

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

JANUARY.

# Boers face gloomy future — Van Tonder

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

3044  
STAR 2/1/92

The year 1992 may be the year in which all white political parties as they have existed over the years could be irrelevant, says Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Robert van Tonder.

In a statement this week, Mr van Tonder said never before since the birth of the "boerevolk" in the "years of unrest in the east and in the years of the crisis of the Great Trek" did a new year present such gloomy prospects for Boers as 1992.

This year, Mr van Tonder said, was one in which all white political parties would be irrelevant, and further heralded a period when the entire right wing would hardly capture 3 percent of the seats in Parliament in a new South Africa.

Given this scenario, it would make very little sense, therefore, for the right wing to contest parliamentary seats in a unitary South Africa.

Mr van Tonder said a positive outcome of a new South Africa was that the "racial politics of the so-called 'white' and 'black' parties" would end.

"Political leaders have done the Boer nation a great disser-

vice by letting them fight side by side with strange elements on the basis of colour.

"This has made enemies of the black nations and has consequently pushed the Boers' struggle for freedom to the background," said the BSP leader.

## Freedom

Mr van Tonder said that from this year onwards, the struggle would be one waged by the "Boer nation" for political freedom, just as countless nations — such as the Irish, Jews and the Ukrainians — were doing around the world.

"It is a clean struggle about our own land as Boers, our language, our traditions, our flags, our days of celebration (*feesdae*), our schools, our culture and political freedom."

He said that since the British destroyed the Boers' freedom in 1902, Boers had been scattered all over the diaspora. They now had to get inspiration from the Jews and the Irish who had struggled for centuries for the reconstitution of their states.

Similarly, the Boers had to hold one another's hands and march to their reconstituted "boerestaat".

**WHITES** have taken over from blacks as the optimists of South Africa, a Markinor Gallup poll revealed yesterday.

Whereas a year ago 47 percent of blacks and only 37 percent of whites were confident of a better year ahead, the position now is about 40 percent of whites and 33 percent of blacks viewing 1992 with optimism.

### Pessimistic

This loss of confidence by blacks is attributed by Markinor director Mr Peter Wilson-Scott to violence against ordinary people and mass retrenchments because of the poor state of the economy.

From 1982, when the first Annual Optimism Index was compiled, to 1985, South Africans generally became more pessimistic. The cause was largely the introduction of the State of Emergency.

### Trend

In 1986, however, the trend began to change, and the outcome of the 1987 General Election led to a more cheerful outlook.

Confidence slipped in 1988 and 1989 because of township violence,

# Whites are the new optimists

Sowetan 21/1/92

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but towards the end of 1989 blacks were for the first time more optimistic than whites.

### Events

Blacks continued to grow more hopeful, particularly when President FW de Klerk began to implement reforms in 1990. Conversely, whites took a dimmer view of events.

The most recent poll was conducted among 2 300 urban adults - 1 300 blacks and 1 000 whites - as part of a year-end Gallup International poll in 36 countries.

Blacks in Durban and Pretoria were more positive (39 percent) than their

counterparts in Soweto, the Reef and Vaal Triangle (about 30 percent), while the most optimistic whites were found in Bloemfontein (50 percent) and Port Elizabeth/East London (47 percent).

### Hope

As at the end of 1990, more English-speaking whites (46 percent) viewed the year ahead with hope than did white Afrikaans-speakers (31 percent). Only 25 percent of English-speakers felt 1992 would be worse than 1991, compared with the 40 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Not surprisingly, those with more

money are the more optimistic. Among whites, 45 percent of those earning R6 000 a month or more expect a better year, while only 36 percent of those earning less than R2 500 a month share their view.

Among blacks, 42 percent of those earning R1 500 or more are optimistic; only 28 percent of those earning less than R400 expect more from the year ahead.

### Strikes

About 45 percent of whites expected more strikes (53 percent last year), as did 30 percent of blacks (21 percent last year). - Sapa.

FW DE KLERK



# Strong sop from FW for new year

304A

Sowetan 21/12  
ISMAL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

STATE President FW de Klerk's New Year message was a very strong sop to secure confidence in the process of negotiations that his Government has helped create.

De Klerk spoke eloquently and loquaciously about Africa, the wave of democracy engulfing the continent and South Africa's relationship with other countries in the region.

Unlike the New Year messages of other political party leaders, De Klerk's was free of rhetoric and attacks on his political opponents or the status quo.

South Africa is seen by the international community as the economic, industrial and technological powerhouse of the African sub-continent, he said.

"With her substantial resources and her well-established industrial and commercial economic base, South Africa has much to offer the rest of the continent."

## Resources and services

"Her well-developed infrastructure in terms of electricity supplies, roads, railways, harbours and telecommunications is used extensively in several African countries."

"Other African countries also have commodities, resources and services, particularly in the water and energy fields, which would be of use to South Africa."

"If the countries of Southern Africa, in particular, were to co-operate closely and pool their resources, the region would have every potential of becoming a significant economic bloc in the world," De Klerk said.

He also said South Africa and its people "of all colours, cultures and creeds" belonged to Africa.

"Logically, therefore, close co-operation between South Africa, her neighbouring states and even countries further afield in Africa would be in the best interests of everybody," he said.



# Rocky seeks Codesa seat for banned party

Star 2/1/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The People's Progressive Party of Bophuthatswana — still banned in the territory — is making a bid to take part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

If it were admitted to Codesa, the PPP would sound a very different note to the Bophuthatswana government delegation.

It would argue for unconditional reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa. In contrast, President Lucas Mangope made it clear during Codesa 1 last month that his government would endorse incorporation only if satisfied with the new South African constitution.

Stating that an application for representation at Codesa had been lodged with the convention's management committee, PPP leader Rocky Malebana-Metsing said: "We will demand reincorporation. We know what South Africa we are coming back into. It is the South

Africa we will help to fashion. We don't want people to do it on our behalf while we remain spectators."

The PPP is currently waging a campaign to secure its unbanning in Bophuthatswana, where it is one of four organisations and the only political party on the banned list.

Mr Malebana-Metsing said the ban on the organisation denied it the right to go to its constituency and meant the PPP could not easily demonstrate its support.

Although large crowds had attended PPP rallies in part of SA adjoining Bophuthatswana — for instance, Vryburg, Rustenburg and Bloemfontein — this was not a reflection of its standing among residents of the homeland, he said.

This factor could hinder the PPP's acceptance by Codesa, he added. Party to counter this, advertisements had been placed in the mass media this week inviting people to fill in a coupon to express support for the PPP and its demands on political

freedom. Responses would be forwarded to Codesa.

Mr Malebana-Metsing demanded that the continued participation of the Bophuthatswana government in Codesa should depend on its permitting free political participation in the area under its control. If this were expected of the South African Government, similar standards should hold for Mr Mangope's regime, he said.

Although the PPP had been implicated in the 1988 Mmabatho coup, which was put down by the South African Defence Force, the ban on it should be lifted and all political prisoners, including coup leader Timothy Phiri, should be freed, he said.

Mr Malebana-Metsing, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said the PPP was "in harmony with the ANC" and considered the ANC as the leading organisation in a democratic alliance.

But there were points of difference between the PPP and ANC, he added, highlighting the fact that the PPP was founded explicitly on Christian doctrine.



Demanding reincorporation . . . Rocky Malebana-Metsing's outlawed PPP. Picture: Alf Kumalo



# Whites more hopeful than blacks for future

Star 2/1/92 304A

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violence, but towards the end of 1989 blacks were for the first time more optimistic than whites.

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Those with more money are the more optimistic.

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Among blacks, 42 percent of those earning R1 500 or more are optimistic, while only 28 percent of those earning less than R400 expect more from the year ahead.

Commented Mr Scott-Wilson: "Earning power confirms the importance of economic factors in forming people's attitudes to the future."

When asked if they expected strikes to increase in frequency, remain the same or decrease, 45 percent of whites expected more strikes (53 percent last year), as did 30 percent of blacks (21 percent last year).

In spite of the upheavals in Eastern Europe — or perhaps because of them — fewer whites (33 percent) expect 1992 to be an internationally more troubled year than 1991 (43 percent last year). — Sapa.

## 'Impertinent' (3047) Nelson slated (119)

WHITE South Africans would not consent to an interim government or ANC "tyranny", the national chairman of the Republican Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said on Tuesday.

He was reacting to a statement on Monday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Derby-Lewis said there would be no ANC-led South Africa, and it was time cognisance was taken of this fact.

"The statement by the ANC's Nelson Mandela that those who did not participate in Codesa would be 'sidelined' is impertinent in the light of Mandela's own irrelevancy to the future of this country," Derby-Lewis said. *Sowetan 2/1/92*

He added that the ANC's president "may be able to intimidate weak-kneed politicians like the State President but we, representing thousands of English-speakers in this country, are becoming sick and tired of his pompous edicts about our future". - *Sapa*

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# Co-operation the key says Hough

*2/1/92*  
**THE** new year promised to bring South Africans closer to a new dispensation for the country as well as its provinces, Transvaal Administrator Mr Danie Hough said yesterday.

However, he warned in his New Year's message that a new dispensation would not be successful if violence and anarchy prevalent in towns and cities were allowed to con-

tinue.

"Positive and constructive co-operation by all is needed to create peace, prosperity and welfare for each and every inhabitant of our province."

## Talents

Hough said the nation's talents and energy had been wasted for too long on generating and upholding conflict.

"I hope that self-control and realistic thinking will

prevail at last."

Hough predicted that as a result of continuing urbanisation, 1992 would see a tremendous increase in demands on communities, the Government and his administration in particular.

In the Transvaal alone, 390 000 erven were needed for the settlement of people living in the "backyards of the city", he said.

"It is projected that by the year 2000 in the Central, Eastern and Western

Witwatersrand, including the Vaal Triangle, provision has to be made for an additional 3,3 million people.

"With the present backlog we will need 50 000 hectares of land."

Hough called on all Transvaalers to work together towards creating the new South Africa where everybody would have their own special place in society regardless of race, colour, religion or culture. - Sapa.

# Freedom - the promise of '92

3047

*[Signature]*

Sowetan  
2/1/92

ON Friday January 24, the South African Parliament, which by means of legislation specifically excludes black people from Government, will open for its annual six month session in Cape Town.

This opening could be the last of its kind, and its historic significance cannot be brushed aside by the whims of any particular political party in South Africa.

Simultaneously, when decisions taken by and agreements reached through Codesa do receive legal authority, Parliament will effectively become a lot less powerful in terms of emerging policy.

Altogether, 1992 promises to be the year when, for the first time since Europeans colonised the Cape in 1652, that the indigenous people of this southernmost region of Africa will begin to formulate laws and design political policies that will affect their daily lives directly.

This achievement, which was largely inspired by tenacious efforts by the liberation movements and international pressure, was immensely aided by the developing new world order - where the West has emerged as the only major power.

This world order does not directly affect the lives of ordinary black South Africans, but the political effect of it - black social and political activity in the emerging democracy - will give a great deal of the black population a large amount of political confidence.

This confidence will, hopefully permeates their professional and personal lives.

## FOCUS



1991 was a hectic year in a political sense. Sowetan political correspondent, IS-MAIL LAGARDIEN, looks at the year ahead.

But what about the PAC, Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, who together (numerically) could amount to as powerful a force as the National Party or a force greater than the Democratic Party or any other parliamentary party?

These organisations have chosen not to be part of the growing tendency towards Codesa and the political climate it has established.

How they will fare, and what lies ahead in the foreseeable future can be measured by looking back just to the political achievements of the year past or so.

The ANC - since the first meeting between the then State President PW Botha and the then

prisoner Nelson Mandela and until Codesa - singularly (and victoriously) engaged the Government in a series of issues ranging from the release of prisoners, the indemnification and subsequent repatriation of thousands of exiles, the repeal of the most draconian measures contained in the Internal Security Act, and last but not the least, the fulcrum of apartheid; the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1937.

In each of the above instances, the PAC in particular, benefited without getting their hands dirty, as it were.

Commenting on this development this week, the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said that his organisation had been pressuring the Government towards a peacefully negotiated settlement since 1986.

"They (the PAC, Wosa, Num and Azapo) are not part of this engine for change but they benefit from it," Mandela said.

When the PAC cried foul at Codesa's preparatory talks on November 29 last year, they did not marginalise themselves, nor did they sideline themselves.

The PAC was hurt. It thought that the ANC was going to take it by the hand and walk it through the morass of apartheid's creatures like the parties in the tricameral parliament to victory and a coalition government in the next South Africa.

But the ANC didn't. And, according to the engine room operators within the ANC, it did not renege on agreements reached in the Patriotic Front either. The ANC simply carried on doing what it had been since 1986 - confront the Government.

In other words, PAC expected to walk back into the country and be handed the keys to government, and not to be treated as a party among other parties.

Nevertheless, Codesa will go ahead with its deliberations and Parliament will open as usual - with a few changes.

But when the ANC secures - through negotiations at Codesa - one person one vote elections to a constituent assembly, an interim government, and perhaps a compromise on the role of the international community and on the issue of a neutral venue, the PAC will win too.

It is unforeseeable that the Fabulous Four (PAC, Wosa, Num and Azapo) will not enter into a constituent assembly.

The fundamental difference between the ANC's decision to enter Codesa in pursuit of a constituent assembly and the decision of the Fabulous Four not to enter is based on choice.

The ANC chose "to negotiate peacefully" a new constitution for the country, and finds it "unnecessary to keep slaughtering each other" in order to reach the next South Africa, Mandela said this week.

Today the PAC has no means of getting the Government to talk to it about a constituent assembly, but before its consultative congress of December 15 and 16 in Cape Town, where the PAC were told by its following not to engage the Government, the Africanist leadership had Codesa.

And now, by refusing to enter into Codesa, they will get to a constituent assembly anyway, albeit through a kind of liberation by osmosis.



# CRYING OUT FOR PEACE

Sowetan 2/1/92

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VICTORIA MABONA



ANDREW KAREDI



JOHN MALEKA



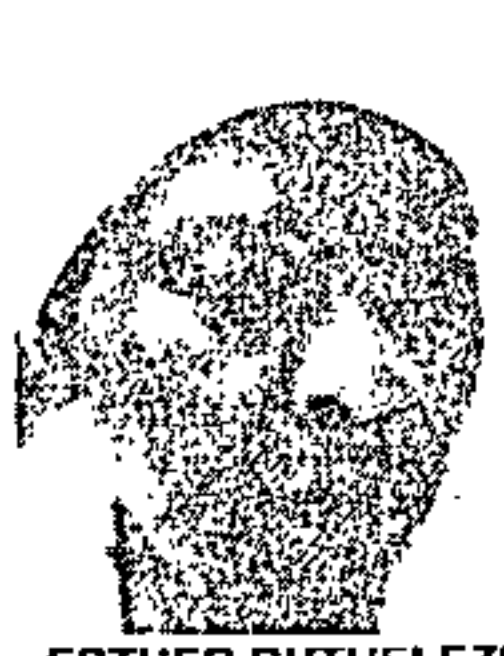
SIPHIWE MABENA



PHILA ZWANE



DENZEL BOYLES



ESTHER BUTHELEZI

PEACE and goodwill was the overriding theme of most of the New Year messages Sowetan obtained in a snap survey.

Most messages and wishes by political and church leaders were political sloganeering and bantering, with the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Transkeian leader, Major Bantu Holomisa, delivering the most positive messages.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, was defiant, and the Boerestaat Party was glum.

Among ordinary people there was a lot more optimism and hope for the New Year. Everyone agreed that the violence that plagued black communities in 1991 has to end.

Ms Victoria Mabona (18) from Meadowlands, Soweto, said: "I wish for everybody to live in peace and harmony in 1992. People should love one another and be united in what they do."

Mr Andrew Karedi and his friend, Mr John Maleka, said in unison that they wished for peace.

"There's been a ton much fighting in our country in recent years, it is time for peace," said Maleka. "I wish for success for myself and my family."

"Other than wishing for peace this year, I want to work hard so that I can afford to give my children and my family a good life in 1992," was 32-year-old Karedi's other wish.

"I wish to get a job and I wish my family and friends success this year," said 25-year-old Mr Siphiwe Mabena.

An elderly woman who would not identify herself also expressed a wish for peace and good health.

"I also hope that my health will be better this year and I wish my family, especially my grandchildren, luck in whatever they do," she said.

Twenty-three-year-old

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, PEARL MAJOLA, DANIEL MAINE, MOLEFI MIKA and VICTOR METSOAMERE

Ms Phila Zwane from Meadowlands wished for a brighter future. "I will use every opportunity I will get to ensure a bright future for myself," she said.

Mr Denzel Boyles from Ennerdale had a different wish. "I wish for South Africa to take part in all the Olympic Games in July," he enthused.

"I also wish my family and fellow-South Africans peace and harmony."

Mrs Esther Buthelezi from Orlando West Extension, Soweto, also wants peace and good health in 1992.

"Regarding what has been happening in our communities throughout this year, the most important thing I wish for is peace," she said.

"But I also wish for life and health this year so that I can bring up my grandchildren. I also wish for them and the children of this nation to learn this year and secure their future."

## Opportunity

The ANC's Mandela said there was a great possibility that 1992 could become the year that South Africa would become a democracy.

Mandela said Codesa, which came into being after 80 years of "costly struggle" by the majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the National Convention of 1909, represented "a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together."

The Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, hoped 1992 would deliver the lofty ideas expressed by Codesa, and that Codesa itself should be a success.

"Should it fail, there might be a problem for the entire southern African region."

"We should count ourselves fortunate that the

ANC and PAC are on talking terms and want to negotiate," Holomisa said.

Holomisa added that he hoped that Government would place a blanket ban on all cultural weapons.

Lehova's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, warned that Government was not ready to hand over power, and that it in fact sought to dissolve power bases to regional authorities so as to retain power.

"It is rather interesting that, now that the NP sees itself losing power, it suddenly tries to demonstrate the need for regional governments and a federal type of dispensation," Ramodike said.

The president of the Azanian Student Convention, Mr Siphiwe Maseko, confined himself to his constituency, wishing it a prosperous and happy 1992.

Maseko said: "The past year was that of rehearsed theatrics in the form of acted-out violence, political posturing and adventurism, and various mediocre documents about education by the Government aimed at arresting and blackmailing black student and their legitimate struggle."

"We believe as we enter the new year there must be a renewed commitment to democratise and transform education institutions and the entire country."

The PAC submitted all its policies and ideals for a new democratic South Africa and attacked "the regime".

In a New Year message, the second deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, said peace would return to South Africa only after "genuine democracy" had been established.

The Government and Codesa, he said, did not hold any promise of delivering the PAC's ideal state.

He called on the youth to continue in pursuit of their education "to ensure that our struggle for liberation is coupled with acquisition of skills to support our goals of liberation".

"Throughout 1991 the oppressed people have been under siege of violence, created principally by agents of the regime."

"We call for political tolerance and peace."

"The liberation movement must also be prepared to defend our people against the scourge of violence whilst increasing its own capacity to fight the regime on all fronts," Moseneke said.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, said it planned to set up a "private army" within the country which it hoped would continue "the struggle".

## Elite

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and, if it continues to be the sponsor of violence amongst the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country," Apla's secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phaama told Sapa from Dar es Salaam.

Azapo warned black South Africans about "the West's" plans to brainwash this country's black people.

Azapo president Pandani Nefolovodhiwe, said Western powers were bent on manipulating world events with programmes such as black economic empowerment.

"Millions and millions of rands are being pumped into our country through various organisations in the name of development and black economic empowerment," he said.

Citing what he called "the destruction of the

economies and weakening of governments" in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, Nefolovodhiwe warned that South Africa was next on the list of the West.

He called the present political process, and pointing at Codesa, lamentable.

The Conservative Party's Dr Andries Treurnicht obliquely supported the notion of multiparty democracy with a message which centres on "co-operative self-determination within a framework of a commonwealth of nations".

"Without self-determination there can be no freedom. Without freedom there can be no peace and without peace there can be no security but only clashes, bloodletting and manslaughter."

"Peace, freedom and security are guaranteed by co-operative self-determination, not forcing together of heterogeneous people in the same political, social and educational structures in a unitary state," Treurnicht said.

He said negotiations between leaders should concentrate on a completely different goal and point of departure.

The Boerestaat Party's Mr Robert van Tonder said that never before had a new year held such dismal prospects for the Boer nation. This year, 1992, would see the death of all white political parties, Van Tonder said in his New Year message.

According to Van Tonder's calculations, the total rightwing group in the country would be able to gain no more than three percent of the parliamentary seats in the next South Africa.

The presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, was profoundly encouraging of political achievements during 1991.

He cited in particular the signing of the Peace Accord of September 14, the formation of the

Patriotic Front on October 26, and Codesa.

"Such political maturity will ensure that a new constitutional dispensation, based on norms and values acceptable to Christians will be acceptable by all South Africans far faster than one could have anticipated, perhaps even by the end of 1992," Mogoba said.

The country's musicians were a lot more adventurous and a lot less lyrical.

Danny Malewa and Izzyboy Masedi hope for a "prosperous and peaceful 1992".

Said Malewa: "Blacks should strive to achieve even their wildest dreams and for once there should be peace in the new year."

## Harmony

Masedi, husband of singer Vinolia Mashigo, popularly known as V Mash, said: "In the new year I hope we will not walk the streets afraid of strangers."

"Life last year was uncertain. Things should be different this time around. We should all open our hearts, dream and work for harmony," he said.

Meanwhile, artist, theatre director, playwright and actor Matsemela Manaka said he hoped that the role of artists in the society would be intensified.

"I hope for the reinforcements of the role of the arts for community development and social reconstruction. We should look at turning theory into practice to make functional theatre a success in 1992," he said.

He will also be taking up a resident directorship in theatre at the University of Durban-Westville.

Executive director of the Kallabong Art Centre on the East Rand Mr Napo Mokoena said he hoped that the process towards a better socio-political scenario in South Africa should be supported by all.

"Unqualified support

should also be given to budding artists in their endeavours to create works that portray a new climate of beauty and a spirit of understanding in the black community," said Mokoena.

Mr Peter Zwane, chairman of the Soweto Athletics Unity Association, said: "I hope 1992 will be an eventful year for athletics and athletes. I hope we will come as one and having our priorities right as athletes in the townships. We should have as many races as we can to in order unearth and develop talent."

Adam Fortuin, president of the Tennis Association of South Africa, said: "I would only hope that all nonracial sports persons will find the true homes during the coming year."

"Homes that shall not forsake the principle of nonracialism."

Nate "Vader" Pila, captain of Mahewlereng Spikes in Potgietersrus, the Great North and SA Softball Federation champions, said:

"I wish the softball unity process a success because we would like to prove a point once more in the expected new South Africa."

Mr Alex "Gold Finger" Shakoane, PRO of Mamelodi Sundowns, said: "We at Sundowns will still say the sky is the limit in 1992 because we are planning to play top class soccer once more."

"We would therefore urge NPSL and NSL officials to speed up unity in the professional ranks."

"As for officials and some clubs we ask them to stop their selfishness for the sake of soccer which is the No 1 sport for the underprivileged."

Former Sowetan Woman of the Year Mrs Ruth Machobane's wish for 1992 is for the politics of South Africa to reach a "meaningful conclusion that will provide a solution satisfactory to everyone in the country".



BANTU HOLOMISA



DANNY MALEWA



MATSEMELA MANAKA



NAPO MOKOENA



PETER ZWANE



ADAM FORTUIN



ALEX SHAKOANE



FM 31/1/92

## Of mice and men

304A



**Best performance** in both parliament and government goes to President F W de Klerk, simply for keeping the reform show on the road in the face of mounting adversity (much of which — like the In-

katha funding scandal — was of government's own making).

Also up at the top were Gerrit Viljoen, ever dour but a wizard behind the scenes in supporting De Klerk; Roelf Meyer, new Defence Minister and arguably the National Party (NP)'s strongest link in the bridge between the new and old SA; and Leon Wessels, new Local Government, Housing & Public Works Minister — very much in the Meyer mould.

Government's worst performer was Magnus Malan, ever defensive of the CCB and infuriatingly defiant in the face of overwhelming condemnation of what was often perceived as a wrecker role in the reform process. In the end, not even De Klerk could tolerate his attitude and he tumbled from one of the most powerful posts in Cabinet — Defence — to one of the least important — Water Affairs & Forestry.

Close behind Malan were State Spending Minister Amie Venter, who is apparently still trying to establish exactly what he's supposed to be doing; Adriaan Vlok, a genial chap, but out of his depth in Law & Order as De Klerk conceded by moving him to Corrective Services (formerly Prisons); and National Education & Environment Minister Louis Pienaar, whose penchant appears to be avoiding controversy at all costs.

In Democratic Party (DP) ranks, Zach de Beer's dignity and statesmanship in the face of mounting doubts about the party's future raised him far above his colleagues. He was justly rewarded as the year closed with a

leading role in pre-Codesa negotiations. Colin Eglin with his superb intellect and good sense came second.

Worst DP performer was Denis Worrall, considering the lofty heights to which he climbed a few years ago. He has faded from the limelight almost completely.



The Conservative Party (CP)'s best performer — from the point of view of profile — was Koos van der Merwe, whose obvious discomfort at being left out of Codesa continues to embarrass the party.

On CP policy, deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg outperformed his colleagues with some of the most fiery rhetoric ever heard in parliament. The CP's worst performer was leader Andries Treurnicht, who was overshadowed by nearly every other MP.

The chatterbox of the parliamentary session was undoubtedly the irrepressible National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi.

He spoke in more than 70 debates and motions, nearly twice as many as the other big talkers, and about five times as often as the average for all MPs.

The least talkative MP was Trevor George of Bosmont, former Labourite who crossed to the NP during the year. Hansard has no record of him speaking during the session.

Survivor of the session was Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, who came within a hair's breadth of losing control of the House of Representatives to the NP. He was so relieved to survive a motion of no confidence that he wept with emotion.

Political hypocrite of the year was Patrick McKenzie of Bonteheuwel. As a Labour MP, he publicly condemned colleagues who crossed to the NP — only to do so himself the following day.

Chris Freimond

# De Klerk (Sout) Mandela to receive prize

U-3/1/92  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela will jointly receive a UN-sponsored peace prize at a ceremony in Paris next month.

Observers say their joint presence at a world forum will go a long way towards convincing the international community of the reality of change in South Africa.

ANC spokesman Ms. Gill Marcus confirmed Mr. Mandela would travel first to France and then to Denmark.

A Foreign Affairs Department source confirmed that Mr. De Klerk would be visiting Paris. The prize is worth R340 000, which the two will share.



**W**ITHIN months of Columbus' first landfall in the "new world" Pope Alexander VI issued a Papal edict stating: "The Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our times shall be exalted, broadened and spread in every part of the world, salvation shall be sought for all souls, barbarian nations shall be subdued and led back to the faith."

For the gold-hungry Spaniards this divine command quickly became a rationale for centuries of barbaric treatment of native Americans. Columbus himself set the stage on the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic), the site of his first settlement. By his second voyage, in 1495, he was desperate for gold to repay the Spanish bankers who were financing him. Columbus refused to believe there was almost no gold on the island; instead he forced the island's Taino inhabitants to bring him a "hawk's bill" full of gold dust every three months. The natives were made to wear a copper disc around their necks to prove they'd paid their tribute. Those caught without a disc had their arms hacked off, or were murdered outright.

The Conquistadors who followed Columbus were driven by the same greed. When Hernando Cortés met the Aztec ambassadors of the great lord Moctezuma in 1519 he was dazzled by the gold jewellery that adorned their bodies. "Send me some of it," the Spaniard ordered, "because I and my companions suffer from a disease of the heart which can be cured only with gold." Several months later, when the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan had been captured, nearly a quarter of a million Aztec warriors lay dead.

Thirty years later the Catholic priest, Bartholomé de Las Casas, wrote his famous *Brief History of the Destruction of the Indies*, in which he graphically described the depredations of the Spanish fortune seekers. The Spanish hurled themselves on the Indians "like wolves after days of starvation", he wrote. "For 40 years they have done nothing but torture, murder, harass, afflict torment and destroy them with extraordinary, incredible, innovative and previously unheard of cruelty ... Some natives hung on gibbets, and it was their reverential custom to gather at a time sufficient victims to hang 13 in a row, and thus piously to commemorate Christ and the 12 Apostles."

Las Casas estimated that 50 million Indians perished in Latin America and the Caribbean within 50 years of Columbus' landing. Scholars now reckon that 90 percent of the indigenous population of the Americas was wiped out in a century and a half — the greatest demographic collapse in the history of the planet and the proportional equivalent of nearly half a billion people today.

Much of that death and destruction was caused by illness. The people of the Americas had little resistance to old-world diseases like influenza, measles and smallpox. These imported pathogens cut a swath across the land, decimating whole Indian nations, often before the Europeans reached them.

Las Casas argued passionately that the Indians had souls like the Spaniards and should be treated with respect. But to no avail. The ideology of racial superiority was already firmly in place.

The natives were given a choice: accept the Christian God willingly or face the consequences.

Having demonised native people as a "dark force" living outside the norms of civilisation it was a simple step to apply the same label to black Africans. Columbus himself was a great

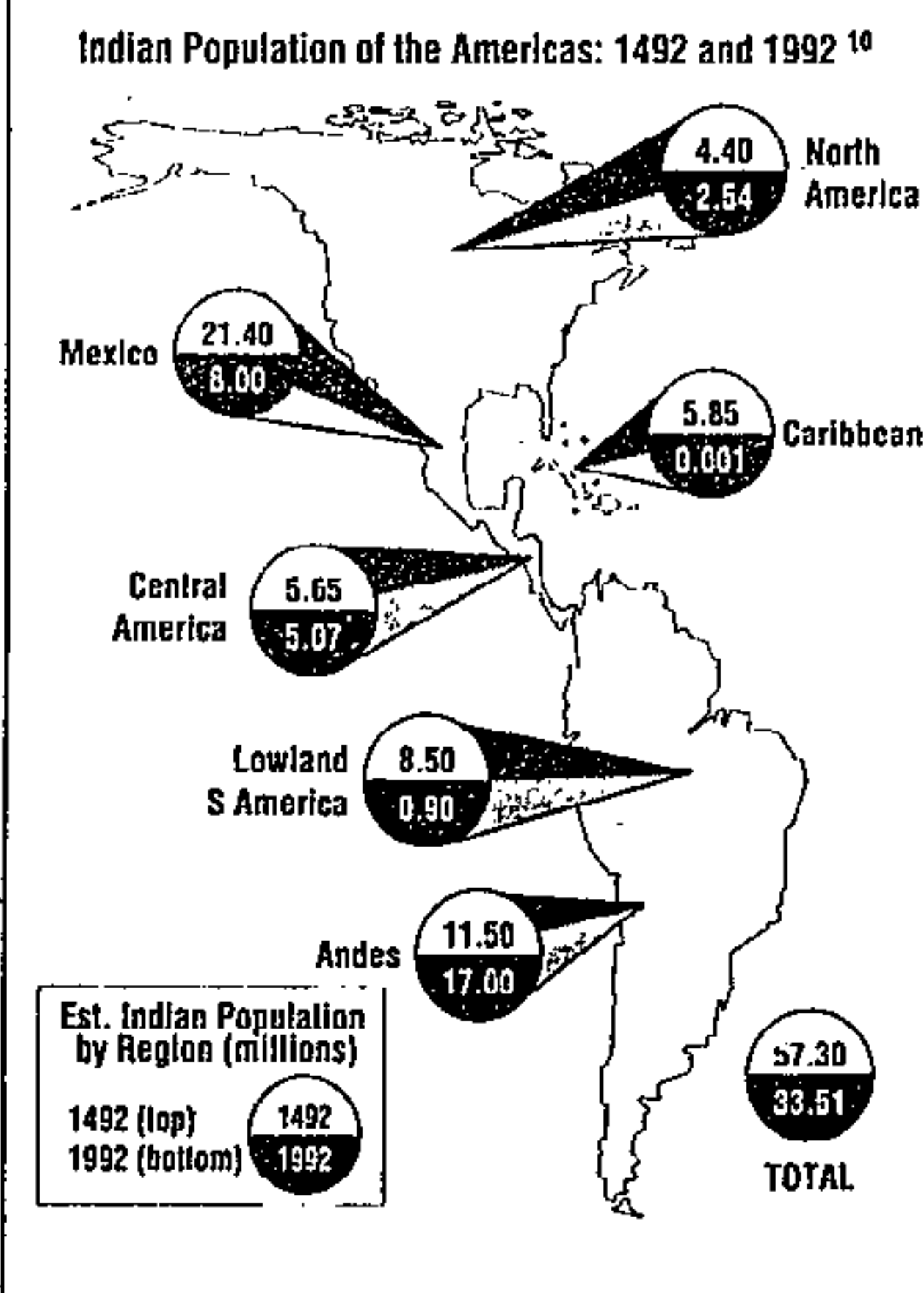
# Columbus and the colonial legacy

*This year marks the 500th anniversary of Columbus' landfall in the Americas.*

*Whether he should be remembered as a colonial hero or as the instigator of an era of genocide is a raging issue in North and South America.*

**WAYNE ELLWOOD**

*explores the mariner's impact on the land and people of the Americas*



## IN THE SHADOW OF CHRISTOPHER'S CURSE

By RICK McDANIEL

THE palace which Christopher Columbus' son, Diego, built in the Dominican Republic nearly 500 years ago still stands, hidden away in the 16th century Colonial Quarter of Santo Domingo. From the balustrade at the rear of the baroque building you can just glimpse the *Faro a Colon*, the enormous new lighthouse designed as Columbus' tomb. It's about a kilometre away on the other side of the river. But the view is spoiled for most tourists by the shantytowns which hug the river bank. "These homes are all to be destroyed," Tomas Marrero says. "This is what the clean and beautiful Santo Domingo."

Marrero is a Jesuit priest who has worked in the riverside slums for two decades. According to Marrero, nearly half a million people have already lost their homes. "They've simply been uprooted and moved to government-approved locations 20 to 30 kilometres outside the city." The new settlements have no electricity, no water, no sewers and no transport to Santo Domingo, where most people work.

The relocation programme is part of the government's preparations for the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the "Discovery and Evangelisation of the Americas". President Joaquín Balaguer is

hoping 1992 will bring an influx of tourists and foreign currency to the country. Expensive hotels with elegant shopping arcades and casinos are popping up along the Caribbean coast, and crumbling Santo Domingo is being spruced up.

But the most extravagant of all the quincennial projects is the Columbus lighthouse. The government has put a \$35-million price tag, but critics estimate the final cost may be twice as much.

The *Faro* looks like a huge pyramid with an elongated side. When complete it will have permanent exhibits from Spain, Italy and several nations in the Americas. But the bronze tomb containing the remains of the famous discoverer. (Whether they are actually Columbus' bones is in dispute: Seville in Spain also claims his remains.)

The *Faro* will be topped with a torch-like crown intended to cast a 300 000 watt beam of light in the shape of a cross, high enough and bright enough to be seen throughout the Caribbean.

The folly of the *Faro* would be ludicrous if it weren't so serious. "Within sight of these fancy tourist hotels there are five million poor people who can barely feed themselves," says Marrero. "The beam of the *Faro* will light up the clouds, but in the streets people will trip in the darkness."

advocate of slavery, and crammed 500 Taino people into a ship on his second voyage home. Later he proposed in a letter to the Spanish Queen Isabella: "The savage and cannibalistic Caribs should be exchanged as slaves against livestock to be provided by merchants in Spain."

Slaves were soon captured from the west coast of Africa to replace the fast-dying native

Americans: 4 000 were sold in Cuba and Hispaniola in 1517. The trade quickly took off as the demand for cheap agricultural labour increased in the new colonies of Brazil and Jamaica. Hundreds of boats crossed the Atlantic, disgorging their human cargoes in the ports of Kingston, Havana and later, Charleston, in North Carolina. The history of the slave trade is

now well documented, and though the number can't convey the cruelty and suffering, they bear repeating — just as the horror of the Nazi Holocaust should be studied anew by every generation.

The Atlantic slave trade lasted nearly 400 years during which time 15-million African were shipped to the Americas. Conditions during the crossing were so horrific that between third and a half of the African captives died en route. Of the rest, most died within a decade of their arrival in the strange new land. By the time slavery was officially abolished in the late 1800s, one in four Africans was a slave.

In their self-righteous desire to control the natives and subdue the vast wilderness, the Spanish — and later the French and English — attempted to rebuild Europe in the Americas. Aztec and Mayan temples were destroyed and their stones used to build the churches and cathedrals of the conquerors. It was inevitable that the destruction of Indian nations soon turned to the destruction of the natural environment.

But what was it about this boundless "new land" and the "pagan practices" of native Americans that caused Europeans to react with agitation and revulsion?

A clue lies in the ancient earth-based spirituality that native Americans practised and which Europeans looked at with both fear and longing. For native people the natural world was inseparable from the spiritual world. Time was circular, like the great Aztec calendar, and myth was as palpable as the rock and the trees. All of nature was a cathedral.

Today the single-minded greed of the Conquistadors has been replaced by the bloodless "bottom line" of corporate accountants. Multinational corporations have become the modern-day pirates, working hand-in-hand with the nation states that now occupy the lands of the Kayapo and the Apache.

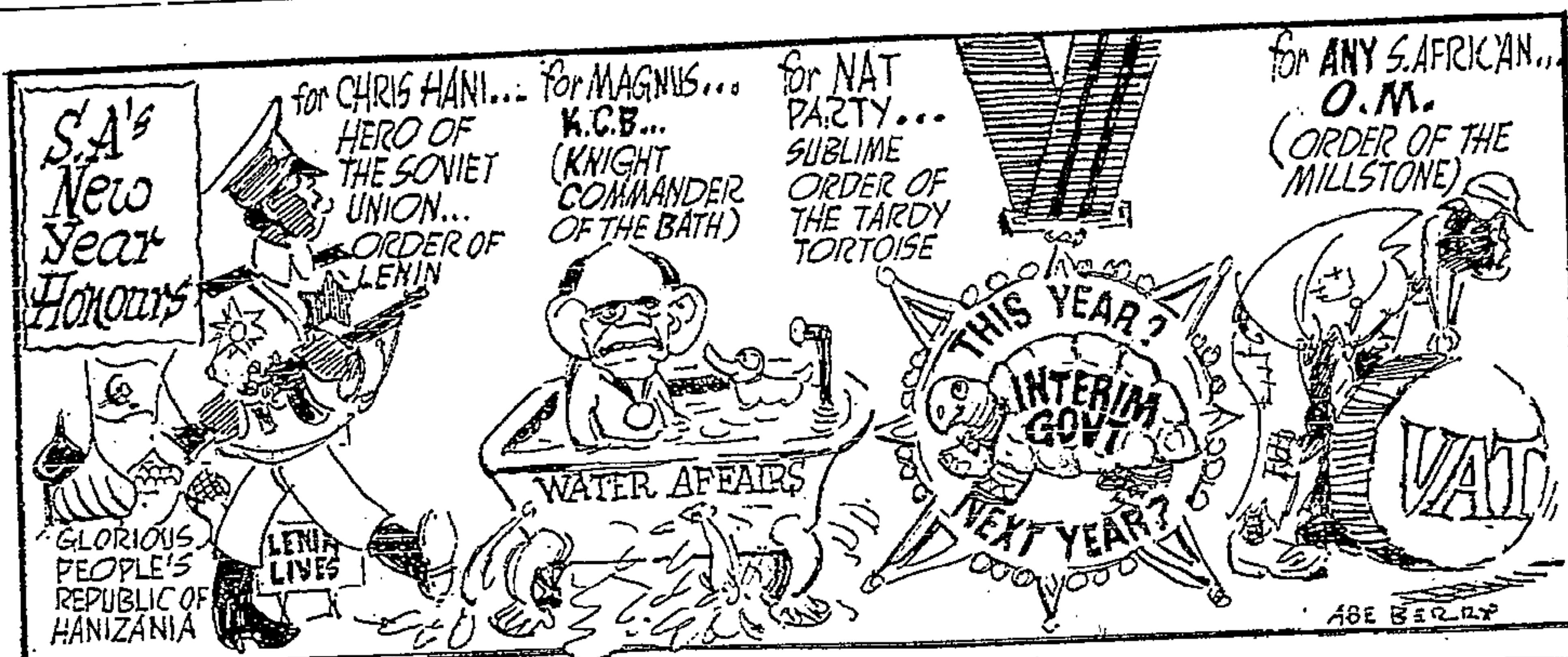
Whether it is timber on the land of the Gitksan-Wetsuwetan in British Columbia, or on the land of the Huarani in Ecuador, the rights of native Americans are still being trampled. Today not a single country in the Americas recognises native people as distinct nations with the right to self-government.

Nor has the other main legacy of the Columbus venture been dismantled. The ideology of racism continues to scar social relations. Colour are among the very poorest, with sky-high unemployment, decrepit housing, inadequate health care and crippling rates of alcoholism and disease. In the US, home of the "New World Order", 43 percent of all black children are born into poverty and the only stable jobs for black men are in the army. Yet across Americas these same people are being called upon to celebrate the anniversary of Columbus.

October 12 1992 marks the 500th anniversary of what author Kirkpatrick Sale calls the beginning of "the European conquest of the world". By the time this year has passed most of us will know more than we cared, or wanted to know about Christopher Columbus, the middle-aged Italian sailor whose haphazard voyage across the Atlantic set in motion the colonial era.

But there are other lessons about which we will have a great deal to learn. The legacy of Columbus is still with us — the process of colonialisation and dispossession is still underway. But the hidden history of two continents is only slowly emerging. And the real "discovery" of the Americas has yet to take place.

## STATE THEATRE



Abe Berry

**DON'T MISS OUR FOCUS ON THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE NEXT WEEKLY MAIL**



THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR  
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

# THE WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 8, Number 1 January 3 to 9 1992

## It's your choice, President de Klerk

**T**HE Weekly Mail is this week publishing further information about the appalling activities of elements of the South African Defence Force because we believe that firm action has to be taken to ensure the neutrality of the military, and all its front and covert operations, during the transition process. This cannot happen until all of those who have disrupted democratisation and continue to do so — are reined in.

The seriousness of the situation cannot be overstated. Military Intelligence are the people who brought us the butchers of Mozambique, Renamo. They also interfered with the process of democratisation in Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe. They have spent millions training men to fight to the death against democracy, one-person one-vote and the African National Congress. They have assisted and trained some of the bloodiest players in the township violence of recent years. They are the prime suspects in any discussion of a "third force" that is promoting violence.

They have to be brought to book.

President FW de Klerk can choose among five possible responses to the latest exposé:

- He can continue to bluster along, admitting only as much as he is forced to admit and telling half-truths and distortions about the rest.

This means the issue is likely to drag out for many painful months as the media uncovers more dirt and throws it in his direction. More of it will stick to him as time goes by.

It will also mean that the issue of the behaviour of the security forces and De Klerk's failure to control them continues to cloud Codesa. This is a worrying prospect.

- He can say SADF covert actions are a matter of the past and there is no point in raking up this history.

This is an argument taken seriously only by those who have a deep desire to bury their own past.

The evidence shows there is nothing old about this issue: the front organisations that undertook this activity are still operating.

Furthermore, we have printed evidence that at least five Inkatha members who underwent Military Intelligence training have been implicated in violence. There are another 195 other highly-trained men out there and good reason to believe an investigation of their activities might throw some light on current violence.

- He can try to hide behind the special committee he has set up under Professor Ellison Kahn to investigate the use of secret funds.

For one thing, we would be surprised if a man of Kahn's standing continues to allow the SADF to use him as part of its cover-up. This route, however, would also mean that the information dribbles out in the media, in a way certain to do the maximum damage to the negotiation process.

- He can try to kill the bearer of bad news by attacking the media and those who are giving it information. This would take us back to the darkest days of President PW Botha.

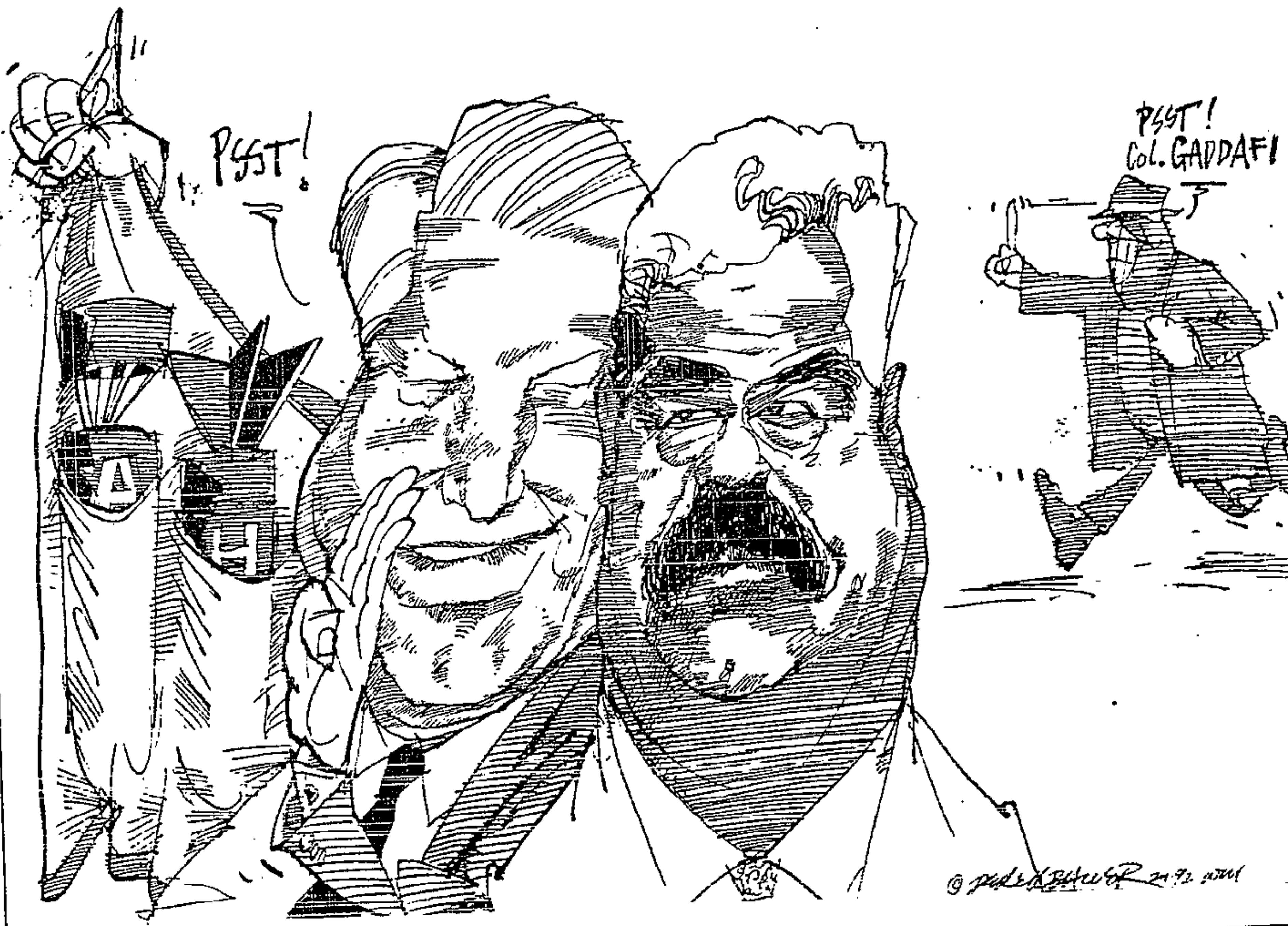
- He can come clean and tell, once and for all, the full story of covert SADF activities.

