telephone Information Marketing (TIM) is big on personality services. Some personalities, says managing director Joe Teron, are approached by TIM, others do their own knocking. Each gets a varying percentage of the profits.

Phone Media managing director David Duff Scott says his company prefers to build itself up as a community service rather than a "frivolous" service, though a big enough personality may warrant a line. The public figures Phone Media prefers are the advice-giving professionals like Dr Paul (on sex) and Maureen Kark (Weight-winners).

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Too many chiefs

W/maul 28/2 - 5/3/92

IT was an eventful week for the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Among the issues discussed were:

■ The question of how traditional leaders will be represented at Codesa remains unresolved.

Repeated attempts by chiefs to gain participatory rather observer status at the conference have failed and the sub-committee established to investigate the issue has not given any indication that a solution is in the offing.

Codesa administration spokesman Murphy Morobe said a number of independent applications from chiefs in all the homeland had been received.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has dismissed as impractical a suggestion that each traditional leader be represented because of the number of kings this would involve.

A proposal by Contralesa that a united neutral delegation of traditional leaders be elected on the basis of proportional representation has been rejected by Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Musa Myeni.

He explained that King Zwelithini wanted his own delegation to Codesa because he represented, "the specific interests of the Zulu people".

■ First, the Patriotic Front and now the "alternative Patriotic Front".

On Wednesday, representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action will meet in Cape Town to discuss the formation of a front based on the principle of non-collaboration.

The organisations will also discuss a national campaign to oppose Codesa which will include pamphleteering and demonstrations and coincide with Codesa 2 to be held in late March or early April.

■ THE steering committee of the constitutional principles working group has accepted that a new constitution should provide a meaningful role for political minorities. However, the committee left the debate about what measures should be adopted to accommodate this decision to a future constitution making forum.

However, the proposal must still be accepted by the working group as a whole before it can be taken to "Codesa 2".

Kaunda arrives in SA today

CT 28/1/77
304A

PRETORIA. — Former
Zambian president Dr
Kenneth Kaunda arrives
in South Africa today for
a four-day visit.

Dr Kaunda will be met
at Jan Smuts airport to-
day by Dr Oscar Dhlomo,
executive chairman of
the Institute for a Multi-
Party Democracy, which
arranged the visit.

Today Dr Kaunda will
meet the ANC leader-
ship and address a con-
ference at the University
of the Witwatersrand on
"Democracy in Southern
Africa". Dr Kaunda was
recently defeated in an
election in his country.

Tomorrow he will
meet students at the
University of Pretoria,
Inkatha leader Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
President F W De Klerk
and AWB leader Mr Eu-
gene Terre Blanche.

On Sunday he will
meet PAC president Mr
Clarence Makwetu and
attend a Johannesburg
Chamber of Commerce
dinner. — Sapa

80% of voters in Cape, TV1

(3049)
CF 28/2/92

Political Correspondent

MORE than 80% of the 3.3 million whites eligible to participate in the March 17 referendum live in the Transvaal and the Cape.

The lion's share of the potential voters (54%) live in the Transvaal's five referendum areas, with 27% in the six Cape areas, 11.6% in Natal's two areas and only 7.4% in the Free State's two areas.

This emerged at a press conference yesterday when Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw and officials from his department released details on the ground rules for the referendum.

The referendum will be formally proclaimed in today's Government Gazette.

The results of the poll are expected to be announced on March 18 — President F W de Klerk's birthday — between 10.30am and noon.

Details will be released as soon as counting is completed, in all 15 referendum regions.

Only white South African citizens, 18 years and over, who are able to produce valid identity documents (old blue or new green format) or temporary identity certificates will be allowed to cast a ballot.

No other document such as a passport, driver's licence, or the old green identity card, will be accepted as proof of identity.

People who have lost their documents or have submitted them

Business fully behind FW

BUSINESS organisations yesterday threw their weight behind calls for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) said the outcome of the referendum would play a major role in international companies' assessment of investment in South Africa.

Sacob president Mr Hennie Viljoen told a news conference a positive outcome to the referendum was crucial, as South Africa could not afford to be isolated again from the world economy and capital.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mr Mike Cato said a setback to the reform process would be disastrous for South African business and the national economy. A "no" vote would signal a future marked by economic stagnation, international isolation and in-

creased unemployment, crime and violence.

In Potchefstroom a group of 30 businessmen, farmers and residents formed "Action Group Yes".

The South African Property Owners' Association said property values would plummet to a level from which they would take a long time to recover if the outcome was negative.

The chairman of the Cape-to-Rio Yacht Race, Mr John Levin, said yesterday that a "no" outcome would mean the end of the race itself.

Meanwhile, the all-white Mineworkers Union yesterday called on voters to vote "no".

The US State Department warned yesterday that a retreat from negotiations would be "a devastating step backward towards international isolation and domestic discord" for South Africa. — Political Staff and Sapa

for official purposes can contact Home Affairs offices for the issue of a temporary certificate.

Persons not in possession of ID documents should urgently apply for them, but although priority was being given to this issue no guarantee could be given that everyone would receive them before March 17, Mr Louw said yesterday.

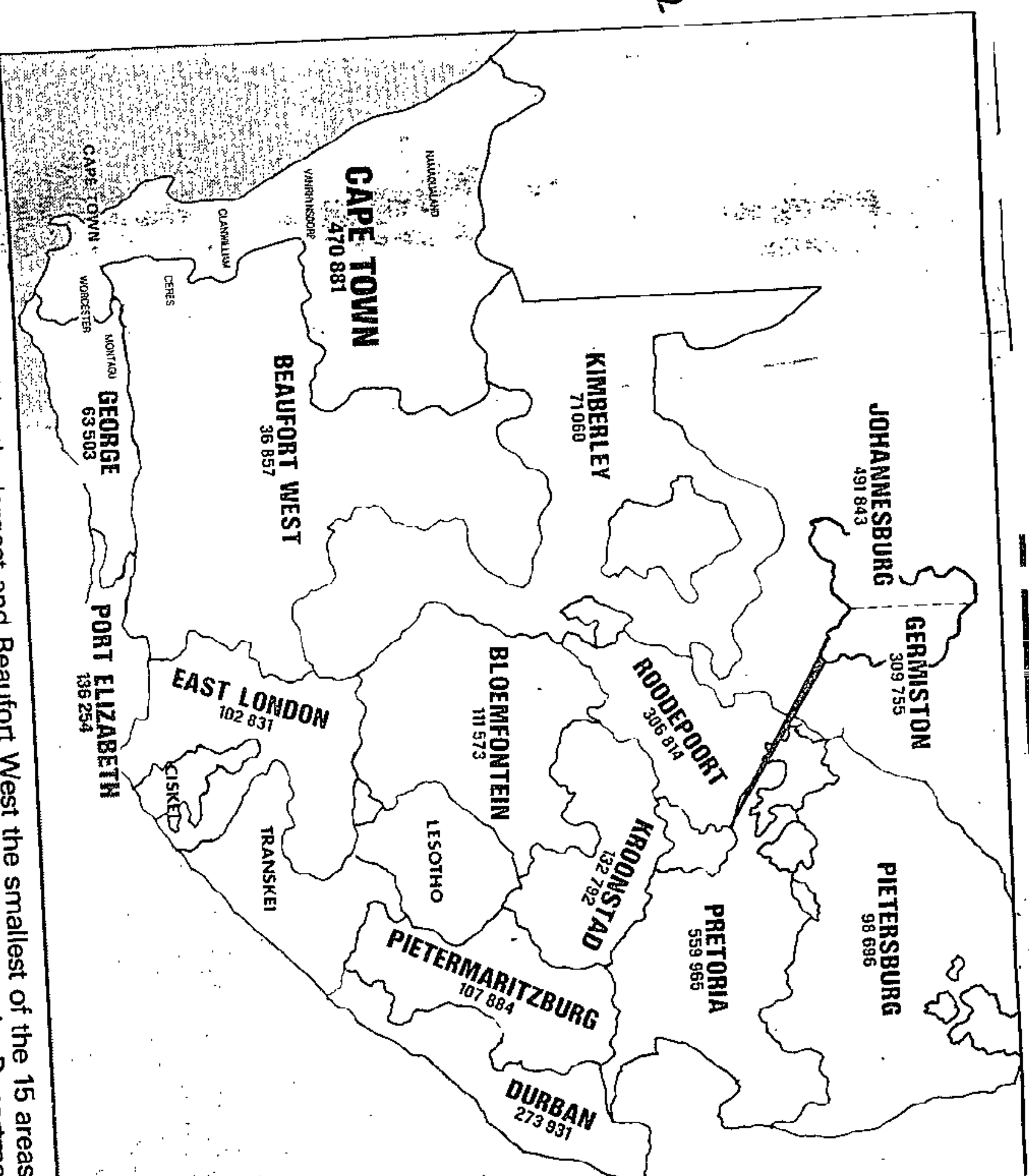
Voters will be able to use any of the 1 300 to 1 400 polling stations across the country.

Special votes will be allowed on March 13, 14 and 16, but only

from voters who make a sworn statement that they will be unable to visit a polling station in South Africa on polling day.

White South Africans outside the country will be able to cast special votes at South African missions abroad on March 11 and 12.

Voters casting their ballots in South Africa will have their left hands marked with an invisible fluid — detectable by an ultraviolet lamp — to prevent double voting. Identity documents will also be stamped.



THE VOTE . . . Pretoria will be the largest and Beaufort West the smallest of the 15 areas that South Africa will be divided into for the March 17 referendum. According to the Department of Home Affairs computer, there were 3 274 619 whites eligible to vote on January 31.

CODESA

Back at the ranch . . .

FM 28/2/92

304A

Should local and regional governments have the right to draw up their own budgets, based on their own taxes? This was at the heart of Monday's debate in the key working group on constitutional matters at Codesa. It indicates that the convention is not just a talking shop.

While there is agreement in principle on the need for regional and local government tiers, the ANC and government differ quite strongly on whether decentralised "fiscal powers" should be formally entrenched.

The ANC and its allies argue that tax and budgets are a matter of national law, there-

pation of political minorities" should be provided for in the new constitution.

Another issue is how far Codesa can in fact take the process of agreeing on a new constitution. There were strongly opposing views. The ANC is emphatic that Codesa is simply a preliminary forum which can set out only general principles; a constituent assembly "or some such body" should have the task of drafting the details. The ANC says "general principles govern the basic character of the constitution, without prescribing in advance the institutional or structural means whereby they are to be imple-

the result of long and careful reflection."

Following the logic of this, a *casus belli* was needed — hence the decision to make an issue of retaining the constituency held for 25 years by the late Speaker, Louis le Grange. Though the last-minute flurry of Cabinet Ministers in Potch seemed to indicate panic, De Klerk had said as long ago as November, after the Virginia defeat, that Potch would be the barometer.

To make it an accurate test, an honest effort was made to hold the seat. In addition, perhaps for the first time, a Nat platteland by-election campaign was blunt about political realities and short on promises. There was no attempt to put on a *verkrampste* face to reassure anxious Nat waverers. De Klerk himself, in his speech at the local rugby stadium, simply attacked the poverty of CP policy and explained how there was simply no alternative to his own approach. It was sober and inescapable, rather than inspiring.

The Nat strategy now seems clear. They did their best to retain the seat, while being almost brutal in revealing the practical implications of the passing of white privilege. This would explain the apparently clumsy announcement, two days before polling, about white teacher retrenchments. The feeling seems to have been: "Let's see how we do under the worst possible circumstances."

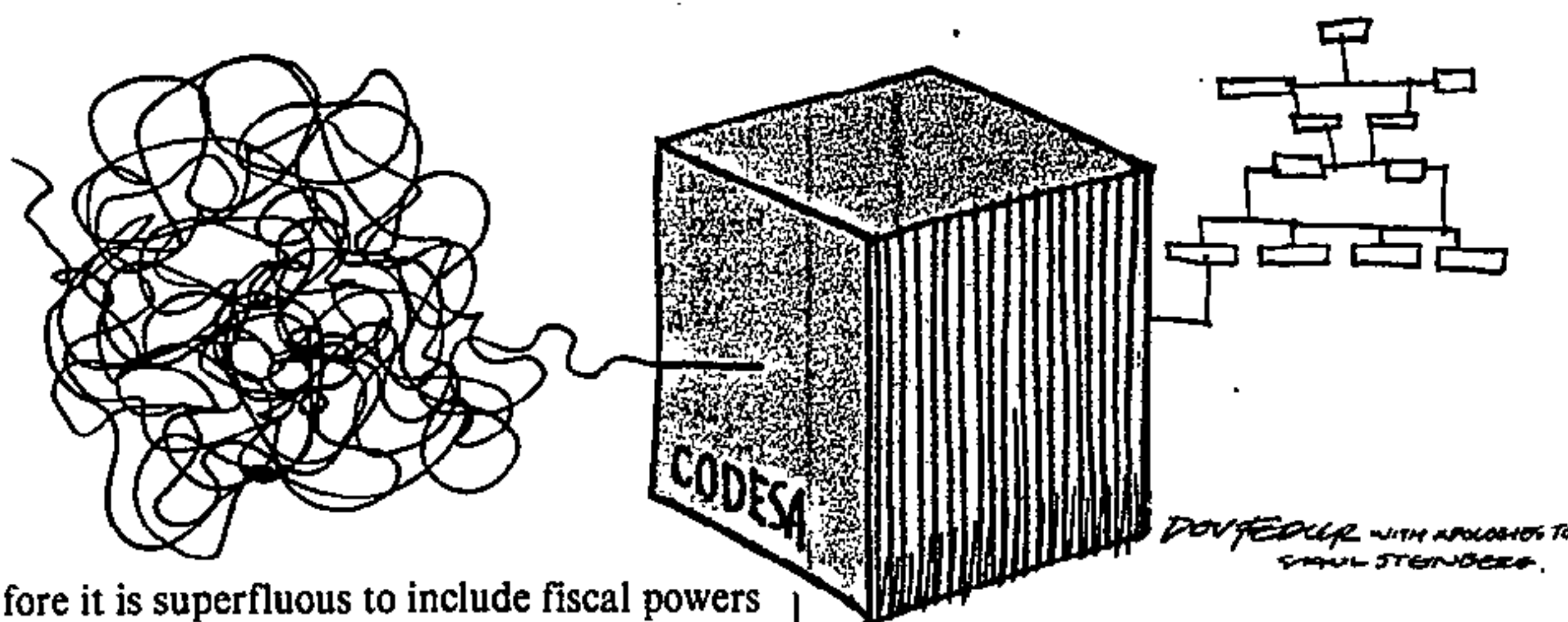
Naturally, if the Nats had retained Potch — there must have been an outside hope — De Klerk's position would have been strengthened. But a narrow victory would not have silenced the CP, and there would still have been the looming awkwardness of that promised referendum.

Defeat was always more likely, however, and this was surely where the barometer came in. The term is ambiguous: De Klerk was less interested in who won the seat, much more in seeing how many people *did* vote Nat.

This was surely his barometer. Granted, the CP share of the vote rose by 11% — an unnerving swing in conventional terms. But the normal cumulative analysis of elections has been made meaningless by rapid political change. The NP of 1989 and the NP of 1992 are two different parties, to the point where the Nats are now largely indistinguishable from the DP and the old PFP.

Look at it this way: could the DP have won 7 000 votes against the CP in Potch in 1989 or against Louis le Grange in 1987? The idea is laughable — yet, in policy terms, that is what last week's result amounts to. The electorate may not have moved as fast as the Nats — but it has moved all right.

De Klerk must have decided that if more than 7 000 people were still voting Nat (as



fore it is superfluous to include fiscal powers at regional level. But the NP insisted on the word being included: constitutional wizard Gerrit Viljoen argued strongly that fiscal powers was a principle — one of the three or four basic powers affecting all levels of government.

Viljoen's deputy Tertius Delpont proposed another principle: that powers, duties and functions shall be allocated to regional government according to the principle of "maximum devolution of power compatible with effective government."

But what is "effective" government and "maximum devolution," objected the ANC; these are highly subjective terms. Did it mean, asked the ANC's Mohammed Valli, that anything that can possibly belong to the regions should not belong to the centre?

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa (saying that he often agrees with Delpont and supports substantial devolution to lower tiers) added that the problem was that maximum devolution would be like a blank cheque. After much sparring on the definition of "effective" and "adequate" powers, this matter was referred to the steering committee.

This working group must also decide on the general principles to guide the writing of a new constitution, and to be enshrined in it.

The great snag has been defining the difference between a principle and a mere detail.

The distinction again raised its head with the NP's proposal that "meaningful partici-

mented . . . they should be sufficiently precise to guarantee that the constitution-making body does not stray from certain fundamental notions, but not so detailed as to pre-empt the work of that body."

In the argument about Codesa's function, Ramaphosa maintained that the constitution cannot be drafted by Codesa.

Viljoen charged that the ANC was begging the question. The group's assignment, he pointed out, includes the question of how far Codesa can take the process — a matter which hasn't yet been decided.

Such disputes may seem academic but they are essential to lay the foundations for lasting agreement. While the referendum roars ahead, nuts and bolts are assembled. ■

POTCHEFSTROOM

A cruel victory

Less a catalyst than an excuse — that was the Potchefstroom factor in President F W de Klerk's decision to call a whites-only referendum. Indeed, it is reasonable to think that De Klerk would have called the referendum even if the Nats had won in Potch.

De Klerk told the Afrikaans newspaper *Rapport* last weekend: "I did not suddenly, on the night of the Potchefstroom result, decide on a referendum. The idea had been growing with me over a long period . . . it was

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 28/2/92

304A

opposed to voting CP or staying at home), in an Afrikaner platteland seat with every economic and political factor working against government, then he could go confidently to the electorate for a renewed mandate — and at the same time get that promised white referendum out of the way. ■

THE REFERENDUM AND REFORM

FM 28/2/92

Yes

304A

The calling of the referendum came as a shock to many — mainly triggering the fear of what would happen if President F W de Klerk lost. Within the business community, of which the *FM* is a part, the spectre of renewed sanctions immediately loomed. And there is truth in this: if the negotiations which have reached their current confluence in Codesa were aborted, the world would shut us down. The ANC wouldn't even have to call for it.

Just as it took an attempted communist coup in the former Soviet Union to define people's true feelings about events, the referendum should help clarify the true meaning of the choice.

A "no" vote in the March 17 referendum would be a vote for destitution and civil war. But we fully realise that many in this country are alarmed by what seems an inexorable slide in standards and security — with symptomatic disorders in education, policing and erosion of the principle of private property. Public trust in the structures of government is lamentably low, which is understandable because of the economic mismanagement and corruption which have marked the past decades of Nationalist rule.

Taken with this perceived slide, the sight of rightwingers of every stripe crowing their victories — from the elderly Conservative Party segregationists to the brutish neo-Nazi louts — added to a sense of pressure building up against De Klerk. The President promised to consult the white electorate if there were significant constitutional changes, and they have already become apparent in people's behaviour.

Blacks behave like freed people. The situation is comparable to what happened in the Eighties when apartheid collapsed partly because no-one obeyed its laws any more and the police gave up trying to enforce them.

For De Klerk to call a white poll now suggests not the panic which the CP charged — rather an astute reading of the national psyche. The time is right for a referendum, before — as is quite probable — the forthcoming second

plenary session of Codesa presents a timetable for a non-racial elected assembly which will displace the Cape Town parliament and write the new constitution.

De Klerk's choice of wording is therefore subtle. It casts the light fully upon the specific way in which negotiations have progressed since February 2 1990; no-one can mistake this

particular route of reform for something more vague and timeless. The words also reflect confidence by De Klerk that the electorate from which he draws his mandate is sufficiently sophisticated to understand the complexities of the issue.

In the run-up to March 17 we must expect the conservatives — who are irrevocably linked to the waning fortunes of the tricameral parliament — to descend into the depths of spite and racial slur. That will in its way help to crystallise the starkness of the choice even further.

So the referendum has considerable symbolic as well as political importance: it will give whites a focus on what will happen as the principles agreed at Codesa become practical reality. The understandable fears of chaos and declining standards will have to be balanced against the certainty of what will happen if the overall vote is "no."

It is additionally unlikely that De Klerk would have called this poll without taking into account the probable reaction of the ANC. We know that De Klerk informed ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was about to happen. But it should also have the effect of modifying the ANC's hubris — its belief that SA is a giant trough from which can be lifted free land, jobs and privilege. It has attacked the idea that whites have a right to a veto on negotiation; but like many others it must be chilled at the prospect of a CP victory. ANC members would be locked up and driven underground again.

The realisation that white politics is, after all, important will influence the ANC leadership's ideas of what is, and what is not, possible. The repeated stress laid on the idea that what is being negotiated is power-sharing — and not a simple transfer of power — will be brought home once again.

The evident confusion in CP ranks arises precisely because of this belief that what is being negotiated is a sell-out. Indeed, it would perhaps suit the conservatives to have the electoral question phrased in some wholly racist fashion — harking back to the prehistory of reform.

They have not had an original thought since the Tomlinson Commission in 1955 — which is why they publicly state that white SA is geographic SA minus the homelands.

All these issues are going to be aired in the weeks ahead.

It is a time for reflection as much as a time for boldly stating that De Klerk's programme as it is put in the question demands affirmation. ■



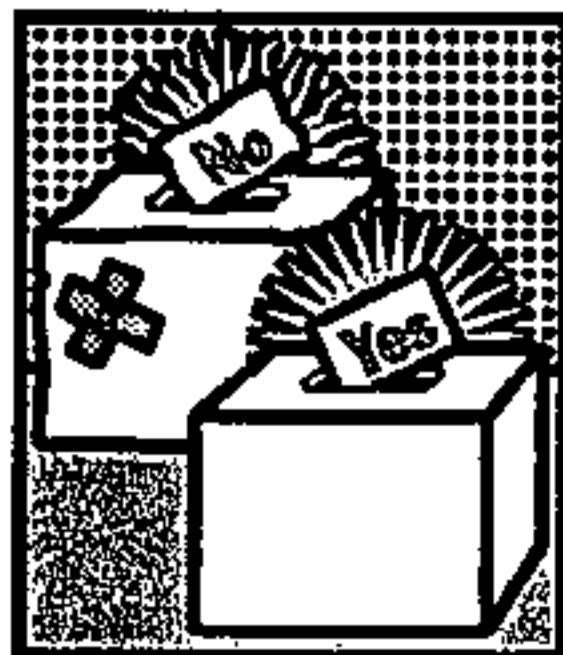
THE REFERENDUM

The tides of March

FM 28/2/92

304A

The disastrous consequences of a 'no' vote does not mean it can't happen



The choice facing white South Africans on March 17 is simple: sail with F W de Klerk into the uncharted waters of reform in the hope of restoring at least some semblance of peace and prosperity to the

country, or trek with Andries Treurnicht back to Laagerfontein to try once again to make separate development work.

Those who appreciate what 40 years of apartheid have done to SA say it shouldn't even be a contest. They have no hesitation in rejecting Treurnicht and backing De Klerk — no matter how uncertain that choice may be.

But a considerable body of white voters think otherwise. The dramatic swing to the Conservative Party since 1990 shows they would rather chance a return to the trenches than face the catastrophe Treurnicht assures them will result from nonracial democracy.

Though De Klerk says he had been considering a referendum for some time, last week's Potchefstroom by-election clearly hastened the decision. The defeat of the NP candidate added to the President's image as a loser, whose white support base is eroding faster than any gains he may be making at the negotiating table.

In effect, he is saying to whites: "I'm trying my best to do what I believe is right for SA. If you don't approve, I'll quit and Treurnicht can take over."

De Klerk's critics are correct in seeing the referendum as racist and giving whites the opportunity to veto the reform process. But it also reflects the reality of SA politics. It is quite possible that in its final response to the announcement of the referendum, the ANC will bear this in mind.

As leader of one of the two main parties to negotiations, De Klerk feels he must have a clear mandate from his white power base to go on. The CP claims he doesn't have it.

The influence of whites on the political and economic future of SA far outweighs their relative size as a group in the overall population. Where their support lies must be clearly defined for two reasons: so that

negotiations can proceed (or stop); and so that parties to the negotiations know the extent of rightwing opposition to what they are doing.

Early predictions are that De Klerk should win 55%-57% of the vote to the Right's 43%-45%. Though 60%-plus would be a more comfortable victory, De Klerk stated this week that he would regard a majority of one as an endorsement of his 1989 election mandate.

Failure to win will mean a general election and the prospect of a CP government the consequences of which could be extremely grave. International attitudes towards racism and oppression have hardened to such an extent over the past two years that a Treurnicht government would not mean merely reverting to the polecat years of P W Botha.

In the worst-case scenario, the shutters would come down on SA overnight. Foreign governments would close their embassies or reduce staff and force SA to do the same overseas. Air links would be severed and SA passport holders would be unwelcome in many parts of the world. International export markets recently opened to SA would close. Sport and cultural ties would end.

There would be a strong case for direct military intervention, especially if the government cracked down on black opponents.

Internally, there would probably be immediate chaos. The ANC would mobilise its supporters, there would be a general strike and widespread violence, including terrorism forcing harsh police action. Banning the ANC and detaining its leaders would have little effect.

If the security forces managed to contain the initial violence, which is not certain, the townships would simmer away as they did in the years after 1976. Eruptions would be frequent and increasingly violent.

Those whites who could, would flee the country; the tiny stream of foreign investment now trickling in would dry up; and whoever could get his cash out would do so. The economy would collapse.

It's possible that the CP's reign would end in an enlightened military takeover with the backing of the West. But the damage would be done and whatever chance SA currently has of establishing a democracy and building an economy capable of supporting all its



Rightwing rally ... the shutters could come down

people will be gone.

It's difficult to see a best-case scenario under the CP. There is not a single government or credible business leader in the world that backs the party's ideas and there is no black leader who would even consider negotiating a return to apartheid.

It relies for support almost entirely on the gut reaction of whites to the prospect of black rule.

De Klerk's problem is convincing CP supporters and other potential "no" voters that this scenario is possible. The political sophistication of many whites is overrated. They are far more susceptible to the idea that reform equals economic recession, rising crime and ethnic violence than to the NP argument that there is no option other than to negotiate.

If we halt reform, the CP says, peace and prosperity will return. It's an easier line to sell than De Klerk's vague promise of power-sharing and protection of minorities.

The NP's challenge is to expose the danger of CP policy. It has to show that Treurnicht's seemingly innocuous "co-operative self-determination" really means a return to apart-



Treurnicht

THE REFERENDUM AND REFORM

FM 28/2/92

Yes

304A

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Taken with this perceived slide, the sight of rightwingers of every stripe crowing their victories — from the elderly Conservative Party segregationists to the brutish neo-Nazi louts — added to a sense of pressure building up against De Klerk. The President promised to consult the white electorate if there were significant constitutional changes, and they have already become apparent in people's behaviour.

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De Klerk's choice of wording is therefore subtle. It casts the light fully upon the specific way in which negotiations have progressed since February 2 1990; no-one can mistake this

particular route of reform for something more vague and timeless. The words also reflect confidence by De Klerk that the electorate from which he draws his mandate is sufficiently sophisticated to understand the complexities of the issue.

In the run-up to March 17 we must expect the conservatives — who are irrevocably linked to the waning fortunes of the tricameral parliament — to descend into the depths of spite and racial slur. That will in its way help to crystallise the starkness of the choice even further.

So the referendum has considerable symbolic as well as political importance: it will give whites a focus on what will happen as the principles agreed at Codesa become practical reality. The understandable fears of chaos and declining standards will have to be balanced against the certainty of what will happen if the overall vote is "no."

It is additionally unlikely that De Klerk would have called this poll without taking into account the probable reaction of the ANC. We know that De Klerk informed ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was about to happen. But it should also have the effect of modifying the ANC's hubris — its belief that SA is a giant trough from which can be lifted freedom, jobs and privilege. It has attacked the idea that whites have a right to a veto on negotiation; but like many others it must be chilled at the prospect of a CP victory. ANC members would be locked up and driven underground again.

The realisation that white politics is, after all, important will influence the ANC leadership's ideas of what is, and what is not, possible. The repeated stress laid on the idea that what is being negotiated is power-sharing — and not a simple transfer of power — will be brought home once again.

The evident confusion in CP ranks arises precisely because of this belief that what is being negotiated is a sell-out. Indeed, it would perhaps suit the conservatives to have the electoral question phrased in some wholly racist fashion — harking back to the prehistory of reform.

They have not had an original thought since the Tomlinson Commission in 1955 — which is why they publicly state that white SA is geographic SA minus the homelands.

All these issues are going to be aired in the weeks ahead.

It is a time for reflection as much as a time for boldly stating that De Klerk's programme as it is put in the question demands affirmation. ■



heid and the prospect of far greater hardship than anything we are currently suffering or are likely to suffer in future.

For De Klerk it's a personal challenge. Much as Mikhael Gorbachev was, he is a star overseas — but becoming reclusive at home. He has a phobia about over-exposure and tends to shy away from the media. It means he is not communicating. In his quest for rapid progress, he has left too many people behind and their uncertainty could easily translate into a vote against him next month even though they don't support the CP.

De Klerk and other NP heavyweights will have to concentrate on areas where they should have strong support — but cannot be certain of it — like greater Cape Town, the central Witwatersrand, Durban and Pretoria's southern areas. Voters need to be convinced that recession, crime and problems with squatters are not a result of reform but rather a carry-over from the apartheid years that should recede as negotiations progress.

They must be told that rapid political change will stimulate investment and economic growth, which, in turn, should contribute towards peace and help to eradicate crime or at least free more policemen from township duty to patrol suburban streets.

The Democratic Party, which is backing a "yes" vote, has an equally important role to play in these areas. It will campaign for the continuation of the process begun by De Klerk — though not for NP policy — and, in so doing, will add credibility to government's contention that disaster can be averted only by going forward.

The Transvaal platteland and Free State are solidly CP and will be almost impossible to win back. So it is crucial for De Klerk — with the backing of the DP — to ensure he does not lose wavering voters in metropolitan areas through neglect or insensitivity.

Black South Africans — while not directly involved in the referendum — will have considerable influence on its outcome. The ANC in particular could swing it either way. Initial threats by ANC spokesmen to order mass campaigns against the "racist referendum" have been toned down. As the *FM* went to press, the organisation's leaders were meeting to decide on an appropriate response.

Black mass action will undoubtedly benefit the CP. De Klerk wants the ANC to play no role whatsoever. But perhaps it should. Whites are told by the CP that a black government is their worst nightmare and will mean the loss of all they own. The ANC should respond.

While vigorous campaigning for the NP would do neither side a favour, someone of stature — such as Nelson Mandela or Cyril Ramaphosa — should state clearly before March 17 what role the ANC sees for whites — and, in particular, CP supporters — in a



De Klerk

future South Africa.

They need to look beyond the ethnic nature of the referendum. We know whites comprise only 15% of the total population and should have no right to veto the negotiation process — but they do have it.

It must also be remembered that even a small minority of rightwing supporters could make a future SA infinitely more ungovernable than the ANC was able to do. They are, after all, the men and women who help to run the eastern Transvaal power stations, the chemical plants, the oil refineries, the telephone, postal and transport systems, the pensions offices and — most important — the police and defence forces.

Unless they believe they have a role to play in a new SA, they will not only back Treurnicht this time round, but, win or lose, keep backing him with increasingly militant actions all the way down the line.

They represent a challenge to all groups involved in negotiations, because, even if the "yes" vote wins on March 17, they will still have to be convinced that their future is secure.

In that sense, the referendum is the beginning, not the end, of the battle for the political soul of white SA. ■

Business throws its weight behind 'yes' vote

Biday 28/2/92 304A
BUSINESS organisations yesterday threw their weight behind calls for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

Sacob said the outcome of the referendum would play a major role in international companies' assessment of investment in SA.

Sacob president Hennie Viljoen told a news conference a positive outcome to the referendum was crucial as SA could not afford to be isolated again from the world economy and capital.

To ensure a "yes" vote Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said Sacob would be setting out its views in advertising campaigns, urging companies to dis-

cuss the implications of the referendum with staff and to brief international business. It would also arrange meetings between local business and MPs to discuss the poll.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mike Cato said a setback to the reform process would be disastrous for SA business and the national economy. He urged the business community to support the continuation of negotiations as a "no" vote would signal a future

marked by economic stagnation, international isolation and increased unemployment, crime and violence.

In Potchefstroom a group of 30 businessmen, farmers and residents formed "Action Group Yes". The group said a "no" vote would be disastrous for the economy and that without a stable economy there was no political solution for SA.

The SA Property Owners' Association said property values would plummet to a level from which they would take a long time to recover if the referendum had a negative outcome, Sapa reports.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 12

'Yes' is the only way to go forward

Sowetan 28/2/92

304A

IN a letter to the editor of a Cape Town-based morning paper, a reader from Khayelitsha, Mr J Spele writes:

"I don't support the whites-only referendum, but I want to appeal to whites to vote 'yes', because if the CP wins, diplomatic relations with the rest of the world will be broken off and a total trade embargo will come into force immediately."

This is in essence what the Conservative Party now faces.

It can be said that no political party has ever felt so sorry it won a Parliamentary by-election. It now faces the country, as a whole. It may as well give the Potchefstroom seat back to the National Party.

But seriously, the CP, by excluding itself from the mainstream of political developments has (and its almost passé to repeat) marginalised itself.

Not in terms of its following, but in terms of political developments.

Consider this. One of the objections the CP raised on Tuesday this week about next month's referendum was that the Government could not guarantee that only white people would participate in next month's referendum.

This was remarkably astute for a party that threatens to take power as a white minority in South Africa in this day and age.

The sad irony of South Africa is that if that person from Khayelitsha could get away with it, he would go and vote. And he would vote "yes".

Unless you have an absolutely apocalyptic view of the future, and unless political developments in the country have left you so far behind, you cannot but en-

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

courage a "yes" vote.

Every single political party in this country believes in the creation of a constitution based on the principle of one person one vote, only the CP and its friends on the far right do not.

There is similarly widespread agreement that the country needs such a constitution for effective progress to be ushered in. And the progress in this regard is immense, despite the absence of the CP and other political parties.

Developments

So large have political developments towards this ideal gone, and so large and so grand has the force of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk been behind these developments that nothing can stop the power from spilling over into the lives of ordinary black people and abroad on the agenda of world leaders.

The fight is now no longer between De Klerk and the CP.

Whether it has been articulated as such or not, the fight is now between the CP and Codesa - which represents the hopes and aspirations of millions of South Africans, and upon which the eyes of the world are focused as the only workable vehicle for effective political change in the coun-

try.

The fight is between the CP and cricket, rugby, soccer and travel lovers, capitalists, communists, Christians, Muslims, Hindus and Jews.

The fight was taken to the CP. The CP threw its arms around it. And now the fight has left the arms of the CP. It belongs to the people of South Africa.

The fight is now between the party and the people... all kinds of people.

In the past, newspapers, which led opinion in the public arena were divided on issues such as referenda and elections...

With next month's referendum, only the CP publication, Die Patriot is in favour of a "no" vote.

Today, black, white, left, right, English and Afrikaans newspapers support a "yes" vote.

It can be said that the only reason why there can actually be a whites only referendum in South Africa today is because whites are still in power.

But the March 17 referendum is a vote for the future of the country. It is overtly racist, indeed.

The predicament is that a "no" vote next month is not a vote against FW de Klerk or the NP. If this were the case there would have been no problem with it.

A "no" vote reaches deep into the fears of every South African. The people of South Africa are making their way slowly from the deep and dark abyss of international isolation, sanctions, fear and loathing.

A white person interviewed in a telephone poll this week said: "If the CP takes over, this coun-

try will resemble some of the worst examples of poverty and decay on this continent, complete with its own civil war."

In their march to a new South Africa, millions of people are still lagging behind in the abyss - effectively still the victims of the past - but there are greater moves ahead, the pace of the leaders cannot be stopped now.

Those who are still lagging behind, or those political parties that still refuse to accept the realities of the present, would love to pull the people of South Africa back into the abyss.

Referendum

The people of South Africa, black or white, are beginning to see things in the same light. To some, the light is there shimmering and bright, to others the light is a bit dim, but it is there none the less.

A "no" vote won't sink De Klerk, it will sink the country.

The referendum, racist as it is, is perhaps the only political way in which the CP can be dealt with. For the millions of people of South Africa, there is perhaps no better way to deal with the CP than on their own terms - in a racial way.

It is just as well there is, within this paradigm, still a white faction that is strong enough to deal with the CP, while it is still possible...

There is a great South African word that can be used to describe the predicament which the CP finds itself in - shame.

For them it's make or break, and judging by the deep divisions displayed in party ranks this week, one is tempted to predict the latter.



DE KLERK



MANDELA



TREURNICHT



MAKWETU

Has CP signed its own death warrant?

Soweto 28/2/92 *304A*

WITH the announcement of the date and question for next month's referendum, another chapter has been opened in South Africa's political history.

And it will come as no surprise if the rightwing Conservative Party is sent into the political wilderness when the result of the whites-only referendum is announced at the end of polling on March 17.