This would win him many kudos among the majority of South Africans and the rest of the world. It would be of enormous assistance to the negotiations process because it would remove the one stumbling block that appears to be growing rather than diminishing.

It would, of course, not be popular among elements of the SADF that hanker after the Botha days when they were given all the resources and freedom they wanted to do as much damage as they could.

But De Klerk can no longer pander to rightwing elements. He has to convey the message, clearly and without qualification, that the tarnished military forces are going to have to prove their neutrality and accountability if their armour is ever going to shine again.

## DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



**S**OUTH AFRICA has finally appeared on the map of Soviet Africanists, political scientists and others who have specialised in southern Africa as a geographical and political entity.

Some of them are focusing on the country as a subject of research interest and will visit South African universities on travel grants and fellowships. Some are looking for employment, while their more enterprising colleagues are trying to convince South African businesses to invest in the former Soviet Union.

development of a number of South African societies, whose formation is marked by all the peculiarities of the turbulent events in Russia in 1991.

As the Soviet Union fell apart, first into the Union of Sovereign States and then into the Commonwealth of Independent States, an army of Soviet political scientists, historians and economists suddenly found themselves faced with the prospect of unemployment. Especially affected were members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the research institutes for area studies attached to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, all of whom had been brought up on Marxist-Leninist dogma.

This signalled a curious new trend in the history of the brain drain from the Soviet Union. For the first time in 70 years it is not the dissidents, the intellectuals, who will be jobless, but the apparatchiks-ideologues, who have to look Westwards in search of employment possibilities.

To some extent, this process was already under way at the beginning of perestroika. American universities have been inundated since 1987 with visitors from Soviet universities and research institutes. These visitors were mostly sent to propagate the ideas of glasnost, democratisation and the "new thinking".

Then came the period of the semi-official visitors, coinciding with the split of the Soviet political elite into the so-called "democrats" (of Western, free-market orientation) and the Russian nationalists. Both groups found ready listeners in the West, but only the democrats and the free-market economists were regularly given support in the form of generous research grants.

With the chaos brought by the fall of the Soviet Union and its institutions, and uncertainty as to which of the Soviet research institutes will be taken over and financially supported by the new Russian state, researchers will be turning to the West in search of financial resources, be they in the form of research fellowships, contract employment, the "joint venture" so popular in Russia today, or simply to sell their "know-how" — a buzzword of the new entrepreneurial spirit of the past two years.

The South African-Soviet Society was

## The new Russia discovers the White South

*The post-Gorbachev Russia  
has discovered South Africa.  
Joint Russian-South Africa  
societies are sprouting all  
over Moscow. It's as if  
apartheid never existed*

By PROFESSOR  
HENRIETTA MONDRY

formed in Moscow in June 1991 by Africanists from the Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa. It included representatives of the newly emerged Moscow business communities and delegates from other republics were also present.

The society's aims were to promote business, economic and tourist links between the countries and to concentrate on the exchange of information and specialists in various fields.

The society immediately came under attack for including ideologues of the old regime among its members. A journalist from *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper) denounced the founding members for "their links with, and accountability to, the Central Committee and the KGB". She specifically had in mind the Africanists from the Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa and the African Institute at Moscow State University.

After the August coup, Russian President Boris Yeltsin aimed to incorporate Soviet infrastructures on Russian territory into the

new Russian political institutions. Educational institutions and the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences went through a period of uncertainty, but finally they too were taken over by the Russian state.

In October a new society was registered, called the Russia-South Africa Society. Its aims are identical to those of the earlier South African-Soviet Society.

In an account of the founding meeting in the journal *Echo Planety* (Echo of the Planet), representatives of South Africa's biggest business corporations who attended the meeting were quoted as saying that their major commitments were in South Africa, but if they found feasible business propositions in Russia they would consider them. The article commented that the Soviet Union had suffered great losses through the application of sanctions.

Other societies formed at this time include the Good Hope Society (Russian Federation-South Africa) and the Russian-Southern African Information Agency, both located in Moscow. The Good Hope Society states its aim as "to foster economic relations, academic, cultural and human contacts", while the Information Agency offers "to put you in touch with Russian organisations and business partners ... on (a) commercial basis".

While some of these new societies are apolitical, some are alarmingly ideologised. Russian nationalism leaves its mark on many.

An interview with the president of the Siberian branch of the Russia-South Africa Society, published in October in *Molodost' Sibiri* (Siberia's Youth), bore the title "Blacks are better off in Russia, Whites are better off in Africa".

The president of this society calls South Africa a "great country which does not have and never had apartheid". He declares that apartheid was invented by the Americans, who had an economic interest in keeping South Africa and its rich mineral resources out of the hands of its competitors. He suggests that Russian specialists should emigrate to South Africa, where they will receive a house, a car and a settling-in payment of R50 000.

In the Russian press, in articles authored by founding members of the Russia-South Africa Society, South Africa is acquiring the image of a country with no political past.

The author of an *Izvestia* article expresses surprise that after the friendship between the Russians and the Boers at the time of the Anglo-Boer War, it took decades for the two countries to get together — as if there had been no such thing as apartheid to keep South Africa isolated from the international community in general, and from the Soviet Union in particular.

●Professor Henrietta Mondry is head of the Department of Russian Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand



**T**HE "normalisation" of South African politics has opened a world of opportunity for a political animal that at times seemed faced with extinction: the think tank.

Almost every week, it seems, a new organisation is being launched with high-minded credentials, dedicated to researching political problems, and propagating solutions to them.

Some maintain a semblance of political neutrality. Others claim to be neutral but are not. Still others are unashamed of their links to different political parties and tendencies. They are attached to universities and the state or are private groups funded by business or overseas interests. They provide often lucrative employment for academics, researchers and political activists.

They are playing an increasingly significant role in influencing the policies, programmes and strategies of the major political players in the country — and in this way are determining the future of the country. And as the political debate shifts from the realm of rhetoric to the realities of power, their role is growing.

There is nothing unusual in all this. Think tanks have long been central to the politics of the United States and Germany, and to a lesser extent other European countries.

The question has to be asked, however: Is this a welcome development suggestive of a "normal" political culture or is it a case of handing over policy-making to technocrats who are removed from the electorate-to-be?

#### THE AFRIKANER BROEDERBOND

**S**TILL the most powerful think tank in the country, this secret, all-white, all-male, all-Afrikaner, all-Calvinist organisation has experienced a spirited revival over the past two years, and plays a major role in determining the policies of the National Party and the South African state.

With the exception of George Bartlett (because he's not an Afrikaner) and Dr Rina Venter (because she's not a man) and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Abe Williams (because he's not white), the entire cabinet consists of Broederbonders.

State President FW de Klerk has been a prominent and active member for half his life. Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen is a past president. Cape leader Dawie de Villiers has been a member for nearly 20 years and is a former leader of the *Ruiterwag* (the Broederbond's youth wing — also secret). Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis has also been a member for 20 years, while Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has been a member for 22 years.

Under the 11 years of PW Botha's rule the Broederbond's role diminished relative to the military and the State Security Council, though it did play a major role in designing the 1983 tricameral constitution. With De Klerk's rise to power, it has made a comeback. An example of its influence was the way in which the National Party's 1991 constitutional proposals were formulated.

The Broederbond caused the issue extensively, after which their proposals were put to the NP decision-makers and leaked to the press. Then the NP released its own proposals which were almost identical.

According to Hans Strydom, whose book *The Super Afrikaners* opened the Broederbond to public scrutiny 10 years ago, the organisation now has about 16 000 members. Its funding comes through its members (about R250 a year) and through Afrikaner business.

It does some of its own political research and channels other research through Broederbond members in Afrikaans universities, and the Human Science Research Council.

#### HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

**T**HE HSRC is a huge, state-funded think tank which plays a central role in conducting political and social research for the government, the state, and private contractors.

According to its 1991 annual review, "the HSRC plays an important role in the initiation and promotion of research on matters of urgent national importance". In 1990, 158 such projects were carried out — either through universities or by the HSRC itself. It also provides funding for about 1 500 academic bursaries and grants a year. It has an annual budget of more than R90-million, 80 percent of which comes through its parliamentary

grant — though its self-generated income is increasing.

Much of its research is conducted for state departments and other governmental bodies, but it also does contract work for several universities, most of the country's leading corporations, churches, development organisations and *Rapport* newspaper.

Its ambit of research extends to most facets of South African political life. Polls and surveys on trends in political thinking are an important component of its work. These, however, have been criticised for managing to produce findings which please the government.

According to Strydom, the HSRC was formed at the prompting of the Broederbond, and much of the organisation's research is done by the HSRC, through state institutions. The current Broederbond chairman, Professor JP de Lange, is also chairman of the Council of the HSRC. The president, Dr T van der Walt, most of its senior officials, and the cabinet minister responsible for the Council, Sam de Beer, are Broederbond members.

Dr Laurence Schlemmer, formerly of the Centre for Policy Studies, and a board member of the Inkatha Institute, has recently moved to the HSRC.

#### INKATHA INSTITUTE

**I**N its rhetoric, the Inkatha Institute aims include developing the "positions that exist in the central ground of South African politics" and to "ultimately serve the interests of a liberal, democratic future".

However, while maintaining a veneer of academic research, the Inkatha Institute's name has always been a dead give-away as to political affiliation. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is chairman and Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods sees the IFP as the major player in the central ground of South African politics.

The Inkatha Institute is funded by the kwaZulu cabinet, for which it does research, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which has close links to the ruling Christian Democratic Party in Germany, and "various friends in the business community". It has a staff of 34 and an annual budget of R1,7-million.

Several Inkatha leaders, Schlemmer and the Red Cross' Inka Mars serve on the board of the Inkatha Institute.

The institute is involved in research into: developing national health and educational models for a post-apartheid South Africa; constitutional devel-

opment; economic models of sustainable growth while addressing the problems of unemployment and redistribution; and the "lost generation" of black youth.

During the Inkatha funding scandal, it emerged that the institute had done research into the United Workers' Union of South Africa on behalf of the security police, even though this research was routed through the kwaZulu cabinet.

#### TOEKOMS-VERSPREK

**T**HIS right-wing group is effectively the Conservative Party equivalent of the Broederbond.

It is secret and open only to white, Afrikaans males — which causes some consternation among the growing number of CP English speakers.

All prominent Afrikaner CP leaders and members are believed to be involved in this organisation, which, according to Strydom, has a membership of about 4 500. It is funded primarily by its members.

#### SA INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

**S**INCE being founded in 1929 the Institute has played a central role in researching and disseminating information on a wide range of political issues in South Africa. Its annual survey remains the country's premier reference point on facts and figures of political interest, and is highly regarded even by the institute's critics to the right and left.

The SAIRR puts out a variety of publications and says it is currently involved in major research on: constitutional change processes, the legacy of discriminatory laws, progress being made in tackling material backlogs and inequalities, the use of coercion in politics and ways of promoting a democratic culture. It also runs a large bursary programme for black students.

It has a large national, non-racial membership, whose contributions account for most of the institute's income. Its president is Helen Suzman and its executive director, John Kane-Berman.

The institute has always been an avowedly liberal organisation, and remains so. However, in recent years it is widely perceived as having taken a step to the liberal-right, mainly because of the political role played by Kane-Berman.

His close association with Inkatha, and particularly his chairmanship of the highly controversial, Inkatha-inspired Natal Indaba, as well as his frequent public attacks on the African National Congress, his criticism of rival research groups such as the Human Rights Commission and Community Agency for Social Enquiry, his opposition to sanctions and his attacks on the recent VAT stayaway, have led many on the left to question the institute's neutrality.

This situation has been exacerbated by what is

perceived as the institute's down-playing of the role played by Inkatha (and to a lesser extent the security forces) in violence and intimidation.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

**T**HOUGH not constituted as a think tank, the HRC plays an influential role in compiling and disseminating political information.

It says its aim is to investigate and monitor violations of human rights in South Africa, with special emphasis on repressive measures by the state through security legislation, Emergency regulations and other formal and informal powers and actions. It compiles a monthly booklet, *Human Rights Update*, and a variety of other publications.

It was formed three years ago to take over research role previously played by the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, and has offices in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal.

It has been closely linked to the ANC United Democratic Front — the most recent manifestation being its role in assisting the ANC in negotiations over political prisoners.

The HRC has a number of subscribing orga-

nisations — some, like the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Health Workers Congress, are closely associated to the ANC while others, like the Black Sash and Five Freedoms Forum, being of more liberal orientation. Most of its commissioners and staff are people who have been closely associated with the ANC and UDF.

While its research has been widely disseminated in South Africa and overseas, it has been criticised for ignoring human rights violations committed by ANC members against groups in Inkatha, black town councillors and members of the security forces.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS TRUST

**T**HIS is a Port Elizabeth-based organisation involved in bringing different political groups and individuals together, running a bursary fund and in political research on issues such as poverty, development, political loyalty, electoral trends and a range of township issues in the Eastern Cape. It publishes a glossy quarterly journal, *Monitor*, which is distributed to key political actors around the country.

HRT has an annual budget of R700 000-R800 000 a year, 60 percent of which comes from major Western governments, 30 percent from South African corporations and 10 percent is self-generated.

HRT director Rory Riordan says it has no

# THE THOUGHTS INDUSTRY

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Well over 100 think tanks, political research organisations, academic institutes or specialist information-gathering groups exert a powerful — but invisible — influence on the course of our politics as we enter the age of negotiations. Who are these groups? Who funds them, to whom do they answer and what is their agenda?

By GAVIN EVANS, PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and PAUL STÖBER



Gerrit Viljoen:  
Ex Broeder chief



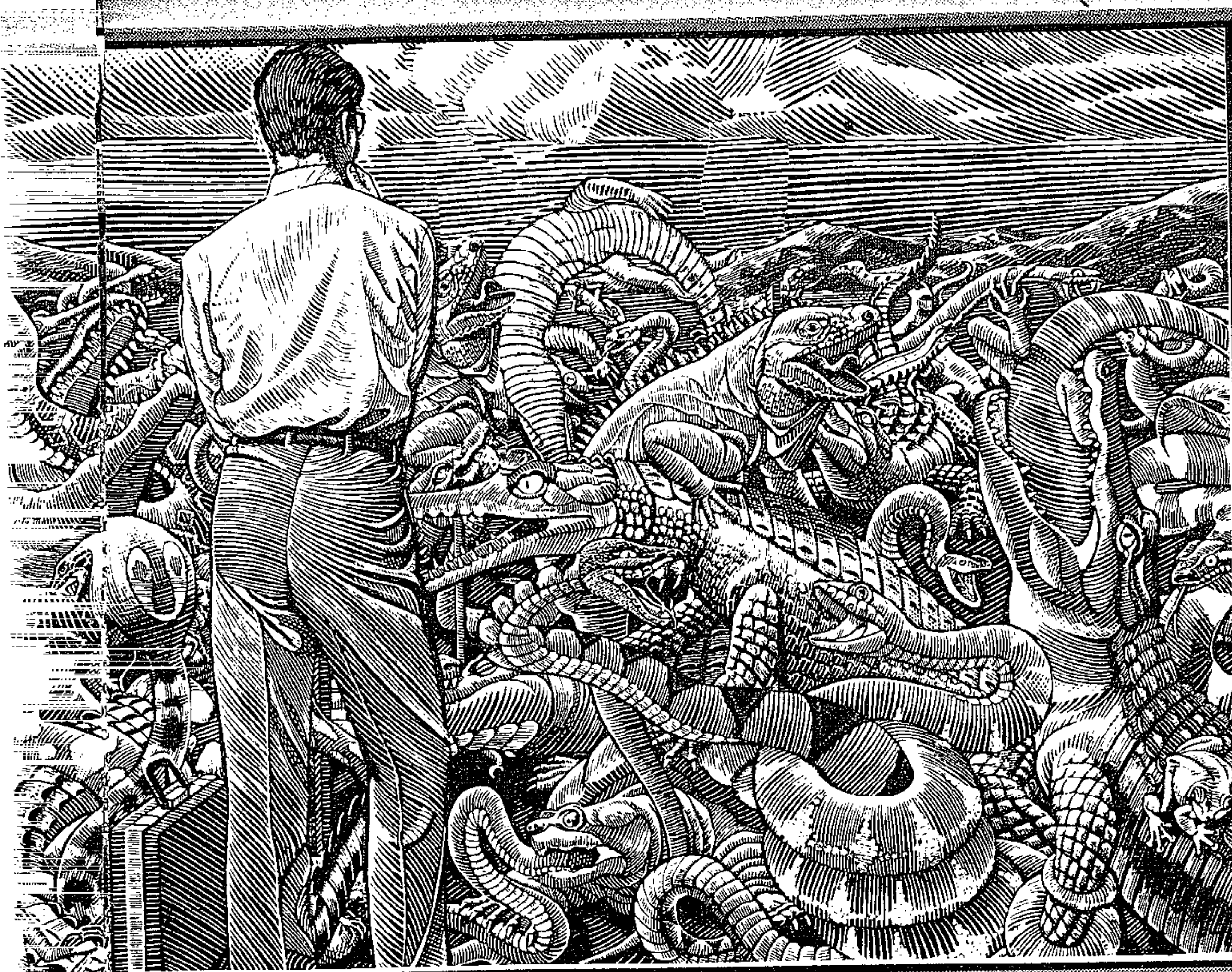
Sam de Beer:  
HSRC director



Russell Crystal:  
Freedom  
Foundation

Mike Rosholt:  
Urban Foundation





relationship with any political organisation, but its chief staff members are either ANC or Democratic Party supporters. It has close links with Amnesty International.

#### INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

LAUNCHED five years ago by Dr Van Zyl and Dr Alex Boraine shortly after resigned from parliament, Idasa has played a key role in bringing the government, the ANC and other parties to the left and right together — the most famous of which was the 1987 conference. It also has a substantial political component and puts out scores of publications each year, including a quarterly magazine, *Democracy in Action*. Its major projects are focused in four areas: economic justice, education, policing and violence. About 25 percent of its R9-million annual budget is generated from European and American governments and non-governmental organisations. Idasa does not have individual members but has a large full-time staff at its national and six regional offices.



Helen Race

While Idasa has been respected as an honest broker in establishing communication between different political parties, its own perspectives tend to be well to the left of the government, as are all its executive officers and staff members.

#### INSTITUTE FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY

THE IMPD was launched by Dr Oscar Dhlomo shortly after his resignation from parliament last year. Its mission is to "promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa", and it has a variety of programmes on developing political leadership and on education for democracy. It also conducts research and puts out occasional publications. IMPD does not have members but has 12 full-time staff members and several part-timers. It says its budget is R150 000 to R200 000 a month and its funds are raised from leading South African companies and German, British and American foundations.

IMPD is one of the few groups of its kind to have avoided a party-political tag. It says it is not aligned to any political party and is not aligned to any, and so has been true to its word. Full-time staffers include Dhlomo and national director Dr Saths

Cooper (a former Azapo leader) and board members of the ANC, Democratic Party, and a few to the right of the DP.

#### CENTRE FOR INTERGROUP STUDIES

UNDER the directorship of Professor Hendrick Willem van der Merwe the UCT-based centre has played a prominent, but usually low profile role in negotiations. It describes its role as "the facilitation of communication between conflicting groups to reach a just peace in South Africa".

In addition to research it has a mediation service and is involved in training and education. Other areas of focus include conflict resolution among youth and a project on Peace and Security investigating "a new approach to security and defence".

It has published research on "mediating for a post-apartheid South Africa", alternative national service and the influence of violence on children.

The centre, which was formed in 1968, has an annual budget of about R1.5-million and it is funded by South African companies and European and American sources. It currently has 17 staff members. All the members of its Board of Governors are prominent academics and none are closely associated with any political parties.

#### INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

THE University of Pretoria-based institute was established 17 years ago, and focuses its research on issues relating to security, defence and warfare, local and international politics. It is currently researching the future of the security establishment in South Africa and the implications of recent regional and international developments for South Africa.

Its many publications are distributed widely among cabinet members, MPs, Defence Force officers and private individuals. It also hosts conferences dealing with its issues of concern.

The institute's director is Professor Mike Hough. Though the institute is independent, some of its advisory committee members are closely associated with the security forces, including Unisa's Professor Deon Fourie (who is also an SADF brigadier) and Lieutenant General H de V du Toit (retired) of the Rand Afrikaans University. The institute generates most of its own funds.

#### INTERNATIONAL FREEDOM FOUNDATION

THE IFF is a conservative US-based organisation, with headquarters in Washington DC and offices in London, Hamburg, Brussels and Johannesburg. Its role is "to distribute the foundation's publications and free market ideas throughout the southern Africa sub-continent, and to monitor developments and gather information for the foundation's international programmes".

Its focus is on "mobilising support for those

forces seeking to replace apartheid with a free and open society based on universal franchise and the decentralisation of economic and political power within a free market framework".

The IFF's activities include publishing, lobbying the government, programmes in the business community and hosting overseas guests. It has recently published reports strongly critical of the South African Communist Party and the right-wing and advertisements attacking the ANC, and

It says its southern African branch is funded by programmes among the business community, the sale of publications, and internal organisational transfers. It works closely with several conservative groups including the Heritage Foundation in the US, and the SA Free Market Foundation.

Most of its 10 South African staffers are former leaders of the National Students Federation, recently disbanded after being exposed as a state-funded organisation. Its South African executive director is Russel Crystal, a prominent National Party member.

#### DEFENCE INSTITUTE OF SA

DISA was launched last month as a think tank and lobby group around issues such as the future of the SADF, regional security and the arms industry. It hopes to draw together senior SADF officers, defence industry specialists and private citizens into an independent forum providing for debate and research on these issues.

Its president is Rear-Admiral Chris Bennett, who retired last year as Chief of Naval Staff. Other executive members are military analyst and former SADF artillery commandant Dr Jackie Cilliers, nuclear physicist Dr Kelvin Kemm and technology specialist Horst Karl Holatrager.

Bennet stresses Disa is not a lobby group for Armscor but says it is concerned about the way in which armaments projects and defence industry jobs are being cut.

Its first major venture was a conference on regional security, co-hosted by the Institute for Strategic Studies. It was addressed by officials of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the South African, Namibian, and Venda governments.

Disa is funded by the Hanns Seidel Foundation, which is linked to Germany's conservative Christian Democratic Union, and by South African companies.

#### THE URBAN FOUNDATION

SET up by prominent business people after the Soweto conflict of 1976, the Urban Foundation has established an influential niche in the field of development, specifically around the areas of education, urbanisation, housing and community empowerment.

Its aim is to achieve "a democratic South Africa

free of discrimination with a growing economy" and strategies aimed at achieving greater equity in South African society.

Its close relationship to the big corporations is apparent by the fact that its president is Harry Oppenheimer, its chairman is Mike Rosholt (of Barlow Rand) and its vice-chairman is Anglo chief Julian Ogilvie Thompson. It is funded mainly by the private sector.

For long suspected by the left as some kind of "capitalist plot to derail the revolution", the UF has during the past two years done much to refurbish its image in black communities. It now lays far greater emphasis on using development to empower black communities and aids the development of the black entrepreneur class.

With a budget of R30-million for the year ending July 1991, some of the UF's most valuable work has been in research and developing an overall strategy for urbanisation and the land question.

The UF has been criticised, however, for keeping its research findings confidential and playing its cards very close to its chest.

The organisation played a major role in the scrapping of influx control and the pass laws during the 1980s. In the demanding period of political transition, the UF — having developed key areas of expertise — retains the ear of government.

#### CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

CPIS is an autonomous HSRC project, under the direction of its manager, Steven Friedman. It is funded by the HSRC and the South African private sector.

The centre had been attached to the Wits University Business School but underwent a change of status late last year when its founder, Dr Schlemmer, left to join the HSRC.

Its emphasis remains the same: "Deepening the debate about South Africa's options with regards to its socio-economic and political future and combatting over-simplification and wishful thinking".

Its major projects have included investigations into political change, local and regional government, prospects for peaceful change, urban transition in Johannesburg, social and occupational mobility in South Africa, white electoral and attitudinal trends, training for the unemployed in KwaZulu and Natal, urbanisation and black socio-political advancement.

It has an annual budget of R700 000 and nine staff members. It has no relationship with any political party and its researchers represent a broad range of political orientations.



Andrew Boraine: Idasa

#### SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU FOR RACIAL AFFAIRS

THIS right-wing think tank is headed by Afrikaner Volkswag leader Dr Karel Boshoff. It describes its role as follows: "To bring about a community arrangement which gives each population group the choice to develop a true identity and which enables each people to establish self-determination in its own political sphere — on their own ground and under their own authority."



Oscar Dhlomo: Institute for Multi-Party Democracy

Its projects include research into *volksstate* homelands, "to establish conditions and demands through which the Afrikaner people can ensure their own freedom in a *volksstaat*; to build relations between population groups who chose *volksstate* and with others who wish to live in a unitary state; to investigate the economic and constitutional conditions for *volksstate*".

Its budget of R500 000 a year, is raised entirely from local sources — members and supporters. It has five staff members. Its board members are all prominent right-wing academics.

#### PROJECT FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE

THE Wits University-based project has over the past three years become a key source of information on a key issue in South African politics: violence. Among its areas of focus are the causes of political violence, policing and labour-related violence, as well as violence against women, and gangsterism. It is also involved in developing policies to help eliminate these phenomena and counselling victims of violence.

The project, which has a staff of nine, is independent and has relations with a broad spectrum of political parties and international organisations. Its annual budget of R285 000 comes mainly from overseas organisations but its research around policing is funded by local organisations.



**S**OUTH AFRICA has finally appeared on the map of Soviet Africanists, political scientists and others who have specialised in southern Africa as a geographical and political entity.

Some of them are focusing on the country as a subject of research interest and will visit South African universities on travel grants and fellowships. Some are looking for employment, while their more enterprising colleagues are trying to convince South African businesses to invest in the former Soviet Union.

This new focus of interest has resulted in the development of a number of South African societies, whose formation is marked by all the peculiarities of the turbulent events in Russia in 1991.

As the Soviet Union fell apart, first into the Union of Sovereign States and then into the Commonwealth of Independent States, an army of Soviet political scientists, historians and economists suddenly found themselves faced with the prospect of unemployment. Especially affected were members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the research institutes for area studies attached to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, all of whom had been brought up on Marxist-Leninist dogma.

This signalled a curious new trend in the history of the brain drain from the Soviet Union. For the first time in 70 years it is not the dissidents, the intellectuals, who will be jobless, but the apparatchiks-ideologues, who have to look Westwards in search of employment possibilities.

To some extent, this process was already under way at the beginning of perestroika. American universities have been inundated since 1987 with visitors from Soviet universities and research institutes. These visitors were mostly sent to propagate the ideas of glasnost, democratisation and the "new thinking".

Then came the period of the semi-official visitors, coinciding with the split of the Soviet political elite into the so-called "democrats" (of Western, free-market orientation) and the Russian nationalists. Both groups found ready listeners in the West, but only the democrats and the free-market economists were regularly given support in the form of generous research grants.

With the chaos brought by the fall of the Soviet Union and its institutions, and uncertainty as to which of the Soviet research institutes will be taken over and financially supported by the new Russian state, researchers will be turning to the West in search of financial resources, be they in the form of research fellowships, contract employment, the "joint venture" so popular in Russia today, or simply to sell their "know-how" — a buzzword of the new entrepreneurial spirit of the past two years.

The South African-Soviet Society was

# The new Russia discovers the White South

W/Mail 3/11-9/11/92

*The post-Gorbachev Russia has discovered South Africa. Joint Russian-South Africa societies are sprouting all over Moscow. It's as if apartheid never existed*

**By PROFESSOR**

**HENRIETTA MONDRY**

formed in Moscow in June 1991 by Africanists from the Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa. It included representatives of the newly emerged Moscow business communities and delegates from other republics were also present.

The society's aims were to promote business, economic and tourist links between the countries and to concentrate on the exchange of information and specialists in various fields.

The society immediately came under attack for including ideologues of the old regime among its members. A journalist from *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper) denounced the founding members for "their links with, and accountability to, the Central Committee and the KGB". She specifically had in mind the Africanists from the Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa and the African Institute at Moscow State University.

After the August coup, Russian President Boris Yeltsin aimed to incorporate Soviet infrastructures on Russian territory into the

new Russian political institutions. Educational institutions and the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences went through a period of uncertainty, but finally they too were taken over by the Russian state.

In October a new society was registered, called the Russia-South Africa Society. Its aims are identical to those of the earlier South African-Soviet Society.

In an account of the founding meeting in the journal *Echo Planety* (Echo of the Planet), representatives of South Africa's biggest business corporations who attended the meeting were quoted as saying that their major commitments were in South Africa, but if they found feasible business propositions in Russia they would consider them. The article commented that the Soviet Union had suffered great losses through the application of sanctions.

Other societies formed at this time include the Good Hope Society (Russian Federation-South Africa) and the Russian-Southern African Information Agency, both located in Moscow. The Good Hope Society states its aim as "to foster economic relations, academic, cultural and human contacts", while the Information Agency offers "to put you in touch with Russian organisations and business partners ... on (a) commercial basis".

While some of these new societies are apolitical, some are alarmingly ideologised. Russian nationalism leaves its mark on many.

An interview with the president of the Siberian branch of the Russia-South Africa Society, published in October in *Molodost' Sibiri* (Siberia's Youth), bore the title "Blacks are better off in Russia, Whites are better off in Africa".

The president of this society calls South Africa a "great country which does not have and never had apartheid". He declares that apartheid was invented by the Americans, who had an economic interest in keeping South Africa and its rich mineral resources out of the hands of its competitors. He suggests that Russian specialists should emigrate to South Africa, where they will receive a house, a car and a settling-in payment of R50 000.

In the Russian press, in articles authored by founding members of the Russia-South Africa Society, South Africa is acquiring the image of a country with no political past.

The author of an *Izvestia* article expresses surprise that after the friendship between the Russians and the Boers at the time of the Anglo-Boer War, it took decades for the two countries to get together — as if there had been no such thing as apartheid to keep South Africa isolated from the international community in general, and from the Soviet Union in particular.

●Professor Henrietta Mondry is head of the Department of Russian Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand



A fearful problem is building up on the platteland — people who loathe De Klerk

# Pent-up force threatens us all

STAR 3/1/92.

3049

**A** South Africa returns from the holidays to resume what Professor David Welsh has called "a gigantic and ongoing seminar" on the country's future, it seems this most serious of all the problems facing us is getting the least attention.

The right wing is growing steadily, in numbers and in militancy. It won the Virginia by-election and, come February, will surely win Potchefstroom as well. The AWB is training openly for war, while the police sit lamely by saying they can do nothing until, apparently, the war breaks out.

I travelled through the Northern Transvaal recently, visiting farmers, and I found perilously few who were still supporters of the National Party. They spoke of President de Klerk in vehement terms. They also talked freely of violent resistance.

There is a fearful problem building up here. Everyone is aware of it, yet no one seems to have any ideas on what to do about it. Despite our great seminar, the subject is devoid of creative thinking.

The right wing demands an independent Boerestaat. But as the Law Commission points out there

is no part of South Africa that has a white majority. So the Boerestaat option is impractical. Full stop. No more ideas.

In my Christmas interview with Nelson Mandela, he expressed the hope that moderates like Koos van der Merwe would prevail upon the Conservative Party to attend Codesa 2 so they could be persuaded that their demand was a non-starter.

"If we are able to communicate with them, then, because we have a powerful case, we are likely to make inroads into their thinking," Mandela said.

Contact can influence attitudes, admittedly, but it seems to me a vain hope to pin one's faith on a political conversion at the negotiating table.

De Klerk has been no better. Though this is primarily his problem, since it lies within his constituency and is a creation of the National Party's ideological past, I have not heard one creative idea from him or any of his think-tankers on how to deal with it.

I believe the State President should have headed into the platteland right after his February 2 speech to explain to his own people why he had made such an astonishing U-turn.



Allister Sparks

He should have gone on radio and television for a series of "fireside chats", the way Franklin

Roosevelt did during the Depression, and explained the circumstances that had compelled him to abandon the ideology he had preached to them all his political life.

Perhaps then he might have taken more with him. Certainly he would have dampened some of the virulent sense of betrayal that now smoulders there.

But he didn't do that. He went abroad instead, hoping that by leading South Africa back into the world he would win acclaim from his critics at home. He forgot to read his Smuts.

De Klerk, too, knows the Boerestaat option is not on. But what else does he offer to placate these outraged ex-followers? Nothing, except an occasional bout of ANC-bashing when a by-election looms, a kind of recidivist

substitute for old-style swart gevaar politicking which is what caused the problem in the first place.

Of course what makes it doubly difficult is that the rightwingers themselves are being so bloodily minded. They are making an impossible demand and then threatening, kamakazi style, to create mayhem for everybody if it is not met. It is not unlike a hostage crisis.

But difficult, ugly and distasteful though it is, this is not a problem that is going to go away. It is going to fester monstrously if it is not resolved.

Let us begin, then, by looking at it in context. Dr Treurnicht likes to draw the analogy of the resurgence of ethno-nationalism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, to suggest that his movement is in tune with the times.

He has a point. Indeed he might add racialism as well, for that is also on the rebound in many parts of the world. Nationalism and racialism are Siamese twins, and, with ideological Utopianism, they have been the scourge of this genocidal century.

Far from being something to emulate, the break-up of the Soviet Union is a thoroughly alarm-

ing event, with a potential for human disaster many times greater than the ghastly bloodshed that has already engulfed Yugoslavia.

Who is going to prevent an all-out conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan? Who is going to stop the fighting between the innumerable minority groups within each of the republics? Who is going to stop one of these economically strapped republics selling nuclear arms to Saddam Hussein or some other oil sheikh?

No, the impracticability of the Boerestaat aside, Balkanisation is no solution to the problem of ethno-nationalisms, in South Africa, the Soviet Union or anywhere else. Balkanisation means many small nations filled with national pride and hatreds and jealousies, egged on by demagogues, marching against each other as they did in the Balkans around 1912.

Fortunately, it is not the only trend of the times. From Moscow move to Maastricht, a small Dutch town where even as the Soviet Union was dismembering itself the leaders of 12 Western European countries were laying the foundations of a closer economic and political unity.

Yet despite Mrs Thatcher's paranoïa they are not forsaking their

separate national and cultural identities. The French will remain French, the Germans German.

What is it that enables one part of Europe to move in one direction and the other in diametrically the opposite? The answer, I suggest, is oppression. A culture does not need to live in an apartheid cell to survive; it can flourish among others — provided it does not feel oppressed, humiliated or threatened.

If it does, then sooner or later, as in the Soviet Union today, it will lash back with a vengeance.

As the Oxford philosopher, Isaiah Berlin, has said, "A wounded volksgeist (folk spirit) is like a bent twig, forced down so severely that when released, it lashes back with fury."

We have done this in South Africa before, with nearly two centuries of one or other form of cultural imperialism. Let us not do it again.

Let us not bend the twig of the right wing. Their Boerestaat is not the answer, but there has to be an answer — somewhere in the Western, not the Eastern, European trend of the times, which is towards political and economic conformity with cultural values.

It is a subject to which I will return again soon. □



ELECTIONS Fm 3/1/92

## No clear winner

304A

**What might** a constituent assembly or parliament look like, if universal suffrage elections were held now, using proportional representation?

Durban financial consultant Logan Naidu, who has written on political affairs in local newspapers, has crunched some of the numbers — based largely on a Markinor survey in June — and come up with some intriguing results (see tables).

Calculations are made assuming that a constituent assembly would be made up of 200 delegates and that parties which get less than 1% of the votes would automatically drop out. It also assumes that African voters are split 50/50 between urban and rural.

The ANC (54% of the vote and 110 delegates) tops the poll in this exercise. Naidu's projections suggest that no single party will win more than two-thirds of the vote — which constitutional theory suggests is the minimum level of support required to justify a demand for sole power.

Decisions would therefore have to be made through consensus, says Naidu, who keenly supports the idea that such an assembly should write a new constitution. "This should allay any fears some parties may have that

### CURRENT AFFAIRS

they will be swamped." Any party or coalition that can muster a third of the votes will be in a position to have a major influence on drafting the new constitution, "even to the extent of blocking measures." Such measures, says Naidu, should ensure that the

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

assembly has the support of as broad a spectrum of the people as possible. Though the PAC and Azapo decided last month not to participate in Codesa, Naidu suggests that an alliance including the ANC, the Communist Party, PAC and Azapo

(each of the last three emerge with 4% of the vote) would enjoy 67% support. According to this exercise, the NP would get nearly 23% of the votes (47 seats), Inkatha 4,4% (nine seats), DP 3% (six) and the CP 2% (four seats).

Fm 3/1/92

### HOW THE PARTIES COULD FARE\*

304A

#### Support by population group (%)

	ANC	AZAPO	CP	DP	IFP	LP	NP	NPP	PAC	SACP	SOL
Urban Africans	71	4	—	1	3	—	4	—	4	4	—
Rural Africans	50	4	—	1	6	—	24	—	4	4	—
Whites	1	—	21	10	1	—	58	—	—	—	—
Coloureds	9	4	—	10	3	10	49	—	4	4	—
Indians	20	4	—	10	3	—	30	10	4	4	10

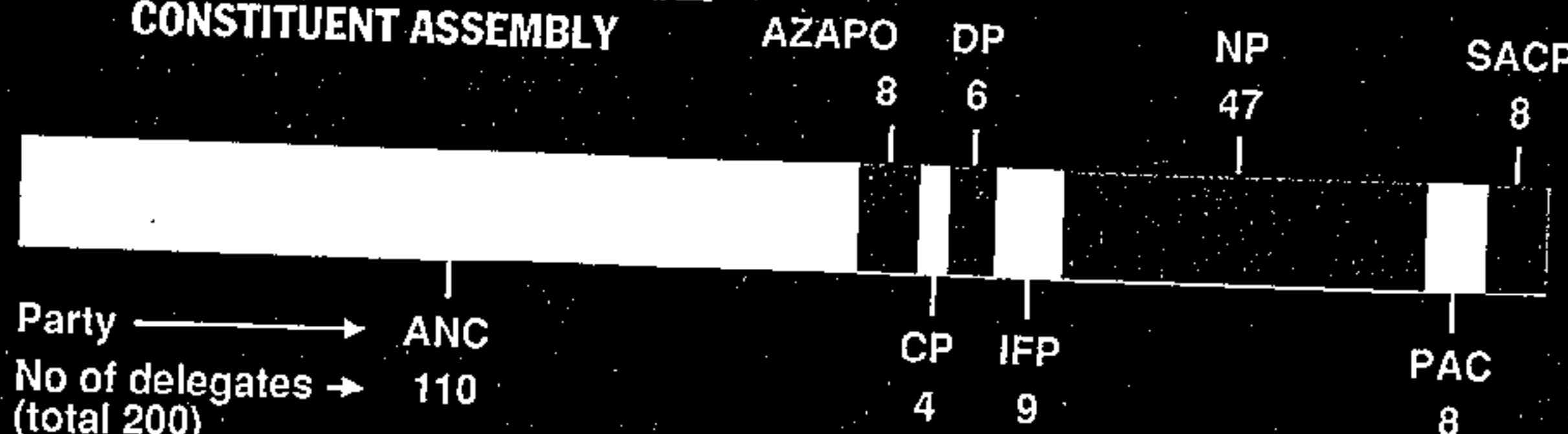
#### Number of Votes (1000's)

	ANC	AZAPO	CP	DP	IFP	LP	NP	NPP	PAC	SACP	SOL
Urban Africans	4 899	276	—	69	207	—	276	—	276	276	—
Rural Africans	3 450	276	—	69	414	—	1 656	—	276	276	—
Whites	15	—	315	150	15	—	870	—	—	—	—
Coloureds	117	52	—	130	39	130	637	—	52	52	—
Indians	128	26	—	64	19	—	193	64	26	26	64
Totals	8 609	630	315	482	694	130	3 632	64	630	630	64
% of Total votes cast	54,21	3,97	1,98	3,04	4,37	0,82	22,87	0,4	3,97	3,97	0,4

\*Figures based on Markinor Survey extrapolated by Logan Naidu.

### POSSIBLE OUTCOME\*

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY



\*Assumes a cut-off point at 1% and an assembly of 200 delegates

'INTERIM' ARRANGEMENTS

FM 3/1/92

304A

# Defining the divergence

Of the five working groups set up by the watershed Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa), perhaps that with the most difficult task will deal with "transitional arrangements" — more precisely, an interim government. The subject, oddly, is not one to which much actual thought has been given — according to an ANC spokesman who (privately) alludes to the complexity of establishing these arrangements at executive, legislative and judicial levels of government.

This ties in with an observation made by Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer: "Just think of the difficulties they (the ANC) would have in establishing authority over the armed forces, or conservative tribal homeland bureaucrats. A shared executive would assist the ANC into easing itself into what could otherwise be dissenting State structures."

According to President F W de Klerk in his Codesa address, government is "prepared to begin negotiating immediately on amending the Constitution of the Republic to make an interim power-sharing model possible on a democratic basis." Government is convinced, he added, that it is in the best interests of SA for Codesa "to institute expeditiously, as a first phase, a government that is broadly representative of the total population ...

"We are equally convinced that the composition of parliament, too, should be changed during this initial phase ..." Government was "almost ready to table specific proposals which, naturally, will have to be negotiated intensively together with proposals by others."

De Klerk added: "In working groups and plenary sessions we shall thrash out the procedures, methods and the substance of the irreversible constitutional process in which we are involved. Success or failure will be determined very largely by the will of the delegates to find one another by means of giving and taking."

The ANC's idea is that Codesa should set up a sovereign interim government essentially to supervise elections to a constituent assembly, which would finally write a new constitution. Government's interim power-sharing model, on the other hand, envisages an interim government being elected after Codesa has drawn up an interim constitution. These transitional arrangements could, according to Minister Gerrit Viljoen, last for up to 10 years.

Despite these differences, ANC president Nelson Mandela optimistically said in his New Year address on Monday that the foundations laid at Codesa "make it possible for an Interim Government of National Unity to be established to oversee the transition pro-



Mandela



De Klerk

cess and supervise free and fair elections for a constituent assembly, on the basis of one person, one vote. A democratic constitution is, therefore, one of our priority goals to be achieved for this coming year."

Reacting to De Klerk's interim power-sharing proposal in an interview with the *London Observer*, Mandela acknowledged its "positive aspects." These were De Klerk's agreement that an interim government was necessary; his acceptance of the idea of a constituent assembly; and of the need for an election to give legitimacy to the constitution-making process.

"But it is clear that he means something totally different from the interim government we are demanding," Mandela added. The ANC, he said, was very concerned that the interim government "should be of short duration" to supervise the transition to a nonracial democracy and to ensure security before elections are held.

Explaining his rejection of a long transition period, Mandela said: "If the interim government continued for 10 years then all the fury against SA would die down. The pressure would disappear because the perception would be that we had a democratic government in the country. Then De Klerk could simply go on and on with the interim government and never take the next step, which he knows is the real thing of transferring power from the existing parliament to a government representing the majority of the people."

However, Mandela, in a 1990 memorandum from prison, wrote of the "principle recognised in all democratic countries (that) the political party which gets the most votes must form the government and there is no reason why we should not observe that principle. But ... having regard to our background it may not be enough to work purely on one person, one vote, because every national group would like to see that people of their flesh and blood are in the government."

Schlemmer has pointed out that majority rule — the essence of the ANC's definition of democracy — is not the only basis for a democratic constitution: "Another element of democracy is the widest practically possi-

ble representation of variety and diversity of interests. This, too, is not compatible with majority imposition on a long-term basis."

The divergence between the NP and ANC positions is the major political problem facing Codesa. But the gap is not absolute and may be narrowing. ■



# Cutting through the cant



**Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, director of policy and planning at the Institute for a Democratic SA, looks behind politicians' jargon in the transition process. This analysis first appeared in *Democracy in Action***

Change generates its own vocabulary; SA is no exception. We use different words to express more or less the same idea and more often than not the same word for different ideas.

On the political battleground, opponents stake out claims and stalk each other publicly with hidden agendas that everybody knows about; they disguise obvious ideological preferences with verbal posturing, calculated to promote themselves as the most attractive partners in the process of negotiated transition.

The big point is not to appear ignorant or unconfident, even if the vast majority of people have no idea what you are talking about, or exactly what is happening.

It would be comforting, even nice, if for example the government in power and its opponents to the Left and Right displayed some humility, confessed some ignorance and took the country into their confidence about the complexity of the process of change they have unleashed on us.

Instead, the PAC assures us that "the toiling masses demand a constituent assembly now!" The ANC claims that the same masses are prepared to move in stages from an "all-party conference" to an "interim government" and then a "constituent assembly election."

The government says it should be blindly obvious to everyone that you cannot have constituent assembly elections or an interim government before there have been a number of multi-party conferences — and by then, neither of the other two may be necessary.

Rightwing organisations and parties proclaim that all this is a lot of cock and bull; SA consists of a plurality of struggling nationalities battling for self-determination and partition is the only solution.

Nobody seems inclined to gently pry open the lips of the pony and actually count the teeth.

The first thing to keep in mind is that nobody, not even the super-confident prominent spokesmen, knows how the process of transition is going to work out. This is an obvious but very important point.

The second point to remember is that despite the confusion, there is a national consensus on two fundamental issues: domination in whatever form is unacceptable; and negotiation is the manner in which an alternative should be found. All significant parties declare themselves in favour of this, from Left and Right. There are fringe flanking elements who favour militancy and radicalism, but they are in the minority.

The third point is that despite this national consensus, there is a fundamental division on what to negotiate about. A minority of whites, who may be strategically located in the economy and the civil service, wish to negotiate a form of partition. The majority (including the majority of whites) wish to negotiate some form of a nonracial democracy.

Within the minority who wish to negotiate partition, one can distinguish between greedy partitionists and sacrificial partitionists.

Greedy partitionists wish to negotiate a substantial piece of SA which they believe is historically theirs — for example, the AWB and the Boer republics. Or they want to reimpose old-style Verwoerdian separate development — for example, Ferdie Hartzenberg and his supporters in the Conservative Party.

Sacrificial partitionists wish to negotiate either a small part of SA for the Afrikaner — for example, Prof Carel Boshoff and the Oranje Werkersbond. Others, like Koos van der Merwe and his supporters in the CP, want a variation of communal, self-determination on a neighbourhood-regional basis.

Sacrificial partitionists show an increasing willingness to sit around the same table with those who wish to negotiate a nonracial democracy and put their case for sacrificial partition.

Those who wish to negotiate a nonracial democracy agree on at least three fundamental problems that have to be addressed in the process of transition, but there is no general consensus on the mechanisms in terms of which to do so. These problems are:

□ Transitional legitimacy: how can we be sure that we understand each other in the process of negotiation and be reasonably

confident our constituencies will follow us? The mechanisms that the government in power and the ANC, DP, Inkatha and trade unions favour is an all-party or multi-party conference;

□ Responsibility for managing the transition: how do the regime and its negotiating partners share responsibility for administration and government while negotiating a final outcome? This is where the concept of an interim government figures strongly and is generally supported by the government, the ANC, DP, Inkatha and the unions; and

□ Popular legitimacy for the final outcome: how do we find out what popular backing there is for what has been negotiated? This is where the idea of a constituent assembly or a national referendum figures. The ANC, PAC and unions strongly favour this, whereas the government and Inkatha tend to favour a referendum. In fact, once the process has unfolded this far, either one will serve the purpose.