The CP's belligerent behaviour after last Wednesday's Potchefstroom by-election precipitated the referendum. And it could work very strongly against them.

The referendum gave President FW de Klerk a perfect excuse to deal once-and-for-all with the CP.

Its gestation can be traced to De Klerk's speech when he opened Parliament, wherein he pleaded with the CP - and the far-right as a whole - to join the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

While Codesa has become the fulcrum of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela's political field of dreams, it had also cleaved the country into two basic parts.

There are those political parties who believe that Codesa was the only, most representative and most

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

credible vehicle for effectively negotiating a new constitution for the country.

There are also those who say it is a farce and a ploy.

The latter is similarly divided into two main factions which commonly became known as the far-right and the far-left.

Concentrating then on the NP, it would be trite to repeat the strong bond which it has with the CP.

They literally - and politically, too - come from the same cradle.

The Democratic Party, which today represents a fraction of whites is, under normal circumstances, a factor. But in terms of the unfolding negotiation process, and Codesa, it is on the side of the National Party.

De Klerk sums up this basic dichotomy as two clearly defined "political mainstreams":

"There are those who associate themselves broadly with the necessity for a new negotiated constitution... a constitution that will eliminate discrimination on the basis of race and offer all South Africans democratic participation ...

"And there are those who still seek a solution in one or other form of partitioning South Africa into

sovereign states linked to ethnic racial diversity."

He was in the latter instance referring in no uncertain terms to the CP.

Since he had tried in vain in his opening speech in Parliament on January 24 to get the CP to join Codesa, De Klerk decided to deal with the CP in a political way.

The decision was perhaps prompted by the fact that it was easier to call CP's bluff now - while it is a political minority, rather than wait before it grows into a more dangerous faction.

If he could beat the CP in a poll, the result would batter the far-right opposition to Codesa into non-existence. Hence the snap referendum.

The referendum is a vote for the country's future, a future which De Klerk is trying to influence and which he wants to remain part of, even if he loses.

He has said he would not lose and that CP's Mr Andries Treurnicht had underestimated his popularity among whites.

He underestimated the force behind the process that De Klerk and Mandela represented inside and outside the country.

Treurnicht questioned De Klerk's credibility, and in so doing has perhaps chosen to sign his own death warrant.

There is very little chance of him

beating the President.

The CP's problem is that if it participates in the referendum and loses the vote, it will lose its credibility. Similarly, if it stays out and loses, it will also lose face.

The fact is, besides the CP (and its fellow-travellers of the right) and Mr Clarence Makwetu's PAC (and its fellow-travellers of the left), the whole world is in support of the negotiation process.

Foreign leaders have already indicated that if anything other than Codesa happens in South Africa, sanctions would be re-imposed.

Ironic as it may seem, the NP is now using the threat of sanctions to stonewall a CP rise.

De Klerk has spoken against the ANC's dealing with the PAC (at the Patriotic Front).

And if he beats the CP next month, and there is no reason why he shouldn't, he will sit back and look inquiringly, perhaps curiously, at the ANC, as if to say:

"I've dealt with my albatross, what about yours..." As the page of South Africa's history is turned and the outcome of the referendum marks a watershed, a little asterisk might remind one of an imminent political clash between the ANC and PAC.

Judging from the acrimony between the two of recent months, it appears to be not too far off.

Allow FW to sort out his problems

Sowetan 28/2/92

304A

THE tricameral parliament would be dissolved as soon as an interim government was in place, a spokesman for the African National Congress told *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* listeners last night.

Mr Joel Netshitende said his organisations had presented proposals on the dissolution of the existing parliament to the Convention for a Democratic SA.

"The tricameral parliament will be dissolved once measures leading to the election of a constituent assembly have been put in place," Netshitende said.

Responding to host Tim Modise's question on the future of TBVC states, especially Bophuthatswana, Netshitende said: "We know the position of the homelands as stated at Codesa. But we must warn them that the people will decide on reincorporation when the time comes."

Netshitende added that

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



TALKBACK

the ANC rejected "in principle" the snap referendum called by State President FW de Klerk.

Percy of Bosmont suggested that it was unfair not to give De Klerk an opportunity to sort out the problems he had with the white electorate.

He said De Klerk had been sincere since he started the reform process.

Netshitende warned that "people need to take into account this ominous question: What will happen if whites said no at the referendum?"

"The negotiation process should not be sabotaged," he added.

Council unanimously urges 'yes' vote

Municipal Reporter

CAPE TOWN city councillors voted unanimously (31-0) yesterday to call on all white citizens to vote "yes" in the March 17 referendum and so "record the unqualified support of this city for the reform process".

Mr. Nic Basson, councillor for Brooklyn, Maitland and Ysterplaat, caused a stir by walking out of the council chamber when a "division" was called. Initially, councillors voted by a show

of hands. During this vote Mr. Basson did not raise his hand.

Immediately after the show-of-hands vote a division was called. This means that each councillor has her or his name called out, and has to respond by a "yes" or "no" to the motion. Abstentions are not allowed, and the council is "divided" into those in favour and those against the motion. The votes are recorded in the minutes of the meeting.

The only way to abstain from voting

when a division has been called is to be outside the chamber when one's name is called. Mr. Basson left the chamber, and returned a few minutes later.

In the past he has been a National Party organiser within his constituency.

Executive committee chairman Mr. Richard Friedlander, who introduced the motion, said the devastation that would strike this country if a 'no' vote prevailed would make the presently

drought-stricken areas look like "a garden of paradise".

Mr. Basson said last night that he had walked out as a matter of principle as he believed the city council should not involve itself in party politics. He said he was an NP supporter, and the local NP district leader but he was on the council to represent ratepayers not for "politics".

● A councillor for whom bells tolled — Page 6 (3044) CT 28/2/92

De Beer: Codesa is about power

304A

Political Staff

CODESA showed that the NP and the ANC had accepted that bargaining for power was better than fighting about it, but the big game was power, according to DP leader Dr Zach de Beer. **CT 28/2/92**

"Neither of these two leadership groups will die in the last ditch for the principle of, say, state ownership, federalism, or a consociational cabinet arrangement — or for that matter for a constituent assembly.

"What they will fight for to the bitter end is power," he said in an interview in the

latest issue of Leadership magazine, released yesterday.

Dr De Beer, the first chairman of Codesa's steering committee, added: "Codesa will end by delivering to each of them that minimum amount of power which each of them is prepared to accept — or it may break down.

"But the game is power, not ideology. The big players are pragmatists, not dogmatists.

"Immature observers will be shocked. Others will utter clichés about the cynicism of politicians.

"Such observations are chaff in the wind. The fact is that both the NP and the ANC are acting more responsibly now than they have ever done before.

"If one wishes to understand the dynamics of Codesa, it is useful to consider what my party has experienced these past years.

"The NP has adopted most of the policy of the DP, which they once vilified.

"The ANC, which once had only sneers for the white liberals, increasingly talks our language," he said.

SA Foundation chief optimistic

CT 28/2/92 Own Correspondent (304A)

DURBAN. — The right-wing, Azapo and the PAC cannot seriously affect the negotiation process underway in South Africa, according to Mr Kurt von Schirnding, director-general of the South Africa Foundation.

In an address to the London Forum, released here yesterday, he said although middle-level activists in Azapo and the PAC had shown they would like to disrupt the process, recent opinion polls showed no increase in support for their position.

The coming referendum, though it was to involve whites only, was necessary in order for Mr F W de Klerk to obtain a renewal of his mandate from the white electorate to continue with the reform process, he said.

"The negotiation process in South Africa is much more than an experiment in conflict resolution. It is a logical consequence of important underlying strategic developments. There are no rational alternatives to negotiation."

Countdown to March 17: Referendum checklist

WHO CAN VOTE:

- Whites.
- South African citizens.
- 18 years and older.
- Bearers of valid ID documents (old blue or new green format — not old green card) or temporary identity certificates.

304A

WHEN YOU CAN VOTE:

- "Normal" voters on March 17 between 7am and 9pm
- Special votes (for those physically unable to get to polls on March 17) can vote on March 13, 14 and 16.
- Voting abroad will be on March 11 and 12.

PROBLEM CASES:

WHERE YOU VOTE:

- At any of the 1300-1400 polling stations in the 15 referendum areas throughout South Africa.
- If abroad, registered voters (eg, diplomats, tourists, businesspersons and sportspersons) with proper ID documents can cast special votes where there is a South African diplomatic or consular mission.
- White South African citizens in homelands can vote as SA diplomatic missions or anywhere in South Africa.

● Whites who handed in their ID documents for inclusion of driver's licences, or who have submitted their documents for official purposes, or who has lost their documents and applied for a new one should contact any office of the Department of Home Affairs for the issue of a temporary identity certificate (Fingerprints and photographs to be supplied).

● Whites with "colour blind" ID documents (issued from July 1 1986) can get certification of their eligibility to vote from Home Affairs offices which will check population register. (More details on this will be given later).

Poll 'should be last of its kind'

DURBAN. — The upcoming referendum was an example of the silliness of white ethnic politics and should be the last exercise of this kind, according to ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak.

Addressing students at the University of Natal here yesterday, Dr Boesak said his organisation wanted a genuine democracy in South Africa, and not a juggling of the democratic process by whites.

He said all South Africans should learn to accept the democratic process and cited the NP's plan for a rotating presidency in a new government as an example of the NP's refusal to accept democracy.

He also questioned why people like IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "with 3% of the vote", were elevated as important players and who insisted on inclusion in a new government. "That's not democracy. No where else in the world is that accepted." — Sapa

EC to ask SA for a 'yes' vote

JOHANNESBURG. — German Economic Affairs Minister Mr Jurgen Mollemann said last night the European Community would ask for white South Africans to vote 'yes' in the coming referendum because a "no" result would "disturb hopes and wishes all over the world".

He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport where he was met by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha at the start of his short South African visit.

Mr Mollemann warned that no foreign investor would invest in South Africa in the "phase of civil war" that would result from a "no" outcome.

He said Germany — in a bid to promote the negotiation process — would be prepared to intensify its economic and political co-operation with South Africa and to integrate the country fully in the world economy. — Sapa

Resounding 'yes' if referendum was held today, poll shows

By Peter Wellman

STAR 28/2/92

304A

President de Klerk would win his reform referendum if polling took place today.

This is the finding of a nationwide opinion poll commissioned by The Star.

Marketing and Media Research pollsters say the president is three-to-one ahead of the "no" vote among those who declared their loyalties, with a swing away from the Conservative Party.

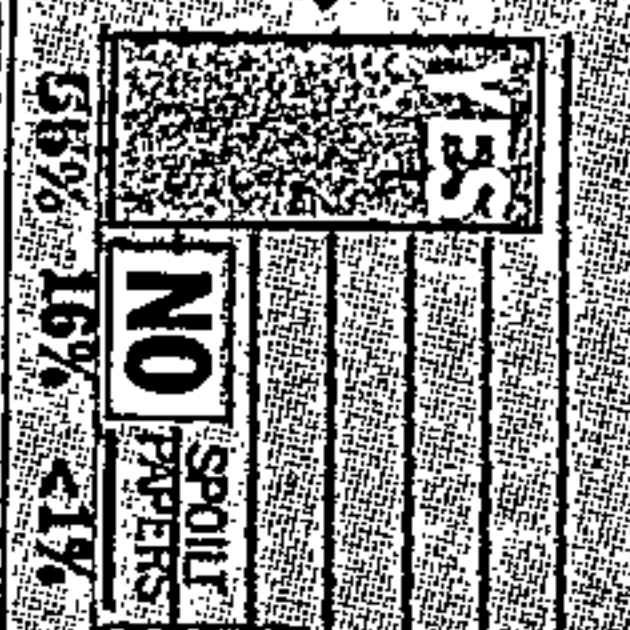
He has carried nine out of 10 National Party supporters, and Democratic Party voters are solidly behind him.

But 25 percent of people polled refused to say which way they would go, and MMR says this shows that tensions are already high with the referendum campaign just beginning.

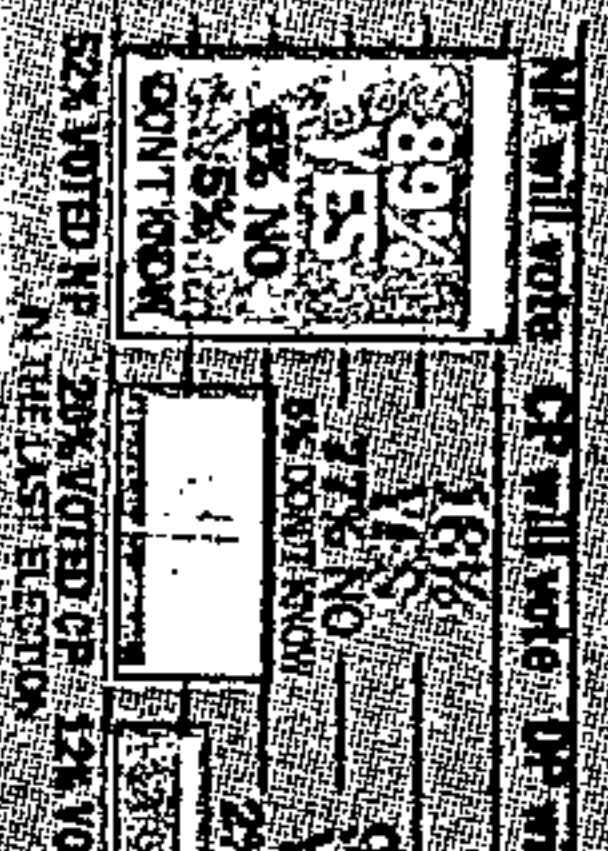
Going to vote



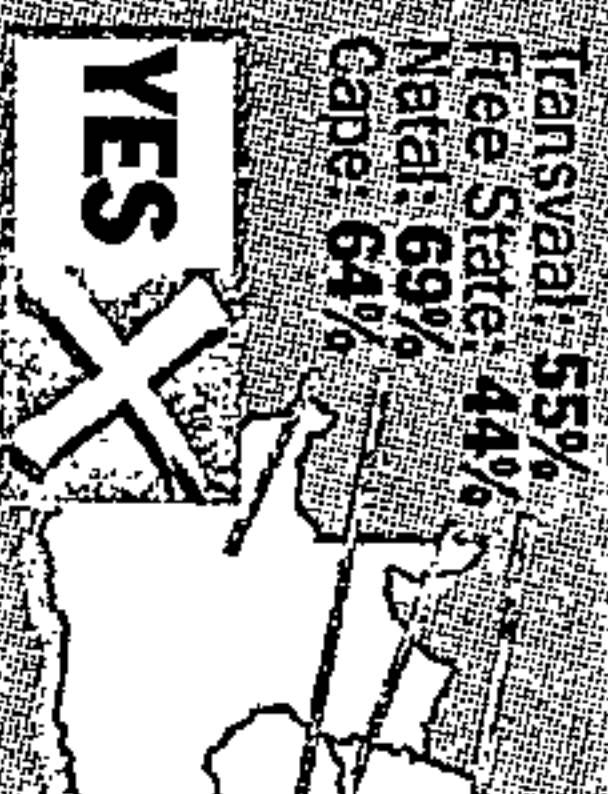
How they'll vote



Looking at the parties



YES in the provinces



paing just beginning.

Voting patterns could change later, but the certainties today are: 49 percent "yes" against 13 percent "no", a 15 percent floating vote, and 25 percent who won't say.

Projections on the floating vote give Mr de Klerk 55 percent against 16 — still more than three-to-one

ahead.

But MMR cautions that the "won't say" factor could boost the anti-reform vote.

Other patterns to emerge from the poll are:

- 76 percent of about 3.3 million eligible whites will cast their vote.
- A 16 percent swing away from the Conservative Party in favour of reform since the

1989 general election.

- English speakers are 70 percent in favour.
- Afrikaans speakers are 50 percent "yes" voters.
- Transvaal is 55 percent "yes", Natal 69 percent "yes", the Cape 64 percent "yes", and the Free State the only province to say "no" — with 56 percent against.
- Gender and age are not

seen to be factors among decided voters, but more females than males were found to be undecided.

Covering 90 percent of South Africa's 320 magisterial districts, the poll involved asking 2 400 people a series of questions on the telephone.

About 4 000 calls were made to get those responses.

To ensure that it was scientific, it had to be a random poll, so the questions were put to voters in each household who had the most recent birthday.

The core of the questionnaire was the official referendum question: Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on Feb 27?

ary 2 1990, and which aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?

MMR says political opinion pollsters are sometimes insulted, or are cut off, as part of the job. But it happened more than usual in this survey, and all ways came from those who refused to say how they would vote.

CP to target English-speaking voters

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has decided to target the English vote, which it has identified as crucial to the outcome of the referendum.

"The way that 300 000 to 500 000 undecided English-speakers vote could determine the way the referendum goes," CP information chief Pieter Mulder said last night.

He said there was little point in targeting the Afrikaans vote as it had mostly decided be-

tween the National Party and the CP.

But the more fluid English vote could still be persuaded. "The English don't want a communist government. They are not interested in a vote for or against the NP or CP as such, but preventing a government which includes the ANC/SACP alliance."

Dr Mulder said the CP message to the English speakers and others would be that if they voted "no", they had one more chance — in the general election which President de Klerk

has promised to call if he lost the referendum.

"But if they vote 'yes', they don't get another chance."

The decision to target the English means the CP campaign will concentrate on the cities and Natal.

The NP and Democratic Party are continuing to co-ordinate their campaigns. It emerged yesterday that DP leader Dr Zach de Beer would be joining Mr de Klerk on the platform in the Cape Town City Hall on Monday for the official launch of the "yes" campaign.

Jewish leaders' views

Vote "yes" is the message from Mervyn Smith, national chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, and Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris. In a joint statement, they urged voters to support the State President in the referendum. Chief Rabbi Harris said he "looked forward to a decisive positive yes vote which would enable the negotiation process to continue".

Supporters (364A) queue to help

STAR 28/2/92

Whites who have never before felt a sense of duty to vote are inundating both National Party and Conservative Party offices with phone calls, volunteering their assistance in the rushed campaign, CP and NP officials said yesterday.

"I have never before witnessed so many people calling in to help. People who never took part in politics are offering bakkies and ladders to put up posters," NP assistant chief secretary Coetzee Bester said.

Each region was handling its own campaign, he said.

"Everything is well in place. Everybody is working day and night, but we political animals love this kind of thing."

A CP organiser also reported a stream of phone calls offering assistance. "If I had 100 phone lines, all would be occupied," he said. — Pretoria Bureau.

Langley derides NP's haste

STAR 28/2/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The National Party wanted a referendum as soon as possible because it was losing support so fast that even a day could make the difference between victory and defeat, Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in debate on a motion by the leader of the House, Adriaan Vlok, that the House adjourn today until March 18, the day after the poll, he put forward as an amendment that the sitting resume only on March 23.

The effect of his proposal, he said, would be that there would be a five-day break between the referendum and the reconvening of Parliament.

"Because you are going to take five days to recover," interjected an NP MP.

Mr Langley criticised the "topsy-turvy" haste with which the referendum was being held.

He quoted a press report that there was confusion in the Government and civil service and that some political organisations were saying the poll would have to be postponed.

The most important reason for the haste was that the referendum had to be completed before the Budget, before voters learnt that South Africa was bankrupt and of higher taxes, tariffs and petrol prices.

Voters were being asked to make a decision that had not been carefully thought out. On the next day, Budget Day, they would pay the price for that decision, Mr Langley said.

The Potchefstroom result had knocked the National Party for a six, and when they awoke from their befuddlement, they saw a referendum as the only lifebelt to grab.

Speaking in the same debate, DP Chief Whip Dave Dalling said the Government was al-

ready losing referendum "yes" votes because of its attempts to create a personality cult.

He warned the Government that a campaign that sought to make the choice between Mr de Klerk and Dr Andries Treurnicht would lose the support of "democratic people".

"We are voting 'yes' not because we support the NP and the State President, but because we support the principle of seeking to establish a new democratic dispensation through negotiations."

The DP urged its supporters to deliver an overwhelming "yes" vote.

"As Mr Vorster once said, the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate."

Mr Dalling hoped this was the last time people would be called on to vote in an ethnic referendum or a whites-only election. — Sapa.

Poor whites warned (304A)

57M 28/12/92
All poor white South Africans who want to vote for the CP in the forthcoming referendum must be told they are making the biggest mistake of their lives, said Dr Allan Boesak, chairman of the ANC Western Cape region, in Durban yesterday. He said the ANC's approach on the affirmative action would benefit all disadvantaged members of South African society, including whites.

How referendum voting will work

Star 28/2/92

(3044)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa will probably know at noon on March 18 whether the "yes" or the "no" vote has won the referendum and, therefore, if the negotiations process is to continue.

The referendum result would be announced in Cape Town, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said at a press conference yesterday.

From about 10.20 am, the results will start to be released for each of the 15 referendum districts. Regional results will be announced in Cape Town and in each of the regional centres.

To ensure that no one votes twice, the left hands of voters will be marked with an invisible harmless fluid which shows up only under ultra-violet light. Election officers at the polling booths will check each voter's left hand under an ultra-violet lamp before allowing him or her to vote.

This method was used successfully in the Zimbabwean and Namibian independence elections — although many critics claimed (wrongly) that the fluid was soluble in Coca-Cola, allowing voters to vote twice.

Mr Louw said the fluid was anti-bacterial and would leave no mark or colour. The voter's identity document would be marked as a further indication that a ballot paper had been issued.

"The voter will then be able to cast his vote in the usual secret manner."

Mr Louw said his department would be able to ensure that only whites voted, even though

identity books issued since July 1 1986 no longer contained any reference to race.

The checking would be done by computer comparison of the voter's ID number with the Population Register which still listed citizens by race.

The voters rolls and other documents would be used to double-check if necessary.

Mr Louw said President de Klerk would proclaim the referendum today and regulations would be issued shortly after.

He spelt out the important details about the referendum:

- Only white SA citizens 18 years and older who qualified to vote in the House of Assembly would be entitled to vote.

- Only identity documents — the old blue or new green books, or temporary ID certificates — would be acceptable.

- Other forms of identification, such as passports, drivers' licences and old green identity cards, would not be accepted.

- Those who had handed in their ID books for drivers' licences to be added, had submitted their ID books for other official purposes or had lost their ID books and applied for a new one may contact any Home Affairs office for a temporary certificate.

- Each of the 15 referendum regions would consist of a number of polling areas and stations — making a total of 1 300 polling stations.

- Voters would be able to cast their vote at any polling station.

- Special votes would be allowed on three days preceding the referendum, namely, Friday, Saturday and Monday, March 13, 14, and 16.

- Special votes would only be allowed for those who made a sworn statement that they would be unable to attend a

polling station in SA on polling day.

- Diplomatic and other SA officials abroad would be able to cast special votes.

- Tourists, businessmen and sportsmen temporarily abroad would be able to cast special votes at SA missions on March 11 and 12.

- Voting would be from 7 am to 9 pm on March 17. After the closing, the presiding officer would seal ballot boxes and deliver them to the polling officer.

- The officer would examine the seals of the ballot boxes and, in the presence of agents of the political parties, open the boxes to verify the number of ballot papers before sealing them again.

- He would then deliver the boxes to the counting location of each region where the seals would once again be examined.

- In the presence of agents of political parties, the boxes would be opened again and the count would begin.

- The whole counting process would be done in the presence of agents of political parties — at least one for the "yes" vote and one for the "no".

- Counting would not be done by constituency but by region.

- At January 31 there were 3 274 619 potential white voters with ID books.

- The Witwatersrand would be divided into three regions: Johannesburg (491 843 voters at January 31), Germiston (309 755) and Roodepoort (306 814).

- Pretoria, which included the eastern Transvaal, had 559 965 voters.

- The department had launched an intensive campaign to issue ID books to those who did not have them.



Challenges ahead for Greater Germiston council, says clerk

STAR 28/2/92

By Abel Mabelane
and Anna Louw

3044

The new amalgamated city council of Greater Germiston — which comes into operation on April 1 — will face daunting challenges, Germiston town clerk Tonie Heyneke said yesterday.

These included the continuing violence in the area and the protracted Katlehong rent and service boycott which had burdened the township's council with massive debts.

Problems

The 57-seat Greater Germiston Council will consist of councillors from Germiston, Katlehong, Bedfordview and Palm Ridge.

Mr Heyneke said one of the problems facing the council would be the ongoing violence in Katlehong in which taxis, contractors and white teachers were being attacked.

He believed the Katlehong rent boycott could be resolved

Move on Pretoria area local govt

Several black and white councils in and around Pretoria this week began laying the groundwork for the future of local government in the area.

The Pretoria City Council (PCC) said yesterday the councils of Atteridgeville, Akasia, Eersterus, Laudium, Mamelodi, Pretoria and Verwoerdburg held an informal brainstorm session this week regarding a negotiation forum.

The PCC said altogether 51 councillors, management committee members and

other senior officials comprised the think-tank that was set up to decide the future relationship of the councils.

"An interim organising committee ... was designated to report on the criteria that should apply to the decision of who should be invited to the ultimate foundation meeting of a negotiating forum," the PCC said.

A report is due at the next meeting of the local authorities. — Sapa.

through negotiations with community organisations such as the local civic association.

However, he said, the township's residents could not continue to receive services such as water, electricity and refuse removal for free.

The new council would definitely not inherit Katlehong's debts. "Those debts will continue against the Katlehong City Council," Mr Heyneke said. Money for improving ser-

vices would come from the Government, the regional services council and rates from industrial areas.

Earlier this week, Germiston councillor Winnie Haveloh claimed at a council meeting that a report published in The Star on the amalgamated council was "rubbish".

However, the contents of a council newsletter posted to residents with their electricity

bills this week corresponded with the report on the proposed new council which appeared in The Star on February 5.

The report was also substantiated by written recommendations and resolutions adopted by the steering committee of the four local authorities.

Reports

Management committee chairman Leon Louw (NP), in response to Mrs Haveloh's attack, said he had not been misquoted. He discussed the facts in a debate after a motion proposed by Mrs Haveloh that all media reports in future be vetted for correctness by the council before publication.

The proposal was defeated by a majority of 16 votes to four with Mrs Haveloh supported by John Oxley (independent) and two Conservative Party councillors.

Another CP councillor, Jackie Nel, said: "I cannot support this proposal. It is impractical to expect reporters to present their articles to the council for approval prior to publication."

Say 'no', says union

7912 28/12/92
The all-white Mineworkers' Union (MWU) yesterday said the implications of a positive result in the March referendum would be catastrophic for whites in South Africa. Imploring members to vote "no", general secretary W Ungerer said that mixed schools and residential areas, squatting, crime and poverty would engulf white workers if Codesa were to continue. A "yes" vote would eventually lead to an ANC/SACP-controlled black government and "the destruction of the white worker's political, economic, cultural and social welfare", he said.

STAR 28/2/92 (364A) (1/1)

Slovo would say 'yes' if he could

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo would vote 'yes' in the referendum if he could. But he was still an alien and so would not qualify, he explained yesterday. "I haven't an identity book so I can't vote. I have never been naturalised." But he said he wouldn't want to express support for President de Klerk and had some reservations about the question.

CP challenged 304A

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike yesterday challenged the CP's perception that the Northern Transvaal was conservative. "It is increasingly becoming clear that some fears are merely used as a smoke-screen to preserve old privileges," he said. "Successful consumer boycotts in Northern Transvaal towns have demonstrated that the white minority cannot exist without the black population. The future of this country now rests with the results of discussions by all parties at Codesa," he said.

STAR 28/2/92

Vote 'yes' council

(304A) (22)
The Randburg Town Council has called on all white voters in the town to vote "yes" in the March 17 referendum, in an urgent motion at the monthly council meeting on Wednesday. Management committee chairman Andre Jacobs said Randburg voters should support the process of reform. The motion was unanimously supported.

ARG 28/2/92

304A

Slovo: I would have voted 'yes'

Political Staff

SA COMMUNIST Party chairman Joe Slovo would vote 'yes' in the referendum — if he could.

But he is still an alien and so will not qualify. "I have not got an identity book so I cannot vote. I'm an alien. I've never been naturalised," he said yesterday.

"But if I had the vote I would vote yes. I would not want to express support for De Klerk and I have some reservations about the questions.

"But the most important task is to defeat right-wing attempts to undermine the negotiation process."



Joe Slovo

CP targets undecided English-speaking voters

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent
CONSERVATIVE Party strategists

plotting a referendum swing to defeat President De Klerk — are targeting the half-a-million undecided English-speaking voters.

The party will be blitzing the cities with a campaign to win over English-speaking voters who are worried and uncertain about the future.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has a punishing programme of 30 public meetings, starting on Monday, to coax English-speakers into the 'no-vote' camp.

The CP's chief information spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder unveiled the plans yesterday.

"Of the one-and-a-half-million English-speakers, between 300 000 and 500 000 have not yet made up their minds.

"That's the vote we are going for. That's the swing vote.

"It is how these people vote that will decide the outcome of the referendum," he said.

Spelling out the rationale behind the carefully targeted campaign, Dr Mulder said: "The win lies in the English-speaking community."

"The Afrikaners have already polarised and made their choices. To

concentrate on them would generate only a small swing.

"But English-speaking voters are far more fluid, and they are also very uncertain about the future.

"Given these facts, we think our biggest growth area is the cities. The platteland is already with us. To go there would be preaching to the converted," Dr Mulder said.

Investment

STAR 28/2/92
at stake, 304A

says Sacob

The outcome of the March referendum would play a major role in international companies' assessment of investment in South Africa, the South African Chamber of Commerce (Sacob) said yesterday.

Sacob did not get involved in politics, the organisation said, but the importance of the referendum compelled it to identify some of the key issues at stake for South Africa and the business community in particular.

"Because of the decisive role of investment — both foreign and local — in a return to a substantial growth path, South Africa cannot afford to be isolated again from the world economy and its capital resources."

A high rate of economic growth was needed to face the enormous challenges that lay ahead, Sacob said, and South Africa had to normalise its external economic relationships and maximise its inherent human and other potential if it was to survive and grow.

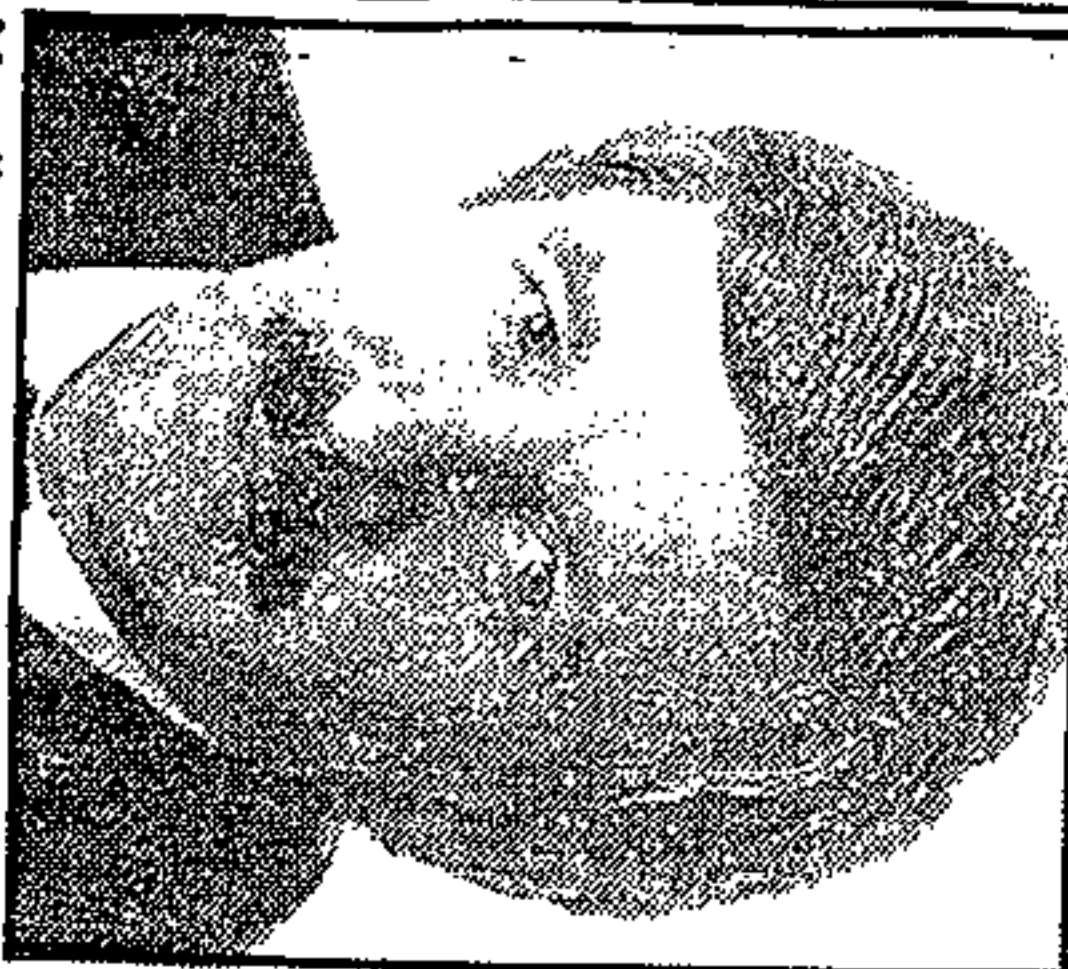
To achieve satisfactory economic results a high level of confidence among businessmen both in South Africa and abroad was required, Sacob said.

The decision in the referendum would therefore play a major role when companies assessed the political risk of doing business in South Africa.

"The result should strengthen, and not weaken, business confidence so as to enhance investment, job creation and the addressing of urgent social needs."

The outcome could also have important implications for southern Africa in that it would have to be attractive to overseas businessmen. — Sapa.

REFERENDUM



Moellermann . . . EC will ask South Africans to vote "yes".

'Return to racism would end all Western investment'

German Economic Affairs Minister Juergen Moellermann, who arrived on a four-day visit to South Africa yesterday, has warned that foreign investment would dry up if South Africa "returned to racism".

Mr Moellermann, the highest-ranking German official yet to visit the country, said the European Community would ask for white South Africans to vote "yes" in the coming referendum because a "no" result would

"disturb hopes and wishes all over the world".

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport, where he was met by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha at the start of his SA visit, Mr Moellermann warned that no foreign investor would invest in South Africa in a "phase of civil war" that would result from a "no" outcome.

He said Germany — in a bid to promote the negotiations pro-

cess — would be prepared to intensify its economic and political co-operation with South Africa and to fully integrate the country in the world economy.

In a interview before leaving Germany, Mr Moellermann said it was disappointing to see that both white and black politicians willing to seek a negotiated settlement were coming under pressure from radical forces.

Referring to the ANC's threats of nationalisation, he

warned: "Certain economic ideas emanating from radical elements in the ANC are not compatible with a belief in a free-market system."

The German Embassy in Pretoria confirmed that during his whirlwind tour, which will include Cape Town, he would meet President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Zach de Beer. He and Mr de Klerk were due to address a SA-German Chamber of Commerce banquet later

today.

Helen Grange reports that Western diplomatic sources predict a return of punitive sanctions in the event of a "no" vote. Although diplomats were reluctant to be specific about likely reaction to a CP victory, they warned of the serious consequences of a return to world isolation.

● A European embassy source said the current flow of government officials and delega-

tions to SA to explore and strengthen economic and political links would stop.

● In a statement, the British Embassy said reform was the "only course which would achieve SA's full reintegration into the international community and enable it to attract the investment it needed for economic growth . . ."

● The US Embassy stated that retreat from negotiations would be a "devastating step backwards towards international isolation . . ." — Finance Reporter and Sapa.

Blacks have no interest in white poll

W1 Mail 28/2-5/3/92
304A
With almost everyone urging a 'yes' vote, an alternative view from Azapo's publicity

secretary **STRINI MOODLEY**

THE outcome of the white referendum that is being called by President FW de Klerk's regime is of little consequence to black people as far as the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is concerned.

We believe the calling of the referendum is a part of De Klerk's ploy to perpetuate white control over the political destiny of this country.

Ironically, by deliberately losing the by-election at Potchefstroom De Klerk decided to pack away his party's "swart gevaar" tactic and replace it with a "wit gevaar" one — and that only because he believes he has contained the "swart gevaar".

De Klerk can, at any time he wishes, put away the rightwing but he chooses not to do so because he lost the battle at Potchefstroom to win the war at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

He hopes to force the African National Congress and its allies at Codesa to accept any settlement — most probably one which will entrench ethnicity and minority rights.

Thus he raises the "wit gevaar" bogey and all black people are expected to fear this crazy fascism on the right. The referendum forces all blacks to come out in support of the National Party. If they do not, everyone argues, they are then accepting a Conservative Party-ruled government.

Let everyone be reminded, De Klerk called a referendum to test his white support. De Klerk did not come to black people and say: "I have messed this country up. Now what do I do?"