Quite probably, what one will see happening is a number of multi-party conferences leading to multi-party commissions of inquiry into various government functions — like health, housing, security and education. From these will emerge policy recommendations and personalities that will form the infrastructure of an interim-type government.

The tricameral parliament with its executive president will increasingly defer decisions until it receives recommendations from the interim government.

There may even be an interim referendum to mandate an interim government to continue with its work until it has successfully negotiated a final outcome, which hopefully will be a nonracial democracy. These final proposals can then be put to a final popular test.

The fifth and final point to remember is that given our history, ideological differences, racial/cultural/ethnic diversity and our declining/stagnant socio-economic situation, we have a high propensity for transitional violence. This will pose severe challenges to stability and the transition.

In short, SA's quest for democracy is not as easy as some pretend, nor as futile as others predict. We have the potential for it, but certainly also a demonstrable capacity to squander it. Let us encourage those who have the ability to prevent this not to sit on their hands.

FM 3/1/92  
304A



# More policemen

# building's bombed

# Shot,

REC-3/1/92

344 3644

Political Staff and Sapa

**PRESIDENT** De Klerk's persistent refusal to call a general election so that he could be voted out of office has left the opposition with little option but to turn to violence, says Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Robert van Tonder.

In a statement yesterday Mr Van Tonder said it was precisely because Mr De Klerk was refusing to acknowledge Boers' right to their reconstituted republics that the entire "Boer nation" was moving towards a rebellion.

Mr Van Tonder was commenting on the bombings of two Transvaal post offices in the early hours of yesterday and six explosions at the Lowveld High School in Nelspruit on Wednesday morning, which caused extensive damage.

"Because De Klerk refuses to call a general election so that he can be kicked out, he leaves the opposition no other route than to turn to violence," he said.

## 'Sophistication'

Mr Van Tonder said the bomb attacks showed a great degree of professionalism and sophistication and were no longer amateurish, as were last year's attempts.

"The BSP has long warned the government that if it pushes the Boer nation to the wall the reaction will make Umkhonto we-Sizwe and the ANC look like apprentices."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party said although it had serious reservations about the use of violence to achieve aims, the recent wave of violence was a part of the political climate created by the government.

Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said the government was acting without a mandate and was ignoring democratic principles.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the bomb blitz in Transvaal towns was probably the signal of "an emergent rightwing terror campaign" aimed at scuttling multi-party talks.

Commenting on the explosions which ripped through post offices in Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp and the Nelspruit school, Captain Kotze said police suspected rightwing extremists were responsible.

In reaction, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said the police needed to back up their allegation of rightwing involvement with hard evidence. The CP did not endorse violence and did not accept responsibility for acts of terror carried out by other organisations.



# FW, Mandela share honours

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will jointly receive a UN-sponsored peace prize at a ceremony in Paris next month.

Although the two leaders have made separate travel arrangements to be present to receive the Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize sponsored by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), their joint presence at a world forum will go a long way towards convincing the international community of the reality of fundamental change in SA, observers say. *Bliday 3/1/92*

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed that Mandela would travel first to France to receive the prize and then on to Denmark — one of the few countries the ANC leader has not yet visited.

PATRICK BULGER

A source in the Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that De Klerk would be visiting Paris. *(3041)*

His office was not available for comment, however.

The prize, which is being awarded for the first time this year, is worth R340 000, which the two will share.

It is not yet known what each will do with his money.

Organisers said the award was being made to the South Africans "to encourage them to persevere in their efforts to establish a new SA".

The jury which decided on the winners was headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger.



# Gambling on 50-50 odds for peace

w/mail 3/11-9/11/92

*Despite racial, political and ideological differences, South Africa is shifting to democracy.*

**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**  
*reports on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the 'first journey in intensity and passion' that will make history*

1991 ended in an upbeat note with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, it is the year ahead that will really determine whether a peaceful transfer of power is possible.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic South Africa, lays the odds at no more than 50-50.

There is still a wide gulf between the African National Congress and the government, and many areas in which the two sides have differing views.

Both have agreed upon the need for an interim government, for example, and agreed that one could be in place as early as July 1992. But how the government is formed and by whom will be subject to tough negotiations.

There is President FW de Klerk's proposal, which he has yet to elaborate upon, to open parliament to blacks. De Klerk has not dropped the idea of a white referendum — essentially giving the white minority veto power over political change.

Neither a referendum nor the government's apparent desire to extend the transition process to up to 10 years is likely to be acceptable to the ANC. "We reiterate that the central demand of the ANC remains the full and meaningful participation by all South Africa's people," ANC president Nelson Mandela said.

The ANC continues to fear that the government has a double agenda, and may not be co-operative in surrendering to the democratic will of a majority electorate.

The first real indication of the government's plans will come when De Klerk opens parliament later this month and spells out what he means with his concept of an interim arrangement and how he wants to open parliament to blacks.

Even if De Klerk is willing to compromise, he may be unable to carry the majority of whites with him.

The recent loss of Virginia to the Conservative Party underscored his vulnerability, a trend that is likely to be confirmed in the Potchefstroom by-election.

This will lend impetus to the CP's demand that De Klerk call a white general election because he has no mandate to hand over to majority rule.



FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela ... Angry words and then a warm handshake

CP gripes should be given yet further urgency by the deliberations of Codesa through February and March — and major compromises by the government will be seen as negotiating away "white man's freedoms".

Those even farther to the right have begun to increase threats of physical violence, and to carry a few out — bombing a non-racial church school in Klerksdorp, and a hotel in the rural town of Koster that had an integrated bar.

Though De Klerk has so far called its bluffs, the right remains a presence on the sidelines, a potential threat to the process and to the country's political stability.

Renewed reports of the Afrikaner "Weerstandsbeweging" starting a new private army — this one called the Iron Guard — cannot be dismissed out of hand as yet more looney ravings.

The AWB warned after Codesa that "any attempts by Codesa to enforce its illegitimate discussions or actions will be considered by the AWB as an act of war ... If ever the peace-loving and law-abiding Boers were to be aroused into resistance and total rejection of this renegade government, we have now arrived at the moment in our history".

The threat from the right is one of fragmentation, of fracturing the unity of a "new" South Africa. The anachronistic ideology of a Boer state has been modernised by events in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union which ideologues such as Robert van Tonder, of the Boerestaal Party, now point to as proof of the

legitimacy of ethnic nationalism.

In this respect, the right has much in common with the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The IFP refused to sign the "Declaration of Intent" at Codesa in which political parties pledged their commitment to democracy and equal political rights for all.

The objection was to the use of the term "undivided South Africa", which IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose said ruled out the possibility of separate status for the predominantly-Zulu Natal province.

There has even been the suggestion that Inkatha and the parties on the extreme right may forge an alliance. After all, Buthelezi's mobilising theme of Zulu nationalism dates back further than Afrikaner nationalism.

The IFP's advisor at the talks was Professor Albert Blaustein, of Rutgers University, reportedly an advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and an expert in ethnic conflagration in societies such as Yugoslavia.

With no prospect of electoral victory in a unitary South Africa, Buthelezi — who, by refusing to attend, left one foot in and one foot out of Codesa — could be developing a secessionist movement in the predominantly Zulu Natal province.

Shortly before he pulled out of Codesa, he warned of civil war if the Zulus' demands were ignored. Given the thousands who have died in clashes primarily between Inkatha and the ANC, the threat has an ominous ring.

A possible future ally of Inkatha and the right

is Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, who also did not sign the declaration and who clearly wants to maintain the "independent status" of his pseudo state.

It is the prospect of violence — whether from the extreme right, from the IFP, or from elements in the security forces, or from a mixture of all — that poses the severest challenge to Codesa. The violence has so far been closely connected to the negotiating process and one cannot rule out further orchestration of conflict.

Furthermore, with the economy showing scant signs of recovery — and many millions of aggrieved and unemployed people out there — negotiations could not be taking place at a tougher time.

On the left, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have threatened to destroy Codesa, but they are neither well-organised nor, at this point, well-supported.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, grabs occasional headlines by killing policemen. If Codesa succeeds, the PAC will have doomed itself to political irrelevance by staying out.

If Codesa fails, the PAC could gain massive support from those whose hopes of liberation have been raised and disappointed by the negotiations.

The stability of Codesa itself has, however, survived the first major steps. Mandela's angry attack on De Klerk at Codesa, aired on prime time television in front of millions of viewers, was a psychological turning point for the nation.

In Soweto cars honked their horns. Many whites were stunned. "There goes Potchefstroom," said one National Party official at Codesa.

The circumstances of the confrontation were complex, tied up less with the ostensible issue of the ANC's refusal to surrender the armed struggle, than to Mandela's fury that De Klerk used the occasion to sneak in political advantage against the ANC.

Perhaps the most significant point about the exchange was that it did not derail the talks, nor even the relationship between the two men, who shook hands warmly at the start of the next day's session while both sides took pains to assure everyone that all was well.

Instead, it proved the ability of South Africans to argue robustly — rather than to kill each other — and in this sense began to lay the basis for parliamentary democracy.

It underlined the fact that South Africa, once regarded as a basket case of irreconcilable racial, political and ideological divisions is making progress towards democracy when the prospects for resolving other conflict-ridden areas — such as Israel, Northern Ireland and Yugoslavia — continue to look bleak.

"We have emerged stronger because some experiences have to be lived with intensity," Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed, co-chairman of the conference, said as he closed the conference.



## Mandela, Buthelezi to meet soon

CT 3/11/92  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet early this year in an attempt to normalise relations between their organisations.

Inkatha spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed the third high-profile meeting would be held since Mr Mandela's release from prison.

Although no date has been set, the meeting is largely intended to defuse tensions between the organisations at grassroots level. The meeting is being arranged by Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's Mr Jacob Zuma.



By SAMPIE  
TERREBLANCHE

AN OUTSTANDING feature of Codesa I was the strong moral tone of almost all the speeches. The rather emotional pleas for greater social justice in a new South Africa, even though some were unrealistic about what might be attained, were expected and should be welcomed.

It is, however, as well to remember that Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle believed politics should be concerned mainly with public morality. It would be advisable, in accepting the challenge to heal the wounds of apartheid, for us never to lose sight of this.

Unfortunately, Codesa I did not reach unanimity on public morality. The dissonances were caused mainly by National Party spokesmen who were still not prepared to acknowledge guilt for the moral atrocities of apartheid or to accept responsibility for what went wrong.

### Moral apology

Dr Dawie de Villiers did make a half-hearted attempt to express regret for the consequences of apartheid though, because of its conditional nature, it should be rejected as a distorted version of public morality. He made this controversial statement (the italics are mine):

"It was not the *intention* (of the NP's apartheid policy) to *deprive* other people of their rights and to contribute to their misery — but eventually it led to just that. *Insofar* as that occurred we deeply regret it."

This cannot be left undisputed. When a rugby player tackles his opposite number and breaks his arm he can say: "Sorry, it was not my intention to break your arm". The NP, however, cannot use this kind of moral apology to disclaim its intentional responsibility for the misery caused by apartheid — a policy of group selfishness whose explicit purpose was to promote the interests of whites at the expense of other people. To claim the opposite is not honest.

Examples of how apartheid deliberately and intentionally

# Codesa brought morality back to politics

South CT 3/2/92

deprived blacks of their rights can be multiplied a hundred times. Why can't the Nationalists be frank about it? It's far too late to continue playing with words.

### Hands down

The confrontation between the State President, Mr De Klerk, and the ANC's Mr Mandela at Codesa on Friday evening was a moral confrontation. Mr Mandela reminded Mr De Klerk that "even a discredited, illegitimate, minority government must observe certain moral standards". He also said Mr De Klerk was less than frank in his moral criticism of the ANC and implied the NP claimed moral high ground it did not deserve.

Mr De Klerk would not have been so vulnerable to Mr Mandela's attack had he been honest in the past about the exploitative and immoral nature of apartheid. Unfortunately he and the NP disregarded every sincere request to make an open confession of guilt about apartheid.

No one can dispute that Mr Mandela won the confrontation hands down, even if he did use unnecessarily sharp phrases in his final speech on the Friday evening. Nationalists will continue to deceive themselves if they do not acknowledge that Mr De Klerk suffered a serious moral defeat.

Judging the importance of this defeat against its historic background is perhaps even more important. The Nationalists, since gaining power 44 years ago, have never been defeated in a vote in parliament or experienced a humiliating defeat comparable to that Mr De Klerk suffered at Codesa.

### Historic importance

For 44 years the government steamroller crushed all opposition. During the 1950's the United Party made a strong, courageous stand against apartheid legislation — especially against the removal of coloured people from the voters' roll — but was steamrollered. During the 1970's and 1980's the PFP made an equally strong and courageous stand for civil rights, especially against the imperial presidency of the tricameral constitution but was flattened again.

The way Mr Mandela's speech at Codesa I halted the National Party steamroller was of decisive historic importance. The parameters of the negotiation process were shifted dramatically by the confrontation and the relationship between the two main players can never again be the same. The NP has only itself to blame for this unexpected shift in the balance of power because it consistently failed to display the required sensitivity on matters pertaining to public morality.

### Strange advice

Pik Botha's attempt on the Saturday morning to salvage some of the lost "moral ground" was little more than pathetic. He said a Swazi philosopher once told him: "The road of life I walk in such a way that I leave enough room on that road for others to pass me by without us bumping into one another."

It is rather strange moral advice to Codesa, coming from a government minister who for so long has been part of the steamroller that left so little, if any, room for other people — especially blacks — on the road of South Africa.

□ Professor Terreblanche teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch.





**LOVE AND HISSES:** Brenda "I am a mafia in bed" Fassie unites the marital knot after hubby takes to crime.



**INTERNATIONAL ANTI-HERO:** Oceans captain Yannis Avranos abandons ship, saying he "was not scared for one minute".

crossed the colour bar and was engaged to **Erica Adams** from Cape Town.

**Winnie Mandela** was described as a "cool, calculated, shameless liar" by Mr Justice M S Stegman before she was sentenced to an effective six years in jail for her part in the death of Stompie Sepele. She was granted leave to appeal.

### The Right Wing

Rightwing extremists emerged as a serious obstacle to negotiations. The Conservative Party refused to participate in Codesa and some of the party's Free State members recommended taking up arms. Several multi-racial schools were rocked by bomb blasts, believed to have been set off by the right wing.

**Pretoria** was crippled for a day in January when farmers blocked roads with their vehicles. The CP voiced its approval as the farmers held braais in the capital city. Escort agencies were said to have done a roaring trade that day.

**Ventersdorp**, in the western Transvaal, became more than just a name on the map when

they took 50,000,000 after fasting for such a long time, they would die.

Their fasting colleague, **Dr Lood van Schaikwyk**, later said he doubted that the two had stuck to their strike.

### Inkathagate

President de Klerk suffered his biggest setback when the Weekly Mail published revelations that police financed two Inkatha rallies last year.

The disclosures accelerated ANC demands for an interim government.

Casualties of the scandal were former Law and Order Minister **Adriaan Vlok** and Defence Minister **Magnus Malan**. They were shunted to the posts of Correctional Services and Forestry and Water Affairs respectively. "I have beaten the Reds, now I'm joining the Greens," Mr Malan said.

Only days after being released from hospital, **Henry Martin** and **Adrian Maritz** were photographed stuffing themselves with french fries. This came after their lawyer, **Wim Cornelius**, said that if

they took 50,000,000 after fasting for such a long time, they would die.

Their fasting colleague, **Dr Lood van Schaikwyk**, later said he doubted that the two had stuck to their strike.

### Crime and Violence

South Africans were numbed by the bloody trail of death which

swept across the country.

Murder increased 28 percent, leaving 11 764 dead, not counting the 2 510 who lost their lives in political violence. There was a burglary every three minutes, a robbery every 10 minutes, a rape every 20 minutes and a car stolen every nine minutes.

Twenty-seven Inkatha officials and 60 ANC officials were assassinated.

At least 150 policemen were killed last year, yet most of the 15 000 applicants who tried to join up were turned away because "police colleges could only accommodate 4 000".

Meanwhile, 911 police members were convicted of offences ranging from murder to driving offences.

A "torture chamber" was uncovered at the **Mooi River police station**, presiding judge in the Trustfeed massacre trial **Mr Justice Wilson** was "appalled" by the way bodies of victims had been treated, and **Mr Justice B O'Donovan** of the Rand Supreme Court found that police had used excessive force in the Daveyton incident which left 12 dead.

### Foreign Relations

Highlight of South Africa's diplomatic contact with the outside world was undoubtedly **Lidia van Heerden**, who gave a new meaning to the phrase "foreign affairs".

A married Egyptian diplomat claimed in a letter accompanied by sexually explicit photographs of Mrs van Heerden that she had spread more than national secrets in the service of her country.

She and her third husband, **Faan**, sought by police in connection with fraud, have disappeared.

### Sport

Following intense negotiations by the ANC's **Steve Tshwete**, the International Olympic Committee and the International Cricket Conference agreed to allow South Africa back into the fold.

A hastily assembled cricket team, accompanied by crates of beer, managed to win one of three one-day games in India.

With unity achieved in rugby, locals are confidently predicting South Africa will be the

venue for the 1995 World Cup.

Soccer, South Africa's real national sport, failed to get its act together. No doubt it was in disarray over theft charges running into millions against the National Soccer League's former flamboyant public relations officer, **Abduli Bhamjee**.

### Marriages

Unions of a different sort were also taking place.

**Naas Botha** and **Karen Kruger** met at the altar in what had to be the most-sponsored marriage in local history.

Bubbly Miss SA 1989 **Michelle Bruce** married lawyer **Ian Stern** and **Suzette van der Merwe** (Miss SA 1990) exchanged rings with **Greg Vogt**. Broederström ANC cell members **Damian de Lange** and **Susan Westcott** married in jail.

Spitting and hissing, **Brenda Fassie** and **Nhlanhla Mbambo** untied their marital knot. He was charged with R100 000 fraud. Ms Fassie said: "I am a mafia in bed, which seems to drive all my men to crime."

### The Oceans

The disastrous **Oceans** cruise in August produced an international anti-hero in the form of Greek ship captain **Yannis Avranos**. He abandoned ship with unseemly haste, scrambling on to the first rescue helicopter. "I wasn't scared for one moment," he said later.

Prompt action by nearby merchant vessels and the SA Airforce ensured that all 600 on board were rescued.

### The economy

With inflation at about 16 percent, the man-in-the-street had a hard time. Food prices rose by up to 25 percent amid accusations that retailers had formed a cartel.

**Banks** were accused of charging illegal interest rates on overdraft accounts.

The **Congress of South African Trade Unions** held a two-day nationwide stayaway tentatively to protest against the "unilateral" implementation of VAT. The United States lifted most of its sanctions as did Britain, Japan and the G7.



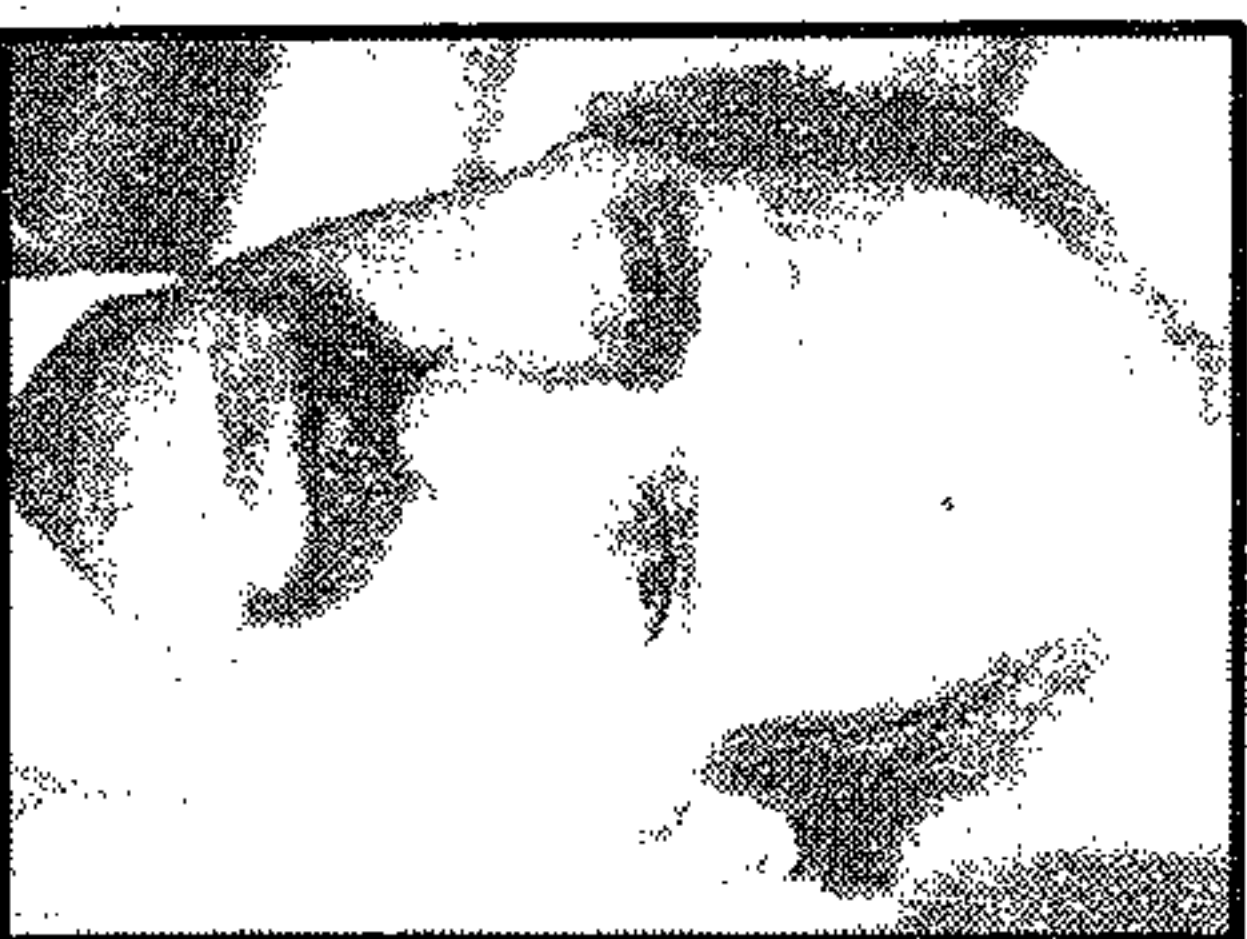
# 1991's movers and shakers

STAR 4/1/92 3047

People and events that made sure all South Africans lived in interesting times



**DIPLOMATIC FUREUR:** SA's Mafu Hari Lidia van Heerden gives new meaning to "foreign affairs".



**CRICKET COUP:** Clive Rice's hastily assembled cricket team to India remembers to take along crates of beer.



## BRENDAN TEMPLETON

**T**HE Oriental curse/blessing "may you live in interesting times" applied to South Africa in 1991.

After unparalleled violence, soaring crime, mounting political tension and stop-start negotiations, the year ended on a high note with the Peace Accord in September and the Codesa conference in December.

South Africa's two top families — the Mandelas and the De Klerks — were media attractions in themselves.

In terms of newsworthiness, African National Congress President **Nelson Mandela** and President **F W de Klerk** ran neck and neck in 1991, with Mr Mandela filling fewer illustrious files (19) at The Star than Mr de Klerk (21), probably because he spent more time abroad.

Mr Mandela visited 12 countries, while Mr de Klerk notched up nine.

With the stroke of a pen, Mr de Klerk abolished the pillars of apartheid — the Group Areas, Population Registration and Land Acts.

Mr Mandela showed he was not a pushover moderate, threatening to end negotiations if the Government did not meet demands regarding violence.

**Mariké de Klerk** planted the occasional tree and smiled a wrinkle-free smile. Opening a church building in Zuurbeekom she caused a "storm in a pill-box hat", saying "women are not important. We are here to serve."

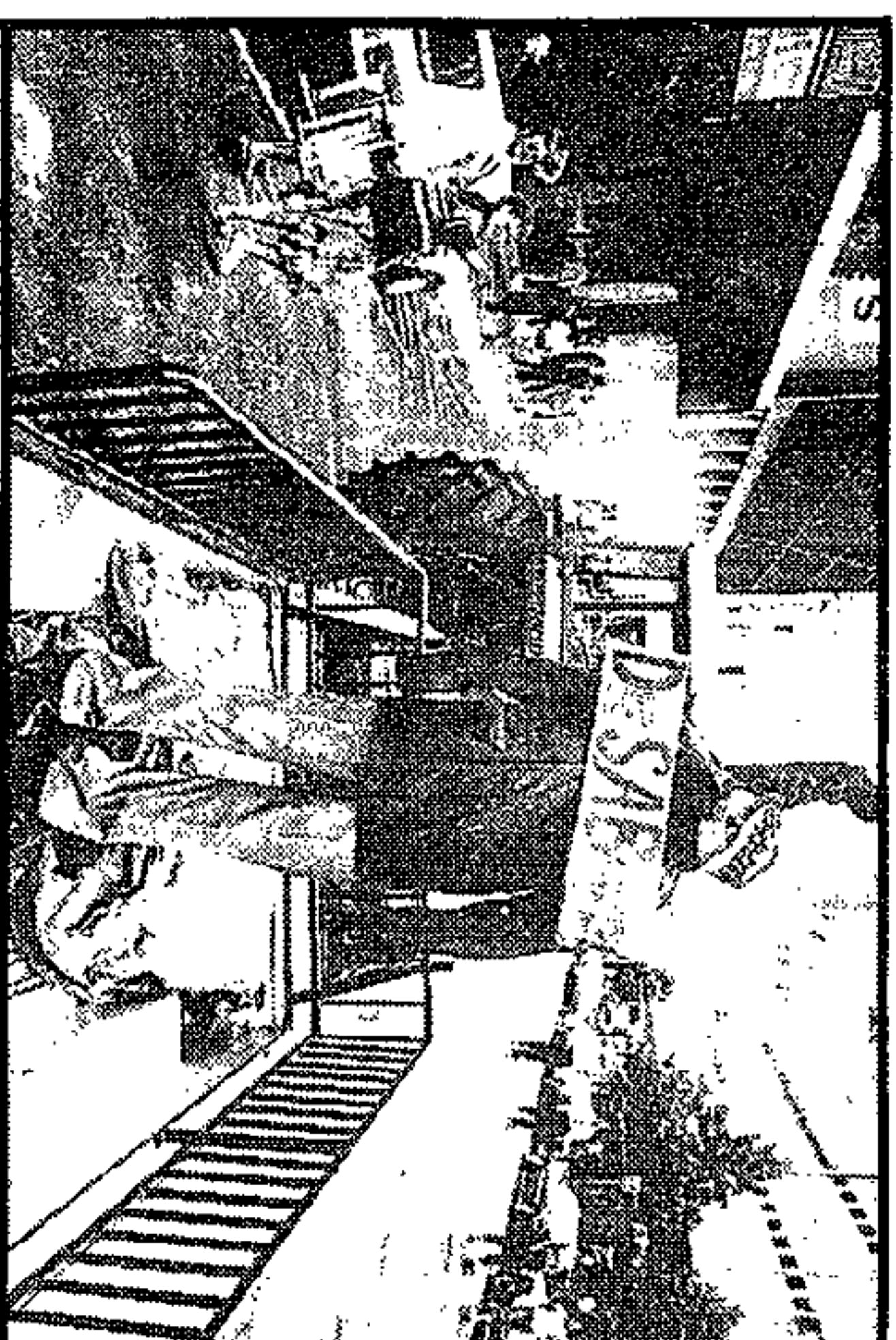
The President's son, **Willem**, set tongues wagging when the



**TOP MEDIA EVENTS:** The De Klerks and the Mandelas run neck and neck as newsmakers of the year. Mr Mandela fills fewer library files than Mr de Klerk — probably because he spends more time abroad. On the other hand Winnie far eclipses Mariké, and is described as a "cool, calculated, shameless liar" by Mr Justice M S Stegmann before he sentences her to six years in jail.



**CROSSING THE COLOUR BAR:** Willem de Klerk sets tongues wagging with his engagement to Erica Adams.



**OBSTACLE TO NEGOTIATION:** The right wing marks the year by becoming increasingly militant. First there's a farmers' outing which cripples Pretoria, then its hunger strikes, bomb blasts and finally Ventersdorp, where AWB chief Eugene Terreblanche refuses to blink an eyelash when police spray teargas into his face.



**INKATHAGATE CASUALTIES:** Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan are demoted to the posts of Correctional Services and Forestry and Water Affairs respectively. Mr Malan quips: "I have beaten the Reds, now I'm joining the Greens".



## Dutch PM to visit this year

PRETORIA — Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek will visit South Africa this year.

This has been confirmed by the Department of Foreign Affairs here and by the Dutch government.

They will be here from February 18 to February 20, for the first visit by a Dutch lead-

ers to South Africa in 30 years.

The warming of Dutch-South African relations was a Dutch initiative in response to South African President FW de Klerk's dismantling of most of his nation's apartheid system. Mr Lubbers invited Mr De Klerk to the Netherlands for a visit in October 1990, the first by a South African head of state since 1900.

(304A) A2G 4/1/92



History's 340-year thread of white rule will snap this year

# Through a glass darkly

STAR 4/1/92

3044

**I**F A WEEK, as is often said, can feel like a lifetime in politics, then in South Africa a year seems more like a millennium. In these times so much happens in 12 short months, so much that will so profoundly change our lives, that the welter of detail and drama becomes all-encompassing.

It becomes difficult to look forward or back for a context. The present is overwhelming — our faces are shoved up against it, noses squashed against the pane, visibility a matter of inches.

The brief political hiatus at the beginning of the year is thus a special — perhaps the only — opportunity to draw back from the window and look around to see where we're standing.

It is a place very different to any we have stood at before. There have been other New Years which have promised great change: change under Smuts, change under Malan, change under Verwoerd, change under Vorster, change under Botha.

But the change under De Klerk is unique, because we do not know its limitations.

A thread of history which has



**IMPOSSIBLE DREAM: Paul Kruger tried it a century ago ... and it failed to work.**

wound its way unbroken from 1652 to 1992 is soon to snap. White rule is to go. It is a concession, after centuries of experimentation, to the fact that it is an organism that cannot survive forever in Africa.

Whatever the complexities — and they are manifold — of the Government's plans for the future, there can be no doubt that the New Year marks the end of all those white experiments at making blacks disappear, politically. What is being sought is something new, something unknown.

The year also marks the end of an historical cycle, filled with pathos. A century ago, Paul Kruger

## Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



was in the Volksraad in Pretoria. He faced a problem, a version of which is only now approaching resolution. His problem was that the politically privileged group he represented was coming under pressure from disenfranchised citizens, and that pressure was growing too harsh to bear.

His solution to the "racial problem" — it was Boers versus Britons then, blacks were not even considered — was a revealing forerunner of the tricameral and other debacles to which we have been subjected.

In his memoirs, Kruger wrote of the time: "It was evident to me that some means must be found to give the Uitlanders a voice in the representation of the country."

"I believed that I had discovered this means by the institution of a Second Volksraad, and it was my own idea that to this body

might be entrusted the discussion of all questions which were mainly of interest to the new arrivals.

"In this manner I endeavoured to open the way to the new population for the legal presentation and remedy of their grievances ...

"This proposal met with lively opposition, as some members of the Volksraad were of the opinion that it gave too many rights to the foreigners ... The Uitlanders contended that the Second Volksraad was of no practical use."

Change "Uitlander" to "black", change "Second Volksraad" to "tricameral parliament", change "questions mainly of interest to the new arrivals" to "own affairs", and see how strong is the doomed thread in our history. It has been tried in every possible way, by men of intellect and determination, but it was hopeless from the time of Paul Kruger.

As we stare into the present, we should remember this, so no one is tempted to try again. Oom Paul is an auld acquaintance who should not be forgotten this New Year. We are to witness the death of his impossible dream, a hundred years of solitude later.



# SA's only hope: A

**F**ASHIONABLE as it has become all over the world to see Western democracy as the most satisfactory political system yet devised, in South Africa majority rule would offer no more guarantees of peace, stability and prosperity than dictatorship.

The constitutional negotiations which began last month might decide to hold multiracial elections in two or three years' time, where the winner

# 'compromise' government

(304ff)

REC 4/1/92



under this admittedly pessimistic analysis, such a government would prove, at best, utterly ineffectual. At worst, it would be helpless to stop the country descending into civil war.

Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress would win the election. No serious observer has any doubt of that. But it would not win power. The notion that the ANC would be in a position to fulfil its mandate — substantially to act upon the principle of reversing four decades of apartheid injustice — is sadly misplaced.

For, ranged against the ANC, the very forces are intact which propped up the apartheid *status quo* and stifled the revolutionary black struggle. The civil service, a bastion of Afrikanerdom established by the affirmative-action policies of the first apartheid governments in the 1940s and 1950s; big business, whose capitalists will not sit passively by should the ANC and its Communist Party allies get serious about redistributing the nation's wealth; and of course, the police and army.

In the absence of moral and political legitimacy, the security forces are the rock upon which white minority rule has been built. And while the ordinary uniformed policeman or soldier might conceivably be prepared to serve under an ANC government, so long as the wages were there to pay the mortgage and feed the children, those officers who have been on the cutting edge of counter-insurgency — of PW Botha's "total war" — during the past 15 years, have a sense of identity and a world view forged in battle which no man or god can change. The instruments of untold suffering both inside South Africa and in the neighbouring states, they see themselves as the last line of defence against the godless anarchy of black

Constitutional negotiations have started, with the object eventually of producing a new post-apartheid government. But it is not as simple as that, warns **JOHN CARLIN**, respected correspondent of The Independent newspaper, London. A new, democratically-elected government would not be able to govern effectively; it could not stop South Africa's slide towards civil war. What is needed is a period of transitional government as a first phase on the road to complete democracy.

Senior officials in the government and in the ANC privately acknowledge that South Africa is advancing along a twin track. The visible track passes through negotiations, constitutional plans, transitional governments and peace accords. But an invisible track heads towards anarchy. If, after the present white parliament expires in 1994, the ANC takes control of the country — or even, hypothetically, the National Party and its allies do — the strains will be too great, and the national consensus for government to function will not exist.

The danger is greatest from the right-wing, as was spelt out with much passion two years ago by Pieter de Lange, a university professor who doubles as chairman of the Broederbond — the secret society to which the entire De Klerk cabinet belongs — which has been steering the path of Afrikaner politics for half a century. Survival, he said, is and always has been the key word in the Afrikaner lexicon. "The Afrikaners, you see, visualise no future anywhere else but here. If change threatens them in their very existence, they have the technical and logistical capacity to unleash something terrible, the likes

of which Africa has not seen." Clearly he was talking about the security forces, who can contain or spur on the apocalypse.

How can the negotiations, embarked upon with so much hope, entertain the aspired outcome of peace? The answer — and it is not perfect, merely the one with the best chance of neutralising the witches' brew — lies in finding an administrative rather than a political solution. This is an answer anticipated publicly by Mr De Klerk but which the ANC publicly refuses to accept. Mr De Klerk calls it "power-sharing," a rejection of "the simplistic majority-rule, winner-takes-all" system prevailing in Western Europe and the United States. That, he argues, would simply lead to the blacks doing to the whites what the whites have done to them for three centuries.

For all the ANC's protestations of democratic guarantees, whites, haunted by the spectre of Africa, simply do not believe them. And it will take time before they do. Which is why the first post-apartheid government will have to be a government of transition — a coalition or a government of national unity — for a term of five

or 10 years, depending upon the readiness of a population still far from educated in the ways of "non-racial democracy." The ANC might argue that its own constituency is ready. The others are not and without their consent, the ANC cannot govern.

Government officials make it plain that, in the present phase, their objection to majority rule is non-negotiable. They talk of a "sustainable democracy," meaning a half-way solution they hope will be acceptable to the international community and the domestic population.

Mr De Klerk has set out his position often, most explicitly when he said last month the National Party would "not permit" an ANC takeover.

There are officials in the ANC leadership who have accepted the need for a historic compromise along these lines. Indeed, the ANC is said to be split between a "compromise" and a "revolutionary" camp. The pragmatists, it is suggested, are imposing their point of view, helped by the evidence of 5 000 township dead. Mr Mandela wrote, several months before his release, that negotiations would have to find a compromise between the demand for protection of the whites and the demand for emancipation of the blacks.

Finding the right formula for compromise, with honour satisfied all round, is the challenge of the negotiations which have just begun. A democratic constitution etched in stone will have to wait.



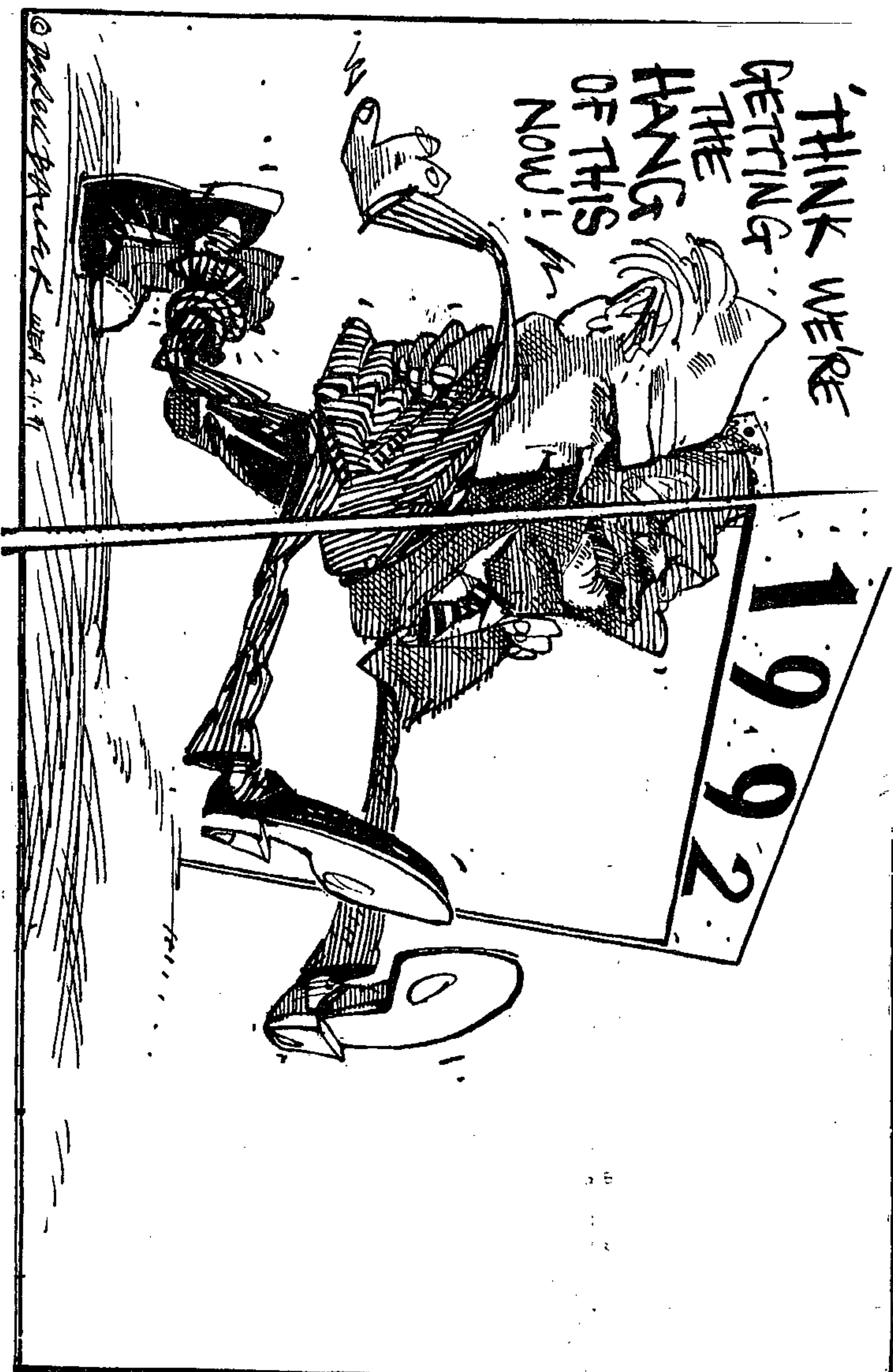
African rule.

"They" are the security police and the special forces and military intelligence fraternity who would no more brook "a Communist take-over" in South Africa than General Augusto Pinochet would in Chile. Instigating the township violence of the past 18 months, fanning it and then standing back as the Inkatha warriors and other paid black surrogates set about the worst bloodshed in the country since the Boer War, they provided a taste of what they are capable of. One senior officer, and he is certainly not alone, has already gone on the record as saying that if negotiations do not turn out "successfully," he will go to war.

One former member of military intelligence said last week that it would only take a handful of well-trained men to do what the coup plotters in Moscow should have done. Immobilise the government by deploying their information, skill and armaments to shut down the country's telecommunications and transport systems.

The stage would then be set for the right wing, with these key sectors of the security forces as their backbone, to do its worst. It would have the capacity now to deploy an army of half a million armed and trained men.

The right-wing is but one ingredient in what one government official recently described as "a veritable witches' brew." The number of armed factions is endless. The security forces' special services are themselves divided into numerous cover units. There are at least 40 far-right sects plus the defence forces of the so-called "independent homelands" — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; the notorious Kwa-Zulu police force, which does much of Inkatha's dirtier work; the ANC's own military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; the military wing of the far-left Pan-Africanist Congress. All this is set against the background of the combustible socio-economic conditions in the black townships, where half the population is unemployed and many young men are unemployable.



**Who will be the real trailblazers for peace as South Africa enters a momentous year in its history with negotiations towards a peace accord and a new constitution? The people to watch are not the political leaders and power players, but the thinkers and opinion-makers behind the scenes, suggests FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.**



# Thinkers show way to new

SA

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THOSE most likely to show the way to the new South Africa include a variety of top academics, churchmen, lawyers, political scientists and others who have studied the strategies and pitfalls behind peace processes here and abroad.

In fact, some of them have warned that democracy is not achieved as easily as some people believe, nor does it necessarily create the "promised land" that many expect it will bring.

A crucial question for South Africans in 1992 will be: are our political leaders going to heed the advice of those who know?

Advice and warnings have come from a wide spectrum of top opinion-makers and other experts close to the action in South Africa and in other parts of the world in the aftermath of last month's opening session of the Codesa talks.

Points to ponder from thoughts of some of the trailblazers and thinkers include:

**DR ALEX BORRINE**, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa): "The supreme test of leadership for both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will be holding in tension the desperate need for the healing of the land and reconciliation, and the normal practice of any political leader as he seeks to gain maximum support for his policies."

"One can only hope that in the ebb and flow of politics during 1992, these outstanding political figures will be seen as two great statesmen who are more concerned about a united, peaceful and prosperous South Africa than only success at the polls."

**DR CLAUDE AKE**, internationally renowned political scientist and head of the Nigeria-based Centre for Advanced Social Sciences in Africa:

controls, such as free public opinion; an independent judiciary and parliamentary control ... The best way to protect the existence of the individual is to guarantee his or her basic rights and freedoms."

**PROFESSOR PIERRE DU TOIT**, associate professor in the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch: "Power can be increased through the use of the right tactics. Greater mutual dependence and greater joint power can be generated by offering exactly the same tactical advice to all political adversaries in South African society: make your opponent more dependent on you. The symme-

"There is no freedom in abject poverty and no freedom in ignorance. If we talk of the future of democracy in Africa we must think of producing enough surplus (wealth) to support it."

Another word of advice: "We must take community, collective and cultural rights seriously. If we don't, we will repeat the mistakes of history. People identify with these groups because it is useful to do so. The state must not denounce ethnicity, but must displace its utility by offering alternatives for people's security."

**PROFESSOR JOHAN DEGENAAR**, a leading philosopher of the University of Stellenbosch: "The highest loyalty is not owed to the citizen but to justice ... If you believe you can use a myth to mobilise people, then continue appealing for nation-building. But if you tackle the real problems of society then you create a nation, not because you are looking to do so but because you are conjointly tackling issues such as unemployment and job creation that affect that society."

Professor Degenaar's argument at a recent conference on democracy was that the idea of nation-building was mythical and romantic, and that energy could be better spent in addressing society's needs.

He suggested the best hope for a just society lay in the fostering of a culture of democracy and not in the quest for loyal citizens to offer allegiance to the nation.

**DR PALLO JORDAN**, black opinion-maker and ANC executive member: "Our political culture has emphasised what divides people — be it ethnic origins, antecedents, skin colour and so on. This has been the bane of South African politics, the source of the problems of South Africa."

His call is for a concept of nation that de-em-

phasises ethnicity, but emphasises people's potential ... "We can take the past with us, but it should not be a burden."

In his scheme of things, an Indian may belong to the same union as a Zulu or a Xhosa. Someone may be an Afrikaner but have the same political values as a Jewish or English South African. And there is no reason why a South African of Scots origin "who plays bagpipes or speaks Gaelic should not feel a part of a nation whose forefathers knew nothing of kilts and bagpipes."

**DR FREDERICK VAN ZYL SLABBERT**, veteran South African authority on democracy, academic and former politician: "If I have to formulate a vision for South Africa on democracy it has two components. Firstly, those who bargain for a democratic constitution do so with a view that not they, but their fiercest opponents will be the first political beneficiaries. This will induce caution and moderation and deepen reflection on how to constrain the abuse of power. Secondly, that we in South Africa pursue democracy not as an end in itself, hoping that it will deliver the impossible, but as a means towards unlocking incredible potential."

**PROFESSOR MARINUS WIECHERS**, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa: "Democracy, in the simplest terms, means government by the people."

"To bring about such a people's government, representatives must be chosen by the people to govern on their behalf. Free elections and the possibility of free groups to act in such elections is therefore the cornerstone of democracy."

"The people must also be able to influence its representatives, to criticise and even to dismiss them if they do not govern well. Consequently, a democracy must make provision for various

trust the party-political milieu ... it is the ultimate of manipulation."

**PROFESSOR APPOLON DAVIDSON**, a Soviet historian, has given a warning that could be quite alarming to South Africans. He says the level of intolerance in South African society lays a better foundation for Stalinism than democracy. Similarly, the multi-ethnic nature of the society and its isolation from the rest of the world are factors mitigating against the development of a strong, democratic civil society.



# De Klerk, Mandela will share Unesco prize

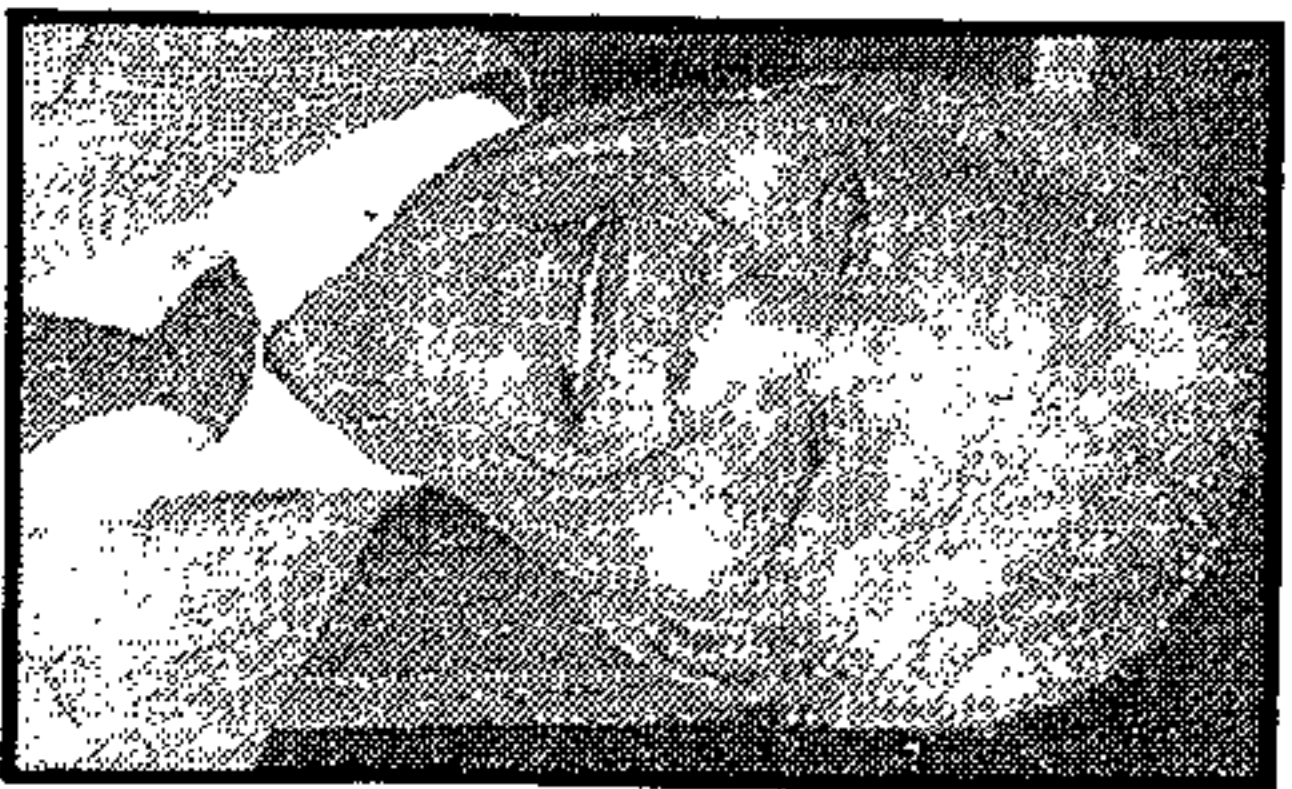
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KAIZER NYATSUMBA

ANC leader travelling first to France to receive the prize and then proceeding to Denmark, a country he has not yet visited.

Former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger headed the jury which decided on the winners.

The deterioration of the special relationship which once existed between the two was again evident on the first day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre last month, when the ANC leader launched a scathing personal attack on the State President.



R340 000 AWARD: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela will fly separately to Paris.

THE special chemistry which existed between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela shortly after the latter's release in 1990 may no longer be as strong, but the a United Nations body will bring the two men together again next month.

President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, whose special relationship had deteriorated to such a level that they were publicly attacking each other towards the end of last year, will jointly receive a UN-sponsored peace prize at a ceremony in Paris.

The Felix Houphouet-Boigny

Peace Prize, which has been sponsored by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), is worth R340 000, which South Africa's two most influential politicians will share.

According to the organisers, the award was being made to the South Africans "to encourage them to persevere in their efforts to establish a new South Africa".

Mr Mandela and President de Klerk have made separate travel arrangements to Paris, with the



urday, January 4 1992

# New funds reveal 'govt lies'

CT 4/1/92  
3047

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's secret funds scandal which rocked the country last July threatened to breathe new life yesterday as the Weekly Mail disclosed details of another secret government funding, which appear to show the government lied last year.

President F W de Klerk, admitting in July 1990 that state money had gone in the past to the Inkatha Freedom Party, listed a number of other secretly funded groups but said there were no others and that no funding had occurred since March 1990.

But yesterday's report in the Weekly Mail detailed operations by the South African military to set up secret front companies whose task was to fund black groups perceived as "moderate" to counter the influence of the ANC.

These companies were not listed by Mr De Klerk when he spoke last July.

Quoting Dr Ben Conradie, a fired former SADF intelligence official, the Mail listed 12 South African companies it said had been set up with military intelligence money specifically to train anti-ANC forces and spread government propaganda.

The companies, set up in the mid-'80s, posed as Christian organisations or educational consultancies and were spawned from a ringleader company called Adult Education Consultants, set up by military intelligence official Mr Louis Pasques, the Weekly Mail said.

It said the companies had actively funded groups such as the Ama-Afrika National Front, a black activist political group, which fought bloody skirmishes with the ANC in 1986-7.

The companies were still operating, it said.

Some of the companies had run se-

cret military training camps in South African game parks, it said.

Last July's Inkathagate scandal plunged the De Klerk government into the worst crisis in its two-year history.

Mr De Klerk circulated a government report on secret funding at the time, which he said gave full details of secret monies paid to political groups.

"I wish to repeat that neither the police nor the defence force are involved in the instigation of violence," he said at the time.

The SADF was not prepared to comment yesterday on the allegations.

The SADF referred to a statement from the Ministry of Finance in July last year, which said it had never been the intention of the government to divulge the full details of special secret projects.

Yesterday controversial former Ibhayi mayor and ardent anti-ANC campaigner Mr Thamsanqa Linda denied he had been supported by Military Intelligence in his anti-ANC campaigns.

Mr Linda and former founder leader of Ama-Afrika the Rev Ebenezer Maqina were reported to have been implicated in an alleged extensive Minetwork to create black-on-black conflict in the Eastern Cape.

There were bloody conflicts against ANC-aligned organisations in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth soon after the Ama-Afrika organisation was formed in 1986.

The Mail claimed in the report that Mr Maqina had been given a large amount of money in cash, transport, office equipment and training by Dr Conradie and others operating on behalf of the SADF.

A visibly shocked Mr Maqina admitted yesterday when interviewed at his New Brighton home that he had met Dr Conradie. "At no stage did he inform us of his links with the SADF," he said. — UPI, Own Correspondent and Sapa



Already several education groups around the world are using his teaching programmes — including one at the University of Zululand. In Venezuela, it is compulsory for every pupil to do two hours of constructive thinking a week.

He explains that poverty is often not just economic, it's psychological: "If people don't have expectations, they feel they can't take decisions, they feel they can't do things, they just have to drift along."

"In Venezuela, when we taught the youngsters thinking, they developed greater self-esteem, they believed they could think about things, make decisions, find alternatives."

"That's very powerful. That is the basis of economic development — giving people a sense that they can take charge."



IN an old-fashioned, central London apartment, the solemn-faced, impeccably neat Dr Edward de Bono sits in an armchair surrounded by piles of books. He looks every inch a philosopher — which he insists he is not.

"I am what philosophy should be and stopped being 400 years ago. I'm interested in thinking and how thinking can be used to make a better world," he states, eloquently and convincingly.

Bold words from the 58-year-old who is known best for his oft-quoted and oft-misquoted term "lateral thinking" but whose preference for alternative thinking methods has had an enormous impact on modern education, conflict management and business strategy across the world.

Later this month, he will be in South Africa to address a two-day management seminar in Pretoria. It is eight years since his last visit, but he is confident he can offer SA business leaders novel means of dealing with the changes that lie ahead.

Change is one of his specialties. And South Africa's brutal testing ground does not daunt him.

## Creative

"I talk about changing concepts, changing perceptions, the development of new ideas, the escape from old ideas and the opportunities created by change.

South Africa has a wonderful opportunity to be creative, to develop some fresh approaches which can actually do better than elsewhere," he says.

His authoritative, academic manner belies the hands-on approach to problem-solving that has made him a best-selling author of 33 books and in demand as a consultant to educators, government heads and leaders in industry.

Born in Malta, he trained as a medical doctor and studied psychology — later working with computers — which he says all contributed to developing his approach and career as "a thinker".

"I'm challenging the whole basis of Western thinking —



# A thinking man's guide to a new SA

S/Ilwies 5/11/92

(3044)

One of the most radical thinkers of our time will apply his ideas to the new South Africa this month. Dr Edward de Bono, left, sees opportunity in the drama of reform. He will offer challenging avenues for business and political leaders to confront. VICTORIA HOLDSWORTH spoke to him in London

one." He is serious about communicating his ideas in a language people like to listen to.

Dr De Bono denies he is knocking on any doors, targeting any specific group. But, he says: "Management groups have always shown the most interest because if you're in business, you need to think. Just proving that you are right has no value."

No stranger to controversy, he is willing to speak out on South Africa. Like his philosophy, his "solution" is neatly packaged: "What I would see would be useful is that when things got to the stage of saying 'OK, let's set out to have a constitutional commission,' then at that point, there should be some help."

"It really says let's get some training in creative

thinking, some lateral thinking. Let's pinpoint the areas which need some new concepts. Let's make an effort to develop them.

"In South Africa, there is tremendous opportunity, not just to catch up with what are democracies in other places, but to do much better. To really see the places where democracy has not been so wonderful and to move ahead."

But he cautioned against designing a new constitution simply by replacing the old ideas with the new: "It has to be done very carefully, because otherwise the blacks are going to say: 'Oh well, you're just doing that to keep us out of power.' Clearly, it's got to be done on a joint basis."

Even democracy, he says,

group is always going to be in the majority.

His political expertise is in demand and he says he is willing to share it with South African leaders. At the United Nations, he is involved in setting up an international creativity office which he hopes will provide some "fresh thinking on conflicts and concepts."

He is also interested in teaching children. Constructive thinking skills — how to make decisions, how to make plans, how to listen to other points of view, how to set values — he believes are as fundamental as reading, writing and arithmetic. "There is no mystery about it. It just needs the political will."

## Decisions

the Western habit of argument and trying to get things by having a conflict. This is inadequate. We need to move to a more constructive position.

"I'm talking about the whole culture of thinking. Is it enough just to be against something? It's limited because there is the belief that if you get rid of something which you think is bad — then everything is going to be wonderful. You are actu-

ally worse off until you start building.

"People have to set out their values, their needs and then to try to be constructive — to design a system which allows their values and needs to be satisfied.

"You can't just tell people 'don't argue'. So what you say instead of arguing is: 'Let's use this other system of parallel thinking' which means we have different types of thinking and we explore each



# Bring the diehards in from the cold

THERE is no doubt about it — the promising first steps taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on December 20 and 21 are to be celebrated. They mark a milestone advance in the process of change that South Africa entered in February 1990.

Particularly welcome is the commitment to the declaration of intent that was signed by a majority of the 19 groups represented at Codesa's first meeting, committing Codesa to work for the production of a constitution that will create an undivided, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. The fact that the signatories included the South African government and the National Party is especially significant.

The first sessions of the Codesa working groups on February 6 will, in effect, begin to "put flesh on the bones" of Codesa, marking the formal introduction of the period of transition from the era of racialistic monopoly of political power by white South Africans.

We have made an important beginning, but the process is still plagued by frailties, and there is much more to be done before justice and democracy are realised in South Africa.

## Concern

I would like to highlight four of the most urgent priorities I see this country facing in the coming days.

- There is a critical need to work for the fullest possible participation in the negotiations process.

I regret that two of the 19 parties at Codesa did not sign the declaration of intent. The non-participation of and self-exclusion from Codesa of some political groups from both the black community and the white community is a further source of grave concern.

This has the potential of stealing from the legitimacy of Codesa's claim of beginning a widely representative national forum. In addition, this imperils the chances of an era of socio-political stability for South Africa actually issuing from Codesa's decisions.

In this situation the SACC

On the first Sunday of 1992, the Rev FRANK CHIKANE, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, expresses his hopes and fears for the peace negotiations



and its member churches take seriously the urgent task of carrying out their proclamation of reconciliation and their expression of the quest of the oppressed for peace with justice in their lifetime.

To this end, the SACC has sought and shall continue to seek means of engaging in a ministry of listening to the entire spectrum of views which are maintained by the various formations in this country to intervene intelligently to ensure that there is maximum participation in the process of negotiating a new and just order.

For example, the SACC on December 19 convened church leaders for a meeting with representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress to listen to the PAC's reasons for declining to participate in the first meeting of Codesa.

We had a friendly, in-depth discussion, and as church leaders we were all the more convinced of the need for people of different political persuasions to come together to listen to one another in patience and with tolerance. We stand ready to make further contributions as listeners and reconcilers as called upon and as the need arises.

- Speed is of the essence in the process of negotiation and transition to a new, undivided, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

The experience of the devastation of the long grinding years of apartheid oppression and economic waste behoves all South Africans to see to it that the process started at Codesa on December 20-21 is moved forward as expeditiously as possible.

This necessitates that interim transitional government arrangements to oversee the negotiation process should be put in place as soon as possible. Further, such transitional arrangements should have their mandate and period of duration defined in line with the sentiment of an urgency to get rid of all the structures of apartheid as soon as possible.

I welcome the National Party government's acceptance of the desirability of a neutral governmental mechanism to oversee the negotiation process. However, I believe that no long-term interim or transitional government should be put in place on the basis of a constitution that is not a product of an elected constitution-making body. I pray and hope that an acceptable model will be found in the process of negotiation.

## Lasting

- The constitution-making body must be an elected body.

At this juncture, we remember the various calls made by successive SACC national conferences as to the most just and practical means of bringing about a lasting solution to the violent crises that apartheid has visited on this land and its people.

For example, as early as 1978, the National Conference called on the National Party government to convene a national convention to deliberate on the legal fundamentals of a free South Africa.

In the light of the Codesa debate on the constitution-making body, it is my cate-

gorical belief that the only credible means of charting the future of this country will be through a body which is democratically elected by all South Africans on a common voters roll.

The criticism of the shortcomings in the representativeness of Codesa convince me that only an elected constitution-making body can satisfy the demand for participation of all the people of South Africa. The exclusion of homeland opposition parties and other formations of the liberation movement from Codesa, and the demand for representation can be resolved only by a popular election.

A new South Africa must be the product of the maximum participation of all people of this country especially the poor and women, who, as we have seen, have been particularly marginalised. Towards this goal, I am committed to working for the convening of a constitution-making body constituted on the basis of a non-racial, universal franchise.

## Marginalised

- In all this there is an urgent need to gird all South Africans for effective political participation.

The church has a particular leadership role in working for the empowerment of the marginalised of our society to enable them to participate effectively in the processes which govern their daily lives.

In line with this the SACC will encourage all appropriate projects to enhance the capacity of hitherto disenfranchised people, especially the black majority, to participate meaningfully in the unfolding political process. The SACC and its member churches have never shirked their difficult and often painful task of speaking out and acting against the evil of apartheid.

Our mission remains that of ensuring that the current process, whose declared goal is to negotiate apartheid away, produces justice, peace and conditions for the kind of prosperity that shall be enjoyed by all the people of South Africa.



1 Treurnicht furious over leaked secret document

# BROEDER PLOT TO SPLIT RIGHT



ANDRIES TREURNICHT

S1 Times 5/1/92

(304A)

(28/11)

(28/11)

## Simon tour is on, and that's final

By STEPHANIE HULL

**SUPERSTAR** Paul Simon's tour of South Africa will go ahead as planned despite growing political opposition, his management announced last night.

Yesterday, after a flurry of meetings with the South African promoters and Simon's management, statements supporting the tour were issued by the ANC, Inkatha, and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Despite last-minute demands by the PAC and Azapo — that it be called off, Simon's management said yesterday the singer would definitely be on stage at Johannesburg's Ellis Park on Saturday night.

### Majority

The *Born At The Right Time* tour was in the balance after threats to disrupt it and claims by musicians affiliated to the SA Musicians' Alliance that they had not been asked in advance if they supported Sama's invitation to the singer. Representatives of Simon's management, who arrived in the country yesterday, will meet with Azapo tomorrow to discuss areas of common interest.

But they have made it clear that while the singer is "prepared to listen to the viewpoints of those who oppose his tour, he feels he has the support of the majority of South Africans and the major political groups".

Simon arrives this week accompanied by his pop-singer girlfriend, Edie Brickell, and his 18-year-old son, Harper.

By DE WET POTGIETER

A COVERT group within the Afrikaner Broederbond has a secret plan to divide and discredit right-wing political groups if they cannot be forced to the negotiating table, according to a confidential document leaked to the Sunday Times.

The government's intelligence service could be used against right-wing politicians, says the document, which purports to be a Broederbond strategy drawn up in September.

It has also been leaked to right-wing leaders who are furious over its contents.

### Split

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says the plan, which will now become known to sympathetic elements in the Broederbond, could split the organisation.

The document says that if right-wing groups cannot be persuaded to sit at the negotiating table, they should be discredited and their leaders embarrassed — with the aid of the National Intelligence Service if necessary.

It also says certain members of the brotherhood, presumably those suspected of right-wing leanings, should not be informed of strategic decisions on the constitutional talks.

The document is headed "Executive Council decisions emanating from mini-bond meetings held during the year 1991".

The leak of the plan precipitated a hasty meeting of senior members of the Broederbond who had not previously had access to the document, a source in the organisation said yesterday.

The members called an emergency meeting of a Pretoria cell this weekend. They met until 9pm on Friday, and late yesterday afternoon were still locked in discussion.

The source said there was little doubt the document was authentic, and warned that it could give final impetus to a split in Broederbond ranks.

Dr Treurnicht, a former Broederbond member, said yesterday he believed the document was genuine and that it "represents a fatal blow to the Broederbond".

### Trouble

He said: "Links between the brothers in responsible circles (Broederbonders serving in the cabinet) and certain members of the executive have caused concern for some time past."

"But if the contents of this document are true, it proves that these people are getting shadier by the day. These methods are

Why Diana says:

## GET OUT OF MISS WORLD



FULL STORY ON PAGE 3

Now for the best  
news of '92

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## R320 000

## can be won

See Page 7 of Business Times

## SA soccer team named

NATIONAL soccer coach Jeff Butler made history yesterday when he announced South Africa's first official team and the appointment of Stanley "Screamer" Tshabalala as his assistant.

The squad of 25 will start training on January 21. An SA Football Association delegation left last night for Senegal to apply for membership to the Confederation of African Football on Friday.

● Full report Page 20

## Trainer scoops R1,2m Pick Six

Sunday Times Reporter

ROOKIE Transvaal horse trainer and owner Dean Maroun won R1,2-million after tax in the Pick Six payout at Germiston's Gosforth Park racecourse yesterday.

And it was his second victory of the day.

His horse Golden Man pipped Northern Force — owned by Mr Maroun's cousin, Anthony — to the post in the second race on the card.

Last night, the winner's wife declined to comment on her husband's good fortune.

"That's confidential and we're not prepared to talk about it," she said.

Mr Anthony Maroun said he was delighted at his cousin's windfall and didn't mind losing to him.

"He hasn't been training

NOW

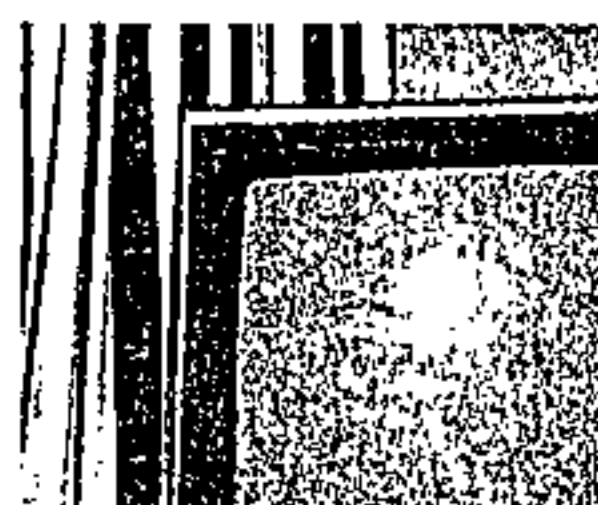
## Absolutely THE LIGHTEST Courtleigh



Absolute Lights

FILTER TIPPED CIGARETTES

## down





PIK BOINA.

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The leak of the plan precipitated a hasty meeting of senior members of the Broederbond who had not previously had access to the document, a source in the organisation said yesterday.

The members called an emergency meeting of a Pretoria cell this weekend. They met until 9pm on Friday, and late yesterday afternoon were still locked in discussion.

The source said there was little doubt the document was authentic, and warned that it could give final impetus to a split in Broederbond ranks.

Dr Treurnicht, a former Broederbond member, said yesterday he believed the document was genuine and that it "represents a fatal blow to the Broederbond".

## Trouble

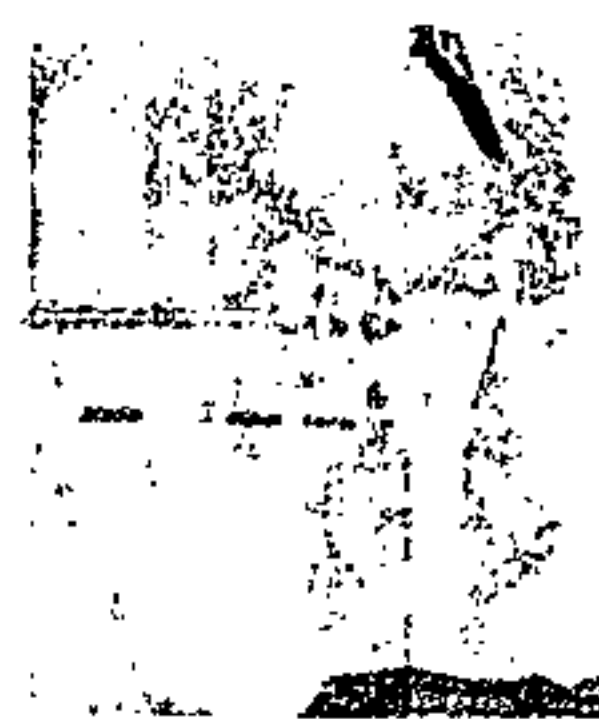
He said: "Links between the brothers in responsible circles (Broederbonders serving in the cabinet) and certain members of the executive have caused concern for some time past."

"But if the contents of this document are true, it proves that these people are getting shadier by the day. These methods are resorted to only by a government in serious trouble."

CP MP Koos van der Merwe, who has also seen a copy of the document, said it disclosed "the most unbelievable corruption of the Broederbond to encourage members to lie, as well as the blatant abuse of state machinery like the NIS, the SABC and the Human Sciences Research Council".

He urged rank-and-file members of the organisation "who have not been trusted with this plan" to resign.

"I do not have a problem with anyone in the government, or even in the Broederbond, trying to persuade right-wing groups to come to the negotiating table, but the methods out-



FULL STORY

## Trainer scoops R1,2m Pick Six

Sunday Times Reporter

ROOKIE Transvaal horse trainer and owner Dean Maroun won R1,2-million after tax in the Pick Six payout at Germiston's Gosforth Park racecourse yesterday.

And it was his second victory of the day.

His horse Golden Man pipped Northern Force — owned by Mr Maroun's cousin, Anthony — to the post in the second race on the card.

Last night, the winner's wife declined to comment on her husband's good fortune.

## Broeder plot to split right

□ From Page 1

lined here are totally unacceptable."

The head of the Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, could not be contacted this weekend for comment.

Evidently drawn up to map out strategy prior to the first round of multi-party talks, the document says: (SABC) (SABC) (SABC)

● The Executive Council will inform only certain "previously designated brothers" about matters of critical importance to ensure the orderly application of government policy and to help give momentum to it; SUNDAY TIMES

● Because of the delicacy of certain aspects, the Executive Committee undertakes to inform only key people about the proposed negotiations with other groups about a constitutional dispensation for

the new South Africa.

● For the sake of unity "in our own circles" some information would not be given to all brothers, and should members of the EC be confronted about this, "by anyone at all, they should necessarily deny it".

● All members of the Broederbond are to be urged to apply pressure on individual members of the AWB to join the negotiating process, thereby possibly creating division in the ranks "in the same way as has been done with the PAC". SUNDAY TIMES

According to the document, "everything possible must be done to persuade or force right-wingers to the talks".

Suggested methods to achieve this range from "discussions with leaders and individuals at local level", to disclosure of "details which will place the

leaders in a difficult position, thereby also creating a measure of division among party supporters".

To this end, "it would be justified to apply any efforts to bring the majority of right-wing organisations to the table", says the plan.

"If this holds the implication that the National Intelligence Service's influence must be brought to bear, this should be regarded as a means to an end."

On the subject of the National Party, the document states:

"Since the government, or the NP, wishes to place its stamp unobtrusively on the final decisions that are formulated, proper cognisance must be taken of the contents of its planning by party supporters. To exploit this to the full extent, the media must start making strong positive noises, and the SABC's leaders will have to be consulted."

# down



Picture: TERPY SHEAN

□ To Page 2

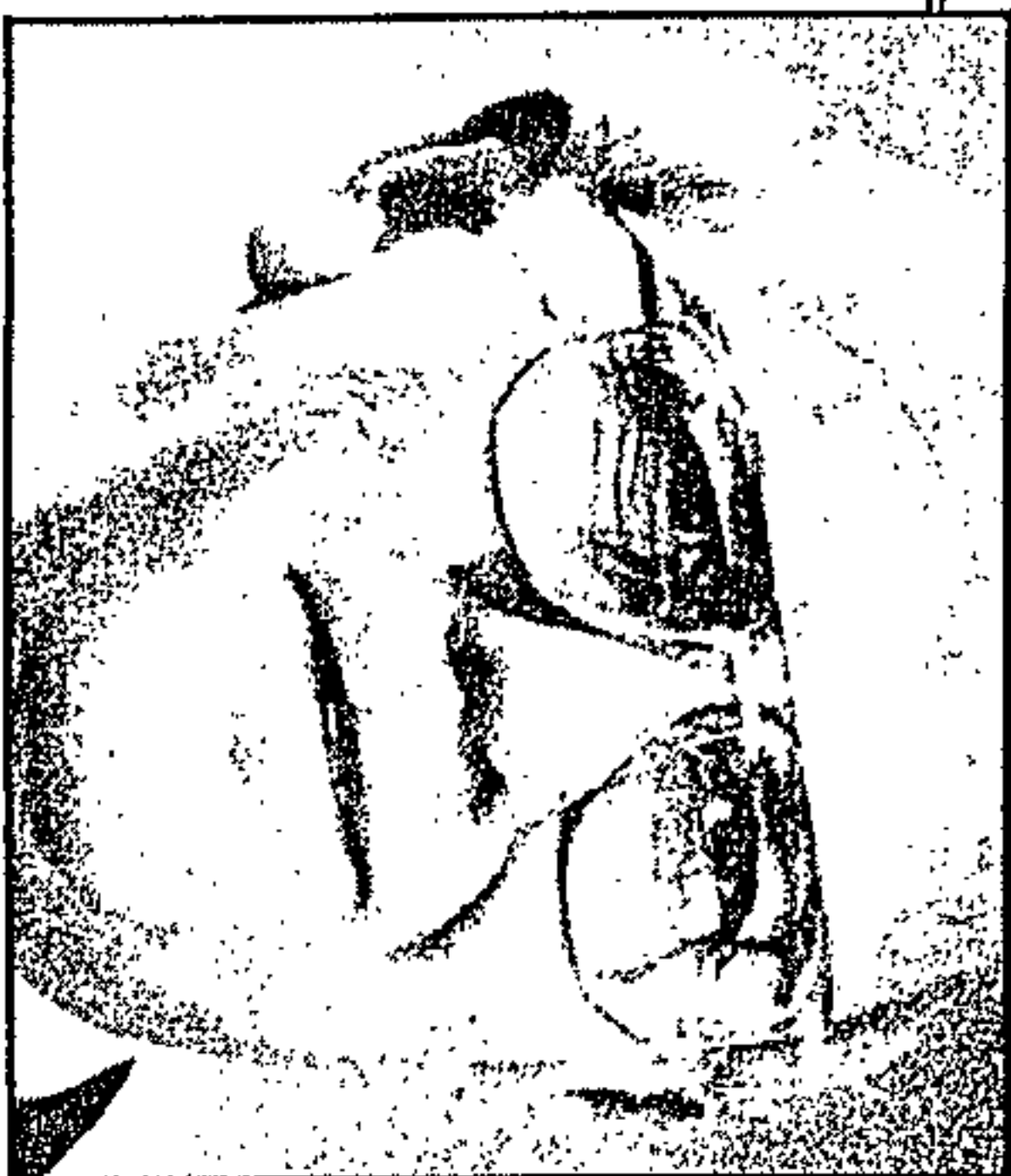


By CHARLENE SMITH

HOPE is the only thing left us in bad times, said author Vladimir Nabokov. And hope was the central theme in New Year messages from President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

1992, both their messages stressed, was the year of hope. The bomb blasts that immediately followed at post offices and a Lowveld school, and further police assassinations, suggested 1992 may also be the year of living dangerously.

But then again, as Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza wrote in the 17th century, "fear cannot be without hope, nor hope without fear".



And both leaders — in remarkably similar statements — addressed fear. Mr De Klerk said that "regrettably" future prospects were "clouded — mainly by two things."

● The unacceptable violence among some communities and

● Fear. Fear of change, fear that things may go wrong, fear that standards will decline, fear that the promise of the advances that reform will bring will not be fulfilled.

Mr Mandela believed these concerns centred primarily on the economy. He said the establishment of a "democratic constitution would allow for all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, to be lifted". While both expressed satis-

faction with many developments in the past year — both

singling out the National Peace Accord and the Conference for a Democratic SA — the State President said "unfortunately, there were also

disappointments". Mr Mandela, similarly, suggested that "we should not mark this New Year in a spirit of self-congratulation, but rather as an occasion for calm and sober reflection".

The mediocrity and predictability of the messages of each — seemingly almost from the pen of the same speech writer — is a reflection of the caution both leaders are adopting in the wake of last month's Codesa meeting. Few political initiatives will take place outside the Codesa

conference hall this year.

Similarly, the ANC's January 8 policy statement, the movement's key guiding document each year, is unlikely to contain much new, other than restated positions and, possibly, a broader acceptance of measures to reassure whites. Mr Mandela has already mooted guaranteed seats in a future parliament for whites, a marked shift from previous ANC policy.

Addressing white fears, Mr De Klerk gave "the assurance that the government will not allow standards to be overthrown. It is possible to prevent domination and abuse of power and to effectively protect all minority groups and minorities against this".

He said many black people feared reform would fall short of "fulfilling their desire for full political rights and equal opportunities ... all South Africans must be and will be first-class citizens in the new South Africa. Let us replace doubt and suspicion with mutual trust and co-operation. We all need each other. We share a common destiny."

While Mr Mandela expressed concern about continuing poverty and the incarceration of political prisoners, both were preoccupied with violence. "There is little merit today in attempting to determine who fired the first shot," Mr Mandela said in a reference to township violence, but "the killing must stop now". He appealed to all

South Africans to ensure the peace accord worked.

Mr De Klerk said confrontation was "the destruction of hope" and that the single greatest threat to peace, prosperity and progress was "radicalism".

"War, violence, lawlessness, disruptive mass action and power struggles will bring to ruin everything which has been built and which we hope to achieve".

Neither, however, touched on the issue of right-wing extremism and the proliferation of private armies.

And crime — probably the greatest common fear confronting all South Africans — was ignored by Mr Mandela and only lightly touched on by Mr De Klerk.



The State President said that if crime and violence did not cease "further steps would be taken". Small consolation to South Africans living behind barbed wire and Rottweilers.

Mr De Klerk said the political stage had been set for 1992 to become the year of a real breakthrough to significant constitutional development.

Mr Mandela took this a step further, saying "In our view, the foundations laid at Codesa make it possible for an interim government of national unity to be established to oversee the transition process and supervise free and fair elections for a constituent assembly, on the basis of one-person, one-vote."

Unlike the government, which sees constitutional change taking place over 10 years, Mr Mandela said a democratic constitution was a priority for the coming year.

Mr De Klerk's more interesting New Year speech, however, was the one he addressed to African — the first time a South African head of state has done this — on Radio RSA.

Working on the established government theme of South Africa as part of a four-point African economic axis including Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya which would work as regional economic growth points and aid conduits, Mr De Klerk said: "Close co-operation between South Africa, her neighbouring states and countries further afield in

Africa would be in the best interests of everybody.

"With her substantial resources and well-established industrial and commercial economic base, South Africa has much to offer the continent. Her well-developed infrastructure in terms of electricity supply, roads, railways, harbours and telecommunications is used extensively already by several African countries. Other African countries also have commodities, resources and services, particularly in the water and energy fields, which would be of use to South Africa.

"If the countries of southern Africa were to co-operate closely and pool their resources, the region would have every potential of becoming a significant world economic bloc."

He said previous barriers to trade with Africa including South Africa's "racially based constitution" and civil strife, and a lack of democracy in many countries was in the process of being removed.

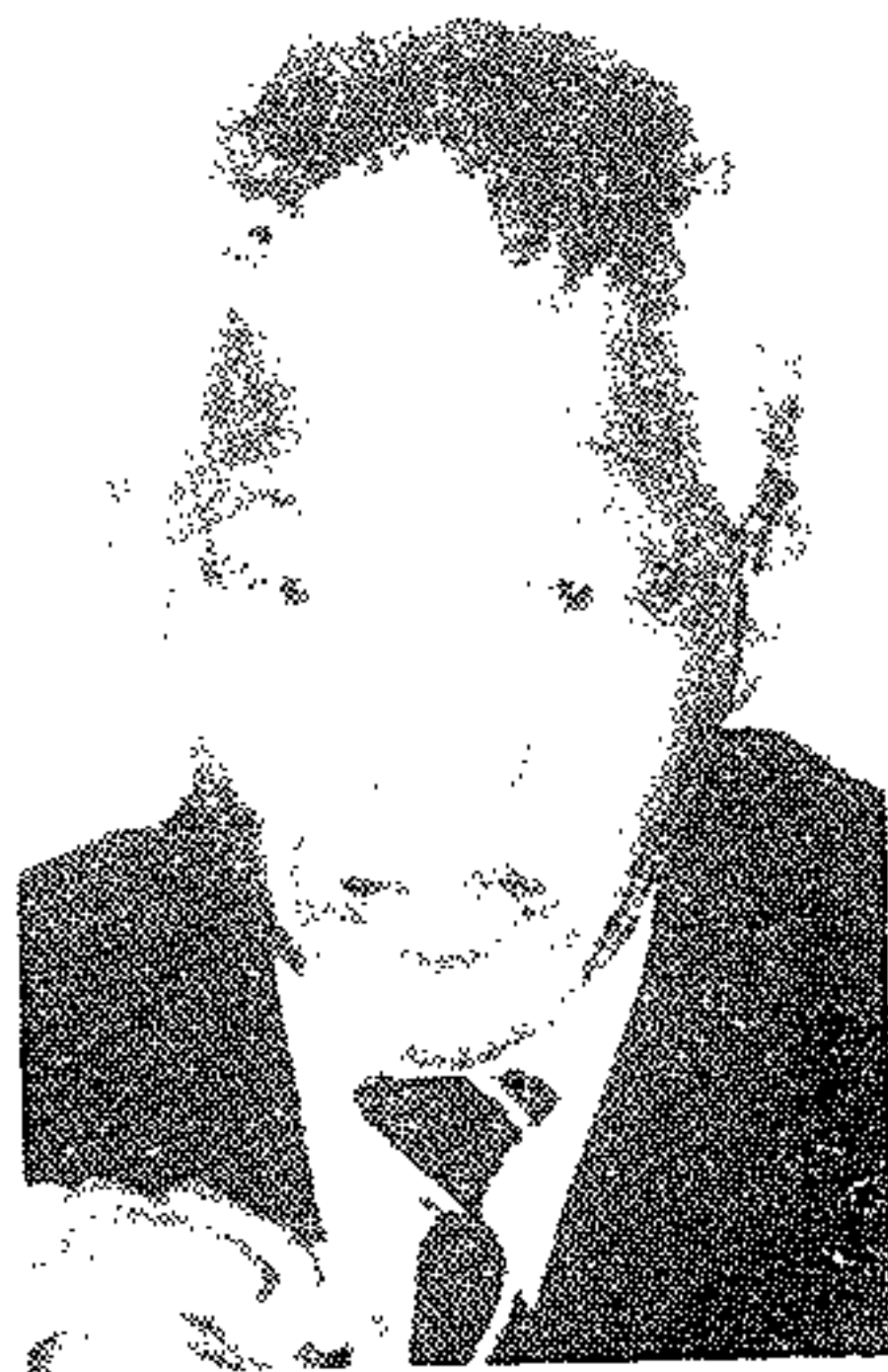
South Africa already had resident representation in 18 African countries and non-resident representation in three others, and was about to open offices in Luanda, Lusaka and Nairobi, he said.

"We eagerly look forward to the day when people and goods can again move freely and unrestricted to and from South Africa, across all the borders of all African countries."





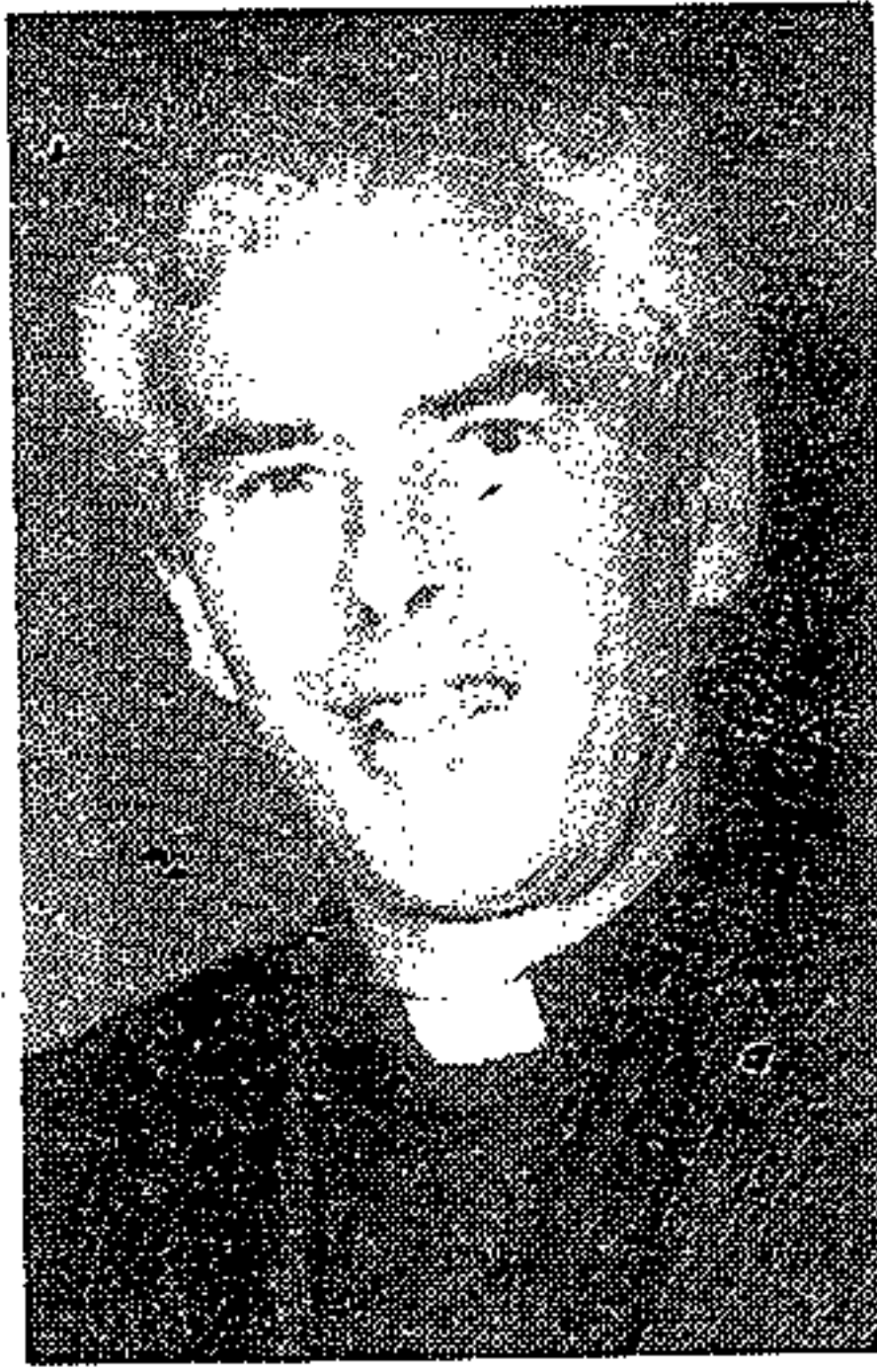
PALLO JORDAN



NELSON MANDELA



VAN ZYL SLABBERT



PETER STOREY



FW DE KLERK



ALEX BORAINÉ

# Real trailblazers for peace

## Political Staff

WHO will be the real trailblazers for peace as South Africa enters a momentous year in its history with negotiations towards a peace accord and a new constitution?

The people to watch are not the political leaders and power players, but the thinkers and opinion-makers behind the scenes.

Those most likely to show the way include a variety of top academics, churchmen, lawyers, political scientists and others who have studied the strategies and pitfalls behind peace processes here and abroad.

## Promised

In fact, some of them have warned that democracy is not achieved as easily as some people believe, nor does it necessarily create the "promised land" that many expect it will bring.

A crucial question for South Africans in 1992 will be: are our political leaders going to heed the advice of those who know?

Advice and warnings have come from a broad spectrum of top opinion-makers and other experts close to the action in SA and in other parts of the world in the aftermath of last month's opening session of the Codesa talks.

## Thinkers

Points to ponder made by some of the trailblazers and thinkers include:

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa: "The supreme test of leadership for both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will be holding in tension the desperate need for the healing of the land and reconciliation, and the normal practice of any political leader as he seeks to gain maximum support for his policies.

## Flow

"One can only hope that in the ebb and flow of politics during 1992, these outstanding political figures will be seen as two great statesmen who are more concerned about a united, peaceful and prosperous South Africa than only success at the polls."

## Players to watch behind the scenes

Sowetan 6/1/92

Dr Claude Ake, internationally renowned political scientist and head of the Nigeria-based Centre for Advanced Social Sciences in Africa: "There is no freedom in abject poverty and no freedom in ignorance. If we talk of the future of democracy in Africa we must think of producing enough surplus (wealth) to support it."

Another word of advice: "We must take community, collective and cultural rights seriously. If we don't, we will repeat the mistakes of history."

## Denounce

"People identify with these groups because it is useful to do so. The State must not denounce ethnicity, but must displace its utility by offering alternatives for people's security."

Dr Pallo Jordan, black opinion-maker and ANC

executive member:

"Our political culture has emphasised what divides people - be it ethnic origins, antecedents, skin colour and so on. This has been the bane of South African politics, the source of the problems of South Africa."

## Potential

His call is for a concept of nation that de-emphasises ethnicity, but emphasises people's potential... "We can take the past with us, but it should not be a burden."

In his scheme of things, an Indian may belong to the same union as a Zulu or a Xhosa. Someone may be an Afrikaner, but have the same political values as a Jewish or English South African."

## Veteran

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, veteran South African au-

thority on democracy, academic and former politician: "If I have to formulate a vision for South Africa on democracy it has two components.

## Caution

"Firstly, those who bargain for a democratic constitution do so with a view that not they, but their fiercest opponents will be the first political beneficiaries. This will induce caution and moderation and deepen reflection on how to constrain the abuse of power."

## Unlocking

"Secondly, that we in South Africa pursue democracy not as an end in itself, hoping that it will deliver the impossible, but as a means towards unlocking incredible potential."

Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa:

**'The people would prefer an emperor without clothes so they can see what he is doing with his hands'**

Stellenbosch:

"Power can be increased through the use of the right tactics.

"Greater mutual dependence and greater joint power can be generated by offering exactly the same tactical advice to all political adversaries in South African society - make your opponent more dependent on yourself."

## Advice

"The symmetry in this tactical advice measures up to the best liberal forms of fairness, even-handedness and equity."

Bishop Peter Storey, of the Methodist Church of South Africa:

"Democracy is a state of mind, the internalisation of

a set of values ... It is not dressed-up, it isn't romantic, it is realistic.

"The people would prefer an emperor without clothes so they can see what he is doing with his hands."

"Democracy will not be sustained in the corridors of power; that is most likely where it will be suffocated. Nor should one trust the party-political milieu ... it is the ultimate of manipulation."

Professor Appollon Davidson, a Soviet historian, has given a warning that could be quite alarming to South Africans: the levels of intolerance in South African society, he says, lays a better foundation for Stalinism than democracy.



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1002



# Leaked document could split Bond, says Treurnicht

Staff Reporter

STH  
6/1/92  
The National Intelligence Service (NIS) had "nothing to say" yesterday about a Sunday Times report claiming a covert group within the Afrikaner Broederbond was attempting to divide and discredit right-wing political groups.

The report said a secret Broederbond document had been leaked, revealing that the NIS could be used against right-wing politicians if they could not be forced to the negotiation table.

The document, headed "Executive Council decisions emanating from mini-Bond meetings held during the year 1991", also stated that certain members of the Broederbond — presumably right-wing sympathisers — should be kept in the dark about strategic decisions on constitutional talks.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the leaked document could split the Broederbond.

He said some CP members of the Broederbond "will be put in a sensitive position" as a result of the leakage of the document.

304A  
"There will be a number of the CP members who will not agree with such strategies, but some will be in a difficult position as to whether they will resign from the Broederbond," he said.

Dr Treurnicht reiterated that the CP had no intention of joining the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Reacting to the report, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the Broederbond could not do more than it had already done in its "smear campaigns against the right wing over the years".

"The organisation is itself discredited. The Broederbond among right-wing organisations is despised and most right-wing leaders have left the organisation," he said.

Mr van Tonder said the Broederbond was a "super employment organisation" which promoted members for State appointments rather than espouse a political ideology.

He added there was no chance of the right wing being drawn into negotiations unless the concept of a Boer nation were accepted.



# Plan to crush rightwing

*Sowetan* 6/1/92  
THE Government, the National Party and the Broederbond want to crush the far rightwing or bring it to the negotiating table.

Police have said they will be "ruthless" in dealing with the rightwing following a spate of bombings.

The National Party wants to defeat them politically and the Broederbond reportedly wants to discredit, divide and effectively destroy them.

The Broederbond's plan is contained in a document which was leaked to the media and published at the weekend.

According to weekend reports, Con-

*304A*  
**Political Correspondent**

servative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the document was authentic and represented "a fatal blow to the Broederbond".

The CP's Mr Koos van der Merwe reportedly said the document disclosed what he called "the most unbelievable corruption of the Broederbond to encourage members to lie as well as the blatant abuse of State machinery like the National Intelligence Service, the SABC and the Human Sciences Research Council".



## **Potch candidates nominated**

ST42 7/11/92 (3044)  
The nomination court in Potchefstroom yesterday accepted the candidates of the National Party and the Conservative Party for a by-election in the town next month. Andries Beyers, CP national secretary, will contest the seat against NP nominee, estate agent Theunis Kruger, in the House of Assembly by-election. Electoral officer Pieter Schreuder said special votes could be cast between January 16 and February 18 at the Potchefstroom Magistrate's Court. The seat fell vacant after the death of Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament.



Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo examines the Broederplot claim

# A menacing spectre hovering large over

AS the political process grinds on, the activities of all the players will be put under the spotlight at various times. Not surprisingly, there have been reports that the Government had hatched a plan, through the Broederbond, to discredit right-wing organisations and sow division.

Equally unsurprisingly there have been denials.

At the same time, however, a government-supporting newspaper has confirmed, through its own documentation, the existence of such a plan.

The crucial issue, however, is whether this document is part of a misinformation campaign emanating from within the Broederbond, or whether there was a genuine attempt by the government-supporting body within the Bond to execute such a plan.

Broedertwis has always been part of the political development of the Afrikaner, and if this were just part of such a process, it would be easy to explain.

However, there seems to be more than that involved in this case.

One political analyst has pointed out that in the last few months some Government-supporting Afrikaans newspapers have played up the disagreements within right-wing organisations, and particularly refer to the clashes between Koos van der Merwe and the leadership of the Conservative Party.

Indeed, there were even suggestions that a split was looming within the CP because of Mr van der Merwe's belief that the CP should participate in the negotiating process if it is not to marginalise itself.

More weight was lent to this argument when Mr van der Merwe "coincidentally" turned up at the venue of pre-negotiation talks.

He was neatly rapped on the knuckles by his party, and he had to make some particularly strong anti-negotiation statements before he was allowed to settle back within the CP.

He has since been quiet on all

issues, including whether the CP would, at some point in the future, decide to participate in Codesa.

The reports of a possible right-wing split have not abated, however. Differences between the CP and the AWB have always been reported widely, and any activity by the AWB which could discredit the CP in the eyes of the white electorate, which still believed in parliamentary processes for redress, has always been exploited.

This would, on the face of it at least, support the view that there was a campaign to discredit and divide the Right.

If the document was genuinely the work of the Bond, it would also reflect the level of support for the Right within the organisation.

It is then suggested that the leaking of the document was intended to divide the Bond, so as to ensure that right-wing thinkers within the organisation, who remain members because of their desire to maintain Afrikaner unity, would feel uncomfortable

and quit.

Even Dr Treurnicht has been quoted as saying that the document was a major blow for the Bond, and could lead to a split.

Clearly, the activities of the Bond in maintaining an Afrikaner grip on political power since 1948 are known to most Afrikaner leaders — including Dr Treurnicht.

That power has not been weakened by the various splits within the National Party, and the Right must realise that an organisation like the Bond is needed to underpin their political demands.

The National Intelligence Service has been accused, on at least three occasions, of having planted agents in right-wing organisations to spy on them. In making the revelations, the Right has refused to name the agents, and in the last episode, the CP said it would demand an urgent meeting with Mr de Klerk to protest about what they believed to be harassment of right-wing organisations through spying activities.

Clearly, the Government must

be concerned that the Right has not been carried along by Mr de Klerk in his political shift towards a new South Africa.

One observer even suggested that what Mr de Klerk needed right from the beginning was a process of taking the Afrikaner constituency with him through regular fireside chats, explaining why he was doing what he was doing, and making his constituency feel comfortable with the process instead of dumping change on them and then hoping that the benefits reaped from overseas sympathy would result in internal acceptance.

The benefits that came from abroad have not matched Mr de Klerk's expectations, and the levels of violence at home has done nothing to reassure the Afrikaners.

This has provided tremendous growth for the Right, and the Virginia by-election result is evidence enough of the leaps-and-bounds growth of the Right.

The Potchefstroom seat, which became vacant on the death of Louis le Grange, is also heading for the CP fold.

Further confirmation of the extent of right-wing growth and potential is the increased levels of recent bombing activities. The police give a figure of 11 attacks, a statistic which does not include an attack on a Cape Afrikaans school at the weekend.

Some of the groups that the police have named as right-wing organisations include AWB, Boere Kommando, Republican Army, and even a local version of the Ku Klux Klan.

It is also significant that commercial explosives seem to have been used in most of the attacks, and that most of those explosives are obtainable through the mines — for many years a right-wing stronghold.

There is a reasonable fear that explosives could easily have been stockpiled over the years for precisely this kind of activity, and that the worst is still to come.

De Klerk

304A

STAR 7/11/92



## Broeders deny bid to divide right wing

ST 1/11/92 (307/A)  
PRETORIA. — Afrikaner-Broederbond (AB) chairman Professor J P de Lange has denied the existence of a document which, it was alleged in the Sunday press, revealed an attempt to divide and discredit right-wing political groups through the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

He said in a statement yesterday that the AB was not in a position to use the state's intelligence services or any other state or semi-state institution to further its aims.

He also denied the existence of a covert group within the AB.

Newspaper reports also claimed that the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) had compiled a low-profile report for the AB on the constitutional proposals of three of the main players in the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The HSRC has denied this. — Sapa



# KwaZulu king to meet De Klerk on Codesa

Own Correspondent

KWAZULU's King Goodwill Zwelithini will meet President F W de Klerk on Friday in Cape Town, to present his views regarding the recent Codesa talks.

This was announced at a news conference addressed yesterday by CP leader Andries Treurnicht and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two leaders, accompanied by senior members of their parties, held a private meeting in Durban at which they "reviewed the political situation... and concentrated on the recent Codesa meeting".

A passionate plea by Buthelezi to the leader of the CP "to join hands and participate in Codesa" because he believed Codesa should be as inclusive as possible apparently fell on deaf ears.

Treurnicht firmly rejected the invitation because, he said, Codesa was advocating a "unitary state under a central government".

Commenting on his absence from Codesa, Buthelezi said: "If my most natural

constituency is excluded, the Zulu people and the king, it is not possible for me to attend and I have no right to attend."

He added: "On Friday I am accompanying the king with some of my colleagues and members of the royal family to meet De Klerk where His Majesty will present his case on Codesa."

The CP expressed its concern over the violence that had engulfed SA and Natal/KwaZulu, and emphasised the party's rejection of terror, violence and intimidation as means of achieving political ends.

Buthelezi said: "Without the presence of the CP I believe that we, whose parties are already in Codesa, do not have a snowball's chance in hell of succeeding in achieving that which we are trying to achieve."

Both CP and Inkatha leaders said yesterday's discussions took place in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere, and added follow-up meetings would be held soon.

## SABC TV crew to quit Transkei

UMTATA — The SABC will withdraw its television crew from Transkei at the end of February following numerous clashes with the territory's military ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

In a recent letter to the SABC, Holomisa "requested" that the corporation effectively halt all work by its television crew based in Transkei until it had addressed the corporation's "bias" against the territory.

An SABC spokesman in Port Elizabeth said on Monday the Umtata office would stop operating at the end of February for "rationalisation" reasons.

The staff would be moved to East London, from where they would operate in future, he said.

Reacting to the news that the SABC was

leaving, a Transkei government spokesman insisted the decision had been taken by the SABC itself and that it had not been kicked out by the government.

Sapa is in possession of the letter, dated November 22, written by Holomisa.

In the letter, Holomisa charges that his government is aware the SABC-TV crew in Transkei had often been ordered not to cover certain events which were "highly valuable to our nationals".

Such events, he said, included a visit to the territory last year by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"Since we took over (in 1987) we have been complaining about SABC-TV's hostile attitude towards the military council," Gen Holomisa said. — Sapa.



# Treurnicht deaf to Buthelezi's plea

30414  
MAY 7/1/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — In a "friendly" meeting, the second of a planned series between the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht remained deaf to the urging of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that South Africa needed the CP at Codesa.

The two leaders, accompanied by senior members of their parties, conferred in private yesterday and then met the media.

Earlier, while newsmen waited 80 minutes, a handout from Chief Buthelezi was circulated in which he urged the CP to take part in Codesa.

He said he believed no talks in which a party with the substantial constituency of the CP did not take part could succeed. All trends had to be represented in constitution-making and no constitution could succeed that did not satisfy the aspirations of all the citizens of the country.

Chief Buthelezi said he found it incomprehensible that there were people at Codesa who imagined they could leave out anyone who could show any visible constituency.

Questioned at the conference later, Dr Treurnicht said since changes were said to be irreversible and there was a declaration of intent for a unitary one-man, one-vote central government there was no sense in the CP attending Codesa.

He said Inkatha, like the CP, favoured the commonwealth system now becoming more popular in places like the fragmented Soviet Union as a safeguard for various people.

A joint statement issued at the Press conference said the meeting had reviewed the political situation since their last meeting and concentrated on Codesa. Dr Treurnicht had explained to Inkatha delegates why the CP could not take part and his rejection of the "solemn agreement" to an undivided South Africa.



# Leaked 'divide and discredit' document not ours, says Broederbond

Political Reporter and Sapa

304A

STAL 7/11/92

Afrikaner Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange has denied the existence of a document which, it was alleged in the Sunday press, revealed an attempt to divide and discredit right-wing political groups through the National Intelligence Service.

He said in a statement released yesterday that the gullibility with which the existence of the document had been accepted without confirming its authenticity was inexplicable.

"The AB and its executive council is not in a position to employ the State's intelligence services or any other State or semi-State institution to further its aims, as is insinuated in the report."

Professor de Lange also denied the existence of a covert group within the Broederbond. He said one of the most important goals of the Broederbond was to promote the advancement of unanimity between all Afrikaners and it would therefore be absurd for the group to act in a way which would work against this goal.

Newspaper reports also claimed the Human Sciences Research Council had compiled a low-profile report for the Broederbond on the constitutional proposals of three of the main players at the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The HSRG has denied this, saying it is an independent research organisation which had never done research for any secret organisation.

It said the document referred to was the official public newsletter of the HSRG's Centre for Conflict Analysis, which was published quarterly.



# IFP asks CP to join Codesa

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party met in Durban yesterday to discuss the negotiation process and Codesa.

The IFP expressed the need for the CP to be part of Codesa and of the redevelopment of South Africa's political landscape.

In a memorandum to CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said as part of the indigenous people of the country, the rightwing had a role to play in Codesa.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

"For years now I have been ridiculed in certain black and liberal circles, both here and abroad, for daring to say that although we suffer from colonialism and imperialism, just like many parts of Africa and the Third World in general, that we in South Africa are nevertheless not faced with a

colonial situation here," Buthelezi said.

He said no answer will be found if it is not accepted that whites in this country were indigenous people.

"We must all accept this premise if we are going to succeed at all in finding a solution that will guarantee any peaceful existence for all the people of this land," Buthelezi told Treurnicht.

He also said that he was "perturbed" by Treurnicht's absence at Codesa.

The exchange of pleasantries continued when

Treurnicht "complimented" the IFP on its refusal to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

A joint statement released in Durban yesterday said that Treurnicht supported Buthelezi's stand on Codesa, and "particularly his rejection of the 'solemn commitment' to an 'undivided South Africa' and other stipulations relevant thereto which appeared to be premature before the actual negotiation process start."

The meeting was the second between the two parties in recent months.



# 'Broedertwis' deepens

ONLY limited significance has been put on disclosures that the Broederbond was working with the Government on a scheme to divide, discredit and embarrass rightwingers refusing to participate in negotiations. *Soudan 7/11/92*

The predictable outcry from rightwing organisations followed Sunday newspaper reports of a secret Broederbond document detailing proposals to use the SABC and the National Intelligence Service if necessary to "persuade" rightwingers to join constitutional talks.

Conservative Party chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said yesterday the party had not yet made any attempts to establish

## Political Staff

whether the document was authentic. *304A* *RF*

"If it is true, then it is only further evidence of the National Party's panic to get the CP to the negotiation table," he said.

Beyers said it was surprising that the Broederbond was withholding information from some of its members which indicated a "power clique" in the organisation.

He said the document seemed increasingly authentic as the secret Afrikaner organisation was not responding to the reports.



# Buthelezi and Treurnicht meet

STAR 7/1/92

304A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — In a "friendly" meeting yesterday — the second of a planned series between the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — Dr Andries Treurnicht remained deaf to the urging of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that South Africa needed the CP at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The two leaders, accompanied by senior members of their parties, conferred in private and then met the media.

Earlier, while pressmen waited for 80 minutes, a handout from Chief Buthelezi was circulated in which he urged the CP to take part in Codesa.

He said he believed that no talks, in which a

party with the substantial constituency of the CP did not take part, could succeed. All trends had to be represented in constitution-making and no constitution could succeed which did not satisfy the aspirations of all citizens.

Chief Buthelezi said he found it incomprehensible that there were people at Codesa who imagined they could omit anyone who could show any visible constituency.

Questioned at the conference later, Dr Treurnicht said that since changes were said to be irreversible and there was a declaration of intent for a unitary one person, one vote central government, there was no sense in the CP attending Codesa.

He said the CP felt strongly about self-determination in respect of the Zulu people as well as its own people.

Both men denied they were talking in terms of

an alliance. But if any agreement could be reached in the interests of the people of both sides, they would consider such an agreement.

A joint statement issued at the press conference said the meeting had reviewed the political situation since their last meeting and had concentrated on Codesa.

The CP delegation had expressed its horror and concern at the violence which had engulfed the entire country, particularly in Natal/KwaZulu.

● King Goodwill Zwelithini will meet President de Klerk on Friday in Cape Town to present his views regarding the recent Codesa talks, Chief Buthelezi said.

Commenting on his absence from Codesa, the chief said: "If my most natural constituency is excluded — the Zulu people and the king — it is not possible for me to attend and I have no right to attend."



## Mandela wants Parliament to give Codesa 'legal effect'

SIMON BARBER

(304A)

WASHINGTON — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday acknowledged that while the ANC did not recognise Parliament's legitimacy, it was nonetheless "the highest legal authority in the country" and was the only means through which Codesa's decisions could be given "legal effect".

Speaking on CNN, Mandela said he saw "no conflict whatsoever" between the ANC's demand for the "immediate installation of an interim government" and the continued functioning of the present legislature.

"In fact, we foresee a period of co-operation between any political organs which are established as a result of Codesa on the one hand and the existing parliament on the other."

"We are insisting that the decisions of Codesa should be given legal effect. And although we do not recognise the existing parliament, it is the highest legal authority in the country, and we insist that all decisions of Codesa should be given legal effect by this parliament."

Mandela said he had no difference with President F W de Klerk on this, and that their only substantial disagreement was on the duration of an interim government.

He declined to be drawn into criticism of De Klerk, and played down continuing allegations of clandestine government support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He urged the CP and other parties that have shunned Codesa to reconsider.



## Opinion

By ALLISTER SPARKS

WHAT are we going to do about the right wing? As South Africa returns from the holidays to resume what Professor David Welsh has called "a gigantic and ongoing seminar" on our country's future, it seems this, the most serious of the problems facing us, is getting the least attention.

The right wing is growing steadily, in numbers and in militancy. It won the Virginia by-election and, in February, will surely win Potchefstroom as well.

The AWP is training openly for war while the police sit lamely by saying they can do nothing until, apparently, the war breaks out.

**Non-starter**

I travelled through the Northern Transvaal recently, visiting farmers, and I found perilously few who still support the National Party.

They spoke of the State President, Mr De Klerk, in vehement terms. They also talked freely of violent resistance.

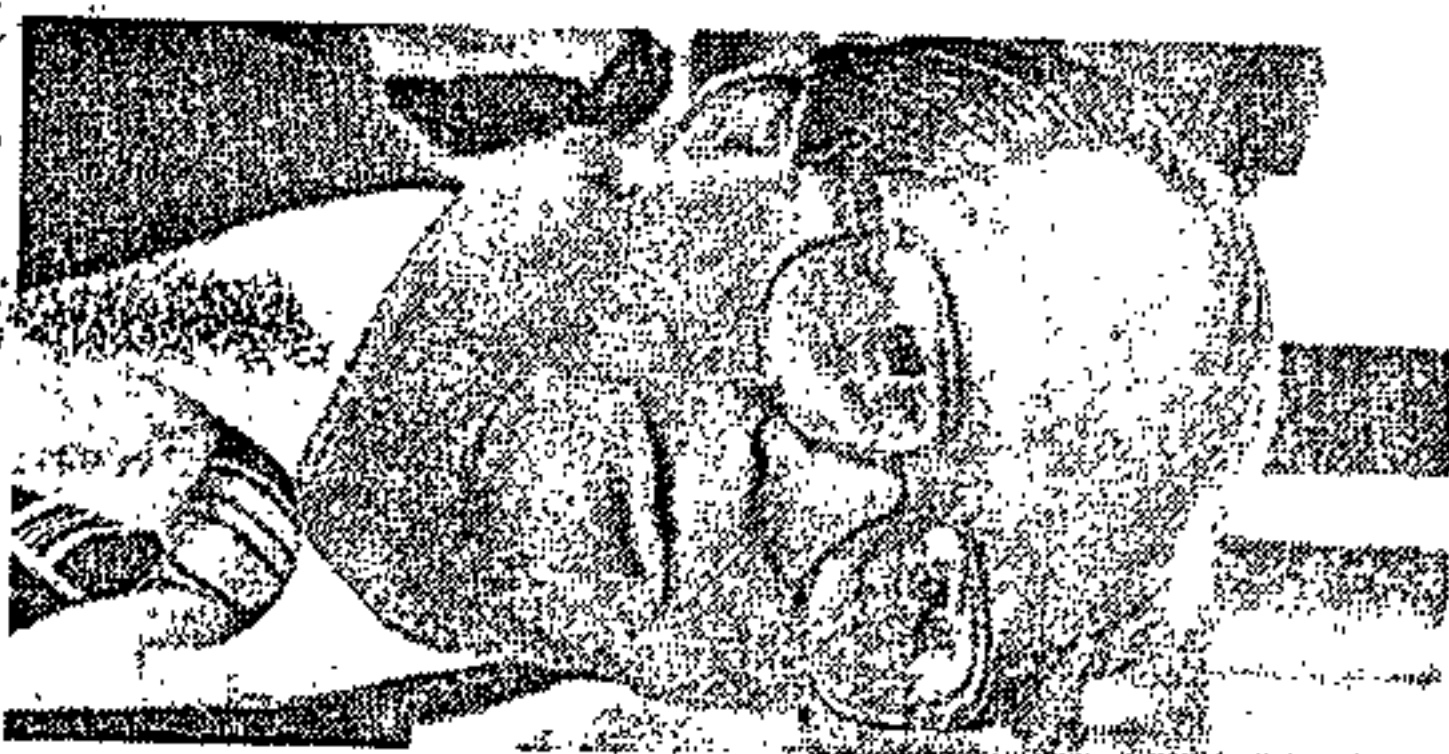
There is a fearful problem building here. Everyone is aware of it yet no one seems to have any idea what to do about it. Despite our great seminar, creative thinking is absent.

The Right demands an independent Boerestaat but, as the Law Commission points out, there is no part of South Africa that has a white majority so the Boerestaat option is impractical. Full stop. No more ideas.

**Creation of past**

Nelson Mandela, during my Christmas interview with him, expressed the hope that moderates such

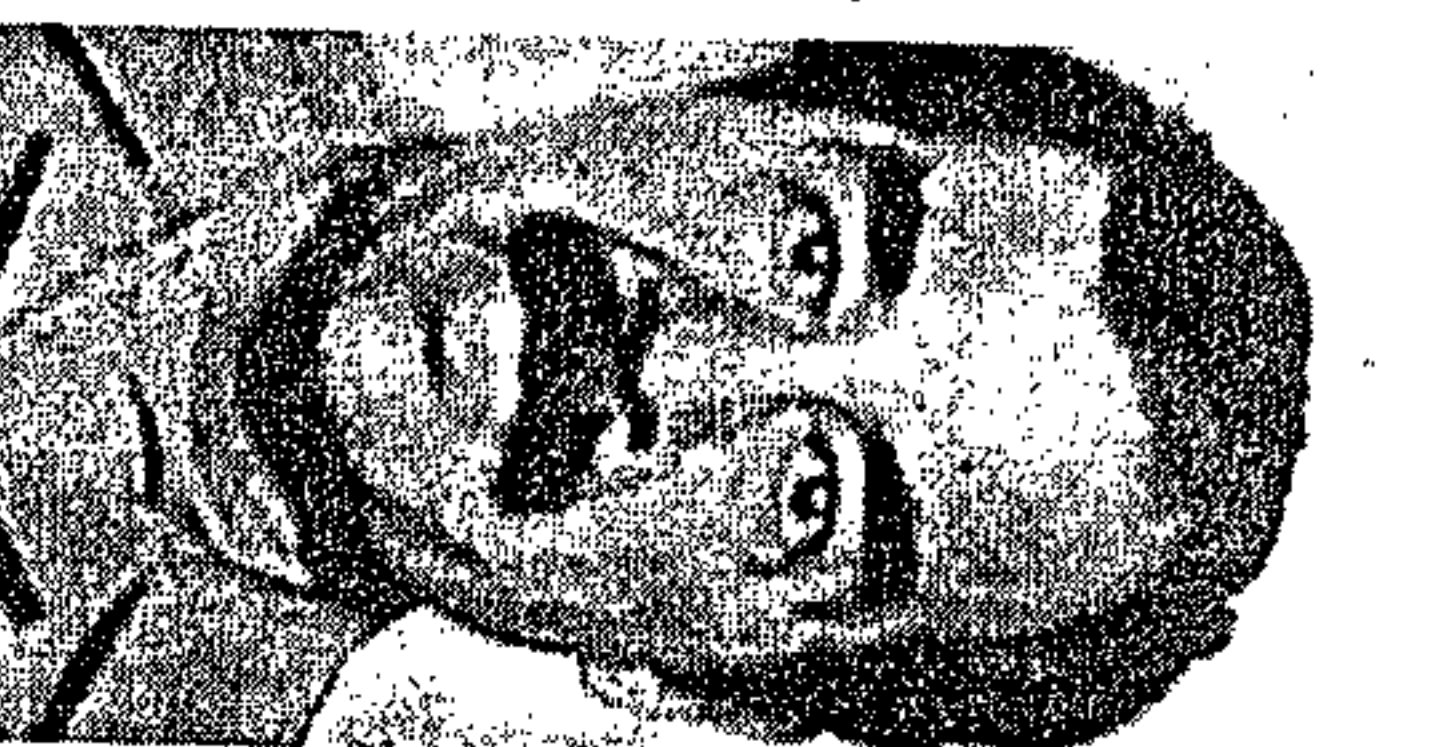
# Right wing has to be accommodated lest it scorches SA



**ANDRIES TREURNICHT:** Likens CP to resurgent ethno-nationalists in Eastern Europe.



**KOOS VAN DER MERWE:** ANC hopes that such moderates will bring CP to Codesa II.



**SADDAM HUSSEIN:** Prospect of economically strapped former Soviets selling him nuclear arms.

Contact can influence attitudes but pinning one's faith on a political conversion at the negotiating table seems a vain hope.

Mr De Klerk has been no better. Though this is primarily his problem, since it lies within his constituency and is a creation of the National Party's ideological past, I have not heard

He should have gone on radio and TV for a series of "fireside chats", as Franklin Roosevelt did during the Depression, and explained the circumstances that compelled him to abandon the ideology he had preached all his political life.

Perhaps then he might have taken more with him: certainly he would have dampened some of the virulent sense of betrayal that now smoulders there.

Instead, he went abroad hoping that, by leading South Africa back into the world, he would win acclaim from his critics at home. He forgot to read his Smuts.

Mr De Klerk also knows the Boerestaat option is not on but what else does he offer to placate these outraged ex-followers?

Nothing, except an occasional bout of ANC-bashing when a by-election looms, a kind of recidivist substitute for old-style *swart gear* politicking which is what caused the problem in the first place.

**In tune**

What makes it doubly difficult is that the right wingers themselves are being so bloody-minded. They are making an impossible demand and then threatening, kamikaze style, to create mayhem for everybody if it is not met.

It is not unlike a hostage crisis. Difficult, ugly and distasteful though it is, this problem is not going to go away. It is going to fester monstrously if it is not solved.

Let's look at it in context. Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht

likes to draw the analogy of the resurgence of ethno-nationalism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to suggest his movement is in tune with the times.

He has a point. Indeed, he might add racialism as well for that is also on the rebound in many parts of the world.

Nationalism and racialism are Siamese twins and, with ideological Utopianism, have been the scourge of this genocidal century.

**Balkanisation**

Far from being something to emulate, the break-up of the Soviet Union is a thoroughly alarming event with a potential for human disaster many times greater than the ghastly bloodshed that has already engulfed Yugoslavia.

Who is going to prevent an all-out conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan? Who is going to stop the fighting between the innumerable minority groups within each republic?

Who is going to stop one of these economically strapped republics selling nuclear arms to Saddam Hussein or some oil sheikh?

No, the impracticability of the Boerestaat aside, Balkanisation is no solution to the problem of ethno-nationalism in South Africa, the Soviet Union or anywhere else.

Balkanisation means many small nations filled with national pride and hatreds and jealousies, egged on by demagogues, marching against each other as they did in the Balkans around 1912.

**Foundations**

Fortunately, it is not the only trend of the times. From Moscow, move to

Maastricht, a small Dutch town where, even as the Soviet Union was dismembering itself, the leaders of 12 West European countries were laying the foundations for a closer economic and political unity.

Yet, despite former British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher's paranoia, they are not forsaking their separate national and cultural identities. The French will remain French, the Germans German.

What is it that enables parts of Europe to move in opposite directions? The answer, I suggest, is oppression.

A culture does not need to live in an apartheid cell to survive: it can flourish among others — provided it does not feel oppressed, humiliated or threatened.

**Backlash**

If it does then, sooner or later, as in the Soviet Union today, it will lash back with a vengeance.

As Oxford philosopher Isaiah Berlin once said: "A wounded volkgeist (folk spirit) is like a bent twig, forced down so severely that, when released, it lashes back with fury."

We have done this in South Africa with nearly two centuries of one or other form of cultural imperialism. Let us not do it again.

Let us not bend the twig of the right wing. Their Boerestaat is not the answer but there has to be an answer — somewhere in the Western, not the Eastern, European trend of the times which is towards political and economic uniformity with cultural variety.

It is a subject to which I shall return again soon.

ENTERTAINMENT

DAILY MAIL CANADIAN TOWN



## HSRC denies part in Broederbond research

DURBAN — The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) denies it conducted "any research on instructions of the Broederbond or that it allows itself to be used as a political instrument by any political party or group".

It was responding to reports this week that it was allegedly commissioned by the Broederbond to do re-

Own Correspondent

search which depicted differences between major protagonists in the current constitutional negotiations.

HSRC Natal regional manager Jon Taylor said: "The HSRC ... has never done research for secret organisations such as the Afrikaner Broederbond, nor does it allow itself to be

manipulated." (304A)

He said his organisation had no knowledge of any instructions from the Broederbond to undertake research on its behalf.

Taylor said the document referred to in the Press was the official newsletter of the HSRC's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, which was published quarterly.



# Mandela to fight domination

30449 CT 8/1/92

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday vowed to fight black domination in a new government, saying it would be no better than the current system of white-minority rule.

In an interview with CNN the ANC president said the next government must be based on democratic rule.

"Black-majority rule would mean a form of racialism," he said. "It would merely be a reversal of the present position, and we have no intention whatsoever to do that."

Last month, Mr Mandela said he would not oppose guaranteeing whites a bloc of seats in Parliament to reassure them.

Mr Mandela said he was optimistic that the ANC and the government would reach

an agreement at the next round of Codesa talks on an interim government.

He said the major difference at present is over the duration of an interim government, with the National Party suggesting it last up to 15 years and the ANC insisting that it have a limited duration.

He also said right-wing groups like the Conservative Party risked being left out if they did not join peace talks.

"As far as we are concerned, the majority of the people of South Africa have accepted a peaceful solution," said Mr Mandela. "Any political organisation that is not part of this process runs the danger of being sidelined."

Mr Mandela also said that while the

ANC did not regard the present Parliament as legitimate, it was nonetheless "the highest legal authority in the country" and was the only means through which Codesa's decisions could be given "legal effect".

He saw no conflict between the ANC's demand for an interim government and the continued functioning of the present legislature.

Instead, he foresaw "a period of cooperation between any political organs which are established as a result of Codesa on the one hand and the existing Parliament on the other". — Sapa-AP-Reuter and Own Correspondent



# Mandela is ahead

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk's popularity rating is 3% behind ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's, a recent survey shows.

Mr De Klerk's rating, at 56%, was second to Mr Mandela's 59%. The Research Surveys poll of 2 900 people showed support for Mr Mandela among blacks at more than 70%. Less than 10% of whites supported him.

Mr De Klerk obtained 41% support from Afrikaans speakers. Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rating among blacks was 6%.



## Four killed in two mining accidents

VERA VON LIERES

FOUR miners were reported killed in two separate underground accidents at Gold Fields of SA's Deelkraal mine near Carltonville and Gengold's Oryx gold mine near Welkom. *Biday 9/11/92*

Ten miners were injured in the accidents and rescue workers were yesterday still searching for two missing men at Deelkraal.

Gold Fields said in a statement three miners were killed after a pressure burst on Tuesday in the No 1 Sub-Vertical shaft area of the mine.

The seismic event, which measured 1.9 on the Richter Scale, occurred 2 200m below the surface.

Mine rescue teams yesterday continued to search for two employees reported missing.

Four other employees sustained injuries, three of whom had been discharged after receiving treatment at the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital near Carltonville.

A Gold Fields spokesman said yesterday although production in the immediate area of the incident was affected, this did not have an impact on the overall production at the mine.

At Oryx gold mine, one miner died and six were injured — three seriously — when a steel structure on 20 level at 2 000m collapsed at about 1pm. One other person was trapped and rescue personnel were at the scene yesterday to release him from underneath the collapsed structure.

A NUM health and safety spokesman said yesterday the Carltonville region was known for pressure bursts. Investigations would probably find that the incident could have been prevented if recommendations supplied by the Chamber of Mines to deal with these type of accidents had been obeyed.

NUM officials had not yet been down the mine for inspections.

## FW lagging behind

ANDREW KRUMM

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's popularity rating is 3% behind ANC president Nelson Mandela's, a recent survey shows. *Biday 9/11/92*

De Klerk's rating, at 56%, was second to Mandela's 59%.

The Research Surveys poll of 2 900 people showed support for Mandela among blacks at more than 70%. Less than 10% of whites supported him.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rating among blacks was 6%. Research Surveys director Binky Kellas said that while Mandela enjoyed more support than Buthelezi among Zulu speakers, 60% of Afrikaans speakers surveyed backed him.

De Klerk obtained 41% support from Afrikaans speakers.

However, Kellas warned that great care should be exercised in interpreting the results, as there were significant ethnic skews in the data.

She said De Klerk got his highest approval rating from Tswana-speaking blacks and English-speaking whites, while Mandela's worst showing was among Natal blacks, where his approval rating dropped to 47%.

## Long list for small claims

ANDREW KRUMM

THE Johannesburg Small Claims Court is proving so popular that the earliest date for new case hearings is May 4.

A court spokesman said practicalities, such as scheduling of appearances, demanded a three-month waiting period, but he agreed the time lag was growing.

Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte said on Monday the number of cases heard in small claims courts last year rose 18.2% to 17 086 cases. Schutte also announced that planning for such a court closer to Soweto had reached an advanced stage.

## Growth

overall economy bottomed out in the middle of 1991. But this did not signal the recessionary conditions in areas of the private sector.

There was broad agreement among economists that domestic growth would be primarily based on an increase in exports. The US, UK and Japan were expected to move out of recession in the second half of 1992, which would buoy low world commodity prices and boost international trade.

SA consumer demand was expected to remain depressed despite expectations of at least two one-percentage-point increases in the prime overdraft interest rate during the year. Consumers were to be so shell-shocked by the recent high interest rates that a small increase in lending rates would have little effect.

## Trade curbs

pineapples and would promote the export of other products like refined oil to SA, Limerick said.

The Philippines would, in turn, supply coal and phosphate rock to SA, he said. Phosphate was used to manufacture fertiliser.

The resumption of limited trade with Thailand 18 months ago had resulted in a "marked increase in trade between the two countries", with SA exporting engineering machinery, tools and

## PEANUTS

I CAN'T IMAGINE ANYTHING MORE SILENT THAN SITTING IN THE RAIN IN A PUMPKIN PATCH ON HALLOWEEN NIGHT WAITING FOR SOMEBODY WHO DOESN'T EXIST! WHAT COULD BE DUMBER





# 'Nats double-dealing'

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a crowd of almost 30 000 people at the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations in Bloemfontein, Mandela said the Government also remained committed to giving white people the final say.

President FW de Klerk has said that any changes to the present constitution would have to be approved

by the white electorate in a referendum.

To actually go through with this, Mandela said, "is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid".

Mandela said in his hour-long speech that Codesa would seek to complete its work by June and make way for an interim government.

He warned that the violence in the country was damaging to the process of redevelopment in the coun-

try.

"During the course of the past year, thousands of our people were killed and remained in senseless carnage directed at members of the ANC and its allies and black communities in general.

"In the communities bearing the brunt of this violence, evidence of police collusion and disregard for the agreed codes (codes of conduct established by

the Peace Accord of September 14 1991) abounds.

"The media continue to uncover facts about the involvement of the apartheid army and police in perpetrating violence.

"Public funds have been used to support political parties implicated in the violence.

"There is an evident reluctance on the part of the regime to outlaw the carrying of dangerous weapons in public despite the alarming death toll.

"All these develop-

ment's point to one reality:

The white minority regime is talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other."

He said the Government had already acknowledged that it could not manage the transition period on its own by accepting the notion of an interim government.

However, an interim government based on the present constitution would give legitimacy to a law which black people rejected (because it rejected

them) and to which "coloured" and Indian people showed their violent opposition to in 1983, he said.

"To have a referendum (for approval of a new constitution) in which the only voice that counts is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid.

"To hold an election for a transitional government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition," Mandela said.



ANC president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, raise their fists to the thousands of supporters who turned out in Bloemfontein to celebrate the organisation's 80th anniversary. On either side of the couple are security guards.

See pages 6 and 7.



## New deal for all races, Pik tells Danes

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

STAR 9/11/92  
204A

The Government has reacted to what it says is a misinterpretation by Danish parliamentary parties to President F W. de Klerk's reference at Codesa to a referendum on the new constitution.

Three Danish opposition parties, which together have a majority in parliament, said this week that Mr de Klerk's "demand for a referendum among the white minority on planned constitutional changes creates doubts about the strength of the Government's commitment to create a new constitution that removes all racial separation".

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday this did not reflect what Mr de Klerk had in fact said.

"The president made it clear that the new constitution would contain no racial elements whatsoever and that all South Africans would be given the opportunity to participate.

"It is well known that the Government received its mandate to negotiate a new constitution in the last election in 1989 and committed itself to submit that constitution for approval to the electorate which gave it its mandate," Mr Botha said.

This had "nothing to do with racism or apartheid". It was a question of honouring a commitment without which no negotiations on a new constitution would be possible.

The specific way in which the three Danish parties had formulated this concern was not based on these perspectives and that the SA ambassador in Copenhagen had been asked to explain the position to them.



## Botha spells out referendum stand

*6/10/92 9/1/92*  
PRETORIA — The South African ambassador to Denmark had been asked to clear up certain concerns that three opposition parties in that country might have about a referendum for white South Africans, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said yesterday. (EP) 304A

He responded to a statement by the three parties, the Social Democrats, Socialist People's Party and Radical Liberals, on Tuesday, that President F. W. de Klerk's demand for a referendum among whites on constitutional changes "creates doubts over the strength of the government's commitment to create a new constitution that removes all racial separation".

Botha said the conclusion reached by the three parties that De Klerk implied in his Codesa speech that a new constitution would have to be submitted to a whites-only referendum did not fully reflect what he said.

"The State President made it clear that the new constitution would contain no racial elements whatsoever and that all South Africans would be given the opportunity to participate in a referendum on a new constitution." — Sapa.



Patrick Laurence reflects on South Africa's changing political landscape

# Shifting stances for a new

STAR 1011192

3044

**T**HE turning wheel of history disrupts traditional positions as it cuts across South Africa's political landscape, turning old enemies into allies and transforming former partners into adversaries.

Consider the alignment of forces over the tour of American singer Paul Simon: the African National Congress finds itself on the same side as the De Klerk administration and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in opposition to the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Not so long ago the ANC was arguing that the IFP was an auxiliary force of President de Klerk's which should take its place at the negotiating table as part of Mr de Klerk's delegation.

At the same time the ANC was working with the PAC and Azapo for the establishment of a Patriotic Front to oppose the alignment of conservative forces under Mr de Klerk.

Now, of course, the PAC and Azapo, reconciled after an acrimonious dispute at the time of the formation in October of the Patriotic Front, suspect the ANC of colluding with — or, more charit-

ably, being duped by — the De Klerk administration, an allegation which the ANC contemptuously dismisses.

There is an element of irony in the ANC's defence of Paul Simon's visit and in the decision of ANC president Nelson Mandela to visibly demonstrate its support by hosting a party for the singer.

In the not so distant past the ANC and its internal ally, the United Democratic Front, were among the fiercest protagonists of a total cultural boycott as a form of pressure against apartheid.

The memory of the UDF "cultural desk" still evokes images of people's commissars determining what people could see, hear and read and under what conditions. Now, however, the same people, ideologically speaking, are chastising the PAC-Azapo axis for opposing the Simon visit.

ANC-aligned forces have accused the PAC-Azapo bloc of opportunism and of seeking to use Simon's presence to attract attention to themselves for political gain, while Mr Mandela has defended the ANC's position by referring to UN and Commonwealth decisions to lift "person-to-person" sanctions.

The PAC-Azapo riposte seems to have come from the ANC's political armory: cultural sanctions, like trade and financial sanctions (which the ANC still supports), must be sustained until a democratically elected government is installed.

The ANC's answer, contained in its 80th anniversary statement, is a reminder of just how rapidly the terrain is changing and how nimble-footed observers and participants have to be to traverse the furrows turned up by the moving wheel.

Sanctions, the ANC declares, must be maintained against the "system of apartheid and its perpetrators" but the "new organs of transition that are being born in the struggle should be given maximum support".

The Simon visit serves to highlight another shift in the political landscape: while the ANC was preparing to welcome Paul Simon as a notable of the entertainment world, cadres of Azania, the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, lobbed two hand grenades at the Johannesburg offices of the company providing the sound system for the Simon concerts.

The ANC, which spearheaded the armed resistance for three decades and made the name of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, a byword in the townships, has suspended its armed struggle.

Against that, Azania and Apla, the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress — largely quiescent during the 30 years of armed struggle — have sworn to continue the "military struggle," with Apla boasting that its fighters have been responsible for the assassination of policemen.

The ANC — which included "collaborators" and "agents of the system" on its list of legitimate targets during the armed struggle and whose propaganda broadcast once urged "the people" to wage war against off-duty policemen in the suburbs — now condemns Apla's assassination of policemen as "counter-productive" and calculated to drive the SAP into the arms of ultra-rightist zealots.

The ANC — which notes pertinently that reform of the SAP is on the agenda at Codesa — addresses the issue in its 80th anniversary statement.

It calls on its "compatriots in the SADF and the SAP to make a break with past confrontation and

conflict" and to contribute to the quest for peace.

"They have an important role to play in defending and promoting the peace process. We call on them: Expose the murderers! Defend the people! Join the march to democracy! They have nothing to fear in the future as long as they play their role (in the quest for) a democratic future."

In some ways the most striking reversal of roles generated by the moving wheel of history relates to the question of separate voters rolls and communal representation.

President de Klerk, whose National Party once stood unequivocally for communal representation, with its tricameral parliament and tribally based legislative assemblies, has now seemingly turned his back on the past.

Nowhere in the NP's proposals for "constitutional rule" in the new South Africa is the notion of communal representation mooted. Instead it posits a common voters roll and an elaborate system of checks and balances culled from constitutions all over the world.

It is pertinent to note that the SA Law Commission report on constitutional models specifically

warns that attempts to accommodate ethnic and racial diversity constitutionally have failed in societies which have opted for communal representation.

Ironically, however, Mr Mandela, the long-time champion of non-racialism, is punting separate representation for whites — a bloc of seats for the white minority on the Zimbabwean model — as a possi-

ble way of assuaging white anxieties.

Two qualifying points must be made: Mr Mandela's position is a personal view, not official ANC position; he punts it as a temporary measure to help whites adjust to the looming reality of majority rule which he regards as not negotiable.

It is fascinating to recall that in 1960, in his testimony in the Treason Trial of 1956-61, Mr Mandela testified that he would be prepared to accept a bloc of 60 seats for blacks as a significant step towards the attainment of adult suffrage for black South Africans.

The wheel has turned since then. Mr Mandela is now positing a bloc of white seats as an interim step on the road to an undifferentiated, non-racial voters roll. □



# ANC, govt tackle crisis in services

IN WHAT was described as the first talks between government and the ANC on local government yesterday, the parties agreed the provision of services was a crisis requiring a national response.

But the parties disagreed on whether a separate negotiating forum should be established to deal with the problem.

The ANC delegation, led by local and regional government department head Thozamile Botha, asked the meeting to discuss the breakdown in local government and particularly the inadequate provision of services, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC delegation stressed the need for a local negotiation framework through the creation of a national negotiation forum. This forum would co-ordinate local negotiations but would not conflict with, or undermine, the national negotiations process, the ANC said.

In a separate statement, Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said government favoured a negotiated form of transitional government implemented as quickly as possible in a constitutional manner.

But government was against the institution of new structures and forums because

this would entail the establishment of an interim government "by stealth".

Both parties agreed that local negotiations should be encouraged in the interim but these should not undermine the national constitution-making process.

The Interim Measures on Local Government Act of 1991, supposed to provide a framework for local level negotiations, was rejected as deeply flawed and obstructive of interim solutions, the ANC said.

Government acknowledged the Act contained inadequacies but said it served as a vehicle to move away from existing racially-based local government structures.

THEO RAWANA reports the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has rejected the idea of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber seeking any relationship with Codesa.

Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the chamber — which was a locally based forum — should stop engaging in an "ambitious exercise" of trying to establish a relationship with Codesa, which was a national structure.

By day 10/11/92  
TIM COHEN



# DP names Codesa representatives

The Democratic Party yesterday named the representatives it intends placing on the various Codesa working groups.

Representatives on the management committee will be DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Sea Point MP Colin Eglin.

Dave Dalling MP and Peter Soal MP will be part of the

group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

Mr Eglin and Dr Denis Worrall MP will be in the group dealing with constitutional principles and the structures and methods to be employed in establishing a new constitution.

MPs Robin Carlisle and Ken Andrew will be in the group

dealing with transitional arrangements and interim government. Kobus Jordaan MP and Errol Moorcroft MP will be in the group dealing with the future of the TBVC states.

Roger Burrows MP and Roger Hulley MP will serve on the committee dealing with time-frames and the implementation of Codesa's decisions.



THE CONSTITUTION

3044

Fm 10/1/92

# Thanks, but no thanks

**ANC president** Nelson Mandela has often tried to reassure whites that they have nothing to fear from majority rule and an ANC government. We have no doubt that he is sincere; and though we have yet to be convinced that he is right, his emphasis on reconciliation instead of bitterness is one of the few constants in our politics at the moment.

But Mandela has completely misunderstood the fears of whites if he thinks they will be put to rest by offers of guaranteed seats in parliament for a limited period — or any period, for that matter. Even the National Party newspapers have been decidedly negative about the idea.

It might have had some gut-level appeal if Zimbabwe had not tried it first. The warring parties which came together at Lancaster House in 1979 agreed to set aside 20 of the 100 seats for whites in the post-independence parliament. The arrangement was written into the constitution and it expired after 10 years.

Its main achievements were to entrench racial divisions in politics for another decade, make everyone bitter and resentful and deprive whites of power and influence that they might have had while giving them an artificial bunker from which to snipe.

It is a measure of how far we have come in this country. What was a reasonable compromise for the Eighties has

become an absurdity for the Nineties. Of course, we have also had the good fortune to be able to watch one of our neighbours make the mistakes first; whether we will learn from all of them is another matter.

Whites in SA know that the game is up. Unlike Rhodesia's Ian Smith, State President F W de Klerk did not have to be dragged to negotiations; he has proved keener than anyone else to get going. Most whites have accepted the inevitability of black rule and are not hostile to it just because it will be black. And, if not exactly enthusiastic about all the changes, whites have got used to the idea of mixed marriages, neighbourhoods, swimming pools and even schools.

What whites are afraid of — and these are the fears Mandela must address — is the loss of their assets; of policies which chase away investment, fertilise inflation and kill off growth; of steadily declining standards in health and education; of being penalised for attempting to create wealth and jobs; and of thugs who ambush policemen, attack old people and redistribute wealth — sometimes under the shadowy endorsement of "struggle" rhetoric.

Most of these things have been happening under the Nationalists for years. What would make whites feel very good indeed is the assurance that a black government will put a stop to them.



**Codesa view  
on sanctions  
'affects US'**  
Political Staff

Visiting United States congressman David McCurdy has called on participants in Codesa to take a stand on the economic sanctions issue.

Speaking in Pretoria yesterday, Mr McCurdy said before sanctions could be lifted the parties within Codesa would have to indicate what they thought on the issue.

Mr McCurdy said the issue of the Gramm Amendment — which prevents South Africa from obtaining an International Monetary Fund loan — would be raised in Congress on the 5-man delegation's return.



# New, improved insults

STYL 11/11/92

304A

I was little noticed at the time, but Codesa introduced to South African politics a new level of elegance in rhetoric and repartee. Sadly, this was not the work of the politicians present — though they were there in numbers — rather that of one of the co-chairmen, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed.

It is surely beyond argument that as we this year face such weighty business, politically speaking, it would leaven things considerably if it were to be conducted with a sense of panache and romance, rather than the stolid functionalism we have grown up with.

We need more like Mr Justice Mahomed. Consider just one of his bon mots:

Concerned that delegates were starting to repeat already stated views so they could get their names into Codesa's version of Hansard, he proffered the thought: "Please remember that to enquire is not necessarily to augment."

This was a most civilised way of saying "shut up". It will look a lot better in the history books.

Mr Justice Mahomed, the only black member of South Africa's Bench, was doing what South African politicians of all hues have singularly failed to do over the years. His mind — and his mouth — were rising to the historic occa-

sion.

The most recent examples of abject failure to do so were provided separately by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela in February 1990.

Mr de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament and Mr Mandela's first address after his release from jail were moments of incalculable historical significance. Both will be remembered forever for the political parameters they set down, altering a nation's destiny in the process. But will they, like the Gettysburg Address, be remembered for their inspirational prose? Certainly not. In style they were pedestrian and anodyne.

## Claptrap

I am not endorsing sloppy verbosity, such as that often practised in the House of Delegates. I am not even suggesting precise verbosity, such as that deployed by William Gladstone. (He once said, in the course of dressing down a troublesome bishop: "Your remarks are no more than a combination of adroit claptrap and oracular rhodomontade.") A simple "rubbish" might have done the trick.

What I am pleading for is attention to how things should be said, not just to what has to be said.

No one expects our politicians to be as quick, witty and incisive

Undercurrent Affairs  
SHAUN JOHNSON



as Disraeli or Churchill. Britons had to wait some time for their likes, with considerable gaps in between. But constructive plagiarism is possible, and requires only a little judicious reading of history. As a New Year's gift, therefore, Undercurrent Affairs offers some preliminary suggestions of new and improved insults for use by the local lads.