Azapo has no interest in the future of the NP and its supporters nor in the CP and its crazy Nazi-style politics. Consequently, it is not only unfair but devious to expect black people to support De Klerk.

This is a white issue and becomes the responsibility of white people. Black people, and certainly Azapo, are not obliged to take sides in this useless game which simply wastes more money.

The CP is comprised of a bunch of dinosaurs who have no capacity, nor the intelligence, to shape this country's future — and they know it.

All De Klerk has to do is resign. But he has chosen to slap the face of black political representatives and proceed regardless to "test white opinion".

If, by some quirk of fate, the CP wins this referendum, what will it, in truth, mean for black people?

Blacks will still be homeless, jobless, landless, uneducated, deprived of health care and voteless. Certainly, the political space won for organisations to operate within will be far tougher. We will be returned to the Verwoerd/Vorster era.

But for how long can such conditions be kept in place? South Africa will be returned to economic, political and social isolation from the rest of the world.

It will clarify the political battle lines for all those who profess a love for democracy so that blacks will find it easier to unite — their organisations will be forced by the realities to come together in solidarity and work out common programmes to overthrow such a regime.

There is actually no need to fear the rightwing. They are incapable of ruling this country and will face the wrath of the international community.

APARTHEID

REFERENDUM

Winnipeg 28/2-5/3/92
The March 17 whites-only referendum is expected to cost R12.3 million, according to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw. (SOLA)

The money will come from the State Revenue Fund — meaning all taxpayers will be funding the referendum.

The first whites-only referendum was held in 1960, the second in 1983 and this will be third referendum since the Nationalist government assumed power.

DP leader to share platform with FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — DP leader Zach de Beer will briefly join President F.W. de Klerk's referendum road show on Monday when the two party leaders share a platform in the Cape Town City Hall.

The joint initiative follows an agreement between the NP and the DP to actively co-operate to achieve an overwhelming "yes" vote in the March 17 poll.

The two parties have formed joint campaign committees in several regions and will be working closely together on strategy in the coming three weeks, members of both parties said yesterday.

However, some DP MPs yesterday expressed misgivings that the campaign was being used to cultivate a "personality cult" around De Klerk in his battle against the CP's Andries Treurnicht.

In an interview in the latest issue of Leadership, De Beer said Codesa showed the NP and the ANC had accepted that bargaining for power was better than fighting about it, but the big game was power. "Neither of these two leadership groups will die in the last ditch for the principle of, say, state ownership, federalism, or a consociational cabinet arrangement — or for that matter for a constituent assembly. What they will fight for to the bitter end is power."

"Codesa will end by delivering to each of them that minimum amount of power which each of them is prepared to accept — or it may break down."

"But the game is power, not ideology. The big players are pragmatists, not dogmatists."

Referendum debates rage at every opportunity in Parliament

CAPE TOWN — Parliament erupted into a full-blooded referendum campaign debate yesterday at every opportunity during the day's business, culminating in uproar when the House of Assembly debated adjourning tomorrow until after the referendum.

MP Dave Dalling (DP Sandton) brought a measure of calm to the House when he warned the NP to stop personalising the referendum and creating a personality cult around President de Klerk if they wanted the DP's support.

He said government was already losing "yes" votes because he had received complaints from people in Pretoria who said the NP had put up posters in the city calling for a yes-vote for F W de Klerk, and they could not vote for that.

If government sought to build a campaign to make a choice between De Klerk and Andries Treurnicht, it would lose the support of democratic people.

"We are voting yes, not because we support the NP and the State President, but because we support the principle of seeking to establish a new democratic dispensation through negotiations," he said.

He said that as former prime minister John Vorster once said, "the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate".

A "no" majority would mean the collapse of Codesa and the end of negotiations. He hoped this was the last time people

would be called on to vote in an ethnic ballot.

The future of the country could no longer be decided by a minority, but had to rest in the hands of all South Africans, irrespective of colour or race.

The DP was not enthusiastic about taking part, but it understood government's need to demonstrate legitimacy.

Free State CP leader Cehill Pienaar objected to the sale of strategic oil stockpiles to plough into social upliftment projects, but was firmly rebuked by Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett who said that if there was a resounding "yes" vote, the oil embargo could be lifted.

Geoff Engel (DP Bezuidenhout) also joined the fray and said the CP was complaining because if a majority "no" vote was returned, there would be a shortage of oil as sanctions were more firmly applied.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) argued the NP was so scared it would lose the referendum if it was held before the Budget, it had to rush the affair.

Referring to the NP wearing of referendum buttons, he said the NP members "walking around wearing these funny third world bicycle wheels" were afraid because Finance Minister Barend du Plessis would be announcing a petrol price increase and there would be further redistribution.

BILLY PADDOCK

Andries Beyers speaks out

B1 Day 28/2/92 (304) 28/2/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A white election was the only constitutional way white people could be liberated without violence, CP chief secretary Andries Beyer said in the latest Leadership magazine published yesterday.

If we are denied this right, then the Afrikaner and the whites of South Africa no longer have constitutional means to win their freedom.

We warn against this daily, because if this happens then you leave your folk with no alternative but to use other bargaining methods," he said in an interview.

Beyers, who was recently elected MP for Potchefstroom, said the NP no longer wanted to lead whites and the mantle of white leadership had passed to the CP.

"We prefer to use constitutional means, and we will use them as long as they are available to us.

"If we are an oppressed folk, we are forced to use the same methods that other oppressed people are forced to use.

"Then a new phase in our freedom struggle will begin, but I cannot at this stage discuss these methods because they will have to be methods available to us at that time and which will be effective," he said.

The only way white resistance

could be avoided was to call a white election so that whites could choose their own leaders, he said.

Many Afrikaners were prepared to fight to the finish.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that leaders of the CP, HNP and the AWB are to meet at an undisclosed venue in Pretoria tomorrow to draw up a joint strategy for the referendum.

The meeting between Andries Treurnicht, Jaap Marais and Eugene Terre'Blanche will be preceded by executive meetings of the three organisations.

Meanwhile, the all-white Mineworkers' Union yesterday said the implications of a positive referendum result would be catastrophic for whites, Sapa reports.

Imploring members to vote no, MWU general secretary W Ungerer said in a statement mixed schools and residential areas, squatting, crime and poverty would engulf white workers if Codesa continued.

A "yes" vote would eventually lead to an ANC/SACP-controlled black government which would lead to the destruction of the white worker's political, economic and social welfare, Ungerer said.

THINK of the scenario. You're the state president and your party is rapidly shedding support among the white population. You know that if you hold a referendum among the whites tomorrow, you'll probably win it comfortably. But you've already promised them a referendum six months or so down the line, once the results of your negotiations have been spelled out. You're not so sure the whites will accept these results, especially since they'll be voting side-by-side with blacks. You have a major by-election coming up which, even if you do your damndest, you're going to be hard-pressed to win. But if you lose big, your white opposition are going to shoot their mouths off and claim they've got you beaten. That will give you the chance to finish them off once and for all, before they get too strong. And it will also help you put the generals and other security crats, and the doubters within your own ranks, back in their places. So what do you do? You turn down the best and brightest candidates, and instead choose an unelectable patsy. You do no campaigning, make some embarrassing policy announcements on the eve of the elections, and then enter the fray by claiming that you're about to win. You get creamed in the by-election and you give your opposition just enough time to celebrate. Then you spring a snap referendum on them and laugh while they tear their own innards out. That, at least, is the way the Conservative Party and several independent commentators are seeing things in the wake of President FW de Klerk has called their bluff. Now they face what is probably the last whites-only poll — and they've blown it. By **GAVIN EVANS**

don't. And so, against the advice of their leader and the impassioned pleas of their deputy leader, they opted to go out fighting in the hope that it's close enough to enable them to fight another day.

Potchefstroom pollster Donald Simpson, who correctly forecast the last three by-election results, believes there might be some truth to this conspiracy theory.

"The NP potentially had available a whole clutch of extremely strong candidates who would have had a chance of winning — Foreign Affairs director

enough time to celebrate. Then you spring a snap referendum on them and laugh while they tear their own innards out.

That, at least, is the way the Conservative Party and several independent commentators are seeing things in the wake of President FW de Klerk's referendum announcement last week. He had a weak hand so he finessed their king and then trumped it with his ace.

Sitting in their fractious caucus meetings on Monday and Tuesday the CP knew they'd been suckered — damned if they do participate and damned if they

And damned if they don't

general Neil van Heerden, Potchefstroom mayor Johan Oosthuizen, Louis le Grange's wife, Jessie, Professor Pieter Potgieter and several others."

But instead the NP chose the amiable but unelectable Theuns Kruger.

A string of recent polls and projections indicate that it will take the combination of a brilliant and united nightwing campaign, and a series of devastating blunders by the NP, for the CP to have even a prayer of winning the referendum. And even if the CP had the means they simply do not have the time to pull it off. Against them will be most of the country's newspapers, the SABC, the business community, the National Intelligence Service and the world.

The campaign will be fought not on visions of heaven, but on nightmares of hell. The CP have on their side crime, violence, mixed schools and the horror of the *swart gewaar*.

But the NP can return the favour with interest. Vote no and the blacks really will rise up. Vote no and forget about rugby tours. Vote no and kiss the economy goodbye. Vote no and face the wrath of the world as we've never seen it before.

Cape Town political analyst Dr Jamie Hofmeyer, of Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd, said a national survey by his organisation last week showed that while the combined right outstripped the NP by 50 percent to 39 percent among Afrikaners, among English speakers De Klerk had the lead by 60 to 19 percent.

Putting these figures together he predicts a comfortable yes-vote win, perhaps by as much as 60 to 40, and by no less than 55 to 45 percent.

Simpson's research indicates the NP is ahead of the CP by 54 percent to 39,9 percent, with six percent for the DP.

If the referendum were held today the yes voters would have it by a comfortable margin of 14,22 percent — 57,11 to 42,89. The campaign could shift the margin either way, but he believes it is more likely to tend in the 60:40 direction.

"If that happens it will not take long for the CP to split, and up to 12 MPs will then consider entering Codesa as an independent group."

Hofmeyer, however, is not so sure the effect on the party will be that dramatic.

He also says the clear indications of *broederyds* within the CP over the past few days will have little effect on the final result.

"The issue is too big for that. It's more over-riding for the right than the differences within the party, or even those between the CP, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. The stakes are too high for a split. For that to happen immediately the result will have to be cataclysmic for the right."

What will increase the sense of desperation among the right during the next three weeks is the sure knowledge that if they lose there is nowhere to go but down. This is almost certainly the CP's last chance at the white ballot box — and all the indications are that they've blown it already.

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Progressive whites will grit their teeth and back De Klerk

w/mail 28/2-5/3/92

304A

WHAT do whites who've opposed "racially-based" polls for years do this time? A survey of prominent progressives indicates that the attitude is "swallow hard and vote yes".

Most of those interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* said pragmatism would stifle their gut feelings of revulsion at voting in a whites-only referendum for the Nationalists: voting yes meant voting for negotiations, not President FW de Klerk or his party. Pragmatic means were needed to prevent the Conservative Party winning the poll and coming to power in a general election, which would almost certainly lead to civil war.

Many parties and organisations have yet to adopt a formal position on the referendum and what to advise their white supporters. There is already indication from the African National Congress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance that whites will be encouraged to vote. The ANC released a statement yesterday saying those who support negotiations "should do everything in their power to defend the process".

However ANC national executive member Marion Sparg said the ANC was in a difficult position: "On the one hand, simply telling whites not to vote would be extremely dangerous because of the consequences of a CP win in the referendum. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that De Klerk is effectively giving white South Africans the opportunity to derail the entire peace process, and that is something we can't tolerate."

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said that although the party and the ANC were engaged in

How will leftwing whites respond to the poll?

PHILIPPA GARSON

spoke to some prominent progressives

extensive discussions on the issue, "I will be voting yes ... and the SACP is encouraging whites to vote yes under protest."

There was unhappiness within the ANC and SACP at the poll question implying that De Klerk's February 1990 announcements and not the (1989) Harare Declaration initiated the reform process, Cronin said.

Cosatu publicity secretary Neil Coleman said the labour federation condemned the calling of the referendum. He said he would vote according to the position adopted by Cosatu after the central executive committee meets on March 6.

"My gut response is one of distaste. If I do vote it'll be with some difficulty. I'll have to swallow hard ... (but) I'm not saying I'm not going to vote."

Speaking in her personal capacity, Black Sash national co-ordinator Sheena Duncan said: "I am going to vote yes. My instinct is to say I'll have nothing to do with it, but given the sheer practical considerations, I'm obliged to vote."

Duncan added that she had spoken to several whites whose distrust of De Klerk was so deep that they would never be able to participate in the referendum.

Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission Max Coleman said he would vote yes: "I wouldn't regard this myself as a vote for the NP or De

Klerk. I would accept the question at face value. The question asks whether I agree with the negotiations process and I do, so I don't have any particular problem addressing and responding to the question."

Wits University law professor John Dugard supported Dhlomo's view that the success of negotiations depended on a clear mandate for De Klerk. "De Klerk has to ascertain whether he has authority to speak for the white group he claims to represent," he said, adding that he hoped De Klerk won.

There are indications that black attitudes are less hard-line on the subject than initially believed. For example, Institute of Multi Party Democracy chairman Oscar Dhlomo said the referendum — and a yes majority — were vital if negotiations were to succeed: "It's an attempt to reverse any perception of weakness ... when parties who want change negotiate with De Klerk they will know he's capable of delivering and that he has the support of the white majority."

Mayor of Soweto Oscar Maseko said the referendum was a tragic backward step that put the future of Codesa on the line. If the CP came to power he would stand up in revolt: "I am not prepared to go back to apartheid."

Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Benny Alexander said he could not advise whites which way to vote: "Whites must rally around for a national not a racial mandate," he said. Alexander admitted there was some merit in the argument that a CP win at the polls and a general election would force the transfer of power to blacks, but he said this attitude could become a dangerous "crutch".

304A

The Interim Government

New Nation (Learning Nation)

28/2-5/3/92

The mass movement and the Interim Government

For the mass movement, it is clear that the De Klerk regime aims to change apartheid capitalism in such a manner that it preserves capitalism and white minority power. All sections of the liberation movement agree that the government would like the majority to adopt a constitution which protects the interests of the ruling class. They therefore conclude that the regime cannot be allowed to oversee the period of transition to a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly. However the non participation of sections of the liberation movement in Codesa has brought to the fore differences in the approach to a democratic order in South Africa. Sections of the liberation movement have different views on how a transition to the constituent assembly is to be managed. There are differences in the composition and function of an interim government, or transitional authority, as AZAPO calls it.

Different points of view

There are two broad views on the transition to democratic order within the liberation movement. One section of the mass movement, principally AZAPO and the PAC, have argued that Codesa is an attempt by the ruling class to co-opt the liberation movements. They also argue that the only kind of negotiations they agree to must discuss the actual transfer of power from the ruling class through a constituent assembly. According to them the mass movement cannot enter into negotiations before the regime agrees to a constituent assembly. A transitional authority can only be convened on the basis that the regime accepts people's demands for a democratically elected assembly.

On the other hand the ANC and the congress movement in general, have on the basis of the Harare Declaration, argued for the importance of entering into talks on obstacles in order to create a climate conducive for free political activity. According to the Harare Declaration the removal of obstacles to free political activity should be followed by the setting up of an Interim Government. Recently, however, the ANC has argued that because of the role of the South African government in creating more obstacles to negotiations, an Interim Government needs to be established immediately. The ANC argues that only an Interim Government can remove obstacles to negotiations, since the present government is implicated in creating the obstacles.

The role of the Interim Government

Although there is broad agreement in the liberation movement that the De

Last week we looked at the necessity for an Interim Government in the light of the regime's double agenda. We saw that the apartheid state will stop at nothing to protect the interests of the ruling class. It has continued to change ownership of state companies, by selling them to the bosses in anticipation of a people's government. By imposing VAT (Value added tax), abolishing subsidies on food and transport, the state has shifted the burden of apartheid capitalism onto the oppressed. Another aspect of the regime's agenda has been the destruction of people's organisations. We saw that the state, through its agents, has been responsible for fomenting violence. It has supported and armed vigilante forces, encouraged 'black on black' violence and given money to organisations opposed to the mass movement. Clearly the record of the apartheid regime has shown that its interests cannot be reconciled with those of the oppressed majority.



Klerk regime cannot oversee the process of transition, there is still a lot of debate about what an Interim Government's role must be. The differences and debates have focussed around a number of issues.

The composition of the Interim Government

One of the issues being debated in the mass movement is that of who will make up an Interim Government and to whom will the Interim Government be accountable. What has made this debate more intense is that the majority of parties or organisations in Codesa support the apartheid system. The issue being raised is: how can these parties be trusted with ensuring that the transition will lead to a genuine transfer of power?

According to the ANC, all parties must be allowed to be part of the Interim Government of "National Unity". The ANC says that if some

parties are left out of the Interim Government they could resort to destabilising the negotiations process. Thus the ANC argues that the Interim Government must accommodate as many parties as possible. Other organisations like AZAPO reject Codesa and the Interim Government because they say that it is dominated by "puppets" of the government. They say that an Interim Government made up of these organisations cannot lead the people to genuine freedom.

The issue of the composition of the Interim Government is related to the issue of the accountability of the Interim Government. Many of the parties in Codesa do not enjoy the support of the majority of the people. If an Interim Government is formed by agreement at Codesa it is clear that many of the parties participating in the Interim Government will not have been in a free and fair election. This clearly raises the question of the

composition of the Interim Government after the election to a Constituent Assembly. Will parties that have been shown to have no support continue to be part of the Interim Government? Must the composition of the Interim Government be changed so that it is in line with the support enjoyed by the various parties in the Assembly?

The task of the Interim Government

Another issue which has generated a lot of debate is that of the tasks of the Interim Government. The questions being asked are:

- will the Interim Government take over all areas of government like the economy, social upliftment, the security forces, the civil service and on?
- will the Interim Government only take control of certain functions of the government which are important in facilitating the transition to a free South Africa?

An important aspect of this debate is about the need to avoid being co-opted onto the administration of apartheid. As we have seen, the De Klerk government is not committed to a free South Africa. Its agenda is to maintain capitalist rule and white minority privileges in a new form. It is because of this that the debate on the Interim Government has raised the issue of how to avoid co-option by the apartheid government.

There is however general agreement emerging that the Interim Government should not take over all areas of government. Many organisations feel that only those areas of government which are crucial to ensuring free and fair elections and a climate conducive to open political activity must be taken over by the Interim Government. For instance, the ANC has argued that the Interim Government must control the security forces, public media like SABC-TV and radio and the supervision of elections. The ANC also goes further and says that the Interim Government must also take over budget and finance, and socio-political forums. The taking over of these areas does raise issues of to what extent the mass movement should try to use the Interim Government to begin to change the social and economic conditions of the people.