- Andries Treurnicht could say to Mr de Klerk: "The Government has turned its back on the country, and now has the impertinence to claim the country is behind it." (F E Smith first tried it on the Liberals in Britain, and it worked.)
- Codesa could say of Chief Buthe-lezi: "He is like trying to pick up mercury with a fork." (Lloyd George to a political opponent.)
- PAC negotiators could say to their intractable comrades: "I would rather be an opportunist and float, than go to the bottom with my principles around my neck." (Stanley Baldwin in an interview.)
- Nelson Mandela could say to the PAC leader: "He is a timid man

who is frightened of his followers. He works on the principle: There go the people, I am their leader, I must follow them." (Labour Chancellor Hugh Dalton on one of his faint-hearted colleagues.)

- Zach de Beer could say of Jan van Eck: "He is forever poised between a cliché and an indiscretion." (Harold MacMillan on one of his ministers.)
  - F W de Klerk could say of Nelson Mandela: "He immatures with age." (Harold Wilson on Tony Benn.)
  - Andries Treurnicht could say: "Receiving support from Eugene TerreBlanche in a by-election is like being measured by an undertaker." (Tory MP on former prime minister Ted Heath.)
  - The ANC could say: "Every time the IFP is asked to name its weapons, it picks boomerangs." (Tory minister Iain Macleod on the Labour Party.)
  - Opponents of Mrs Mandela could say: "If a wasp flew into Winnie's mouth, she would sting it." (Tory MP on Norman Tebbit.)
- That's enough for starters. But remember, plagiarism only works if you credit the source openly. So many of the gems listed above were collected by Greg Knight MP, and are contained in his book "Honourable Insults", published by Arrow, London, and available from most discerning bookstores.





## Goodwill's role 'up to Codesa' 34A

DEMANDS by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a place in the negotiation process have been endorsed by the government — but both parties have agreed the issue must be negotiated within Codesa itself.

This emerged at a Press conference at Tuynhuys yesterday after several hours of talks between President De Klerk, the king and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a joint statement, the parties said: "The meeting agreed that the matter will be further addressed in the management committee of Codesa, in line with the decision taken at Codesa."

■ See page 4.

□ **ROYAL VISIT:** President F W de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini at a Press conference after their meeting in Cape Town yesterday. *APG 11/1/92*



# Flood to join the Great Debate

STAR 11/1/92  
304A

## Right-wing group barred from Codesa

THE number of organisations taking part in the Codesa deliberations could be almost doubled this year following a flood of late applications to join the Great Debate.

Applications from more than 20 organisations that wish to take part in Codesa are expected to be considered by the management committee when it reconvenes on Monday, committee member Murphy Morobe said yesterday.

In the wake of the revelation this week that at least one right-wing organisation was barred from joining, steering committee chairman Dr Zach de Beer has admitted that the criteria for admission to the select group deciding the political future of the country had been "rather vague".

### MANDY JEAN WOODS

The group's exclusion was being used as a justification for violence — just as the ANC used exclusion from the corridors of power for its campaign of violence.

Boervolk founder Piet Bester this week lashed out at Codesa, saying the Boers had only two options to ensure their right to self-determination: violence and negotiation.

"Boervolk applied to send a delegation (to Codesa) but was turned down," Mr Bester said. "This left them with no option but to resort to the last remaining option, violence."

Commenting on the decision to bar Boervolk, Dr de Beer said the committee had to draw a line somewhere.

"We applied a rather vague criterion where any established political party or organisation which could demonstrate it had considerable support was asked to attend," he said.

He agreed the steering committee may have contravened the spirit of Codesa by being exclusive rather than inclusive with regard to applications by parties or organisations whose credentials were questioned.

### Jeopardised

But he said the committee could not allow a situation where, for example, a group of people got together and decided to form a party and, by way of a rubber stamp, claimed to be the bona fide representatives of a large group of people.

Dr de Beer said he doubted Boervolk was a political party or organisation.

"But even now, if Boervolk provide evidence to support its claims, then there is nothing to prevent it from joining Codesa," Dr de Beer said.

Boervolk's future participation in Codesa had been seriously jeopardised by its being left out of the first round of talks — "a critical time", Mr Bester said.

He said he had approached National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and ANC executive committee member Thabo Mbeki about the matter. Discussions were continuing.

Originally, 19 political parties and organisations were invited to join the talks, and it was decided to refer further applications to the management committee for consideration for the next round, expected to take place in March.

The majority of the new applications — from organisations largely unknown to the public — were received before the December talks and one or two were received afterwards, he said.

While the names of the organisations are being withheld pending a decision from Codesa's management committee, it is known that three applicants are Boervolk; the Federated Independent Democratic Association, headed up by John Gogotya; and the South Africa Red Cross Society.



# Make room for the voice of the people

S/Time's 12/11/92

(304A)

THE most serious problem with the presently constituted Convention for a Democratic South Africa is that it is made up only of political parties and leaders of political movements.

Those who wish to look at the best way of formally putting together a nation and writing an effective, long-lasting and revered constitution should look at the writing of the US constitution.

Who were selected to gather in Philadelphia in 1787? The 55 delegates charged with this awesome duty were leading citizens of the 13 states, including, but not exclusively, politicians.

This was a very sound instinct even though some sectors of the society (eg slaves and women) could not be recognised as leading citizens: for that reason the issue of slavery and status of Afro-Americans almost tore the constitution apart; and the issues of abortion and other women's rights are causing major constitutional strains in present-day US.

## Majority

The crucial point here is that all the major constituencies and sectors of "civil society" must participate directly in the deliberations on the official making of a new nation, and in the writing of the new constitution.

Politicians and political parties alone are singularly unqualified to accomplish this task. The reasons are simple.

In every society in the world most people are not members of political parties. The same applies in our case. All the active and registered members of all the political

## HERBERT VILIKAZI urges Codesa to cast its net a little wider in its pursuit of acceptance

parties and movements that were at Codesa, combined, would not make up even a third of the total adult population of South Africa.

The total membership of political parties is not inclusive enough for the consensus needed in deciding constitutional issues.

The principal point here is that what is needed is not "sufficient consensus" of political figures in Codesa, but "sufficient consensus" of the various sectors of the whole society. This consensus is crucial not only in altering an already written constitution but in the process of writing that constitution.

Political parties and politicians are also sectional and selfish, each party after power for itself, either by itself or in alliance with other parties.

This does not mean that there are no individual political leaders who are real statesmen. But we are talking about the general dangers before us. The tendency for every political party, worldwide, is to load the dice so that they fall in its favour, or in favour of those who have formed an alliance.

A constitution drawn up by politicians alone is thus likely to be divisive from the beginning.

The type of constituent assembly often mentioned is equally not an answer to this problem for the simple reason that it will be political parties that will field the candidates for election to the

constituent assembly; and a suggestion has already been made that the political party which wins the majority should have the dominant role in writing the constitution.

What are the solutions?

I propose there should be a form of constituent assembly. However, it should not be elected only on the basis of political affiliation because that is not inclusive enough.

All the major constituencies of our entire society, of "civil society", should be directly represented at Codesa and should participate in this most delicate and humanistic project.

## Crucial

What are some of these constituencies?

A quick list would include political parties, the major religious bodies, trade unions or the labour sector, representatives of African rural society (kings, chiefs or other elected delegates from various villages), farmers, manufacturers and industrialists, universities, teachers and other professionals, women, sports bodies, small business people, students etc.

This is the crucial principle of representation in Codesa, which will ensure genuine, society-wide "sufficient consensus", which will produce a constitution likely to stand the test of time — that is, if we are really serious.

The most secure agreement, compromise, or deal

possible is not the one that will arise from the deliberations of political leaders, no matter how awesome these leaders are; it is the one that is the result of the deliberations of the delegates of all the major constituencies of the entire society.

We must also guard against class prejudice, specifically the prejudice educated people have against people without certificates from tertiary institutions of education.

## Culture

For example, in the prayers at the opening of Codesa, one would have expected a prayer from the leader of the largest church in the country, the Zion Christian Church. However, I suspect there was a class-based oversight here: members of the ZCC are largely uneducated or semi-educated.

We must also realise that the solid base of this society is not Western in culture, but is part of African civilisation. Western culture, in terms of which we conduct our politics, is only a thin layer at the top of this society. If we are wise we should be hoping for organic, or planned, synthesis of precepts and norms from Western and African civilisations.

This means, in addition, that the proceedings of Codesa cannot be conducted only in English and Afrikaans, for the great bulk of our population does not understand these languages — and these proceedings must not be held in secret.

● Professor Herbert Vilikazi is Professor of Sociology at the University of Zululand.



# Fight for a giant's seat

S/Times

12/11/92

## DONALD SIMPSON reports on the Potchefstroom by-election (304A)

IN the Western Transvaal they're calling it the fight between the *mank* (cripple) and the *tronkvoel* (jailbird).

The NP candidate in the Potchefstroom by-election on February 19 is Theuns Kruger, physically handicapped by a youthful accident and wearing an artificial arm.

The CP candidate is Dries Beyers, who recently had a short holiday in Pretoria Central Prison for refusing to reveal his source for an article claiming NIS involvement in smuggling a key witness in the Winnie Mandela case out of the country.

The by-election was caused by the death of Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament, the political giant of the Western Transvaal. His death at 63, after serving Potchefstroom as MP for 25 years, left the NP unwillingly defending another marginal seat.

Oom Louis could easily have ideologically joined the CP in 1982, but became an unexpected and perhaps uncomfortable supporter of

the new Nat line and a linchpin of the reform process.

This allowed Mr Le Grange both to hold Potchefstroom against the CP when many of his colleagues quietly disappeared with their golden handshakes in 1989 and to increase his majority by more than 1 000.

The "swing" voters will now vote CP and put the 1989 majority of 1 600 at risk. However, there are at least 500 DP supporters who had no candidate in 1989 and could not vote for Mr Le Grange because of his record. They will now probably feel free to vote NP.

Potchefstroom is unlike any other platteland town. It has 8 000 university students and a similar number of national servicemen.

With the coming of the by-election, the Home Affairs Department registered over 8 000 names. Unlike the Virginia fiasco for the NP, it

seems it and CP were neck-and-neck in these registrations, with both parties working hard last year.

Unlike Virginia, there will be a high turnout in the February election. President FW de Klerk will campaign for the NP and he is well regarded in the constituency.

The CP only needs a five percent swing to win Potchefstroom from the NP, a smaller swing than any since February 2 1990 in a by-election. The CP claims it will win by at least 1 800 (an 11 percent swing).

Computer projections indicate the CP can win the seat by at least 500 (a seven percent swing), but such a majority will be a pyrrhic victory: too small a swing to claim a general-election or referendum win.

● Donald Simpson is a political researcher at Potchefstroom University.



# FW supports Zulu king for Codesa

*Sowetan 13/1/92* *306/1*

**THE Government has endorsed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for a place in the negotiation process, but both parties have agreed the issue must be negotiated within Codesa itself.**

This emerged at a Press

conference at Tuynhuys yesterday after several hours of talks between President FW de Klerk, the king and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Each leader was accompanied by a delegation.

In a joint statement, the parties said: "The meeting

agreed that the matter will be further addressed in the management committee of Codesa, in line with the decision taken at Codesa.

"The Government emphasised its understanding for the special position of the king and believes that a way should be found to accord the king his proper position in the negotiation process."

De Klerk told reporters that the statement "means the king's unique position should be recognised and that somehow the king should be involved, and that it's a question for negotiation as to what that according of a proper position should take."

He said there were precedents elsewhere in the

world where monarchs had played a key role in constitutional negotiations, but emphasised that it would be up to all the parties in Codesa to decide the case of the Zulu king.



APR 13 11 92

# Mandela tops in leadership survey

The Argus Correspondent (3047)

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela is still the most popular political leader, with broad support among all black South Africans, according to a recent survey.

Conducted by Research Surveys, it shows 59 per cent of all black and white respondents believe Mr Mandela is doing a good job as a leader. Mr Mandela's rating is particularly high among blacks — more than 70 percent. However, his 10 percent approval rating among whites is regarded as extremely poor.

President De Klerk's approval rating among all black and white respondents comes out three percentage points below that of Mr Mandela at 56 percent.

Mrs Binky Kellas, a director of the survey firm, said: "It is interesting to note that Mr Mandela's support among Zuluspeakers is far greater than that of Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



Mr Mandela

"Chief Buthelezi is in a completely anomalous situation. His rating is the worst of the three by a long way, yet he achieves higher approval ratings among whites than even President De Klerk.

"Mr De Klerk's rating among Afrikaans-speakers — 41 percent — is far below that of Chief Buthelezi's 60 percent.

"Chief Buthelezi's problem, however, is that his rating among blacks is dismal. With only six percent of blacks agreeing he is doing a good job, Chief Buthelezi can hardly be considered a popular leadership figure," said Mrs Kellas.

"Mr Mandela consistently emerges as the most respected leader among black people. It would be a contribution to the future if whites would make more of an effort to understand why," she said.



## Official links with Japan (3048) upgraded

APR 13 1992

PRETORIA. — Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today the South African Consulate-General in Tokyo would become the South African Embassy immediately.

He said this followed the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Japan.

A similar change in status would be made to the Japanese Consulate-General in Pretoria.

Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr Michio Watanabe, said in Pretoria Japan had decided to resume diplomatic relations because of the positive developments in South Africa toward establishing democratic institutions, and particularly the meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) last month.

He said Japan would strengthen its ties further to help bring about the early establishment of a democratic and free South Africa and that it would work to develop stable relations with a new South Africa. — Sapa.



## CP renews call for election

The Conservative Party has rejected the Government's preparedness to accept an interim government, calling the step a serious deviation from its 1989 election mandate.

The motion was tabled at a Conservative Party

meeting in Pretoria at the weekend. (304A)

A CP statement said that in the light of this motion, the party was once again calling on the Government to hold an election so that (white) voters could speak out on this issue. — Sapa.

STAT 13/11/89



# AWB moves into cities for recruits

STAR 13/1/92.  
By Michael Sparks

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has moved from the farms and taken to the city streets in a nationwide recruitment drive that leader Eugene TerreBlanche claims has gained thousands of new members.

Caravans and tents have been appearing along main roads and in parking lots with the three-pronged swastika-like flags flying and banners decrying the "betrayal" of the white race prominently displayed.

According to Mr TerreBlanche, the move was part of a recruiting campaign, started in November, which had been "very successful so far".

"It had been a problem before, because nobody knew how to contact us," he said.

"I gave an order that members with caravans must set them up so that people who had not been able to contact us earlier could now do so."

## Beach

Recruiting posts had been set up in Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria, he said.

"We have recruited thousands of people since we began our programme.

"They managed to sign up 60 people at a post on the beach in Melkbosstrand near Cape Town on the first day alone."

He said no figures were available on how successful the drive had been.

On the Witwatersrand, the recruitment drive included posts in Alberton, Carletonville, Randfontein, Germiston and Krugersdorp, he said.

Recruiting centres have also been seen in Glen Vista and it has been claimed that caravans were in Kensington and at the Roodepoort Hyperama.

Mr TerreBlanche said there had been "absolutely no problem" with caravans alongside main roads.



# The king must be above politics

*Sowetan 13/1/92*

*(304A)*

**CAN HIS Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini kindly clarify his position as far as leadership of the Zulu nation is concerned.**

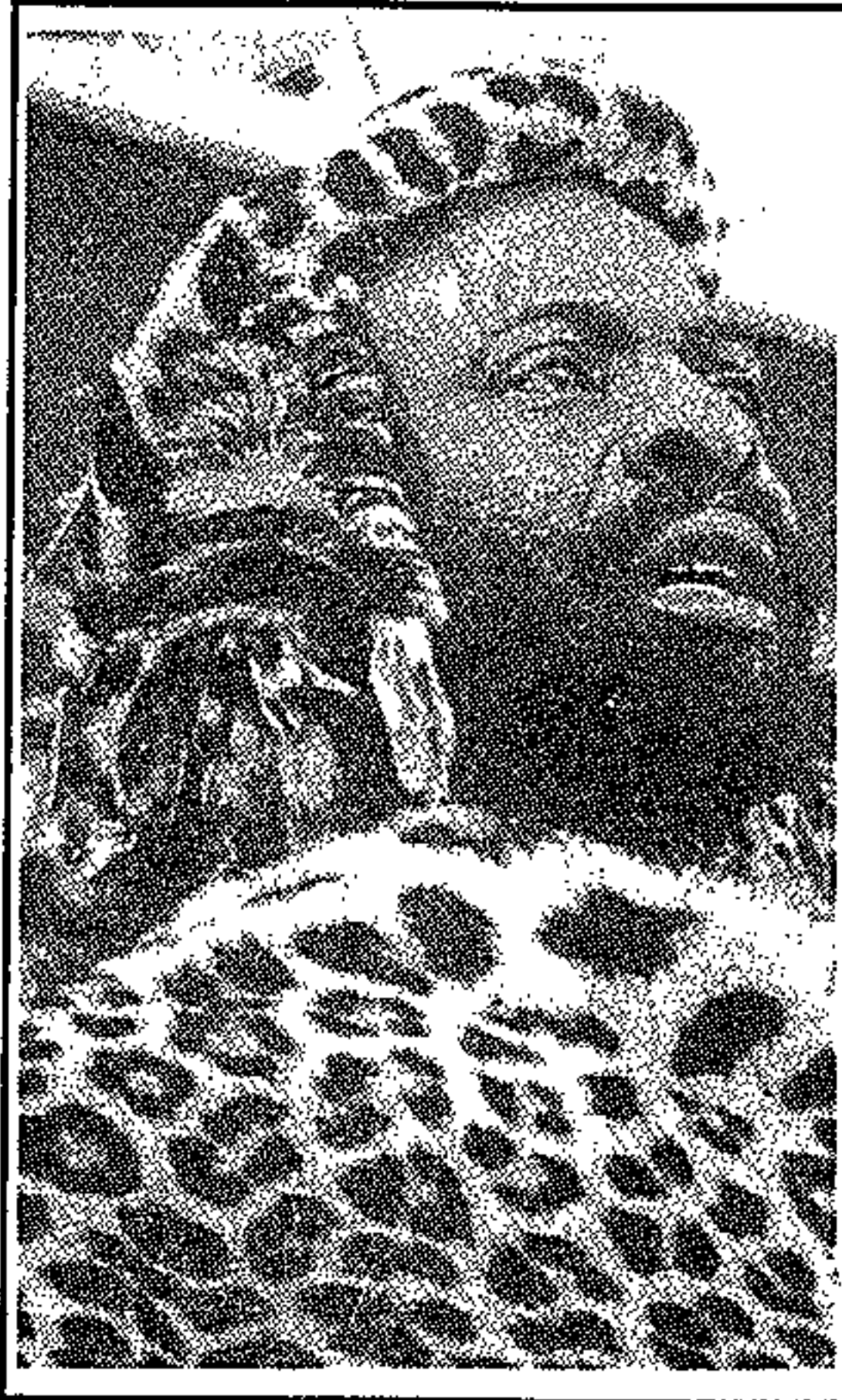
What really puzzles me is how easy it was for him to fall prey to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi when the chief tried to use him for his personal political objectives during Codesa.

Only the naive can believe that Chief Buthelezi was absent from the talks because he sympathised with the exclusion of the king from the talks.

The king was actually used as a scapegoat simply because Chief Buthelezi was trying to avoid being present as a result of a further revelation of Inkathagate 2, by the *Weekly Mail*.

There is no reason for Buthelezi to create a storm in a teacup about his absence. Codesa was for politicians and we are made to believe that the king is above politics. His presence at Codesa remains equivocal.

What logic is it to have two different delegations, one led by the king and the other led by his traditional chief minister, negotiating for the same purpose, at the



**KING ZWELITHINI**



**CHIEF BUTHELEZI**

same place at the same time.

In this case is the king being used as a negotiating partner for Buthelezi? If it is why does he not do it openly?

After all which Zulus does the king hope to represent politically? The Zulus that are there are in no way under any danger of being extinct.

The majority of them have already their representation under political parties such as Inkatha, ANC,

PAC, AZAPO etc.

The role of the king should be unambiguously for unity, not division irrespective of political affiliation.

The king is responsible for the existing rift among the Zulus. He does not seem to stand for the truth and unity. It appears that before one can have qualities of recognition and acceptance as a true Zulu, the road passes through affiliation to Inkatha.

What about other members who do not belong to Inkatha. Are they not the king's people?

The king is never seen at any rallies where his people are present other than those where chief Buthelezi or his Inkatha is present.

The king will be better loved as king of the Zulus, not as king of Inkatha.

**MZWAKHE  
NTSHALINTSHALI,  
Phiri Location, PO  
Tshiawelo, Soweto.**



# Codesa 'may face talks on inclusion of chiefs'

THEO RAWANA

TALKS on the possible inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa could bring up discussion on the status of several other traditional chiefs, Codesa management committee chairman Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Discussions between President F W de Klerk, the king and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week ended with government endorsing the king's demand for a place in Codesa, and both parties agreeing that the issue should be assessed in the Codesa management committee.

De Beer said De Klerk's agreement with the king meant that the issue was back in the hands of the management committee.

"The matter might come up for discussion at tomorrow's committee meeting," he said.

If the king's inclusion was discussed, the position of other traditional chiefs might also have to be discussed, he added.

De Beer stressed that he was not certain that the issue would be discussed at today's meeting.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said it had always been her organisation's standpoint that all kings and paramount chiefs should be present at Codesa as observers.

They should be there not in a party-political capacity and should not have power to intervene in decisions taken, Marcus said.

Arguments for the inclusion of other traditional leaders have been brought up since Inkatha demanded that the KwaZulu

government and the king be allowed to send separate delegations to Codesa.

Inkatha had always argued that the Zulu king's case was different because KwaZulu was not a creation of government policy.

The raging debate over Zwelithini's status culminated in Buthelezi announcing that he would not attend the first Codesa meeting last month.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that De Klerk and senior NP ministers met Zwelithini and members of the Zulu royal family on Friday.

The royal party was accompanied by Buthelezi and several KwaZulu ministers.

Buthelezi said he did not attend the first Codesa meeting as his most "natural constituency", the Zulu people and the king, had been excluded from taking part in the negotiating process.

After the meeting, De Klerk said government understood the "special and unique position" of the king and stated that a way should be found to accord the king his "proper position" in the process.

"The meeting agreed that the matter will be further addressed by the management committee of Codesa in line with the decision taken at Codesa," De Klerk said.

Zwelithini intimated that he should be accommodated in the negotiating process as some members of Inkatha were part of the Zulu royal family.



**JOHANNESBURG.** — The African National Congress has opted for a strong legal representation in choosing its Codesa working group teams.

Lawyers chosen include Mr George Bizos, Mr Arthur Chaskelson, Mr Dullah Omar, all advocates, Mr Penuel Maduna and Professor Kader Asmal.

The full list, which the ANC has said may still be subject to alteration, is as follows:

One (Creation of the right political climate and the role of the state media)

## ANC picks legal men for Codesa

— Mr Joe Modise, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Penuel Maduna and Prof Asmal.

Two (General constitutional principles and constitutional mechanisms) — Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Mohammed

Valli Moosa, Dr Frene Ginwala and Mr Chaskelson.

Three (Interim government/transitional measures) — Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Miss Jill Netsitshende and Mr Omar.

Four (Future of the TBVC states) — Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Matthew Phiso, Mrs Barbara Masekela and Mr Pius Langa.

Five (Time schedules and application of Codesa decisions) — Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Zola Skeweyia, Mrs Lucille Meyer and Mr Bizos.

Codesa meets again on January 20 for preliminary discussions and the working groups are due to begin work in earnest on February 6. — Sapa



# First Codesa meeting fails to reach final decision on membership

Al Day 14/1/92

3044

CODESA swung into action yesterday for the first time this year, but a meeting of the 19-member management committee failed to finalise membership of the forum.

Claims for seats from a string of right-wing and black splinter groups as well as traditional authorities — among them Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — could not be decided upon.

Management committee chairman Zach de Beer said the committee — which consists of one representative of each of the groups taking part in Codesa — had decided to use the criteria used previously to es-

tablish a group's claim to a Codesa seat, namely proven support. This could be tested by election results or party membership lists, he said.

De Beer said a "daily" management committee, which was elected at yesterday's meeting, would now be asked to consider a "longish" list of groups which had applied for Codesa membership. He said some of these were neither political parties nor even political organisations. The list includes the right-wing Boerwolk movement and splinter black groups the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance

## PATRICK BULGER

and the National Forum.

De Beer said certain groups, such as the CP and Azapo, had been invited to take part in Codesa but had declined. Attempts were continuing to draw them into the process.

NP representative Roelf Meyer said the daily management committee would meet to determine detailed guidelines for Codesa membership.

A subcommittee was set up yesterday and asked to consider the claims to mem-

bership of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders. The subcommittee consists of Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and a representative from each of QwaQwa, Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

At a meeting at the weekend, President F W de Klerk came out in support of Zwelithini's claim to a Codesa seat, saying he recognised the king occupied a unique position. Sapa reports that the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders said traditional leaders should be given status equal to the king and be represented at Codesa. In a further attempt to broaden Codesa,

participating organisations will be asked to seek representations to Codesa from affiliated women's organisations.

Yesterday saw the election of a daily management committee, which a Codesa source said was likely to assume control of Codesa. The elected members are: Zach de Beer (DP), Pravin Ghordan (NIC), Peter Hendrickse (LP), Frank Mdlalose (Inkatha), Roelf Meyer (NP), Selbi Ripinga (Inyandza, KaNgwane), Zandilela Titus (Transkei) and Jacob Zuma (ANC). De Beer chaired yesterday's meeting but

□ To Page 2

Codesa 8/10/92

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□ From Page 1

the chairmanship will rotate. A secretariat consisting of ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj and Constitutional Development director-general Faale van der Merwe will remain in place while the daily management committee reviews the secretariat.

The management committee would meet again on Monday, while the working groups would begin sitting on February 6.

□ Sapa reports that the PAC yesterday announced a campaign to render Codesa "meaningless", starting with demonstrations at the opening of Parliament on January 24.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the campaign would highlight the demand of organisations which would not settle for anything less than a democratically elected constituent assembly.



CITY/ NATIONAL

# PAC plans campaign against Codesa

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will march to parliament on January 24 as part of its programme for mass action, the PAC Secretary-General, Mr Benny Alexander, said.

The PAC, which withdrew from the preparatory meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) last month, said the mass action would mark the start of a campaign against Codesa and of support for a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

"This campaign will unfold until Codesa is rendered meaningless for lack of public support and consequent lack of legitimacy," Mr Alexander said in Johannesburg.

Mr Alexander said placard demonstrations would take place along all major roads in Cape Town between 6am and 9am on January 23 and 24.

On January 24, the day parliament opened, crowds were expected to gather in District Six, where they were to be addressed by the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu.

"From there they will march to parliament. No petitions will be handed over as no oppressor can ever be an agent for social change," said Mr Alexander, who, with members of the national executive committee, will lead the march.

Mr Alexander said mass rallies would be held on January 26 in Butterworth, Soweto, Qwa-Qwa, Cape Town, Kimberley and Pietersburg, where PAC leaders would "address the masses".

He said the campaign was to highlight the demand of those who would not settle for anything less than a democratically elected constituent assembly. He called on the security forces to exercise restraint against "the masses who have the democratic right to voice their views".

Mr Alexander said the PAC would soon announce plans for the reconvening of the Patriotic Front (PF) of those people who felt the government could not be trusted, and others who believed in mass action.

After the mass rallies on January 26, the PAC would begin a national door-to-door campaign "in the oppressed communities" to explain the futility of supporting undemocratic forums like Codesa.

Meanwhile the work of Codesa began yesterday with the first meeting of the management committee, in which agreement was reported to have been reached on a several administrative matters.

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## Codesa meeting

*Sowetan 14/1/92 (3041)*  
THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa's management committee held its first meeting yesterday.

The meeting was held at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport under the chairmanship of Dr Zach de Beer.

A Codesa spokesman said the agenda for the all-day meeting was secret, but reports said the talks would include approval of the five working groups.

The working groups are due to begin their activities at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park on January 20. - *Sapa*



Mike Siluma reports on the controversy surrounding the SABC's new CCV channel

# Getting to grips with SA's language tongue-

STAR 14/11/92

THE launch of the SABC's new television channel CCV — merging the former TV2, TV3 and TV4 — has proved to be one of Auckland Park's most controversial decisions yet.

Part of the criticism directed at the new channel, which went on air on January 1, centres on the reduction in the usage of African languages, making English the main communication medium.

But the unease caused by this decision is merely the tip of the iceberg of the debate about the future of South Africa's 11 African languages. This issue has gained prominence as the country prepares to move into an apartheid-free future.

verently taken the bull by the horns, grappling with an issue that all South Africans will, sooner or later, have to confront. CCV head Madala Mphahlele readily admits that whereas in the case of TV2 and TV3 the African languages were dominant, the merger has resulted in English assuming the pre-eminent position on a channel with an overwhelmingly black audience.

"If one looks at a medium such as radio it is possible to accommodate the diversity of languages by channeling them into the various stations. The question is whether you can do the same in the case of a limited medium such as television. At the same time, English is a constant language throughout South Africa. That you

have to acquire English is a given," he said.

Such an argument is unlikely to entirely satisfy those who would like to see African languages being accorded greater status in the transitional period and in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Among them is Professor Solomon Chaphola, head of the African languages department at Vista University in Soweto, who emphasises the need for a language policy that takes into account the interests of the majority of South Africans.

"The African languages have been ignored for far too long. There is now a need for them to be developed and promoted. In addition, we need to change attitudes towards these languages. Because the Government based 'separate development' on linguistic grounds, the promotion of the African languages is now seen by some, especially young blacks, as an attempt to promote the old order of Bantustanism."

No one is expecting the planning to which Professor Chaphola refers to be an easy task.

Any new language policy would have to address the question of an official language (or languages) for a democratic South Africa. One view that has gained currency is that South Africa would need to have one official language (probably English) operating alongside the dominant regional languages. For instance, in Natal the official languages would be English and Zulu, in the Cape English and Xhosa and in the Northern Transvaal English and Venda/Tsonga/Sepedi.

Of course, in the metropolitan centres such as the PWV, where virtually all 11 African languages, as well as Afrikaans, are widely spoken, the implementation of such a policy would require great care not to offend ethnic or racial sensibilities.

Despite resistance to Afrikaans from most blacks because of its history as the language of apartheid officialdom, there is a growing acceptance of the fact that Afrikaans cannot be simply wished away. It is, after all, the mother tongue of the majority of South Africa's coloured population, whose preferences also have

to be taken into account.

The tendency of the political leadership, both black and white, to make pronouncements in English begs the question: Given that a large proportion of the population, especially in the rural areas, is barely literate, and would have difficulty following the high-flown debate currently taking place, how democratic is the present transitional process?

Perhaps the political leadership itself should, in a practical way, lead the search for answers.

To have President de Klerk open Parliament (at least in part) in Zulu and Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi address a peace rally in Sesotho might not be unhelpful to the process. Who knows? □

twister



# MK (304R) cadre heads DP wing

*Southam 14/11/92*  
THE Democratic Party Youth launched its Orange Free State gold fields sub-region on Sunday and elected a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member as its first chairman.

Mr Sam Leseme (20) jailed for two years in 1989 for sabotage and possession of explosives, joined the Democratic Party after his release in June 1991.

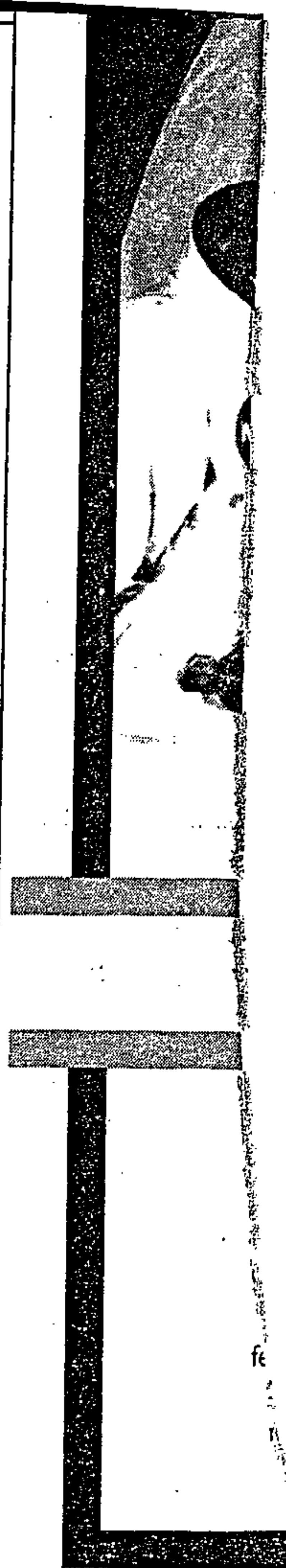
He said the DP and its youth wing had many members in the OFS gold fields, in Welkom, Virginia and Odendaalsrus, and planned to expand in other Northern Free State areas.

Leseme, from Thabong township, said he joined the DP because he agreed with its principles and policies and because "I believe in democracy, and the DP really practises democracy".

He called on South Africa's youth to join the DP saying it "is not only a party of whites, it is a people's party", which did not believe in mass action or violence.

The gold fields DP branch is currently running a "one-person one-vote one-town" campaign.

"We want a nonracial, interim local government - one town and one council - which will give all the people of the area the right to equal access to facilities such as libraries, schools and state housing," Leseme said. - Sapa





# PAC reveals plan to cripple Codesa

*Soweto 14/1/92*

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE Pan Africanist Congress plans a mass action campaign aimed at rendering the Convention for a Democratic South Africa meaningless.

Rallies, demonstrations and pickets are to be held countrywide in what the PAC described yesterday as the year of action against apartheid laws.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the objective of the campaign was to highlight "the demand of those who will not settle for anything less than a democratically elected constituent assembly".

He said: "This campaign will unfold until Codesa is rendered meaningless for lack of public support and consequent lack of legitimacy."

Alexander said the PAC would, after January 26, do a door-to-door campaign to "explain the futility of supporting undemocratic forums like Codesa and our alternative programme leading to a democratic constituent as-

sembly.

"Between 6am and 9am on January 23 and 24 placard demonstrations will take place along all major roads in Cape Town.

"On Friday next week the masses will gather in District Six, Cape Town, where they will be addressed by PAC president

Mr Clarence Makwetu.

"From there they will march to the Parliament buildings. No petitions will be handed over as no oppressor can ever be an agent for social change.

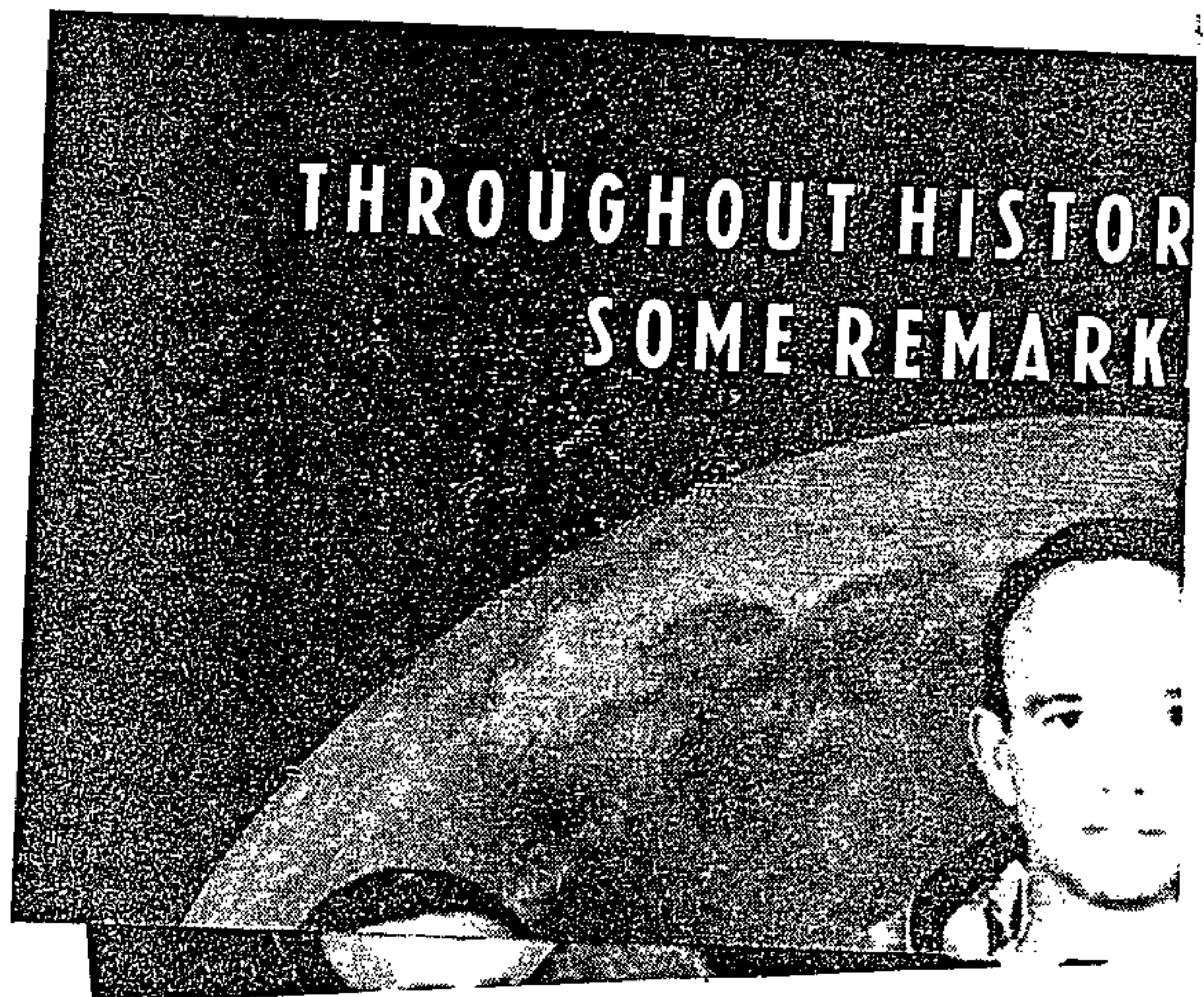
"I and other members of the national executive committee will lead the march.

"On January 26 rallies will be held in Butterworth, Soweto, QwaQwa,

Cape Town, Kimberley and Pietersburg."

Alexander said the PAC would consult with trade unions, the ANC, Azapo and other organisations "concerning our plans in the coming days".

He said the PAC would also announce plans for the convening of the Patriotic Front in order to maximise unity in the campaign.





# Zulu king issue still in the air as Codesa moves into new phase

STAR 14/11/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Staff

304A

Agreement was reached on a number of administrative matters at Codesa's first management committee meeting yesterday.

Representation by the Zulu king and applications for Codesa membership by a "longish" list of groups were, however, referred to committees for further deliberation.

The thorny issue of representation by King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and other traditional leaders was referred to a subcommittee after a proposal by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The chairman of yesterday's meeting, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, said the daily management committee would consider applications by several groups and organisations, including Fida, the National Forum, the Peoples Merit Party and three splinter right-wing groups — the Afrikaner Party, the Boerentia Party and the Boerevolk Secretariat.

The management committee, however, proposed that only political parties and organisations with proven support would be allowed to join Codesa.

Some of the new applications clearly did not comply with this criterion, he said.

Dr de Beer said continued efforts would be made to persuade groups such as the CP, PAC and Azapo, which declined invitations, to join the constitutional talks.

The management committee called for organisations to include more women in their delegations.

Yesterday's meeting transformed the steering committee, which was responsible for ar-

ranging Codesa 1, into a management committee, and changed the five-man secretariat into an eight-man daily management committee which will deal with the running of Codesa as an organisation.

The members of the daily management committee are: Dr de Beer, Natal Indian Congress representative Privan Ghordan, Pieter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Professor Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement, Zamindlela Titus of the Transkei government delegation, and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

It was decided that the management committee would have a rotating chairmanship.

## Condemned

At the first meeting of the daily management committee, held directly after the six-hour management committee meeting at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport, it was decided that its members would assist in getting the work of the five Codesa working groups under way.

High-powered delegates from 19 parties are to begin the task of negotiating transitional arrangements for a new South Africa on Monday.

Meanwhile, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa yesterday condemned President de Klerk's statement that the Zulu monarch was unique among kings in South Africa.

"Contralesa regards Mr de Klerk's declaration as a clear indication that the National Party Government is still committed to a policy of dividing the African community along tribal lines," the organisation said in a statement.



Patrick Laurence argues that tribal leaders have a right to be represented at Codesa

# Bring some seats for the chiefs

STAR 14/11/92

3044



THE quest by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party to win an independent place at Codesa II for the Zulu monarch Goodwill Zwelithini is undoubtedly prompted in part by considerations of realpolitik.

But that should not obscure the point that there are cogent arguments which have nothing to do with political calculations for demanding that he be given a place at the negotiating table.

These arguments, however, apply with equal validity to all traditional leaders, from relatively minor chieftains to the paramount chiefs of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda.

Chief Buthelezi, like all the main players at Codesa, is anxious to strengthen his hand at Codesa; one way of doing so is to secure a place at the negotiating table for King Goodwill.

It is an open secret that the relationship between the two men is close and that King Goodwill — who is Chief Buthelezi's nephew — is unlikely to pursue a line at Codesa which contradicts or challenges that taken by Chief Buthelezi or the IFP.

The relationship between the two Zulu leaders is encapsulated in Chief Buthelezi's depiction of their political roles as those of prime minister and constitutional king. Even within the Zulu paradigm, with its history of strong Zulu kings from Shaka to Dinizulu, the balance of power resides with the prime minister.

But that does not reduce the drive to secure a seat for the king to a mere political manoeuvre.

Traditional leaders still play an important, if diminishing, political role in South Africa; King Goodwill, as the only tribal leader to claim and be granted the title "king", is no exception.

Even if, as Chief Buthelezi has insisted in the past, King Goodwill's role is that of constitutional monarch rather than an absolute potentate, he is still a substantial political figure.

More important, however, as the SA Law Commission's exhaustive Report on Constitutional Models points out, one of the options before South Africa's constitution-makers is whether — and, if so, how — traditional leaders should be accommodated in the "New South Africa".

Once that point is conceded, and it is difficult to see how it can be rejected out of hand, it follows logically that traditional leaders should be given some say in the political deliberations which precede the drafting of a new constitution.

The drive by most South African leaders to dismantle the last of the apartheid structures — the nominally sovereign TBVC states set-up between 1976 and 1981 — strengthens the argument for representation of traditional leaders at Codesa.

The constitutions of all four of the TBVC states provide for representation of traditional leaders.

Transkei's constitution goes even further: it gives more seats to chiefs than popularly elected members: 77 against 75.

The jettisoning of constitutional rule by military juntas in three of the four states — Bophuthatswana is the only exception — does not gainsay the fact that traditional leaders fulfilled, and still fulfil, important functions in their political lives.

It is no coincidence that Bantu Holomisa, the first of the military rulers to emerge in the TBVC states, is the son of a chief: his father Chief Bazindlovu Holomisa was a member of the Transkei

Legislative Assembly and the young Holomisa attended Jongilizwe College, a school for the sons of chiefs and headmen.

In the minds of some South Africans arguments for recognising the right of traditional leaders to a place at Codesa, and perhaps even in the new constitution, smack of manipulation. They revive suspicions of an indirect role in colonial Africa and Verwoerdianism in South Africa.

But, as the Law Commission Report makes clear, independent black Africa has recognised that traditional leaders are not obsolete symbols of a dying past. The constitutions of several post-colonial states provide for a continuing role by traditional leaders.

To cite the case of Botswana: the constitution provides for a 15-member House of Chiefs; the chiefs of the eight most important tribes are ex-officio members and the remaining seven are elected indirectly by chiefs and sub-chiefs.

In Zimbabwe, to quote another case, chiefs are given 10 seats in the 40-member Senate, five from Mashonaland and five Matabeleland. Parity of representation persists even though Mashonaland's

population is much larger than Matabeleland's.

The clearest sign, however, that recognition of the importance of traditional leaders is not in itself a sign of the re-emergence of Verwoerdianism, comes from the African National Congress.

The ANC has been careful to stress that it is not hostile to traditional leaders per se.

The ANC has successfully brought the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralasa) into the alignment of political forces acting its aegis. Contralasa's present president is Sango Pakelile Holomisa, who, unsurprisingly, is a relative of Transkei's military ruler. Contralasa is itself pressing for a place at Codesa.

Its endeavour, which has the backing of General Holomisa and, at the least, the sympathy of the ANC, strengthens the case for giving a place to the King Goodwill.

In a political sense, the presence of the ANC-aligned Contralasa at Codesa will partly neutralise the increased leverage which King Goodwill's participation is likely to give to Chief Buthelezi and the IFP.

It should be noted in passing

Noting that King Dinizulu was one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC after its formation in 1912, the ANC anniversary message hails him as "that patriotic leader of our people." □

winning King Goodwill to its side, a strategic gambit, which, if successful, could be fatal to the IFP.

It cannot be coincidental that the ANC has chosen to single out the Zulu king, Dinizulu, for special tribute at its 80th anniversary celebrations last week.

committee opt to grant representation to traditional leaders, it will have face another difficult decision: how to allocate seats between the various leaders and whether to give the Zulu monarch greater weight than, say, the Paramount Chiefs of Transkei.

One last point should be recorded. The ANC has not yet given up on its objective of wooing and

that King Goodwill's application has the formal backing of the De Klerk administration and the National Party following a meeting last Friday between President de Klerk and a Zulu delegation.

The whole question of representation for traditional leaders has been referred to Codesa's management committee. Should the



B/par 14/1/92

### Ex-MK man DP leader

THE DP youth branch launched its Free State Goldfields subregion on Sunday and elected a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member as its chairman. (30/1)

Sam Leseme, 20, jailed for two years in 1989 in Kroonstad for sabotage and possession of explosives, joined the DP after his release in June 1991.



# Codesa open to 'outside' ideas

ORGANISATIONS and individuals that did not have sufficient public support to warrant their inclusion in Codesa would still be asked to present their ideas to the convention's working groups, Codesa management committee chairman and DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking from Cape Town, De Beer confirmed that about 20 new applications for membership had been received, but declined to name the applicants. "It's up to those bodies to say publicly if they have applied for membership," he added.

Three organisations, the right-wing Boervolk movement, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and the National Forum, have confirmed they have applied.

The main criterion applicants had to meet was set out in President F W de Klerk's February 2 1990 speech, in which he said a multiparty conference would be convened and opened to members with "proven support", explained De Beer.

LINDEN BIRNS

He conceded the definition of "proven support" was vague, but said the current 19 Codesa members were examples of organisations seen as having met this condition.

"Obviously some of the applicants are not organisations, but bodies or individuals ... they will be asked to table evidence before the working groups," he said.

After the rush to hold the first plenary session before Christmas there was a strong tide of opinion within Codesa that procedures should slow down a little so that proper administrative steps could be taken, he added.

A subcommittee consisting of Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and representatives of QwaQwa, KwaNdebele and Lebowa would evaluate applications from ethnic leaders — including that from the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini.

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(304A)



# SA flag hoisted around world

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

South African missions were established or upgraded in nearly 20 countries last year — reflecting the impact of South Africa's political reform.

In addition, the Department of Foreign Affairs has embarked on a programme of rationalisation whereby existing overstuffed embassies will be streamlined in favour of brand new missions in countries where there is as yet no South African representation.

Sources say more than 20 countries are on the list of potential South African representation.

At the same time, some Commonwealth countries are planning to improve the services of their missions in SA following the lifting of people-to-people sanctions.

The Canadian and Australian embassies re-

cently began issuing visas, and in the case of the Australian Embassy, there are moves afoot to expand political staff by the end of this year.

There are no similar plans at the Canadian Embassy. "Only the workload will expand," said a spokesman.

With diplomatic relations being resumed at a fast pace, SA has, in the past year, hoisted its flag or upgraded missions in Japan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Namibia, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Togo, Mauritius, Romania, Ruanda, Turkey, Poland and the Russian Federation.

It was announced yesterday that Zambia and South Africa were about to formalise the exchange of trade missions.

To date, South Africa has embassies in 35

countries, consulates general or honorary consulates in 14, and interest/trade missions or representative offices in 15 countries.

Discussions are continuing with various countries on diplomatic exchanges, mostly in Africa, Eastern Europe and the Middle and Far East.

In the past five years, diplomatic offices have been closed in Bolivia, Australia, Reunion, New Zealand and Peru because of South Africa's former pariah status.

However, political reform has meant a speedy normalisation of relations which will require a reworking of the budget for South Africa's foreign representation.

This has meant that missions in Glasgow, Rio de Janeiro, Houston and Blantyre are to be closed.

304A

STAR 15/1/92



## LP threatens to block new referendum bill

GT 15/1/92

Political Staff

304A

THE Referendums Amendment Bill, which enfranchises blacks and also makes provision for referendums for specific groups of people is heading for a rough ride at standing committee level.

The standing committee on Home Affairs is due to consider the bill today, and the Labour Party has indicated it will not support the measure.

The LP objects to the bill's provision for referenda for specific groups of people. It contends that the aim of Clause 2 of the bill is to hold racially-segregated referenda on future constitutional proposals.

The LP's opposition could cause problems for the government, as it has stated it will put any major constitutional changes to white voters for approval.



## FW to feature in Tussaud's

JOHN CAVILL

LONDON — A replica of President F W de Klerk is to join those of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the Madame Tussaud's waxworks.

"We hope President De Klerk will be able to perform the traditional unveiling of his figure when it is ready, probably in June this year," Juliet Simpkins, a spokesman for Madame Tussaud's, said yesterday. *B/Dam 15/11/92*

The last white SA leader to appear in Madame Tussaud's Grand Hall, where 200 world leaders are exhibited, was Gen Jan Smuts — whose statue still stands in Parliament Square, next to Winston Churchill's. *15/11/92*

Nelson Mandela's figure went on display last year, 14 months after his release from prison. "Madame Tussaud's is about famous people and President De Klerk has become one of the world's best known leaders," Simpkins said. Work on the De Klerk replica started last November when a Tussaud's team went to Pretoria to sketch and measure the president.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town the President's office said De Klerk had given clothes and shoes to the museum to "dress" the image.

# Ministry slaps business ban on trucking tycoon

LINDEN BIRNS

TRUCKING tycoon Jan Adriaan "Riaan" Coetzee has been banned by the Trade and Industry Ministry from continuing his multimillion-rand truck sale and subcontracting operations following the completion of an investigation by the Harmful Business Practices Committee.

Committee chairman Louise Tager led the investigation into Coetzee's scheme, which involved the sale of rebuilt lorries to clients contractually obliged to make the vehicles available to Coetzee's other companies on a subcontract basis.

Tager said in her report that in four years Coetzee entered contracts with about 250 clients involving millions of rands.

According to last Friday's Government Gazette, Coetzee and his Midrand-based companies Truckkor, SA Rebuild, Conomy Truck, Contruck, Condig Civils & Earthmoving and Construction Trucking Service have been ordered not to sell trucks to any person with whom they have agreements regarding the use of the vehicles.

Coetzee and his companies were also directed to cease to have any interest in a business or type of business which involved the sale of trucks, or from deriving any income from that type of business.

Tager's investigation into Coetzee's operations began last August, but Coetzee and his staff refused to co-operate with the Harmful Business Practices Committee. He declined to state his case when sum-

moned to appear before the committee and did not appear before the committee for "examination".

Tager found that clients were led to believe Coetzee's companies were separate legal persons, although they were in fact Coetzee in different guises.

"None of the businesses mentioned are registered as companies or closed corporations," she added.

The committee found Coetzee's clients had been induced to enter prejudicial contracts.

The report explained how, on signing the contracts, clients had to pay amounts of R60 000 a truck as "goodwill" in addition to any amount which later had to be paid as the truck's purchase price.

During interviews, Coetzee showed prospective clients income projection charts showing how they could earn between R10 000 and R12 000 a month from the scheme, the report said.

Tager said in her report that Coetzee's conduct was planned and executed with fluency and painstaking attention to detail, and added the committee could find no justification for his business practices.

A spokesman for the Trade and Industry Ministry could not confirm yesterday whether the case had been referred to the Attorney-General's office or that charges might be brought against Coetzee.

## More arrests possible over anti-Simon blast

GAVIN DU VENAGE

POLICE said yesterday more arrests were possible in the investigation into the grenade attack on offices of the tour organisers of US musician Paul Simon. *B/Dam 15/11/92*

Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) president Thami Mcerwa was still in custody yesterday after being arrested on Monday in connection with a handgrenade blast aimed against Simon's tour.

Azayo spokesman George Ngwenya denied Azayo had any connection with the attack on Network Entertainment, which helped organise the Simon concerts.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said Mcerwa was being held for questioning on "terrorist and criminal activities", and said more arrests could be made.



Denis Beckett tries to work out what the Right has in store

# It's a bit late to 'maak 'n plan'

STAR 15/11/92

3047

**G**ENERATIONS of school-children learnt that "n Boer maak 'n plan". Generations grew up convinced that somewhere, somehow, the Boere always had a card up their sleeve.

Well, what card are the right-wingers hiding away? Could it be that sooner or later a critical mass coagulates in the upper reaches of the Defence Force, and coup or mutiny follows?

Given the rightists' constant rhetoric — dark assurances that "steps will be taken" when the time comes — it is tempting to assume there must be some sort of plot under way to subvert the military establishment.

It can't be solely a matter of little hands of desperadoes placing furtive bombs in schools.

Or can it? A tour of inquiry around relevant circles — anonymity promised all round — leaves this journalist with powerful doubts that any card is lurking up the right-wing sleeve, and if there is one it isn't an ace.

"This isn't Argentina," says a fiercely radical right-wing leader, regretfully.

"Our Boer people have constitutionalism in their marrow. It's easy enough to sit around the braai and hear military officers

denounce De Klerk and ridicule the New South Africa, but when you get excited and drop some little hint about it being time to take matters in hand, they freeze right over and look down their noses at you and say: "What! You want us to break the law?"

Similarly, another rightwinger says: "There's no plot and there isn't going to be one. I wish there was, but there is just no way that potential mutineers in the SADF can get their act together."

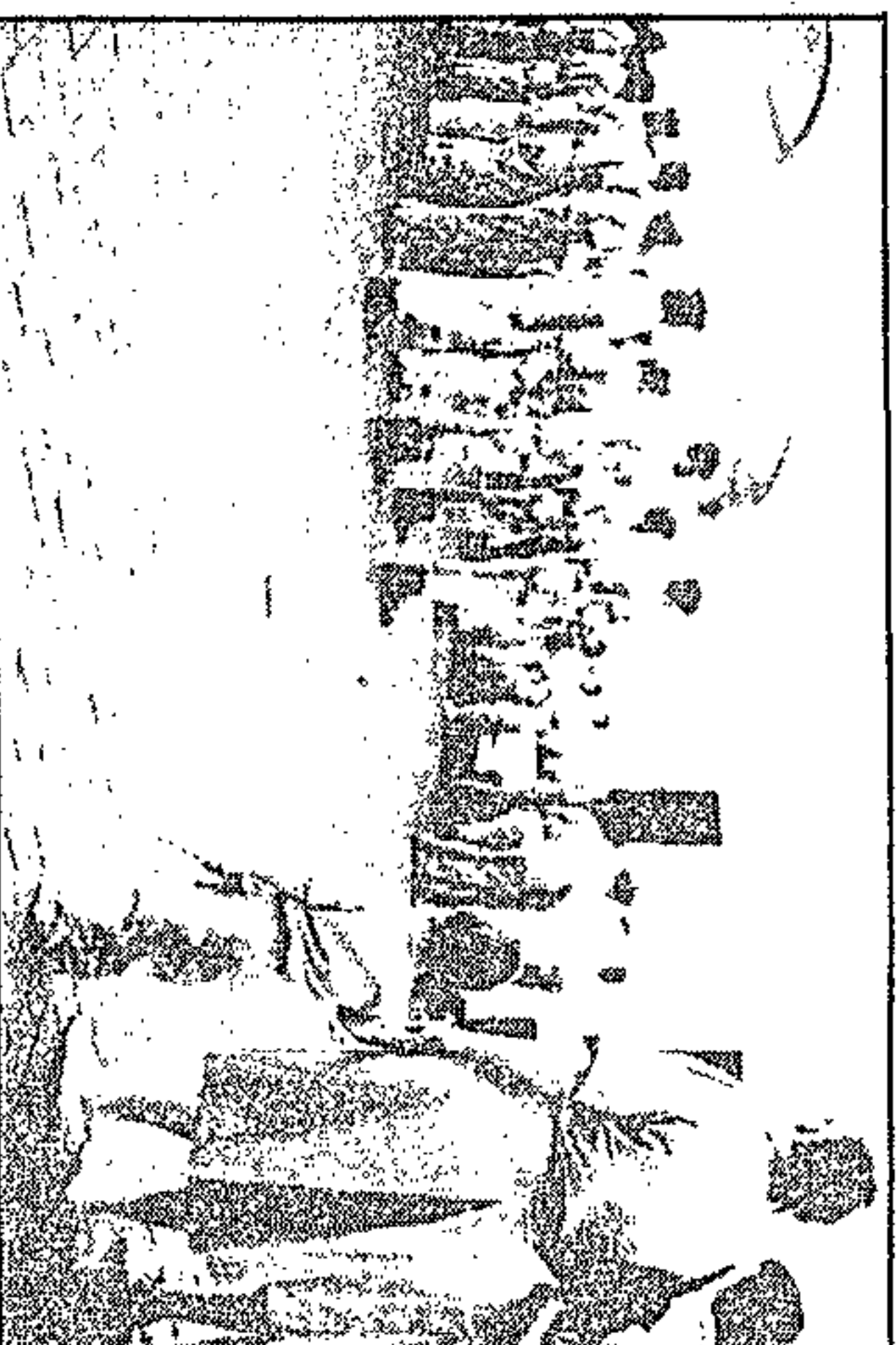
"For one thing, you can't trust anybody, you never know who is going to have a flush of officer-school conscience."

"For another, everybody's terrified about their pensions. If you really want to know what the crucial factor is, there you have it in one word: pensions."

A heriboned general, dripping in brass and braid, puts a different slant on it. "Pension," he chuckles wryly. "I don't know what use my pension is going to be when the ANC runs what's left of the economy into the ground."

"But that's not why I stay here. I stay here because that's what I am trained to do and that's what I'm sworn to do."

"In fact, as a result of the uncertainty there has been a huge resurgence of the old values of



Is the right wing on the march... if so where to now?

officership. There's a higher sense of morale and mission around here than I have known for years.

"It's not exactly that we're full of confidence, but that we in the officers' corps are conscious of our role in preserving military ethics in the new society."

"That's one thing we inherited from the British, along with the tradition of obedience to constitutional authority."

So a somewhat consoling pic-

ture of stability emerges. And yet

"If anything WAS under way," says a curt and angry officer, "I'd be a bloody fool to tell you. Go and speak to TerreBlanche and his toy soldiers. They're the ones who like getting their pictures in the paper."

Little love is lost for the media-annointed glamour boys of the right wing, whom one rival rightly

dismisses as "Ventersdorp se bobbeane".

The Right on the whole is a bundle of bitchiness and back-biting, everybody full of scorn for everybody else's personality, support-base, morals, and/or unscientific approach to the Boer homeland.

But when it comes to the AWB, eyelids droop in earnest.

"They give the Right a bad name" is one recurring comment. Is it they, then, who are planting bombs in schools and post offices? Few rightwingers, it seems, as much as claim to know.

"It's not just that nobody will tell you," says one, "it's that nobody knows, genuine. Do you think people are going around swopping notes and giving debriefings? Forget it. Nobody who means business is talking about it. Two guys with their heads together in a meale field is as close as anyone gets to a conspiracy."

One rightist hands over the front page of a recent "Patriot", the Conservative Party's newspaper. The story, over a full page, is an extended prediction about how 1992 is to be the year the rightwingers display their anger.

"You notice," says the man, "that they don't exactly urge or invite anybody to 'engage in sustained violence throughout the

year'. They just predict that this is what is going to happen anyhow."

For what purpose, exactly? Deep silence. If there's anybody who knows how and why the Right is actually benefiting from the "year of violence", it would be interesting to hear from them. Especially since the consensus among the Right seems to be that some bombs — the Melkriver blast is regularly cited — were really anti-Right endeavours to discredit the Right.

If the Boer has a plan it's a hard plan to see. On current showing the smart money may be on the rumbling Right quietly taking up a Cde's seat after all.

Already there seems to be a good deal of almost-open whispering that that might not be a fate worse than death — that there'd be alliances to come with the likes of Mangope and Buthelezi, and a livable confederation at the end.

All that's certain is that — disregarding the wildmen — there are plenty of sober figures whose faith in the course of State is shaky.

They could jump in pretty well any direction, but to jump into heavyweight unconstitutional resistance could be much more difficult than cocktail conversation often takes it to be. □



# King and FW meet on Codesa



KING ZWELITHINI

*Sowetan 15/11/92*  
KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus met President FW de Klerk yesterday as the controversy regarding Inkatha's demand for the monarch's inclusion in Codesa continued.

"The whole discussion focused on the appropriate accommodation of the king in the negotiation process for a new constitution," a joint statement released by De Klerk, the king and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said. (304A)

"The meeting agreed that the matter will be further addressed in the management committee of Codesa in line with the decision taken at Codesa," the three leaders said.

The thorny issue of representation by the king and other traditional leaders was referred to a sub-committee after a proposal by Inkatha at Codesa's first management committee meeting on Monday. - *Political Staff.*



DE KLERK



STAR 15/1/92

## Zwelithini, De Klerk meet

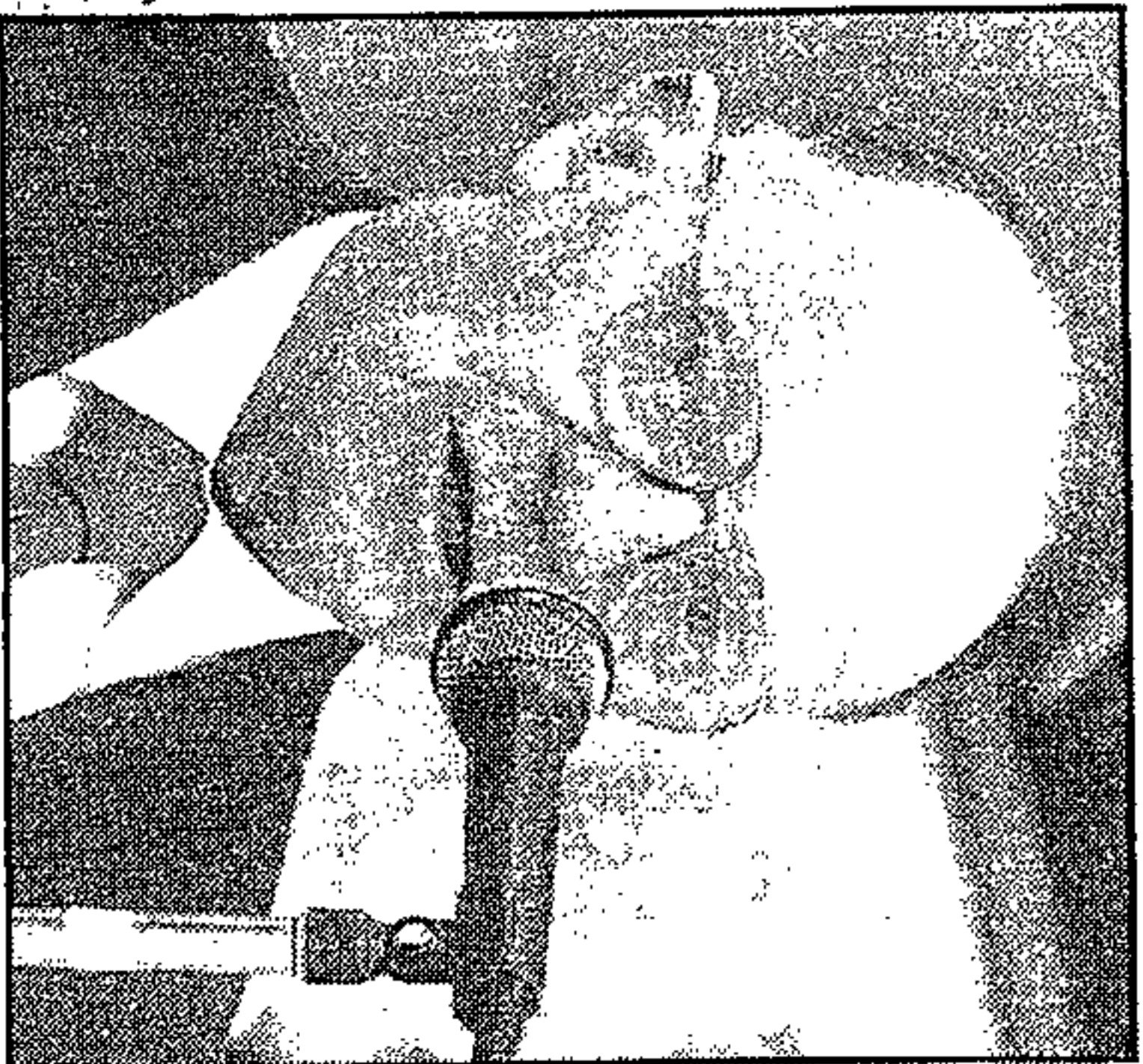
King Goodwill Zwelithini met President de Klerk yesterday as the controversy regarding Inkatha's demand for the Zulu monarch to be included in Codesa continued. (221) 304A

"The discussion focused on the appropriate accommodation of the king in the negotiation

process," said a joint statement released by Mr de Klerk, the king and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"The meeting agreed that the matter would be further addressed in the management committee of Codesa in line with the decision taken at Codesa." — Staff Reporter.





Robert van Tonder (right-wing leader) ... the new USSR, divided into ethnic states, serves as the best example for a future South Africa.



Chris Levine (courier) ... look to Japan for lessons in discipline and the total involvement of workers in their companies.



Richard Maponya (entrepreneur) ... the US can teach us about race acceptance, and when I visit England I feel that all people walk side-by-side.



Bruce Fordyce (athlete) ... Singapore has no minerals or natural wealth and yet they have created a successful economy where virtually everyone is employed.

# What the world can teach us

STAR 16/1/92

3044

Political changes have enabled South Africa to come in from the cold and be accepted once more internationally. SHIRLEY WOODGATE asked some personalities what lessons can be learnt from other nations.



Noelle Bolton (socialite) ... let us learn from Hong Kong.

IN 1992 the buzzword in South Africa is "hullo world, goodbye isolation". Political changes have dispelled the country's polar status conferred on it for the last 40 years. People can travel freely once again, trade openly and take part in great sporting events.

I asked a cross-section of leading personalities who travel on South African passports which countries could teach the new South Africa something and where, if they did move, they would like to live.

Socialite **Noelle Bolton** said: "We must look to Hong Kong, an exciting place with glamorous and interesting people who could teach us about the work ethic through their desire to succeed through team effort. "Its future is assured despite pending changes in a world which is beset with problems. "But I remain a proud South African, convinced that the future of this country is assured. "We have the infrastructure, and people of integrity, expertise and goodwill to learn from past mistakes. We are hard working and ambitious and will create one hell of a country. "I (would like to) create my own version of heaven on Earth.

the principality of Piet, on the south-eastern Cape shores. **Robert van Tonder**: "We have most to learn from the old Soviet Union, which knew how to get rid of its president." On a more serious note, he added: "The new Commonwealth of Independent States — the old USSR divided into ethnic states — serves as the best example for a successful future South Africa. "I speak as the boerevolk enters its bleakest year since the Great Trek. In the new SA, our nation will not even be able to obtain 50 percent of the seats in Parliament and we must now dig in and fight for our cause, our culture and our identity. "We must remain here and ensure our salvation: the reinstatement of the Boer republics."

Courier **Chris Levine**: "Japan could teach us a lot about discipline and the total involvement of the workers with their companies. "People change jobs rarely because the workplace is made so attractive for them; a job is a lifetime commitment, and hearing this must have some bearing on their achievements over the past 30 years.

"I doubt that the Japanese have better brains than South Africans, but it is likely they are less easily distracted than Westerners, which has to do with their religion and their total involvement with whatever they do, from flower arranging to having tea. "Westerners suffer from so many cross-cultural influences which may be exciting, but which are distracting. "But when it comes to finding a place to live, I am a dyed-in-the-wool South African who is inevitably drawn by Africa's magnetism. Loathe it or love it, I could not completely settle anywhere else in the world."

Entrepreneur and racehorse owner **Richard Maponya**: "If we are talking about business practice or human rights, then I believe we should look to the US, Britain, Switzerland and Germany — although none of them is perfect. "As far as acceptance of people of all races, the US can teach us a lot, and when I visit England I feel that all people walk side-by-side. "They still have problems, but the important thing is that they are working on them and the appropriate legislation is in place, which means problems

can be easily resolved. "All these countries are also highly developed and intensely exciting. "Why should I leave South Africa? It is still the best in the world with lots of room and potential for all of us. I enjoy visiting the four countries I admire, but I always look forward to returning to my fatherland, the best country in the world."

Comrades marathon champion **Bruce Fordyce**: "We could learn from the Singapore experience. Considering that they have no minerals or natural wealth, they have created a successful economy, out of nothing, where virtually everyone has employment. "The place is spotlessly clean and, of course, the East has the most marvellous cuisine. It's chili crab before potatoes every time for me. "Where would I choose to live now that all doors are open? South Africa — which has great people, great weather and great wide open spaces. "I'm an optimist and I'm convinced that initial progress will lead to even better things."

Soweto community leader **Dr Ntshato Motlana**: "Africa can teach us about 'ubuntu', or

human relations. And Britain, despite its racism, is still a lovely place to visit. "I found that blacks there were freer and happier than in America, while France, which is a very racist country, could teach us nothing about race relations. "If we are looking for examples of top health policies and social security which includes care of the aged and children and an effective educational system, then Scandinavia can supply the answers. "But when it comes to choosing a land to live, then South Africa is my home. It is where my people settled before Christ. "We have problems but they are for me and mine and my colleagues to solve."

Broadcaster **Adrian Steed**: "The popular examples are Korea, Japan and Taiwan, but unlike South Africa they experienced strictly controlled economies, almost military dictatorships, and now, although they have adopted the free-market approach, there is still strict central government control. "So Mexico and Chile, which have faced the same problems that we will soon have to tackle, would be my choice if we are

looking at economics. "We are a developing society with rapid urbanisation and we can learn much from the successes and failures of these two lands. "There is no doubt in my mind that I want to live in South Africa. Johannesburg has been good to me over the years and I have been good to Johannesburg as well. "But first prize would be if I could do exactly what I'm doing now — only in Cape Town."

Renowned sculptor **Eduardo Villa**: "Not only can we learn from other countries but we can teach them something. Artistically we must interact with the whole world. "You cannot discard the influence of US art. It is an exciting place to be, boasting some of the leading contemporary artists in the world, along with the Italians, the English and the Germans. "When it comes to eating, the French can teach us about ham and truffles and the Italians have beautiful salami, pastas and parmesan cheese. "As for living in the country of my choice, I chose South Africa 50 years ago and have never regretted it."



Ntshato Motlana (doctor) ... blacks are freer in the US.



Eduardo Villa (artist) ... let's interact with the whole world.



# Referendum ball in Codesa's court

B (Day) 16/1/92.

304A

A PARLIAMENTARY standing committee on home affairs yesterday effectively blocked intended referendum legislation, opening the way for Codesa and not Parliament to decide on the role of referendums during negotiations.

The Referendum Amendments Bill, which enables government to test black opinion outside of the TBVC states as well as to define different categories of people and test their opinions, was deferred until April.

The Bill will now be reconsidered after the second Codesa plenary session due to be held in March. Before then, however, the Codesa working group on constitutional principles and constitutional mechanisms will be given the opportunity to examine the role of referendums during constitutional change. The Bill itself could come before the Codesa working group, a Codesa source said.

Although the role of referendums forms part of the working group's brief, government is anxious to avoid a precedent being set in which Codesa usurps the parliamentary domain by taking decisions on Bills that have yet to come before parliament.

Government is facing widespread opposition to its plan to test white opinion on constitutional changes as

PATRICK BULGER

promised by President F.W. de Klerk. There are fears in some circles that De Klerk could lose such a referendum, which would then act as an effective veto to constitutional change.

At yesterday's standing committee meeting, government and CP members blocked a resolution from the Labour Party that the Bill be held back until after what is being called Codesa II.

Instead they argued that Codesa not be mentioned and that the Bill be held back until April — a month after Codesa's second plenary session.

Labour Party MP Desmond Lockey, the standing committee's chairman, said yesterday the development would set a precedent in the relationship between Codesa and Parliament.

"One of the ideas mooted at Codesa was that Codesa's decisions will be enacted into law," Lockey said.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday no decision had been taken on referring the referendum Bill to Codesa. He said it had been a suggestion made by some of the parties.

He said government was committed to holding a referendum among House of Assembly voters on constitutional change.



# Police warn Right on Pik meeting

STAR 16/11/92

Police have warned rightwingers planning to disrupt tonight's by-election meeting in Potchefstroom town hall that they will be out in full force to protect those attending and to prevent lawlessness.

The meeting will be addressed by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and NP candidate Theuns Kruger.

Police headquarters spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen warned the rightwingers not to venture near the hall.

The warning comes after unsigned pamphlets, inciting rightwingers to swarm into the town hall, engage in violence and prevent the meeting taking place, were distributed in the town.

The pamphlets said the rightwingers should not be "led into a trap by Satan", referring to the bloody incident last year when the AWB tried to storm a meeting addressed by President de Klerk.

"Calling Mr Botha a 'demon' and the National Party 'Satan', the pamphlets urged rightwingers to 'render the work of Satan harmless'." — Political Staff.

## Man killed in shop shoot-out



# US may pressure PAC over violence, Codesa

STAR 16/1/92  
By Esther Waugh  
and Shaun Johnson

The US government is considering using its diplomatic muscle to isolate the Pan Africanist Congress as a result of the PAC armed wing's assassination campaign against policemen and the organisation's militant anti-Codesa stance.

The Star understands from reliable sources that diplomatic action is being contemplated if the PAC continues to undermine the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, persist with its armed actions via the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and attempt to enlist the support of other governments in its vendetta against Codesa.

Available options could include "suggestions" from the US to Frontline states to "re-examine their relationship" with the PAC.



Gora Ebrahim . . . toured Africa seeking support.

The PAC still relies heavily on retaining its official presence in, among other countries, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Uganda.

The sources stress that consideration of such action would be a "last resort" if US attempts to encourage recalcitrant political groups in South Africa to join the Codesa negotiations process failed.

Washington hopes, through

persuasion, to convince groups such as the PAC and the right-wing Conservative Party to rethink their boycott of the national talks.

The US does not consider the PAC boycott of Codesa to be grounds in itself for punitive action — but believes that active undermining of the talks would warrant this.

There is some concern in diplomatic circles about a recent tour of Africa undertaken by PAC external foreign affairs official Gora Ebrahim. Mr Ebrahim, it is understood, sought to garner support for the PAC's opposition to Codesa.

Observers noted that former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, who headed a Commonwealth observer delegation to Codesa, had already briefed Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe on the success of the meeting — and they were unhappy about Mr Ebrahim's efforts.

Four days left to win a VIP holiday for two — Page 16

NEWS



# Referendum bill blocked

at 16/1/92 3047

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT plans for a referendum of all races this year have already hit a stumbling block with the bill designed to facilitate the poll being blocked at standing committee level yesterday.

This follows intense speculation that a referendum could be held as soon as August — a claim dismissed by senior government sources yesterday.

A decision on the Referendum Amendments bill — which would extend the franchise in referen-

dums to blacks — was deferred by the Standing Committee on Home Affairs until April.

It was originally proposed in yesterday's committee meeting that the decision be held back until after Codesa II, which is due to meet before the end of March.

National Party MPs argued that this would amount to Codesa interfering in the sovereignty of Parliament.

Sources on the committee said this appeared to clash with the National Party's signing of Codesa's Declaration of Intent, in which it bound itself to the negotiating forum's decisions.

The bill makes provision for separate referendums among the various race groups.

Labour Party members on the standing committee said they could not support the bill as it would effectively give whites a veto on the negotiation process. They also opposed holding a referendum with any distinction between race groups.

Yesterday, however, the National Party got strong support from MPs in the House of Delegates, who were apparently keen to gauge the support for the process among the Indian community.



## Anger at plan for visit by Dutch PM

The Argus  
Foreign Service

16/1/92

THE HAGUE. — Pressure is mounting on Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers to cancel his visit to South Africa, planned for next month.

Mr Lubbers is to visit the country with Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek.

But South Africa's largest federation of trade unions, the Socialist FNV, has sent a letter to the premier urging him to postpone his February 18 departure.

The FNV says it fears the visit will be used by President De Klerk to "prop up his image in South Africa".

It quotes Mr Nelson Mandela's recent claim that Mr De Klerk was trying to keep apartheid intact until into the 21st Century.

Mr Pieter Adriaan van Buuren, Holland's ambassador to South Africa, has been ordered to discuss the visit with the ANC, especially to explain how news of it came to be leaked before the ANC could be informed.

The proposed trip will also be discussed in the Dutch parliament during a special debate next week.



# US may flex its muscles with PAC

## Political Staff

WASHINGTON may use its diplomatic muscle to isolate the Pan Africanist Congress because of its armed wing's assassination campaign against policemen and its stance against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

It is believed diplomatic action is being contemplated should the PAC continue to undermine Codesa, persist with its armed actions using the Azanian People's Liberation Army and attempt to enlist the support of other governments in its vendetta against Codesa.

Available options could include "suggestions" from the United States to Frontline States to "re-examine their relationship" with the PAC. The PAC still relies heavily on retaining its official presence in, among other countries, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Uganda.

The sources emphasise that consideration of such action would be a "last resort" if US attempts to encourage recalcitrant political groups in South Africa to join the Codesa negotiation process fail.

Washington hopes, through persuasion, to convince groups like the PAC and the rightwing Conservative Party to rethink their boycott of the national talks.

The US does not consider the PAC boycott of Codesa to be grounds in itself for punitive action — but believes active undermining of the talks would warrant this.

The US government believes groups like the PAC and the CP have an important role to play in the negotiating process.

There is some worry in diplomatic circles about a recent tour of Africa undertaken by PAC external foreign affairs official Gora Ebrahim. Mr Ebrahim, it is understood, sought to garner support for the PAC's opposition to Codesa.

Observers noted that former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, who headed a Commonwealth observer delegation to Codesa, had already briefed Zimbabwean leader Mr Robert Mugabe on the success of the meeting — but were still unhappy about Mr Ebrahim's efforts.



# Referendum Bill delayed until after Codesa meeting

STAR 16/1/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Codesa made its first impact on this year's session of Parliament when an important Bill to allow multiracial referendums was postponed until Codesa has considered the question.

The Joint Standing Committee on Home Affairs decided that it would not consider the Referendums Amendment Bill until April — after the next plenary meeting of Codesa.

The decision provided immediate confirmation of Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer's prediction this week that Parliament would have to consult Codesa on all important legislation.

"In effect we already have a form of interim government," he added.

The Referendums Amendment Bill would extend the franchise to blacks but allow for the opinions of different races to be tested separately.

The legislation is expected to be used by the Government to conduct a plebiscite on the interim government proposals that Codesa agrees to.

## Opposed

There is strong speculation in Parliament that this poll could take place as early as this year.

One of the parties at yesterday's home affairs committee meeting proposed that discussion on the Bill should be postponed until after Codesa 2 because the whole question of testing support for negotiated proposals was on the agenda

of the Codesa working groups on constitutional matters.

The National Party at first opposed the proposal, arguing that this would be tantamount to Codesa interference with the sovereignty of Parliament.

But the NP then accepted a compromise proposal that consideration of the Bill be postponed until April — rather than until after Codesa 2.

As Codesa 2 is scheduled to take place before the end of March, the compromise proposal has the same effect as the original.

The Conservative Party agreed to the compromise because it opposes the Bill in principle and was happy to see it postponed.



## De Beer: NP dare not skip Codesa

● From page 1

Sowetan 16/1/92  
body in the country.

He added, however, that it was unlikely that in the spirit of the present time, Parliament would sail along without Codesa's influence.

"Parliament would be very foolish if it were to pass legislation to which Codesa would be opposed, particularly because the Government is bound to the Declaration of Intent," De Beer said.

He also said speculation of a second session of Parliament to push through legislative changes to the constitution was perhaps not entirely far-fetched.

"I think there is a general feeling that much attention is going to be given in the very near future to the function of Parliament given that Codesa is in full swing," De Beer said.

### Consult

He added that the Government could consult the ANC or Codesa before deciding on legislation.

"Those who say South Africa already has an interim government are not really that far wrong," De Beer said.

He warned, however, that no major or significant changes would occur before Codesa's working group, assigned to look into constitutional matters had delivered its report.

# Power sharing 'on the cards'

304A  
Sowetan 16/1/92  
EFFECTIVE power sharing could begin with the opening of Parliament next week.

The Government is expected in the next six months to consult the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on pertinent legislative issues, according to parliamentary sources.

If this happens, it will be the first time since the formation of Union that ultimate political power shifts outside the confines of Parliament.

Speculation is rising, too, that there will also be an extended parliamentary session or a second sitting after a short recess.

The latter is more likely as the Government would, by President FW de Klerk's own admission, prefer to put constitutional changes to the

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

white electorate by means of referendum.

Codesa management committee chairman Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday the Government would "be silly" if it ignored the opinion of the South African people because when it signed the Declaration of Intent it bound itself to the decisions of Codesa.

De Beer said Parliament was still, "whether we like it or not", the sole legislation-making

● To page 2

"I would be surprised if any action takes place before there is at least an interim report from that group," he said.

Members of the Government and of the National Party, who are part of Codesa's working five groups, are meeting this week to discuss their strategy.

Nine members of the Cabinet, seven deputy ministers and seven National Party MPs are directly involved in Codesa.



# Role for traditional leaders mooted

CODESA would soon start hearing expert testimony on the role played in SA by traditional leaders; a Codesa source said yesterday.

Evidence provided by anthropologists and historians on SA's pre-colonial history will help a subcommittee of Codesa's management committee determine what role Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders can play in constitutional negotiations.

The subcommittee consists of Inkatha national chairman Frank Mchale and three representatives from each of QwaQwa, KwaNdebele and Lebowa.

PATRICK BULGER

The source said the subcommittee would report its findings to the eight-man daily management committee elected earlier this week. (304A)

The source said there was general consensus that Zwelithini should take part in Codesa but that his status was at issue. There was a problem in determining the status of other traditional leaders in relation to the king.

While the issue of traditional leaders remained unresolved at this week's management committee meeting, traditional leaders are gearing up to have their voices heard.

About 1 000 traditional leaders in Transkei are due to meet tomorrow to discuss their possible role in Codesa. They represent the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), the Transkei Traditional Leaders' Association and non-aligned chiefs.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said Codesa's management committee would have to decide whether chiefs comprised an interest group or a political group with their own interests.

A Codesa source said it was unlikely that the 20 interest groups that had already applied would be included.



By ALLISTER SPARKS

THERE are grounds for suspecting that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may quietly be laying the basis for a secessionist movement.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the reasons the Inkatha Freedom Party gave for refusing to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent last month. The issue was overshadowed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to boycott the convention because of its refusal to include a delegation representing the King of the Zulus in addition to the IFP and the kwa-Zulu government.

In fact, the IFP objected to a phrase in the declaration committing participants to "an undivided South Africa with one nation" sharing a common citizenship...

It also objected to a phrase stating that this new South Africa should be a country "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory".

The reasons given for these objections — that the phrases gave the impression Codesa was pre-committed to a unitary state and would prevent the IFP from putting its case for federalism — are patently spurious.

## Clause

The Democratic Party is strongly in favour of federalism. So for that matter is the National Party, in its new incarnation. Neither saw any contradiction between the declaration's phrasing and the federalist proposals both will include course lay before the convention.

With good reason.

# Does Buthelezi's boycott of Codesa indicate interest in Balkanisation?

OF 16/1/92 (3044)

There is nothing incompatible between the concepts of federalism and an undivided nation. Federalism does not mean disunity, merely a decentralisation of power. When Americans take the oath of allegiance to their country, the quintessential federation, they swear loyalty "to one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

In any event, there is another clause in the Declaration of Intent which states that "the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the convention any proposal consistent with democracy". So there can be no question of the phrasing preventing the IFP or anyone else from putting forward their federalist proposals.

What is more, the phrasing was initially accepted by the IFP delegates who did attend Codesa. It was drafted by a working group headed by Arthur Felgate, a leading IFP member, and Mr Felgate himself presented it to the steering committee for approval.

The decision to object to the phrasing and not

to sign the declaration was taken at an IFP leadership meeting after that, presumably at the behest of Chief Buthelezi who had not been part of the Codesa drafting process. The question is: why? If the reason given is not the real one, as it cannot be, what is the motive for not signing?

## Last hope

One can only assume there must be some compelling reason for not wanting to be committed to the principle of "an undivided South Africa". In other words, to leave a door open for a secessionist option.

Not just a kwaZulu secession, I suggest, but a Natal/kwaZulu secession. A revival in new guise of the old secessionist spirit in that part of the country which was always a half-hearted member of the Union and where there have been periodic "Natal stands" and breakaway threats.

Add to that the sense of animity between white and black Natalians which evolved during the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba and you begin to see that the prospect of carrying this region, of

being its leader, represents the last best hope still open to Chief Buthelezi.

He is a shrewd politician and, despite his claims that the IFP is a national party, he must know it has negligible support outside Natal and its extended constituency of Zulu migrant workers. Even in its heartland its support is slipping: growing numbers of young Zulus and urban Zulus are turning to the ANC and other nationalist movements, as Natal's fratricidal war and stayaway figures in Durban and Pietermaritzburg indicate.

Repeated opinion polls suggest the IFP is unlikely to poll more than 15% of the vote in a national election — not enough to give Chief Buthelezi the significant role he obviously wants. So his politician's eye turns increasingly inward to the regional base which he can be reasonably sure of still dominating, provided Zulu ethno-nationalism is whipped up enough. Hence the dramatising of the Zulu King's cause and the attempts to present the Inkatha-ANC conflict as

a tribal war between Zulu and Xhosa.

Other strands of circumstantial evidence point in the same direction. The IFP has been meeting quietly with several right-wing groups, all avowed Boerestaat secessionists, including a meeting last week between Chief Buthelezi and Dr Andries Treurnicht. This has led to speculation of a possible alliance between the Conservative Party, the IFP and Bophuthatswana (which also refused to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent).

## Lawyer

As Dr Treurnicht put it after the meeting: "We took note of the IFP's basic objection to Codesa. This was the notion of an undivided South Africa under one central government, entrenched in the Declaration of Intent."

Then there was the appearance at Codesa of a conservative American constitutional lawyer Professor Albert Blaustein, as an adviser to the IFP, who apparently had a hand in the decision to object to the declaration's phrasing.

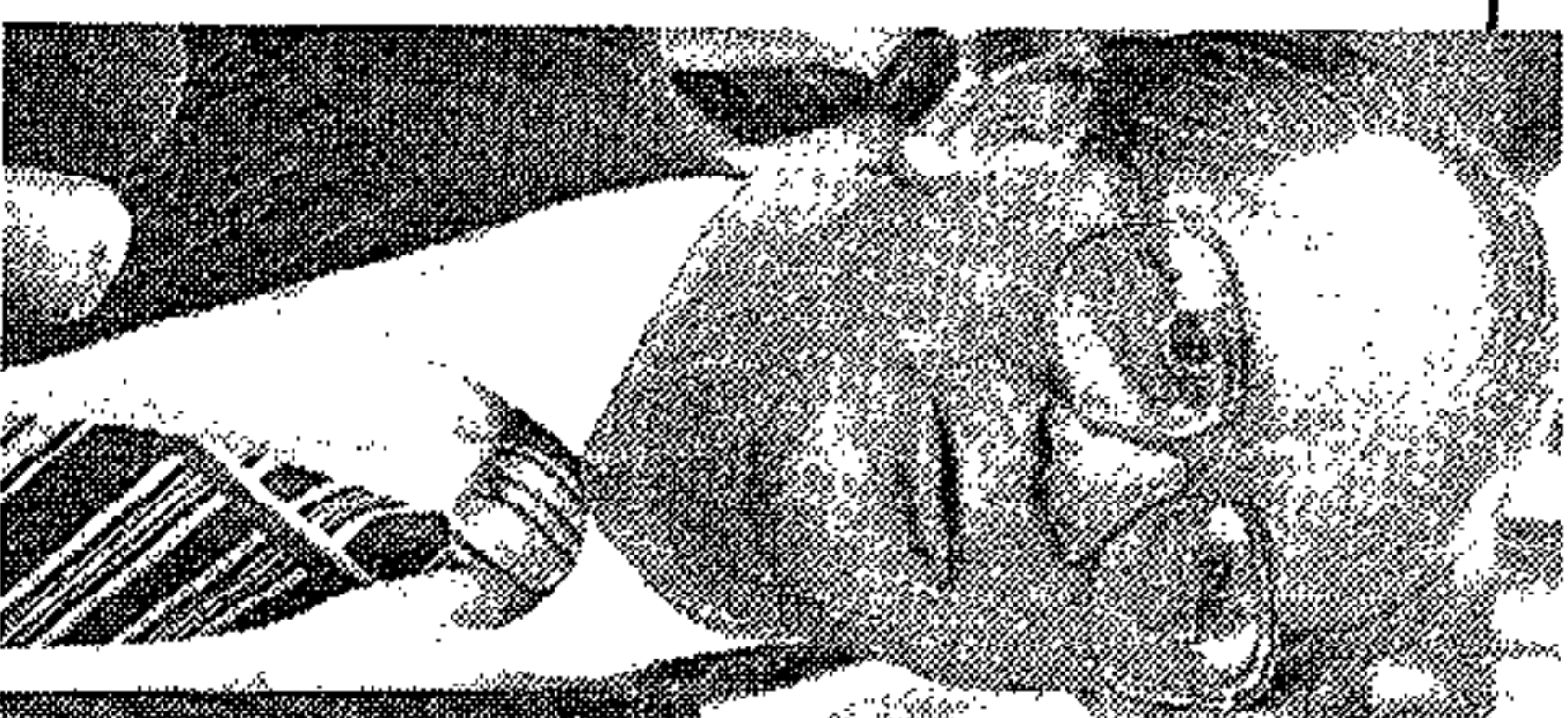
Professor Blaustein also claims to have been an adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the catalytic figure in the break-up of the Soviet Union into a cluster of secessionist republics.

Has he perhaps sold Chief Buthelezi on the idea of a "commonwealth" of independent South African states, similar to Yeltsin's commonwealth of former Soviet states?

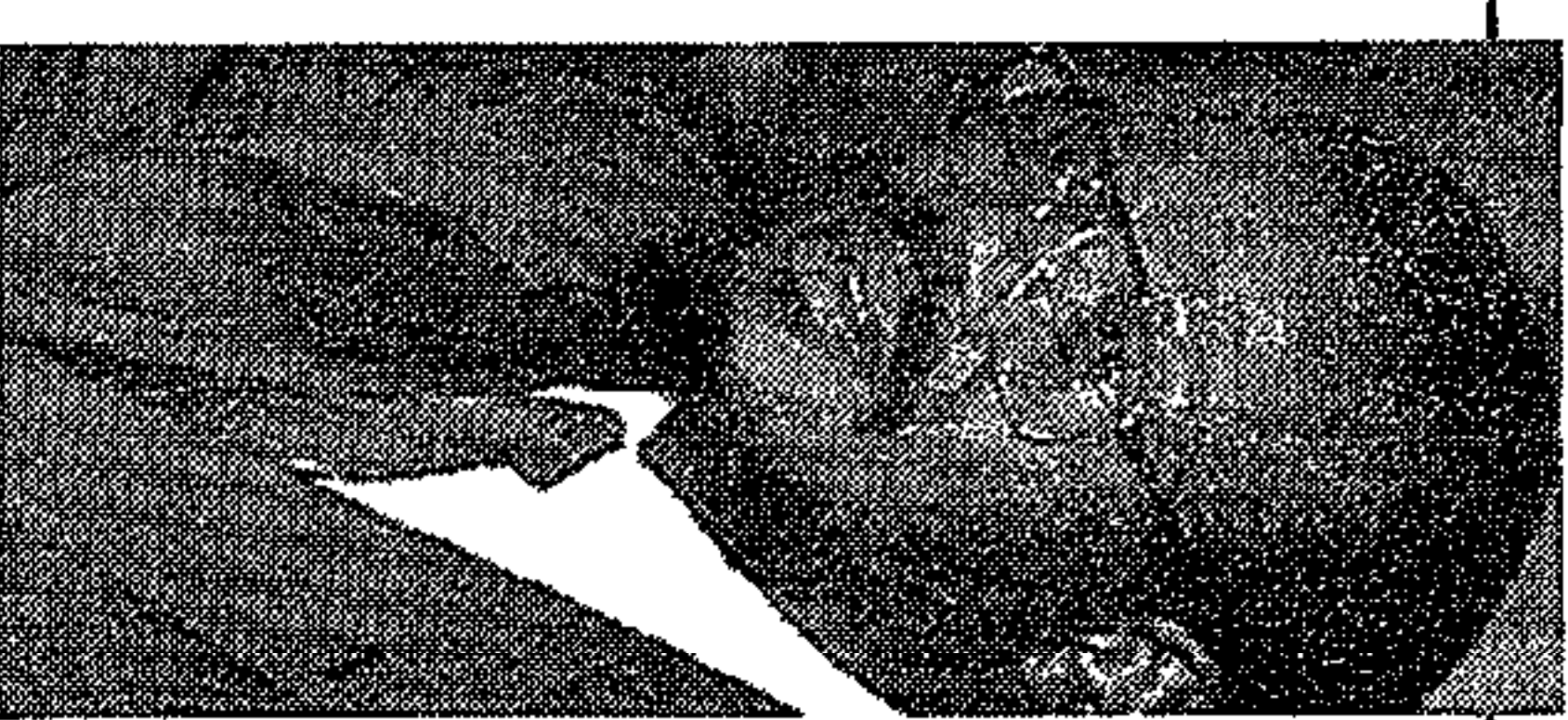
Is it coincidence that Dr Treurnicht draws on the Russian analogy and talks of the CP's vi-



ARTHUR FELGATE: Phrased Declaration of Intent.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT: He may form an alliance.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: Refused to sign declaration.

sion of a South African commonwealth — "per definition an association of states"? Or that Chief Buthelezi, in his preface to Inkatha's constitutional proposals, writes that "The IFP... has taken serious note of what has happened in the USSR, in East Germany and in

the Baltic states as country after country and region after region gave evidence that no amount of powerful centrist political power could overcome the inherent difficulties in an ethnically heterogeneous population?"