- Will the economic policies implemented by the Interim Government reflect common positions of the De Klerk Nationalist Party and the mass movement?
- What will happen when the mass movement disagrees with unpopular socio-economic decisions taken by the Interim Government?

These issues and many others are being debated and struggles are being waged around them in the mass movement.

From Protest to Transformation?

Education Strategy

New Nation (Learning Nation) 28/2 - 5/3/92

Since President FW De Klerk unbanned political organisations on February 2 1990, South Africa has changed significantly. Since then we have witnessed talks about talks; pacts such as the Pretoria and the DF Malan Minutes; Peace Accords and the scrapping of some Apartheid legislation.

Are we in a Period of Transition?

Many people are asking the question: are we finally on the doorstep of majority rule and democracy? Within the ranks of some theoreticians in the mass movement this question is posed in the form: can the present period be described as transitional? Some people argue that a transition is only when an interim government or similar structure is in place. Given that the present white minority regime is still in control of power, from the law-making process to the army and the police, these people argue that South Africa is not in a transitional situation. Others, however, argue that South Africa is in transition because the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of organisations signalled the transition. These reforms of the post-February 2 period, they argue, must therefore fundamentally affect policy and strategy.

Despite the variations in views about the present South African situation, one thing is common: things are changing. How much is changing, how, and why may be debated, but the change is clearly taking place. For some people in the mass movement the changes require a change of strategy: from the politics of Protest to the politics of Transformation.

Arguments in Favour of the Shift to Transformation Politics

The shift to the politics of transformation is also called by the supporters of that approach, a shift to the politics of reconstruction or the politics of development. In the field of education, in particular, the focus has become that of policy and the role that education should play in fulfilling the needs of the new South Africa.

Prior to February 2, the politics of the people of South Africa was characterised by protest actions. Organisations were banned and their members harassed. The politics of protest was necessitated by the Emergency conditions; which is what characterised the reality of black South Africans in particular, since 1960 in greater or lesser degree until 1990.

At the same time, two fundamental trends emerged within this context. Firstly, the development of a broad anti-Apartheid alliance. Second, the over-politicisation of everyday life.

The struggle in South Africa has been within a broad anti-Apartheid alliance. The description of the people versus the

state was used because the struggle was essentially against a single system - apartheid. It became impossible to separate the politics of apartheid from any area of life. It, then, made perfect sense to point to the system of apartheid in dealing with rent issues or the lack of textbooks in schools.

However, since February 2, this scenario has changed fundamentally. First, the anti-Apartheid alliance is not that simple any more. Second, we are being called upon to respond to specific issues in very specific ways. Third, the kind of actions we now undertake are more positive and interventionist than protest-based.

Previously all organisations allowed their platforms to be used to promote and/or support the ANC or its policies. This was because the ANC did not have a legal space to express its own views. Now, the ANC/SACP/PAC are legal. They have their own platforms and they express their own views. This has meant a fundamental change in other organisations' roles.

Let us take a youth organisation for example. This organisation is now forced to define its actual role more specifically. It can no longer use its platforms to promote the ANC because the ANC is doing so on its own. The youth organisation, if it intends to continue to exist, needs to clearly spell out what it sees its continued role to be, who it would be representing and what kind of issues it will take up. The youth organisation can no longer over-politicise the issues it takes up, neither can it embark on campaigns against apartheid.

Furthermore organisations are required to narrow their focus to something specific. For example, students are now more prone to fight the practices in a particular school, rather than staging a march against apartheid education. Nurses, as another example, are more prone to take up issues directly related to their conditions of work in a particular hospital, rather than staging a march against apartheid health.

These shifts are what essentially characterise the politics of transformation. This does not mean that protest actions will not get used. Rather there will be less recourse to protest actions and more to interventionist actions on specific issues. Neither does this mean that actions and issues will suddenly become apolitical. Rather they will be political in other ways, other than being broadly anti-Apartheid. Nor does it mean that alliances will not be formed. Rather if alliances are formed, they will not be a principled alliance of the anti-Apartheid sort, but would more likely be temporary and for a very specific purpose.

Problems with the Theory of the Shift to Transformation Politics

Before February 2 the masses in South Africa made the immediate connection between practically every aspect of their lives and the political practices of the



VERSUS



apartheid state. This was due to the fact that the state itself played a direct role in all aspects of people's social life - both at the level of the social engineering of Apartheid (Group Areas, Immorality Act, Multi-National Sports Policy); as well as at the level of state repression of unions, education protests etc. In many capitalist countries the extreme inequalities in wealth and the poverty and homelessness of the working class and the poor are not blamed on the state because the state often does not play a direct role in the affairs of people's lives. The result is that in the midst of the worst attacks on the lives of working people, the same bourgeois parties get voted for at elections by the people who suffer under their indirect rule. Most people often only get involved in political struggles at election times and for the rest regard their problems as their individual issue.

The strength of the mass movement in South Africa was precisely that, because the focus of all protest was on the state, a unified mass movement could emerge which internalised a simple truth - that the key to resolving local issues was to win democratic power in the state. With current attempts to de-politicise struggles and remove the focus on the state, the masses have become dispersed and struggles so localised that they are easily defeated. Moreover the distance established by the apartheid state has allowed the state to attack the people through

localised state and parastatal structures (such as ESCOM cutting electricity) while still appearing to be reasonable at the level of national political negotiations.

Within the field of education the shift to the politics of transformation, especially when posed too strongly, has raised particular problems. Whilst black schooling has practically collapsed and facilities deteriorate even further, thus making effective learning almost impossible, political mobilisation at schools against apartheid education has stopped. The result is that students and teachers have neither effective education and workable teaching conditions nor national political mobilisation. In this context students become ripe for acts of ill-discipline and impatience and teachers lapse into despair.

We can therefore see that there is much to debate about the change from the "politics of protest to the politics of transformation" in the mass movement particularly in the field of education. What are your views? Write to Learning Nation and tell us at:



PO Box 11350
Johannesburg 2000.

'Back with the Boere' as Russia, SA link up

STAR 29/2/92
PATRICK LAWRENCE

SOUTH Africa and Russia last night upgraded their relations to ambassadorial level at a ceremony in the Presidensie.

Standing before the South African and Russian flags, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Russian counterpart Andrei Kozyrev were clearly delighted at the re-establishment of ties.

Mr Botha referred to Mr Kozyrev as "my dear friend" and told him: "At last you are back with the Boere. The Boers always say yes to a friend."

Earlier Mr Kozyrev presented two documents to Mr Botha. One recorded that Russia during the time of the tsars had sided with the Boers in the Anglo-Boer

War. The second recalled that South Africa and Russia had been allies in World War 2.

Mr Botha said South Africa and Russia were now on the same side and committed to the same principles of multiparty democracy and a market economy.

Mr Botha recalled that during the negotiations leading to a settlement in Angola and Namibia, he had been warned that the Red flag would one day fly over Windhoek and perhaps even Pretoria.

Pointing to the white, blue and red flag, Mr Botha said: "Well, the flag is flying and what a beautiful flag it is."

Bid to split CP

3048 CT 29/2/92

Nats, DP hammer right wings

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National and Democratic parties — campaigning vigorously for a "yes" vote in the referendum — went for the jugular yesterday in an attempt to drive a wedge between vertigite and verkrampde elements in the Conservative Party.

At the same time Mr Andries Treurnicht last night brushed aside an early opinion survey, showing him trailing one-to-three in the referendum stakes and predicted a come-from-behind victory for the CP-led right-wing alliance.

As Parliament closed yesterday for a three-week recess after a day of bitter clashes between MPs, the various party machines snapped into top gear to complete their battle plans for the March 17 showdown.

In Parliament, NP and DP MPs who smelt blood after the opinion poll showed a big early lead for the "yes" camp and after rumours that CP vertigite Mr Koos van der Merwe had threatened to resign, went on the attack.

Government MPs tried every trick in the book during yesterday's stormy debates in a bid to drive a wedge between CP pragmatists, led by Mr Van der Merwe, and the party hierarchy, which had originally backed a boycott of the poll.

After apparently threatening to quit the CP if the party pulled out of a referendum fight earlier this week, the maverick MP for Overvaal continued to stir pot. Yesterday, during an interview with a United States TV network, he said the CP was in favour of negotiation and backed a federal system.

However, last night Dr Treurnicht tried to play down reports of division within the CP and impending resignations by saying, "We all know Koos... There is only one thing he slipped up on — the CP does not support federation."

He added: "We are not against negotiations, we are not racist and we are not going to go back to all the apartheid regulations (if we come to power)."

On the polls, which showed that at this stage in the campaign 49% of

From page 1

CP split

whites backed a "yes" vote, 13% a "no" vote with 15% "floaters" and 25% "won't say". Dr Treurnicht said it was "early days".

He added that the CP did not place much store in polls.

Speaking from the CP's campaign headquarters in Pretoria, he said: "My message to the nation is: 'Say no with a big smile to F W de Klerk's surrender'."

But during a fiery slanging match in Parliament, MPs from both the NP and DP ganged up against the CP, predicting a crushing defeat for the right wing at the polls.

The NP MP for Swellendam, Mr Nic Koornhof, taunted MPs in the CP benches by asking whether they supported Mr Koos van der Merwe's idea for a small white homeland, or the party's official line that this should include 87% of SA.

And the NP MP for False Bay, Mr Adrian Jordaan, said: "We are going to finally bury the CP on March 17."

The DP MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, said the "very sort of a possible CP government would terrify voters into the polling booths on March 17."

However, the CP deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, countered that a win for the "yes" vote would unleash a period of communist control, nationalisation of businesses, chaos, conflict and withdrawal of investment.

After most MPs finally left Cape Town for the hustings last night, party strategists for both camps were putting their finishing touches to their campaigns.

The DP's national council said after a meeting in Cape Town that while it would do everything possible to ensure a resounding "yes" vote, the DP planning to run its own distinctive campaign.

The NP said it would rely largely on informal American-style campaigning by personalities like Mr De Klerk and Mr Pk Botha.

The DP plans included a poster campaign, pamphlets, knock and drops, handbills and cinema advertising.

The CP will complete its battle plans at a meeting in Pretoria today.

Meanwhile, the pro-reform business lobby which has already raised more than R2 million for a "yes" campaign, will soon launch a huge aerial advertising campaign.



move slammed

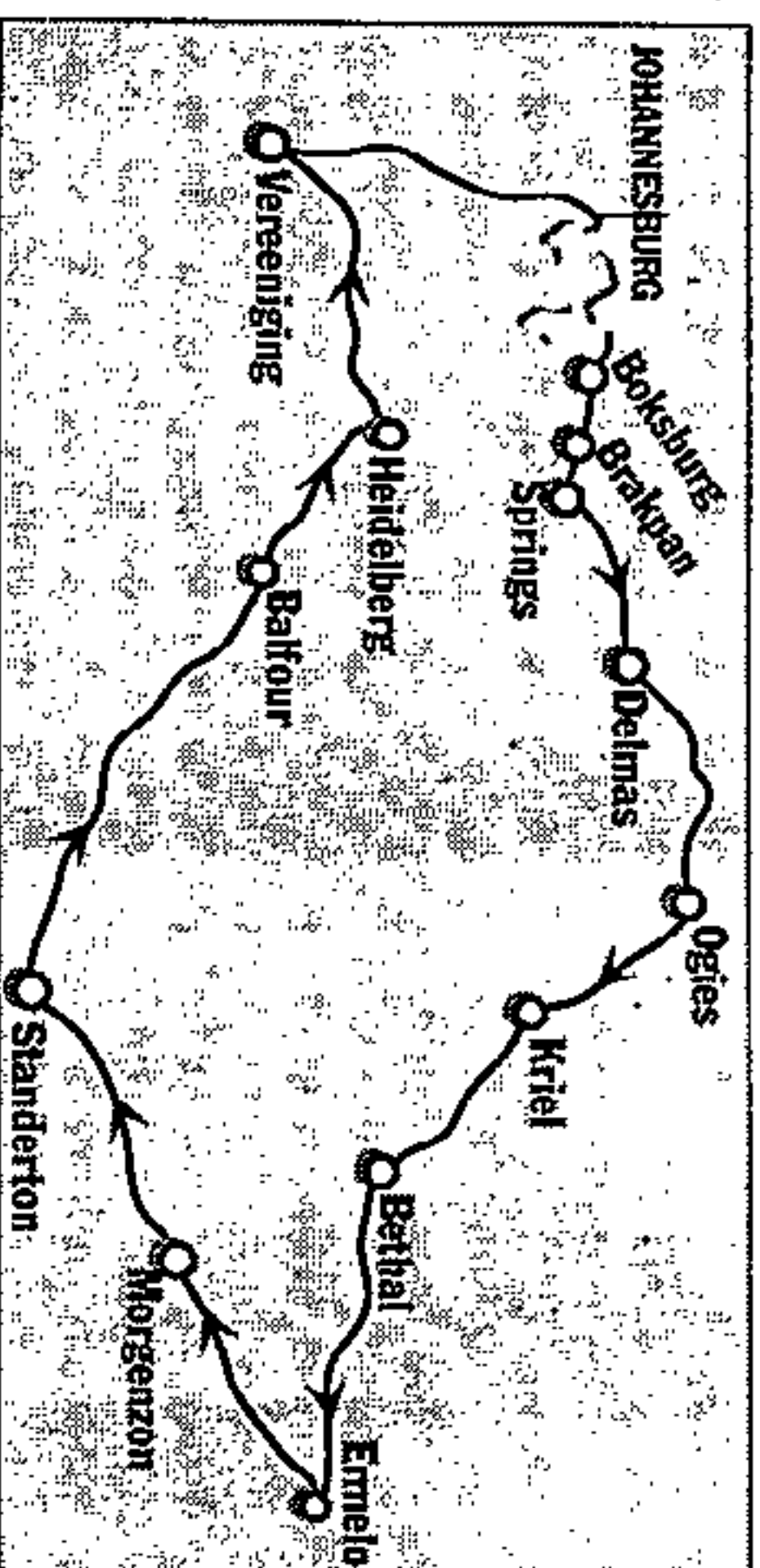
Africa's World South Africa in the washed-out game across the Tasman Sea between India

ON THE BALL... SA fast bowler Allan Donald waits for play to start yesterday at Eden Park.

Picture: AP

Nagging doubts of the diehards

THERE are Conservatives who might vote "yes", Nats who are thinking of "no", and uncertainty aplenty along the referendum road. This is what **JOHN PERLMAN** and photographer **JOHN HOGG** found when they went to visit 13 towns this week to find out how voters felt about March 17. **STAR 29/2/92 (304A)**



A FUNERAL insurance company in the main street of Boksburg seemed like a good place to start. The woman who worked there just shook her head a lot — not sure if that meant "no" to negotiations or "no comment". But her friend leaning on the other side on the counter had plenty to say.

Sarie — "don't use my name or the CP will come for me" — said she was Conservative Party down the line, but she would be voting "yes".

"I even worked for the CP in the last election," she says. "But I have kids and I'm on my own and I haven't got a job. If we vote 'no', all the sanctions will come back, and what then? You have to think about these things. Someone has to get this country back on its feet."

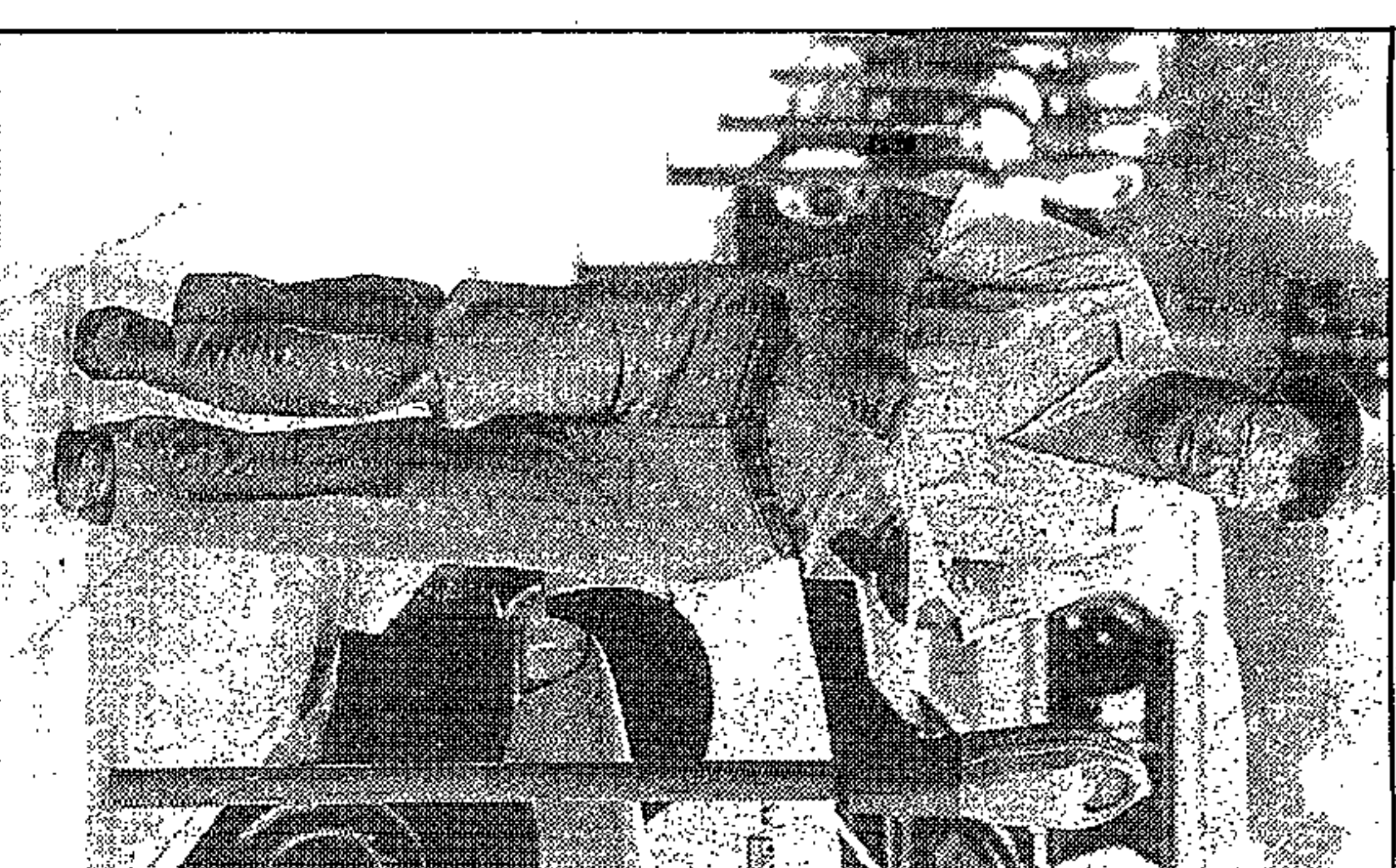
The assistant in the town's bridal boutique is more concerned about the state of modern marriage than the state of the nation. But "What do I think about what De Klerk is doing? What is De Klerk doing? I don't think he knows," she says.

Boksburg, despite its reputation as a right-wing town, returned a National Party candidate in the 1989 general election with a majority well over 2,000. Another 2,260 voted for the Democratic Party.

Not too many people voted DP in Brakpan — just 729 out of a total poll of nearly 15,000. A solid Nat seat from 1953, Brakpan went CP in 1987 and was retained with an increased majority two years later.



△ **ONE VOTE IN THE BAG:** Cobus Anderson of Springs will vote "yes", despite years of unemployment that have made him resort to selling potatoes.

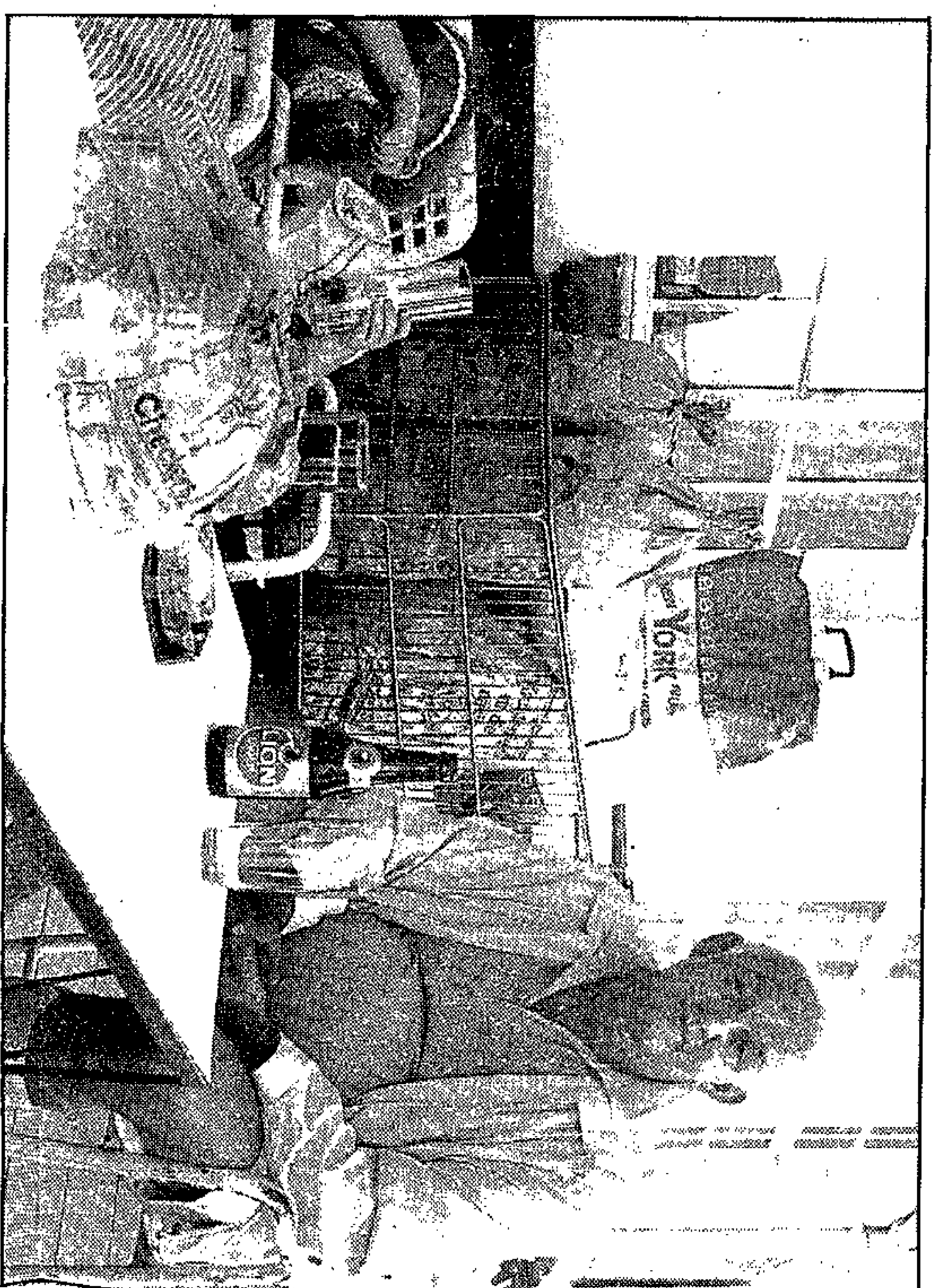


△ **NO EASY WALK:** Ernello Myburgh says his town will vote CP despite media distortions.



△ **FOR HEAVEN'S SAKE:** No Christian government must make way for the anti-Christ, says Bethal dominee Pieter Nel.

△ **NON-VOTE:** Retired railwayman S W Lange of Standerton says neither side will get his vote. "It's a big mess," he says.



Tienie (29) voted Conservative on both those occasions. "I'm CP, I will die CP," he said.

He lives in Dalpark, on the right side of the infamous pre-cast wall erected to keep a spreading squatter camp out of sight, if not out of mind.

"The kaffirs were here first, but whites built up this country. Now De Klerk wants to give it all away," he says. "I am going to vote 'no'. We are six children and we all vote CP. My brother-in-law votes DP but he's bedonned in the head.

"We've already had one break-in here — that cost me R12 000. This house was insured for R92 000. I put it on the market for R68 000 and nobody was interested. I know NP people who say they're also scared. They didn't expect it to be like this. If Mandela takes over I will shoot him myself."

That kind of talk would probably earn Tienie a dirty look from Jacky, the barmaid, if he were sitting in Mandy's Cocktail Bar at the Hotel Drostdy in Springs. "The rule in this bar is we don't talk politics. But usual-

ly I just listen, because it's quite interesting, and if it's getting too much I say 'no politics in the bar'."

Some things haven't changed for the men who drink at Mandy's. Black people can join them only if they are staying in the hotel. "But I find that the customers don't come as often and they don't stay as long — lunch hour and that's it," Jacky says. "I think that with all the retrenchments here, people are much more worried about protecting their jobs."

In 1989, the NP majority plus

the DP in Springs totalled around 2 700. "I do hear quite a lot of people who seem to have changed their minds, who say they voted for changes but they are not happy with how it worked out," Jacky says.

Delmas, 30 minutes' drive away through mealie fields that have given up the fight, has twice seen tight contests between the CP and the NP, with the Conservatives winning both by fewer than 600 votes.

The young woman who owns a shop in the main street, aimed exclusively at black trade —

Black-Like-Me hair products and so on — says she has no problem with the people who come into her shop.

"I could even see their point when they had a boycott because they had no toilets in their houses," she says. "I mean I wouldn't like to live without a toilet. But I won't live under Mandela, not the anti-Christ."

She has four young children — "I don't believe one should raise them too much to the Right in these times" — and says the referendum fills her with dread.

"Nothing can stop a revolution coming in this country where we end up shooting each other. Why did De Klerk have to do this now, when he had already gone so far? I am very confused about how to vote. But either way I see a dark future."

In nearby Ogies, the Madeirans who own the supermarket, fruit shop and hotel express their views with elaborate shrugs. But Mike Erasmus, who owns the Lekker-Eet take-away and also relies heavily on blacks for business, knows exactly how he'll vote.

"We also have problems with them," he says, arching an eyebrow towards the woman cleaning the counter behind him. "But I don't see any other way to go forward."

Sold down the river

"There have been boycotts here too but I didn't get hit hard, because when people are in trouble they come to me. I know a lot of people can't work with the blacks. But I know I can."

Doug Cockcroft, a mining engineer in Kriel, is another man resigned to the future. "We lived in Rhodesia, where the whites were sold down the river, so we've been through it all before."

There is a beaten-copper map, labelled "Rhodesia", on the wall of the lounge and a collection of regimental crests. "If the whites vote 'no' then we will be in the army all the time, just like I was back in Rhodesia. My brother was killed, and my brother-in-law, and for what?"

"When we came here we knew this was the last stop. I don't think I'll even vote. Let the politicians have the heart attacks. I believe that you have to go with the tide. There's nowhere to run to now," Mr Cockcroft says.

Both Ogies and Kriel fall in the Bethal constituency, where

the CP won with a majority of more than 1 600 in 1987 and nearly doubled that in 1989. As the light fades, black constables patrol the streets while NGK minister Pieter Nel winds up his confirmation class.

"A government is put in place by God. It must on no account move away from its Christian basis and open the way for the anti-Christ," he says, adding that his views reflect those of many of his congregants. "There is great uncertainty among many people," he says.

Ermelo presented the CP

with a majority far smaller than Bethal's — just over 1 000 — but its reputation for the right stuff is unmatched in the eastern Transvaal: blacks have been sjambokked at the swimming pool, a mixed Christmas party held by a local mine was teargassed, and an Indian man who bought a raffle ticket in aid of a local white high school had his money returned.

"It's a pity the media link racism to this referendum, because racism has got nothing to do with the policy that we must be able to rule ourselves," says Ermelo mayor Barrie Myburgh, as we stand outside one of his properties in De Clerq Street. "We will do our best to deliver a 'no' vote from this town. But whatever the result, the Right won't accept to be ruled by the communist anti-Christ."

Mr Myburgh says reports that Ermelo's right-wing town council is bad for business are usually based on interviews with "a few absolute leftwingers".

In fact, many shop-owners seemed to think the CP was bad for business.

"Two-thirds of my clients are black and they are good customers," said the owner of a dress shop. "We have to vote 'yes' to strengthen De Klerk's hand, even though I can't say I know for sure what he will do with it. But this town is dead, stone dead, and I blame the council and its policies."

In Morgenzon, one shop at least isn't too concerned about attracting a black clientele. The latest bumper sticker available in the smart-looking shop run by the Oranjewerkers says: "Toet as jy dink Codesa stink".

A representative, who won't

be named, says the use of ID documents, "which no longer recognise race, makes it possible to cheat. Why would they do it this way if they wanted to be honest?"

A little poster to the left of his desk reads: "God give me the peace of mind to accept what I can't change, courage to change what I can and the wisdom to know the difference."

He hands us the official Oran-jewer's statement on the referendum and says: "This is part of a struggle that will not stop until it is won."

Outside the post office, next door, J J Willemse — "I'm CP through and through" — is certain "no" will win the day. "We must win," he says. "They want to make the kaffirs our brothers and I won't have that."

But in Standerton, a town with a heavy-duty right-wing reputation of its own, some CP members say they aren't so sure. "I am registered as CP, but man, I'm mad about rugby," says one young man who works for the city council.

"I spend every hour I can watching the TV and now I hear the All Blacks are coming. I agree that we should rule ourselves, but the CP has not yet told us where."

The CP majority in 1989 was slightly down on 1987 but still well over 2 000. S W Lange, a retired railwayman, voted Conservative both times but he won't be voting "no" next month. It's not that he's moved to the Left: "Things were all right until Dr Verwoerd died," he says. "Now you only get a few kaffirs who still call you baas. But if they force us to go and vote, I will draw a cross through both 'yes' and 'no'."

"Look at the way the CP go round breaking up meetings. They are no better than kaffirs. It's a big mess either way."

More respect for dogs

Says his wife: "If either of them come round to the house, I'll say 'I'm voting for the SPCA'. I've got more respect for dogs than I do for either of you."

In a video shop, the manager says she'll vote 'yes'. Her assistant says 'no'. "The most popular movies here are action and comedy," she says. "Stallone and Van Damme. People also like Eddie Murphy and Whoopi Goldberg, even the CP people. I mean you have to draw a line somewhere."

In Balfour, we find another CP voter who is not so sure of himself. Nico Muller, a tractor mechanic, will definitely vote "no", "but then I think we will probably cause war. Things have already gone so far. Besides, I believe the Nats will cheat us anyway."

Mr Muller says he used to take his children to the fun fairs in Durban, but no more. "Now the swart goed trample you to death. I believe that if we win and they see that the NP are no longer in charge, they will take up weapons against us and there will be trouble."

In the streets of Heidelberg, another CP stronghold, the ja-nees split mostly on political lines. But once again, there's a staunch Conservative with a nagging doubt.

"Everything's *deurmekaar*," says a Post Office technician in his early 30s. "I vote CP, I was sure in the beginning but I am not so sure now. I think we must keep our rights but I don't want war to break out. And I wouldn't like to think I have contributed."

Finally on to Vereeniging, a safe NP seat from 1972 until 1987 when the candidate was a certain F W de Klerk — and won in 1989 again, but with a majority of just five. Sitting sadly in the bar of the Hotel Hilton on Voortrekker Street is Robert Hawthorn (55) and his wife Mathilda, trying to figure out their next move.

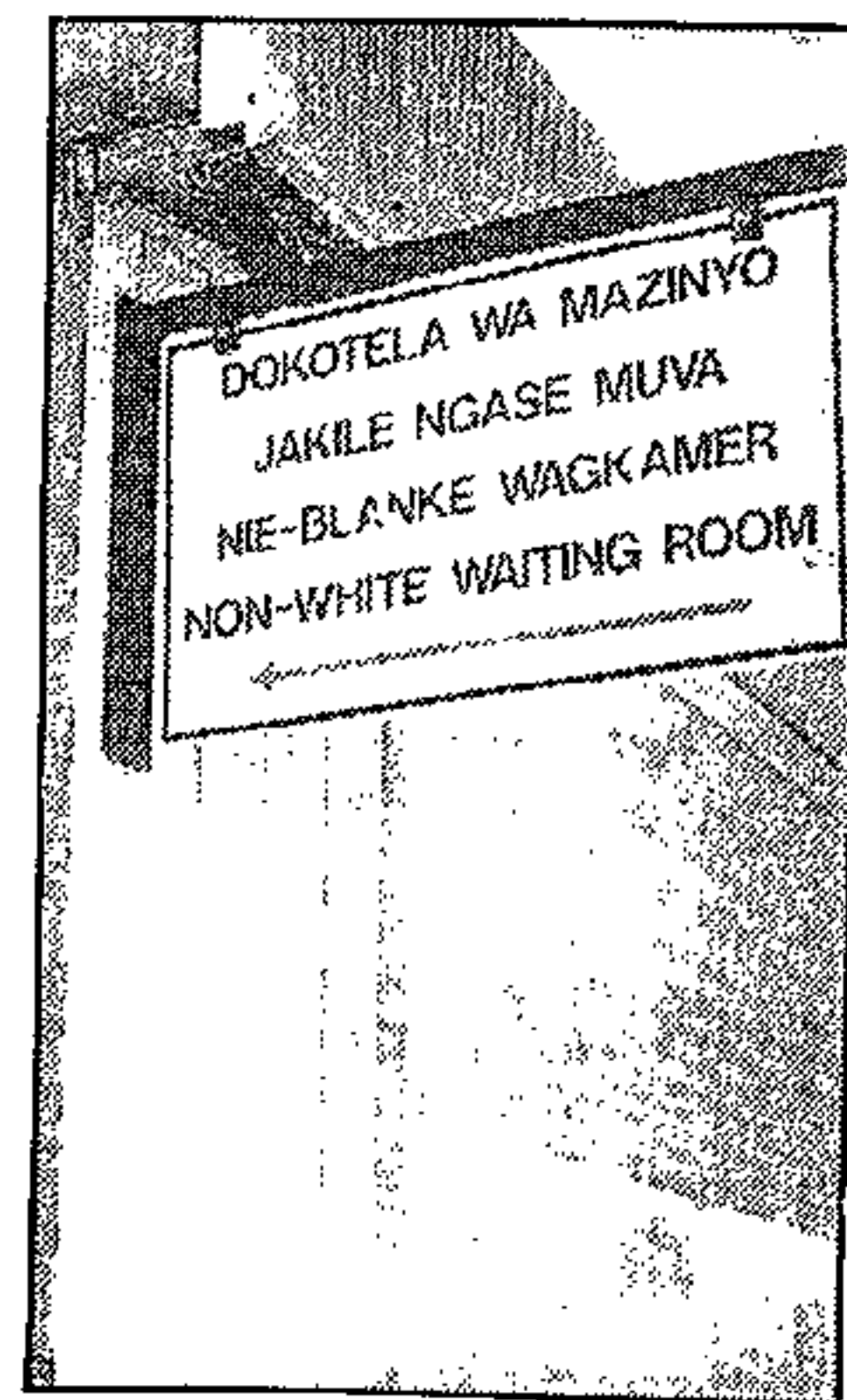
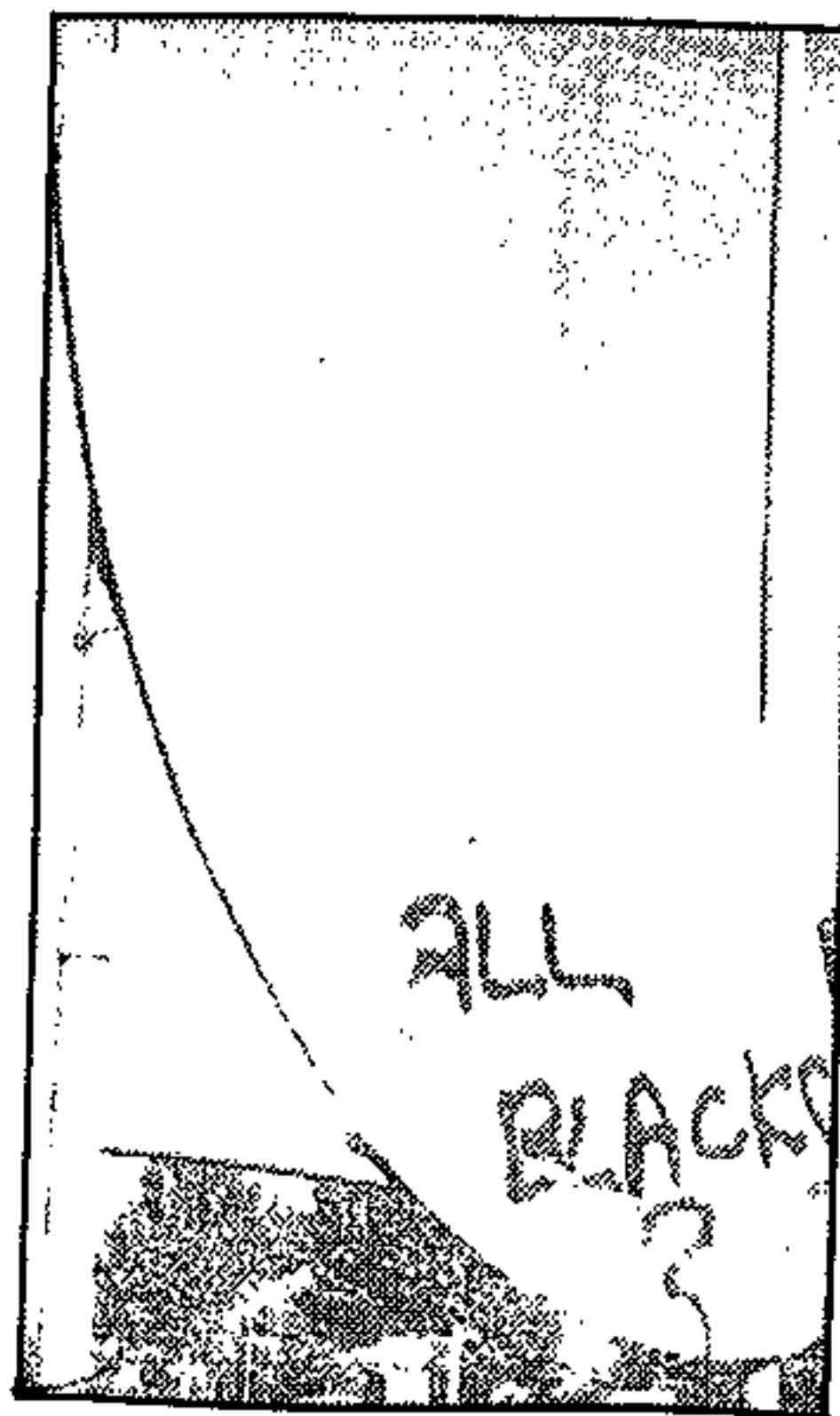
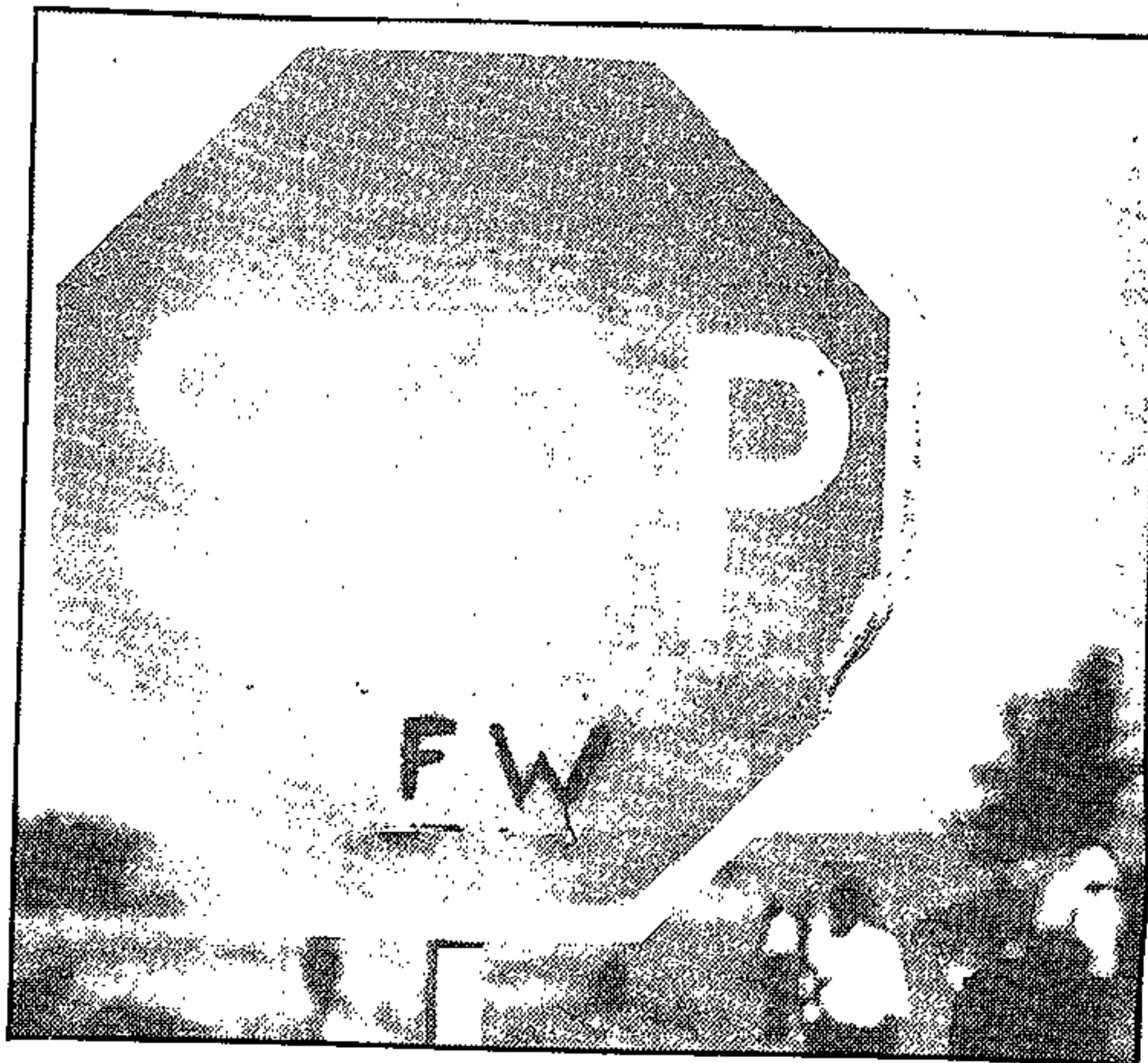
Mr Hawthorn has been on the road for nearly three years — "from one Salvation Army mission to another," says his wife — trying to find a job and a place to live.

"I used to be a painter on the Stilfontein gold mine. But then it closed and I haven't had a job since. I am against the opening of facilities," he says, notwithstanding the fact that he's in a bar full of blacks. "But the main reason I will vote 'no' is because they do nothing to help the white man in this country any more."

The present for Mr Hawthorn is the future many whites seem to fear. The CP insists that those people will vote "no" to ward it off, and perhaps they will. But there seems to be some fear out there, fear that a war with the black man is no longer a war that can be won. And some doubts, serious nagging doubts.

Report by John Perlman, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

... and signs of the times



STAR 29/2/92

De Klerk gets invitation to visit Russia

PRETORIA — Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev yesterday extended an invitation from President Boris Yeltsin to President de Klerk to visit Russia later this year.

Speaking at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after a meeting with Mr de Klerk, Mr Kozyrev said Russia and South Africa shared the same objectives of improving democracy and human

rights

He commended President de Klerk on his reform moves and said: "We are also determined to go on to the same goals." — Sapa.

(304A) ARG 29/2/92

DP plans to win own 'yes' votes

THE Democratic Party's national council has decided to mobilise maximum support in the party for a Yes vote, and confirmed the DP would run its own distinctive campaign "totally independent of that of the National Party", according to the council's chairman, Mr David Gant.

The council had also instructed the party's national executive to appoint an election committee to prepare the DP for any nationwide election following successful Codesa negotiations.

The DP's referendum campaign would include posters, pamphlets for mailing and knock and drops, handbills and public meetings.

"A Yes vote would be the most vital signal ever sent to the rest of the world in South Africa's history and would create a climate of mutual respect and confidence within South Africa itself," Mr Gant said.

(304A)
"The council noted that there could be instances in which co-operation with the NP on a logistical basis could contribute to achieving the highest possible percentage of Yes votes, however any co-operation which diluted the impact or image of the DP's own independent position should be avoided."

The council emphasised the DP's view that the referendum was not about the dismal record of the government, but about a mandate to negotiate for a democratic process towards a new constitution.

ARC 29/2/92 (304A)
Dutch VIP for SA

THE HAGUE. — Dutch Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Yvonne van Rooy begins a working visit to South Africa on Monday, the first Dutch cabinet member to visit the country since the 1950s, her ministry announced.

Ms Van Rooy said the African National Congress was not opposed to the visit because of its purely economic character.

Ms Van Rooy is also scheduled to open the Holland Trade Fair in Johannesburg on Wednesday. — Sapa-AFP.

'We are marching to Mamelodi . . .'

JAMES TOMLINS

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PARIS. — The weekly magazine "Jeune Afrique" has revealed the ANC's best-kept secret — the result of an internal leadership debate on choosing South Africa's new capital.

Pretoria was discarded immediately as being linked too closely to apartheid policies, as well as being the historic seat of hated white regimes.

Johannesburg was also ruled out

as it was considered too crowded and for too long the heart of white capitalism.

This left Durban and Cape Town. The Natal capital was rejected because it was too near to KwaZulu and ANC rival Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Cape Town was long the favourite, but eventually ANC leaders decided that despite its modern infrastructure, it was just too far away at the southern tip of the continent.

An ANC source in Paris said: "So

we found ourselves back in Pretoria, the very symbol of Afrikaner dominance. Nevertheless, we plan to keep this city as the capital of South Africa, but we will Africanise it with the name of Mamelodi."

He was unable to say just when and how the change would come about. (3047) ARG 29/2/92

"It will be a natural development as tens of thousands of our people pour into the city's white areas," he explained.

A Yes vote in the referendum would enable the State President to move forward even more swiftly with reform, says Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine. Report by **DALE KNEEN**

De Klerk's calculated risk should speed reform process, says Idasa

WINNING the referendum would not only give the go-ahead for the policies of reform, it would do away with the "unhealthy obsession" with white opinion.

This is the view of the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Alex Boraine.

"This referendum should surely do away with the necessity of yet another referendum for whites in terms of the constitutional principles deriving from Codesa," he said.

"It should also enable Mr De Klerk to move even more swiftly than ever before in the direction of an interim government and towards elections for a new representative parliament."

The announcement of a referendum for whites was risky because there was a possibility Mr De Klerk could lose, despite his advantage of being able to put the question.

However, Mr Boraine believed it was a calculated risk and, on balance, it was highly improbable that the Conservative Party could win and Mr De Klerk must have known that.

"The added risk is the possible resentment by black South Africans for being excluded from a whites-only test of strength."

Mr De Klerk's close links with Mr Mandela would almost certainly ensure that while the ANC might not be able to be seen to be supportive, it is unlikely that they will cause major difficulties.

The PAC's views on Codesa are well known and it is from this source that some demonstrations and action could be expected.

"Whilst they do not enjoy the grassroots support of the ANC, they nevertheless have sufficient support to disrupt proceedings."

"This, of course, can only play into the hands of the rightwing."

The CP, he says, was placed in an unenviable position — their bluff was called with a vengeance.

"It is not surprising that Dr Treurnicht was in favour of boycotting the referendum. Should they lose the referendum, the tensions within the Conservative Party will become acute and it is possible that there will be a

split in their ranks.

"An even greater risk is that having scored a Yes vote, what happens to the considerable force of consolidated rightwing opposition? Those on the far right who have now been mobilised in fighting a referendum will find the taste of defeat almost impossible to accept. Will they finally abandon the constitutional process as a way of opposing the march towards transformation?"

"Here lies the greatest single risk facing not only Mr De Klerk, but South Africa as a whole. But sooner or later that scenario would have to be faced and it is better to face it sooner than later. With every month that goes by Mr De Klerk will continue to lose support on the right. The time has come for a decisive test."

Mr Boraine said there were a number of advantages following from the decision to hold a referendum for whites.

Firstly, it would help to concentrate the minds of whites who have been "extremely fickle" in response to developments.

"Even those who opposed apartheid, sometimes vehemently, naively imagined that with the unbanning of organisations, the release of Mr Mandela, *et cetera*, there would be a smooth passage to peaceful united South Africa, and are petulant in their criticism because developments have been slow and painful."

"Now they will have to decide once and for all whether they are going to actively join in the process of reform or oppose it. There is no other choice. Whites can no longer sit on the sidelines. Transformation is costly!"

A second advantage was that the debate surrounding the transition could be democratised through the referendum, provided that the real issues were placed squarely before white participants.

Mr Boraine said it was a fact that a "glaring failure" of Mr De Klerk and his party is that they have consistently neglected their own immediate constituency.

"There is a confusion and resulting from that there is fear of the unknown," he said.

3549

APG 29/2/92

Trouble brewing for CP after March 17

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

ARC 29/2/92

CONSERVATIVE Party MPs have grimly closed ranks for the referendum campaign after squabbles about participation, but trouble for the right wing looms afterwards.

While professing that they are now united in their approach to campaigning for a "no" vote, renewed dissent on the question of negotiations will break out after March 17.

Among the factors counting against the CP are the short time allowed for the campaign and the fact that it will face a united front of the National Party and the Democratic Party with substantial financial backing.

In spite of statements by the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, that he is now "very satisfied" with the decision of the party's parliamentary caucus to take part, there was little conviction in Dr A P Treurnicht's call to the white voters to reject Mr De Klerk's reforms "with

great enthusiasm".

In the executive of the party Dr Hartzenberg and Dr Treurnicht came out in favour of boycotting the referendum.

It was only a virtual rebellion in the caucus afterwards and a majority vote in favour of participation that forced them to change their minds. It is believed the vote was seven in favour of participation and two against.

On the other side was Mr Koos van der Merwe MP who was repudiated and virtually humiliated after he had warned last year that unless the CP got into negotiations fast to bargain for a much-reduced white homeland, it would get nothing at all.

While it may manage to present a united front through the campaign the defeat it is generally expected to suffer on March 17 will reopen the differences of opinion in the party over the question of negotiation in Codesa.

(Written by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Nats all set

MR 29/2/92

(30119)

to splash out

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE National Party is to fight the referendum under the slogan "Yes for South Africa".

A huge advertising campaign is being launched this weekend. The party has hired the British advertising firm Saatchi and Saatchi which handled successful election campaigns for the British Conservative Party under Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

National Party secretary General, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, estimated the party would spend more than R2 million. Many offers of financial assistance had been received from the private sector.

In addition, there was an independent fund from the private sector which had collected R2 million within days.

The Conservative Party reacted by issuing a statement amounting to a call to their supporters to boycott businessmen who contributed to a Yes-

R2-m budget plus Maggie's experts

fund. It said buyers and customers were free to choose with whom they wanted to do business with in a free market.

Dr Van der Merwe said the campaign would feature more telephone canvassing because door knocking would not be possible in such a short time.

He conceded the CP could have some success among English-speaking voters as the myth that such voters were all liberal had been exposed.

The message the National Party would try to put across would be that, in spite of current uncertainties as well as violence and a high crime rate, only a democratic system with adequate checks and balances and protection of minority rights could herald a return to normality.

The party would also point to the sterile alternative offered by the rightwing — renewed sanctions, boycotts and international isolation.

One of the National Party's trumpcards is the whirlwind, "meet the people" tours Mr De Klerk will have in different parts of the country, starting in the Boland on Monday. He will make about 85 stops in 31 town and city areas in 10 days of campaigning.

The Democratic Party and NP have decided the two parties will be responsible for the constituencies they represent in parliament and that other arrangements will be made for CP-held seats.

The Yes partners will fight their own campaigns. But on Monday night DP leader Dr

Zach de Beer and Mr De Klerk will appear together at a meeting in the Cape Town City Hall.

The CP, badly caught off balance by Mr De Klerk's announcement, has been trying to get together all the rightwing groups including the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Compared with its opponents, the CP will be short of money and will have difficulty in mounting a big campaign in just over a fortnight.

Its deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, who was initially opposed to the CP taking part, indicated it would present the fight as the last chance to prevent a "communist" government from taking over.

The CP would also maintain that a defeat for the government would force a whites-only general election.

The CP has already started to try and create suspicion about how above-board the voting will be. It maintains there are many ID books in which a person's race is not given and that some people of colour will be able to vote.

Codesa — middle of the centre

RRS 29/2/92
30441

INIMICAL as it might be to the very notion of a democratic, non-racial future, the whites-only referendum is, nevertheless, affirming, even quickening, the drive for political modernity.

The political energies of the country have been focused all the more sharply on what must be achieved at all costs: the ending of white minority rule, and the achievement of a workable democracy.

And at the centre of this goal, is Codesa.

The two processes are, on the face of it, contradictory: one, an inclusive search for consensus; the other, an assertion of minority rule itself, of racial exclusivity.

Yet both are geared to re-inforcing, and broadening, a moderate centre strong enough to bring about a reduction in violence, to inject confidence into the economy and to wean South Africans from the security, comforts and doctrinal loyalties of the past, by example.

In a sense, the referendum is a part of the Codesa process, since President De Klerk (as he himself has acknowledged) felt he could not press on without testing his own mandate.

Even so, the referendum has a distinctive appearance, as does Codesa. It is relatively plain what Codesa is seeking to achieve.

THE CODESA CHARTER

"We are gathered here at Codesa to find a way towards a new democratic South Africa. The door is open to all political groupings to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy in our effort to reach a just negotiated settlement.

"It is only through the process of frank discussion and negotiation that a peaceful road can be found to build a future in which all our people can work together to create a life of peace, justice and security for all.

"It is only through this process that we can begin to seek an answer to satisfy the just aspirations of our

diverse peoples in their quest to assert and to protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

"We declare that there is no unbridgeable gap between unity and diversity. All of us here are committed to seeking a route of individual freedom; a route without domination of one group over another within our common border.

"There is no other way for South Africa to find its rightful place among the comity of nations in our interdependent world.

"There is no other way to avoid a future of turmoil, unending strife and

economic collapse for every inhabitant of our land.

"All South Africans — black and white — stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war.

"We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value the future of themselves and their children to support the process of negotiation that has been started at Codesa."

strong win, his hand will be strengthened to pursue negotiations more vigorously.

Codesa will increasingly be seen really to be the only game in town, the most important forum from which no serious politician — on the right or left — can afford to be absent. A split in the Right will become a probability.

And in this process — the emergence of a new political mainstream — the boundaries of political modularity will extend.

These, anyway, are the opportunities. Now it is up to political leaders to use them.

Considerable negotiation apparently went into one of its most recent statements, a document that could well serve as its charter and the vehicle, incidentally, for its advice to whites to vote "yes".

The statement notes: "All South Africans — black and white — stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative."

These sentiments, taken with the rest of the charter, reinforce the need for — and commitment to — a broadly acceptable interim government. Soon.

What is the referendum going to