How ironic if the man who, more than anyone else, stymied the Nationalists' Bantustan policy by refusing to accept independence for South Africa's most populous tribal "homeland", were to end up leading a new drive for Balkanisation just when the Nats have at last abandoned their schismatic schemes.



# No disruption as Pik tells meeting the CP does not want peace

By Esther Waugh and Monica Oosterbroek

Pik Botha's speech in Potchefstroom last night went off without any of the threatened disruptions and only a handful of khaki-clad men heckled the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Speaking in support of the NP by-election candidate, Theuns Kruger, Mr Botha told the packed city hall the Conservative Party would not sign the National Peace Accord or take part in Codesa because it did not want a peaceful solution in South Africa.

The CP wanted the country to capitulate and for whites to commit suicide.

The CP would also not take part in constitutional talks because it realised the world would laugh at its unrealistic policies. It was time for the CP's policy to be tested through analysis, he said.

Investment in South Africa was hampered by the CP's and PAC's radicalism and their boycotts of constitutional negotiations.

Mr Botha devoted most of his speech rebutting statements

made by the CP in an election pamphlet.

Before his address, a large police contingent gathered outside the hall to deter rightwingers from carrying out threats to disrupt the meeting.

Dozens of plainclothes policemen wandered through the streets while the dog unit and riot squad, clutching gas masks, monitored the situation. Only a few khaki-clad men outside waited quietly to enter the hall.

The only stir was created by Resistance Against Communism chairman Eddie von Maltitz, who had travelled from his Free State farm in Ficksburg to put questions to Mr Botha.

While police searched his car he told The Star the National Party "are liars, and didn't keep election promises to keep own schools and residences".

He predicted rightwingers would stay away from the meeting. "This is not the place for a bloody confrontation, but that time will soon come."

Replying to a question by Mr von Maltitz, Mr Botha said the NP would win the by-election on February 19.

(Report by Esther Waugh and Monica Oosterbroek, both of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Showdown on broadcasting report looms

~~2169~~ ROBERT LAING (304A)

GOVERNMENT is preparing to pilot the Viljoen task group report on broadcasting through Cabinet despite ANC demands that it be submitted to Codesa.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday: "Pushing this report through Cabinet will provoke a similar reaction to VAT. We are going to resist it tooth and nail. The neutrality of the media is a matter of life and death to us; we cannot allow the Nationalists to control broadcasting in a future election."

Jack van der Merwe, adviser to the Home Affairs Minister, said an inter-departmental committee was preparing the Viljoen report for Cabinet's attention, but it was too soon to say when it would be ready. *Blom 17/11/92*

The Home Affairs Department said in a statement yesterday: "The report and all comments received are being analysed with due regard to all developments, including the Codesa implications. Any further decisions in this regard will obviously emanate at Cabinet level."

The ANC's media charter published on Monday said: "The Viljoen task group of broadcasting was appointed undemocratically, was unrepresentative and has operated in secret. It represents the interest of a minority grouping. Not only has consultation not taken place regarding the future of broadcasting, but the public debate within the democratic movement around the issue has been ignored."

DP MP Peter Soal said: "I do not believe the NP is stupid enough to ram the Viljoen report through Cabinet, and it has no chance of making it a Bill. It would not be passed by any of the three Houses of Parliament."

"However, Cabinet may decide to prepare for Parliament the portion of the report on which consensus has been reached — the portion on forming an independent broadcasting authority."

Soal said a debate on broadcasting regulations was not on Codesa II's agenda.

Capital Radio programming director

☐ To Page 2

## Broadcasting *Blom 17/11/92*

Anthony Duke said the public's reaction to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw's invitation for comment on the report had been apathetic.

"We sent in two submissions to correct factual errors in the report. The task group got our address wrong and it claimed we had no right to transmit into SA, which is

nonsense. *(304A)*

"I believe the entire report will be shelved, which is a pity. Although it was mainly rubbish, blatantly aimed at entrenching the SABC and M-Net for the next 15 years, it contained about 10 pages of good recommendations which will also be discarded."

☐ From Page 1



International, which welcome the smaller, the

## ANC lauds DP man

WELKOM — The Free State branch of the ANC yesterday congratulated Sam Leseme (20) on his election as first chairman of a local branch of the predominantly white Democratic Party Youth. *STAR 17/1/92*

At the same time, however, the ANC denied a DP Youth statement that Mr Leseme, a former political prisoner,

had been a member of the organisation's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. *(304A)*

"We regard this as a propaganda ploy aimed at luring the youth into the ranks of the DP," a statement said. "We, however, congratulate and appreciate his election as a chairman of the DP Goldfields region."

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# Foreign govts act to keep Codesa afloat

BID 17/1/92 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

FOREIGN governments were exerting pressure on SA's political players to keep Codesa and the national peace accord on track, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

They added that this pressure was in line with the role that had been accorded international organisations in Codesa proceedings, and their strategic interest in keeping negotiations on track. The UN, the Commonwealth, OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement have all been accorded observer status at Codesa proceedings.

A US embassy spokesman said yesterday the US administration had been in touch with the PAC about its planned attempts to undermine Codesa and about its ongoing campaign of terror against policemen.

"The US administration strongly supports the Codesa process and has publicly and privately been urging non-participants to become involved," the spokesman said. These included the CP and Azapo.

One diplomatic source said that while there was no direct link between the ANC's proposal that the international community exert pressure on Codesa boycotters to take part in the forum, "there is a commonality of approach".

Reports this week have suggested the US might go as far as trying to get the PAC isolated on the international front in order to force it to compromise its stance.

At the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Bloemfontein last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "The new

organs of the transition that are being born in struggle should be given maximum support. This should include relevant measures against those who violate agreements of the national peace accord and Codesa."

Sapa reports the PAC has asked for confirmation or denial from US ambassador William Swing of allegations that the US government plans to apply "pressure tactics" on parties against participation in Codesa.

A PAC statement said it was reacting to media reports that the US was considering using pressure against the PAC and other organisations to join Codesa.

Meanwhile, a meeting of more than 20 right-wing and sympathetic organisations was held in Pretoria yesterday to discuss "the serious conditions in the country" and "the growing opposition" to Codesa.

The CP's Clive Derby-Lewis said in a statement afterwards that various other right-wing organisations had already indicated their intention of attending the next round of discussions.

The CP is keeping mum on speculation that it intends protesting against Codesa during this year's session of Parliament which opens next Friday, our Political Staff reports.

CP general secretary Andries Beyers declined to comment yesterday, saying the CP's strategy "will be considered at our caucus meeting next week".

Judge in Equity...



# ANC 'People's Parliament' plans Cape shadow session

By Shaun Johnson  
Political Editor

STAR 17/1/92

304A

The Conservative Party's worst nightmare is about to become reality — a one-party ANC parliament will hold its first session in Cape Town next week.

But Dr Andries Treurnicht and his men can take comfort from the fact that this doesn't mean they are already out of jobs. The ANC's "People's Parliament", timed to coincide with President de Klerk's opening speech next Friday, is a symbolic gesture intended to mark what the ANC believes is the start of the last sitting of the existing Parliament.

ANC officials Steve Tshwete and Allan Boesak announced yesterday that a "People's Parliament" would be convened on Cape Town's Grand Parade at 10.30 am on January 24 — just as Mr de Klerk prepares to deliver his keynote address in the Chamber of Parliament.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu will announce the "closure" of the existing Parliament

and the opening of the "People's" variety.

Despite the outdoor venue, the event will bear many hallmarks of a traditional parliamentary sitting — sessions will be chaired and Bills passed — but there will also be some unorthodox elements.

There will be breaks for "songs" and at the end of the sitting the "MPs" will rise and march on Sir Herbert Baker's parliamentary buildings up the road.

There a notice will be delivered to Mr de Klerk "demanding the disbanding of the racist parliament". The notice will also call for an interim government to be established by June and elections for a constituent assembly to be held by the end of this year.

Among those scheduled to address the "parliament" are Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils.

"Bills" on "land, social welfare, women, education, politi-

cal prisoners, housing and jobs" will be considered.

Dr Boesak said yesterday the event was intended "to demonstrate the rejection by the overwhelming majority of South Africa's people of the opening of the racist white parliament".

"We support Codesa and believe that it must lead to the creation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly."

Mr Tshwete said: "Our country is seized with excitement for the establishment of an interim government leading to elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution."

"The People's Parliament will be a demonstration of the ANC's belief that the people should be able to decide their own future. The racist parliament is composed of a handful of discredited leaders. In contrast the People's Parliament will be made up of thousands of people and their leaders."

He called on employers to allow their workers to attend.

## Four more envoys for SA

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

Political

Correspondent

SOUTH Africa will inch closer to international acceptance today when four new ambassadors present their credentials to the Government.

The four envoys - from Chile, Argentina, Belgium and Spain - will bring to 30 the number of ambassadors in the country.

There are to date 40 foreign missions in South Africa, 26 of which are full embassies.

At least five more ambassadors are expected to arrive in South Africa within the next few weeks, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Earlier this week South Africa's consulate in Tokyo was upgraded to full embassy status with immediate effect.

South Africa has representation in 66 countries around the world. More offices are expected to be opened in as many as 10 countries. Of the 66 missions around the world, only 35 are full embassies.

In a significant move, Pretoria is also expected to open an office in Beijing, China, by the end of next month.

The office will officially be known as the South Africa Centre for Chinese Studies.

Another office is expected to be established in Angola by the end of February.

However, there is no indication at the moment that South Africa will be readmitted to the United Nations soon.

After the country's expulsion from the UN in the mid-70s, it sank deeper into the wilderness of international isolation.



## ANC won't meet Dutch premier <sup>364A</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela would refuse to meet Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers if he went ahead with a visit to South Africa next month, an ANC spokeswoman said yesterday.

"We think the visit is inopportune and ill-timed and if he proceeds with it the ANC will not meet him," said Ms Gill Marcus.

The ANC, allied trade unions, the PAC and the South African Council of Churches have all condemned the planned visit. <sup>CF 17/1/92</sup>

A spokeswoman for Mr Lubbers and his Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek said on Wednesday there were no plans to cancel next month's trip, which will be the first official visit here by a Dutch head of government since 1960.

— Sapa-Reuter

**Leaders off to forum**

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk and  
ANC leader Nelson Mandela  
would attend the annual World  
Economic Forum in Switzerland  
at the end of this month, organ-  
isers said yesterday.

They would join Inkatha presi-  
dent Mangosuthu Buthelezi and  
Cosatu chief Jay Naidoo at the  
week-long gathering of govern-  
ment and business leaders in the  
mountain resort of Davos, taking  
part in a plenary session on stimu-  
lating economic growth in SA.  
Russian President Boris Yeltsin  
and Indian Prime Minister Nara-  
simha Rao are also to attend.

BID enj 17/11/92

(304A) (18)



## Pik's address peaceful despite threats

POTCHEFSTROOM — Foreign Minister

Pik Botha addressed an uneventful by-election meeting in this western Transvaal town last night after right-wing threats to disrupt the meeting failed to materialise.

Botha spoke to about 800 people in the town hall in support of NP candidate Theuns Kruger, who is fighting to retain the seat against the CP's Andries Beyers.

Policemen took up positions outside the hall, but apart from one vociferous right-winger and an AWB yeld-kornet, there was little sign of a right-wing presence.

Botha challenged the CP to bring its ideas to Codesa and said it was not doing so

PATRICK BULGER

because it feared being the laughing stock of the world. He asked whether the CP would attend Codesa if the principle of self-determination was on the agenda.

He said the NP was committed to negotiating a two-chamber constitutional system which would uphold values that had taken root across the world with the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the formation of super trading blocs.

Special voting in the February 19 election opened yesterday. (304A)

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagoni St, Johannesburg.

17/1/92  
13/1/92

# ANC denies plotting with AWB

CS 18/1/92

Own Correspondent

3048

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday denied reports that it was involved in a conspiracy with a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to assassinate a former ANC guerilla who later worked for the police.

The ANC said the allegations, which appear in the latest edition of Vrye Weekblad, "came as a bolt from the blue".

The Vrye Weekblad reports that two ANC intelligence officers, known only as

Ricky and Mao, paid AWB member Mr Daniel Jacobus Odendaal at least R10 000 to assassinate former ANC member Mr Glory "September" Sidebe.

The assassination was never carried out and Mr Sidebe, described as one of the police's most successful Askaris ("turned" ANC guerillas), is reported to be trying to rejoin the ANC after resigning from the police last year.

General André Pruis of the Crime Intelligence Service yesterday said police were investigating the report and knew

the whereabouts of Mr Odendaal, Mr Sidebe, Ricky and Mao.

The ANC did not deny that National Executive Committee member Mr Patrick Lekota had paid Mr Odendaal R12 000 for information regarding weapon purchases by the right-wing.

The organisation said a thorough investigation of the reports had been launched and its findings would be made public.

AWB secretary-general Mr Piet Rudolph yesterday refused to answer any questions about Mr Odendaal.



here is that the ANC has at least four delegations — the ANC, SACP, the Indian Congress and Transkei, plus several other near-clients, while the Government has two delegations (one for the National Party, one for the Government) plus its set of near-clients.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried to bring to the table three delegations (party, homeland government and "the Zulu nation") to emphasise that he was one of the "big three".

Predictably, he failed. But the ferocity of Inkatha-ANC violence to date has shown it is folly to imagine that the problem posed by Buthelezi and Inkatha can simply be ignored.

Moreover, trouble can be expected from many of the other political minorities if (as seems likely) the signs of a two-party deal between the Government and the ANC increase. The danger here is that such minorities will peel away to join the other actors sulking in the wings, leaving Codesa less representative and more exposed.

Ahead, however, lies a greater problem — the setting up of an interim government. President F W de Klerk has, in effect, now conceded this

long-standing ANC demand. The truth is that the ANC lacks the administrative and managerial talent to make it a reality.

At the ANC congress last July outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo had to admit that the movement's organisation and finances were in a shambles. There was, accordingly, a great sigh of relief when the far more able team of Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma were elected to restore a semblance of order.

Ramaphosa and Zuma have been seconded to Codesa as leading negotiators. If an interim government is set up, their names will, no doubt, be touted as those of possible ministers.

The same small cadre of able men is pushed forward over and over again, and there is simply no depth of talent behind them.

To take an obvious example: the ANC's chief economics spokesman, Trevor Manuel — who demands a "people's economy" with "the maximum possible popular participation" in it — is admitted by his advisers to be quite innocent of economic knowledge.

With the best will in the world it is difficult to imagine him playing a constructive role in government. One could mul-

tiple such examples, blaming decades of apartheid education.

Whatever the reason, the result is the same — the movement simply cannot call on sufficient reserves of skilled manpower to be able simultaneously to organise a mass movement, conduct international diplomacy, negotiate a constitution and help govern a modern, sophisticated country.

This is particularly true if one takes into account the fact that the reality of power will escape the ANC if it merely has a few figurehead ministers. It would need to provide a full complement of junior ministers, civil servants, personnel who can be seconded to the Reserve Bank, the Development Bank, the parastatals, and so on. As things stand, there is simply no prospect of this.

One has still to respect the worry over the simple competence of future government. South Africa is not Dahomey or Chad. It is a country of six-lane highways, computers, jet planes and fax machines — and its economy is in a fragile condition. The sudden promotion to power of a governing elite desperately short of management skills, education and experience would present a major crisis

## By R W Johnson, Oxford University historian and commentator on South African politics

for such a society, whether race was a factor or not.

There is another side to this problem. In exile the ANC depended heavily on a (largely white and Asian) network of South African Communist Party cadres, who provided such intellectual and administrative expertise as the movement had.

This SACP network, which still accounts for most of the ANC's national executive and its "shadow Cabinet", operates as a closed, "masonic" circle, blocking access to leading positions in the movement to non-communist intellectuals.

Institution of an interim government will pose a delicate problem for the ANC-SACP alliance. Not only will the ANC be forced to go well beyond the SACP's ranks to acquire the back-up skills and expertise it lacks, but the issue of participation in government will undoubtedly create a rift between the two organisations.

The reason for the latter is that the Government, rein-forced by business, is bound to

resist any idea of SACP participation — and will be strongly supported in this by the international community. Already new SACP leader Chris Hani has made it clear he does not expect a role in government, arguing that there is no sense in the ANC accepting responsibility for "unpopular" areas like agriculture and education.

The fear that the SACP may become marginalised just as the ANC emerges as a potential successor regime has led to a crucial haemorrhage of cadres from the SACP, with many of its top militants announcing that they wish to "devote themselves to their ANC work". Some try to pretend that they were never communists in the first place.

The most likely solution is for Codesa to function as a loose form of interim government, taking decisions in principle which are then ratified by the existing Parliament, but without the staffing of ministries being more than symbolically changed.

Ironically, such an arrangement would suit all sides: the ANC would not have to provide ministerial talent; the SACP, as part of Codesa, would have a share in power, and the Government, in day-to-day control of the executive, might hope to legitimate this rather one-sided form of power-sharing for the longer-term future.

The Government's objective in the constitutional talks is, after all, power-sharing rather than straightforward winner-takes-all majority rule.

No doubt Mr de Klerk, backed by Inkatha, and probably most of the Indian and coloured communities, will fight for federalism and protection of minority and civil rights.

However, South African history provides examples of how a majority in Parliament can overturn even the most sacred entrenched clauses in a constitution: in the end the only protection for minority rights is some degree of real power.

The ANC naturally talks in terms of majority rule but could well concede some form of power-sharing. Mandela has said that even if he won an election he would want a broad coalition government, at least for an interim period.

The ANC's interests might best be served by a power-sharing deal, not only because it lacks the expertise and personnel to govern unaided but because a deal which does not hold out some reassurance for the minority parties is likely to lead to violence.

If, at the end of the day, the solution found is unacceptable to most whites, many will embrace — producing the same sort of economic collapse seen in Mozambique.

Already the combination of a stagnant economy and explosive demographic growth mean that per capita incomes are likely to fall during the next five to 10 years. Anything worsening that situation can only undermine the ANC as the probable successor government.

Whatever the nature of the constitutional deal, not far down the line will be a moment of truth — perhaps when an interim government is formed, more likely when the details of the new constitution are announced.

The far Right could make some sort of last-ditch stand for white supremacy, perhaps by armed revolt, perhaps by the

A great deal will depend on the line taken by the ANC's Youth League, which is easily the largest organisation in the country.

None of these choices will be easy. The country is fortunate that in Mr de Klerk and Mr. Mandela it has two exceptionally able leaders, both of whom are committed to finding a peaceful outcome in a spirit of constructive compromise.

Of course, this alone will not be enough.

At some point Mandela will have to confront and defeat the ultras in his own camp and De Klerk will have to do the same within the white community. De Klerk's is by far the harder task — Mandela is at least offering his supporters increased power, and patronage while De Klerk, whose opposition is far stronger, has to get his supporters to accept less of everything.

Already the restless manoeuvring has begun for the skirmishes to come: 1992 will probably show how far both men can get by political skill alone. South Africa watches their tightrope act with bated breath, a country fearing the worst, hoping for the best — and waiting to know its future.



# Codesa's moment of truth

STAR 18/1/92

3044

## Devising the deal that will ensure South Africa survives the coming of democracy

ONE of the great lessons of the 1990s is that democracy can be a doomsday machine.

Some states — Yugoslavia, East Germany, the Soviet Union — cannot survive the coming of democracy, and 1992 may be the year in which we see whether South Africa can.

The launching of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) meant that the march towards a democratic, nonracial state had entered its climactic phase.

Nineteen of the country's political groups attended the first plenary session last month but ominously, the absentees included the extreme Africanist Left: the PAC and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

Also absent were Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and far-right groups like Eugene TerreBlanche's AWB. This was perhaps more significant because the white Right — much of which is armed to the teeth — may now command as much as 40 percent to 50 percent of the white electorate.

On the other hand, some of those who did attend, such as the generally unelected bantustan oligarchs and Asian groups, represent little by way of constituencies.

Nonetheless, the summoning of Codesa represented a great day in South African history.

The road ahead is studded, no doubt, with symbolic walkouts, furious ultimatums and all the other necessary histrionics of a meeting called after centuries of oppression and exclusion, to re-found a great and divided country. But no one, after all, is going to die of histrionics: the real dangers lie elsewhere.

Codesa stumbled briefly over the delicate matter of Inkatha

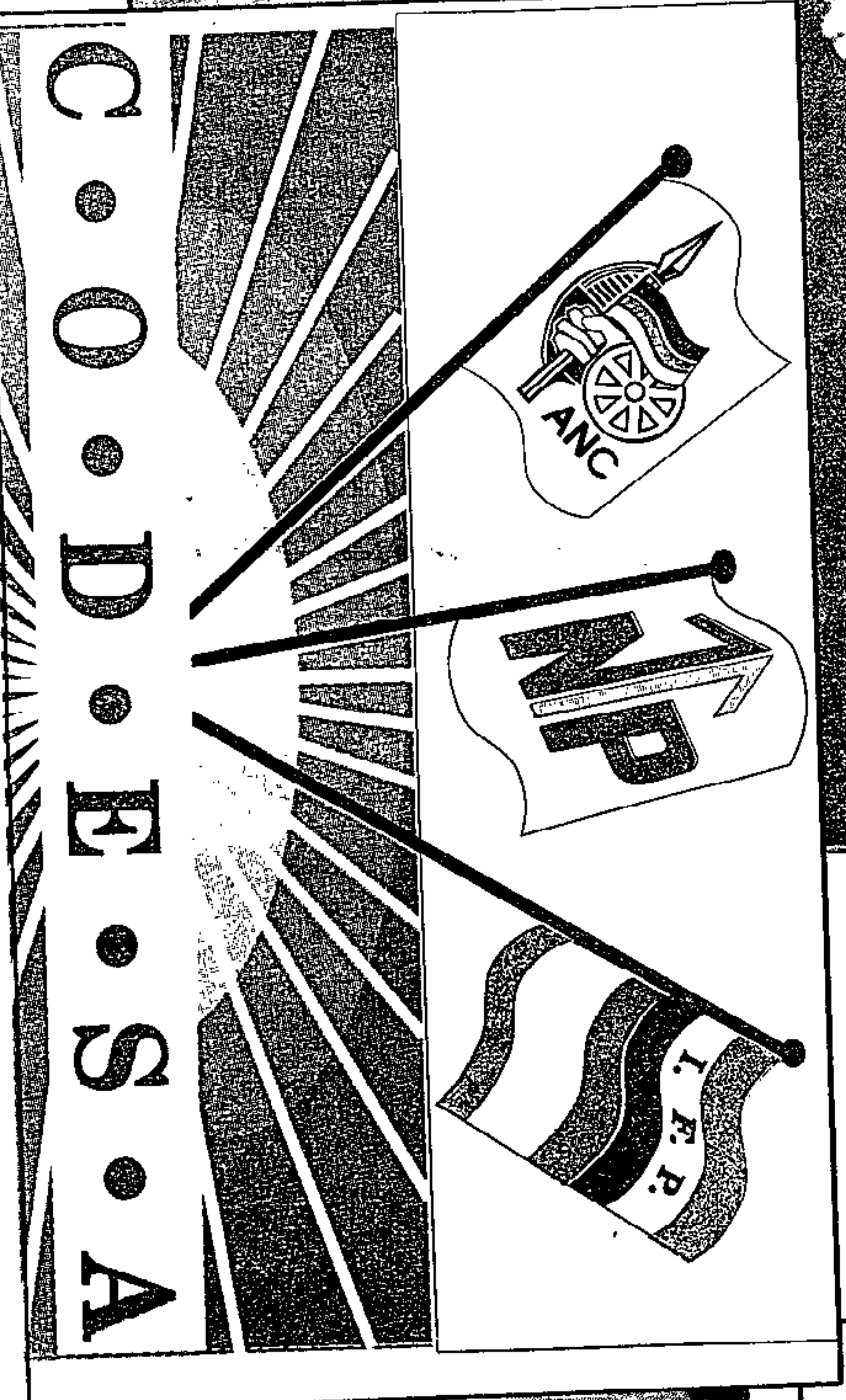


△ **MAIN PLAYERS:** F.W. de Klerk and Nelson shake hands at the end of Codesa's two-day opening session. Codesa may function as a loose form of interim government, but any signs of a two-party power-sharing deal between Govt and ANC has the danger that minorities will peel away to join other actors sulking in the wings.

△ **ONE OF BIG THREE:** Chief Buthelezi tried to emphasise he is not to be numbered among homeland minnows by trying to increase the size of the Zulu delegation — the ferocity of Inkatha-ANC violence has shown the folly of simply ignoring the problem.



△ **TOUGH DECISION:** Immediate and total hand-over of power has been the war-cry of the SACP's Chris Hani. A deal that compromises this puts him in a dilemma.



△ **OMINOUS ABSENCE:** Andries Treurnicht's CP and other right-wing groups cannot be ignored, seeing that they may command as much as half of the white vote.

attempted secession of a white "homeland".

If Inkatha fails to get a federal constitution, Buthelezi might attempt something similar for his Zulu following (and the leaders of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would be pulled in the same direction).

If, however, the fears of the white, Zulu, Asian and other minorities are adequately assuaged, the explosion will come from the radical Left. While it seems certain that any sort of agreed deal will be denounced by Azapo and the PAC as an ANC sellout, the toughest questions will have to be faced by the SACP and its charismatic new leader, Hani, the long-time head of the ANC's guerrilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The radical young militants, in the townships look to Hani as their natural leader and will expect him to lead opposition to any deal which offers less than an immediate and total hand-over of power. Indeed, they will expect him to use armed insurrection to secure it.

Such heady and unrealistic scenarios have long been the common currency of township orators. Hani and his frequent companion, Winnie Mandela, chief among them.

Those who have raised expectations to such unreasonable levels will face an awkward choice. If Hani, Mrs Mandela, and other SACP and ANC radicals decide to stay loyal to the ANC they will have to preach acceptance of a deal, even though such a deal will probably exclude the SACP from power and risk losing their political following to the PAC and Azapo.

If they decide to protect their political base from competition on the Left, they will have to



# HOGARTH

## Where your vote's worth nine of mine

*304A*  
*S1 Times 19/11/92*

THE voters' rolls, released this week by the Department of Home Affairs, show yet again how unevenly represented are the country's voters and how notional the democracy of Parliament.

The white voters of Walvis Bay, all 5 000 of them, qualify for one representative in Parliament. But the 44 760 white voters in Pretoria East are also only entitled to one representative. Which means a South-Wester's vote is worth nine times that of a Pretoria Easter.

It is hardly better in the other houses. A coloured voter in East Free State has a vote worth 10 times that of somebody in Strandfontein in the Cape. And an Indian voter in North West Cape is the most privileged of all: he has a vote worth 14 times that of a person in Phoenix near Durban.

The ANC was right all along: we need a one-man, one-vote system now.

STAR 17/1/92  
**PAC quizzes US  
over Codesa** (11A)

The PAC has asked for confirmation or denial from US Ambassador William Swing of allegations that the US government plans to apply "pressure tactics" to parties that are against participation in Codesa. (304A)



# KING-SIZE PROBLEM FOR DE KLERK

C/PRES 19/1/92

304A

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE decision by State President FW de Klerk to recommend the participation of King Goodwill Zwelithini in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is threatening to blow up in Pretoria's face.

Homeland leaders — who have in the past been projected by Pretoria as the spokesmen for the various black ethnic groupings — are reported to be considering demanding the participation of their traditional leaders as well.

This would not only make Codesa too unwieldy because of the sheer weight of numbers, but could turn this forum into a Tower of Babel.

The ANC-leaning Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has also entered the fray and is demanding representation at Codesa.

Both Contralesa and homeland leaders deny assertions by State President FW de Klerk that the position of the Zulu king is unique and as such he must have his own representation at Codesa.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted the first seating of Codesa (however, his party attended) because of an impasse on the question of separate representation for his party, the KwaZulu government and the king.

Buthelezi charged that denying Zwelithini a separate representation amounted to an "insult" to the dignity of the Zulu monarch.

Part of this problem was resolved recently following a meeting between Zwelithini, Buthelezi and



**ROYAL DILEMMA ...** If King Goodwill Zwelithini gets to go to Codesa, do all the traditional leaders propped up by Pretoria get invited to the party as well?

De Klerk in Cape Town. After the meeting, De Klerk issued a terse statement in which he said that owing to the unique position of Zwelithini, there was a need for him to take part in Codesa.

The actual role of Zwelithini is still to be determined by the Codesa management committee.

A spokesman for the ruling Inyadza National Movement in KaNgwane, Aaron Dube, said if King Zwelithini attends the next seating of Codesa, his party would also demand that traditional representatives of King Mswati III also take part.

"Swazis in South Africa owe allegiance to

King Mswati III of Swaziland and for obvious reasons, we don't expect him to attend Codesa. However, he has representatives in this country and we will demand that they be accommodated in Codesa."

Dube went on to say the Zulu king's position

was "the same as other paramount chiefs and kings of other black groups in South Africa".

Sam Bambo, a spokesman in the office of Lebowa's Chief Minister, Nelson Ramodike, said they "would definitely seek separate representation for Magoshi (chiefs)"

should King Zwelithini be accorded special status.

The Ngonyama of Amandebele (Manala), Enoch Mabena, is also said to be among those who will demand he must have a separate representation for his people or that they should be represented by Contralesa.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already gone on record that should Zwelithini be granted delegate status, he will demand that other traditional leaders be granted similar privileges.

A spokesman for the Venda government, Brian du Toit, said the position of the Zulu king "did not create a problem" because hereditary leaders are represented in the government delegation to Codesa.

Observers in Venda say military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana is caught in a dilemma. It is believed he would like to see Venda representation increased, but recently abolished the position of Khosikhulu (king).

In a phone-in programme on one of the SABC's radio stations, several callers accused De Klerk of kowtowing to Buthelezi by giving Zwelithini special status. They said this was also another way of perpetuating tribalism.

Should these various tribal leaders press their demands, De Klerk will find himself placed in a serious dilemma. If he accedes to their demands, Codesa will become too large and unwieldy.

At the same time, how does he refuse them representation when it is his party which has, for several years, foisted some of these leaders on blacks?



□ FOREIGN VISIT

# Don't visit SA, Dutch PM told

By ZB MOLEFE

CIP 19/1/92

**H**OLLAND's credibility as an anti-apartheid nation was on the brink of collapse this week as its Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister's proposed SA visit generated heat from Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The 1,5 million-member Cosatu hopes this problem will be solved at the end of January when president John Gomo and general-secretary Jay Naidoo visit Holland "and hopefully will have the opportunity to personally convey our views on these issues."

In an open letter to Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, Cosatu was blunt: "It (the visit) would undermine the reputation which the Dutch people have established in recent decades, justifiably in our view, for being in the front ranks of those fighting for human rights in our country."

Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek have planned to visit South Africa from February 18 to 20.

Earlier the Cosatu letter touched on a raw nerve: "It (the visit) would be seen as a historical regression of the role which the Dutch played as colonisers in South Africa, obviously a sensitive issue in both our countries."

The letter by assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa argued that Lubbers' visit would give weight to the false impression that the government was "irreversibly committed to peace and democracy in South Africa."

Cosatu charged this week there were allegations that the South African government and its security forces contin-

ued to sponsor violence "and use death squads against anti-apartheid forces despite (President) De Klerk's public assurances that such 'covert operations' had been terminated."

Instead, the letter also argued that Lubbers' visit would encourage the South African government to entrench itself in power. This would delay a democratic transition.

"It is for these reasons that we would regrettably be unable to meet you in the event of you coming to this country in February," the Cosatu letter pointed out. "We would furthermore be compelled to publicly oppose your visit."

The SACC said that prominent church leader Beyers Naude as late as last Sunday called Lubbers and Van den Broek's visit "too early".

The SACC added that should the two Dutch parliamentarians visit South Africa "they would be hosted by a government which everybody expects to be folding up in preparation for interim arrangements which will manage negotiations on a new constitution."

Also, the Dutch parliamentarians' visit would be used by the ruling National Party for its own party political interests, the SACC said. These interests included a plan to boost the National Party's flagging international image.

"The SACC's conclusion thus far is that until an interim government or some form of transitional arrangements are in place, the irreversibility of all the changes that have been legislated thus far cannot be guaranteed," it said.



IN THE cavernous gloom of the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts airport only the cramped offices of Codesa's secretariat now show signs of activity.

An evening storm batters the building's metal roof while a lone policeman, cradling a shotgun, jolts in a chair in the vast, carpeted darkness of the reception area.

Thinus Elloff, Codesa's administrative secretary, and his small staff are still at work in the late evening in an office that could just as easily be an exhibition for office accommodation at the trade centre when Codesa starts up again in earnest in February.

"We can leave space at the end of this row for more suites — just in case the AWB decides to join," says the office designer, and laughs.

The owners of the World Trade Centre, home to South Africa's second national convention, are bankrupt and owe the local municipality nearly R600 000 in rates and services. Codesa members refuse to take this as an omen.

Mr Elloff, seconded from the Consultative Business Move-

# A convention in search of its own identity

By Times 19/1/92  
BRIAN POTTINGER visited Codesa's modest headquarters this week and found the convention coming of age

men, a group of businessmen involved in social and political issues, and Murphy Morobe, from the ANC, are the key members of the secretariat, which at present consists of little more than a receptionist and an accountant.

Fanie van der Merwe, from the department of Constitutional Development, and Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's NEC, are joint senior secretaries but both are busy men and have duties other than Codesa.

This, then, is the fragile infrastructure that has guided Codesa from the glamour and passion of

millions of the ANC and National Party.

A dozen of the organisations deemed to be "non-political" were sent rejection slips: they have been asked to make their representations through the pre-sent membership. Among those refused were some employer bodies and single-interest groups.

On Monday this week the 38 members of the Codesa management committee (two from each of the 19 subscribing organisations) wrestled with the fundamental question: who, after all, are we?

The question was forced on the Codesa members by the insistent clamour of nearly two dozen other organisations demanding that their voices should also be heard in this most exclusive of clubs dominated by the twin paterna-

Then there are a gaggle of opposition parties from the homelands and some opposition parties from the tricameral parliament: the Merit Party, the Freedom Party, the Reform Party and so on.

The screening of these groups has been referred to a sub-committee of the daily management committee. The test for admission, said the current Codesa management committee chairman, Dr Zach De Beer, was "provable" support.

Each group, said Dr De Beer, had to be given the opportunity to prove this support.

But there are few Codesa members who believe that the groups have anything but tiny followings. The decision on participation will ultimately be a compromise, Codesa sources be-

lieve. A few newcomers will be allowed into the "club" to prove Codesa's bona fides but the rest will be rejected.

One of those to be admitted is almost certain to be a right-wing group — not because of its support base but rather to ensure that the proposal for a white homeland is aired. Whether this will be in the working group on the constitution or, bizarrely, in the one on the reincorporation of the black homelands, still has to be settled.

The basic principle to which all current Codesa members seem to subscribe, but do not readily admit, is to keep the club as small and as rigorously "political" as possible.

So, having decided the "who"

of Codesa, the 19 organisations will next have to decide the "how".

This raises the bigger question: how will Codesa, as an institution, relate to Parliament?

The political parties at Codesa are determined to retain control of the process — which is why they insist on a shadow bureaucracy and so far have not even appointed a formal media liaison person. Each party has, for example, taken responsibility for independently announcing its appointments to the working groups for the first time.

Codsa officials frankly admit that it does not make for efficiency, but it does mean Codesa remains essentially a political and not a technocratic affair.

Codsa's relationship with Parliament is doomed to be

ambiguous.

This week the Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Home Affairs rejected the Relefer's next plenary session — probably some time in March. Releferdes parties in committee, should be a subject for discussion by the working group on transitional arrangements.

The pattern is thus set. Codesa members in control of chambers of Parliament can obstruct proposed government legislation and at least force that draft legislation to the President's Council for a final decision: a messy and embarrassing experience for the government. This means Codesa is already exercising some form of veto over new legislation — ironically, through the discredited institutions of the departed PW Botha regime.

Codsa and Parliament are thus destined to hobble reluctantly in tandem into the future — or at least until an interim government is elected.

BOSSSES,  
workers  
plan a  
Codesa  
clone

By CHARLENE SMITH

TOP businessmen and unionists are proceeding with plans to set up an economic equivalent to Codesa in time for the second round of constitutional talks in March.

Representatives of both groups meet on Tuesday to set the plans in motion.

Codesa working groups, meanwhile, will be meeting tomorrow to consider how both sectors can be drawn into it.

The mustering of workers and bosses reflects the fears of both that constitutional and political negotiations are leaping ahead of the debate on economic issues.

Delegates at Tuesday's summit in Johannesburg include the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA, the SA Chamber of Business, the Chamber of Mines, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of African Business and Consumer Services and the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs.

### Permanent

Ten union delegates — each from Cosatu, Nactu and the public sector Federation of Salaried Staff Associations — will also be present.

The government will not be represented at the meeting, although it is sympathetic to the cause of both groups.

The forum is envisaged as a permanent body to resolve disputes, plan economic policy, advise the government and regenerate growth. It will function parallel to Codesa with some sources saying it might even be absorbed into it.

The first meeting of Codesa's five working groups will consider accepting submissions from employers and employees on economic aspects of a draft bill of rights and on transitional arrangements affecting control of the Budget.

### Decide

Saccola chairman Anton Roodt said this week that "a constitution could be written in a week, but to agree on a political economy will be a long, hard struggle."

"How, in the domain of public policy, will we decide on the proper allocation of resources to stimulate the necessary economic growth and tangibly remove wealth disparities?"

One leading businessman observed: "We need to move incredibly fast. We have already paid the costs of not having such a body, with the VAT stayaway of November 4 and 5 last year."

● See Page 4



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**L**AST week's column set the cat among the pigeons.

Readers responded overwhelmingly, confirming my long-held suspicion that some leaders are out of touch with their followers.

To recap - I painted a scenario of shifting alliances in the political arena. Sworn political rivals have suddenly found common ground and other organisations are simply fading away.

The response from the readers varied. Some said this was a healthy situation given the long history of the National Party's divide-and-rule policy.

By forming alliances blacks were not only breaking the divide-and-rule syndrome of the Nats, but they were also strengthening themselves against a powerful government.

Others, of course, dismissed these alliances as a smokescreen intended to conceal the real issue: that of transferring power from the white minority regime to the majority of the people.

They charged that for as long as people differed ideologically, they could never belong to the same camp. One letter from Molefe, of Welkom, said there was going to be more shifting of alliances in the next 18

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

# Griping With future

C19ers 19/11/92.

3044



months "and we must not be surprised if the NP is back in the driving seat, something we cannot afford".

Today's column tries to look critically at our five main political groups, namely the PAC, Azapo, ANC, NP, Inkatha and the CP - and the roles they are likely to play in the future.

The CP: Since FW de Klerk assumed power, the CP has gained support among whites who are uncertain about their future under a majority government.

We tend to dismiss the CP as a dinosaur that will disappear from the face of the earth because it cannot adapt to a new environment. This is a mistake. They will be an albatross around our

necks for a long time to come.

The solution: Intensive campaigning by other political parties to weaken their strongholds.

The PAC: Their claim of massive mass support still has to be tested. If their exiled leadership does not come back to prepare the groundwork for future elections, they may find themselves lagging behind others.

Also, their exiled armed wing must get to grips with the aspirations of the masses here at home.

The solution: They must come out of the wilderness to negotiate the solution to this country's problem. As it has been pointed out, they are necessary to check that this

country is not sold to the whites again.

The ANC: They seem to be better organised, but their leadership is moving faster than their followers. They are complacent and think they are a government-in-waiting. Their leadership seems to be anxious to be in parliament soon.

The solution: They must guard against signing away all the gains they have made over the years as a liberation movement. Also, they must take the masses along with them.

The NP: As a result of losing support to the CP, they've realised they cannot survive as a whites-only party for long. With their con-

situency crumbling, they plan to destabilise black unity so they can win conservative blacks.

The solution: They must be noble enough to admit that majority rule is not only inevitable, but must happen now.

Inkatha: Its ethnic base is damaging its credibility. It must take care that its option of a federal system of government is not tinged with ethnicity. Inkatha has built up a good name among European countries and the United States. They must live up to it.

The solution: They must clean up their covert operations, if they want to win more supporters.

Azapo: They claim a massive support among the silent majority. Their philosophy of black consciousness has helped build the black nation at a time when this was most needed.

It is time they operate as a political movement and move with the times.

The solution: Claiming support will not help their cause. They must go out and win this support. To react to what others are doing will do them more harm than good.

# Chiefs aim to send delegation to Codesa

ABOUT 300 traditional leaders from the Transkei this week unanimously resolved to seek representation at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The kings, chiefs, chieftainesses and headmen decided at a meeting held at Umtata on Friday to propose to Codesa that traditional leaders from all over South Africa form one delegation, on the basis of proportional representation, to go to Codesa.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which represents the majority of customary authorities in the Border, Ciskei and Transkei, has already applied to the Codesa steering committee

Sunday Times Reporters

for representation.

A sub-committee has been formed to consider how to facilitate the aspirations of Contralesa, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and others. (304A)

Contralesa resolved to approach traditional leaders throughout South Africa about the suggested proportional representation of leaders in a single delegation at Codesa.

The chiefs also elected 12 leaders to form a steering committee to attend to all matters relating to Codesa.

The meeting was arranged by Transkei's military government.



# Business and labour set to finalise forum

15/1/92 304A

DIRK HARTFORD

ORGANISED business and labour will meet at the Premier Group headquarters in Johannesburg tomorrow to thrash out the mechanisms for the establishment of a national economic negotiating forum.

The meeting results from several months of informal discussions between union and employer groups.

A South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) spokesman said the meeting, which has been convened by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), would be "exploratory" and would aim at agreement on the structure, tasks and methods of an economic forum. Several employer organisations supported this view.

The meeting is expected to discuss and, where possible, take decisions on:

- ☐ The aims, objectives and terms of reference of the economic forum;
- ☐ Whether the forum should attempt to establish a social accord and/or negotiate economic policy or guidelines;
- ☐ Who should participate, in particular whether the forum should include representatives of government and political parties;
- ☐ The forum's structure and financing;
- ☐ The forum's relationship with Codesa and other transitional structures; and
- ☐ How agreements would be implemented and a time frame for them.

The CBM confirmed it was convening the meeting. It drafted the agenda in consultation with the principal parties.

Employer groups scheduled to attend include the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Chamber of Mines, Fabcos, Nafcoc, Saccola, Sacob and Seifsa. They will each

have between two and five delegates.

On the labour side Cosatu, Nactu and the Federation of Staff Associations will have 10 delegates each.

The question of government and party political participation in the forum has been a matter of intense informal debate in recent months. There are influential leaders in organised business and labour who argue that policies should be negotiated and agreed between themselves alone and then, where necessary, put before government for implementation.

Both parties fear that, were the forum to fall under Codesa, critical economic policy issues might be sacrificed in the horse-trading of broader constitutional and political negotiations.

Others in the unions argue, however, that once the ANC is in government the organisation could be a useful ally in economic negotiations.

Other groups argue that political parties should be involved as organised business and labour represent only the elite in the economy, while political parties can claim to represent a broader spectrum.

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said he hoped the meeting signalled the beginning of formal negotiations at national level, but said the unions had to decide on the aims and scope of the forum and whether they were aiming for a social contract or an agreement.

He said Cosatu expected employers to use the forum to convince unions to accept wage restraint. Cosatu opposed this.

He said the unions would demand a mor-

□ To Page 2

## Forum 20/1/92

atorium on retrenchments. Other issues Cosatu would seek to place on the agenda were VAT, housing, pensions and labour legislation affecting farm, domestic, public sector and homeland workers.

Shilowa said Cosatu wanted to participate in Codesa if it was open to non-political organisations.

Nactu assistant general secretary Mahlomola Skosana said the federation wanted a tripartite structure involving government, business and labour to be set up.

He said the CBM had already convened a series of meetings between parties to the talks and "while it was nice drinking tea" it

was urgent to get "a properly constituted tripartite structure off the ground".

He said the union movement did not want an economic forum to be a "junior partner" to Codesa. Nactu believes the forum must be "democratic and accountable" if it is "to take the workers with it".

Nactu's general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana, speaking last week at Cosatu's summer school, urged unions to play a "pro-active role" and said the forum should address all the macro-economic issues facing SA. He cited investment, taxation, economic restructuring, trade and GATT as examples.

From Page 1

## Codesa gets down to work today

20/11/92  
PATRICK BULGER

NEARLY 200 Codesa delegates meet at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today to form working groups to negotiate a new government and constitution for SA.

Five working groups, each made up of two representatives of the 19 political groupings, homeland and SA governments, will be formed. (304A)

The 38-member groups will be constituted to negotiate agreements on a transitional authority, a new constitution, the future of the TBVC states, creation of a free political climate and a time frame for implementation.

Only the DP and the ANC have so far announced who is to be on their working group teams.

Despite claims by some groups that had been excluded from Codesa, other groups were unlikely to be included at this stage, a Codesa source said.

Codesa management committee chairman Zach de Beer said the committee had asked for more information from about 20 groups which had applied for Codesa membership.



# High hopes for Keys in Cabinet

B1 Day 20/1/92

3047  
LESLEY LAMBERT

FORMER Gencor chairman Derek Keys today steps into his new role as Minister of Trade, Industry and Economic Co-ordination. He has the mammoth task of bringing order to economic policy, and creating an industrial framework within which wealth can be generated.

Keys, who bowed out of the corporate world at Gencor's AGM last week, assumes immediate responsibility for the creation of a new industrial policy which could make or break SA's ability to compete on foreign markets and generate jobs and wealth at home.

The portfolio of Economic Co-ordination gives him added influence over economic policy decisions, making him one of the most powerful members of Cabinet.

A senior official in his department said recently that Keys had a number of plans in mind, but did not want to pre-empt other Cabinet Ministers by disclosing them ahead of the Budget. The official added that once Keys was ready to discuss his plans, he would take on a higher profile than his predecessor in Economic Co-ordination, the late Wim de Villiers.

Keys has a reputation for restructuring and restoring ailing companies.

During his five years as chairman of Gencor, SA's second largest mining house, Keys produced 142% growth in the capital base on compound earnings of 21% a year. The restructuring of the gold division and industrial interests under Malbak focused the group's activities and resulted in the re-rating of Gencor shares which rose by more than 100% during his term.

The majority of capital projects currently under way in SA are linked to Gencor.

Keys' earlier restructuring of Malbak produced similarly impressive results.

There is great hope within government and the private sector that he can work the same magic on the ma-

cro-economy by bringing entrepreneurial vitality and creativity into the rigid structures of government and the public sector.

His predecessor, Org Marais, whose new portfolio is Productivity, Tourism and Administration, has established the basis for much of Keys' work.

The Industrial Development Corporation tariff report, which recommends the reduction of protective tariffs and the creation of an environment conducive to exports, is expected to be considered by Government early in the parliamentary session.

The technology report, which, together with the IDC report, is likely to dovetail with a broader industrial policy, is also before Cabinet.

There has been progress in efforts to resolve the conflicting demands of the clothing and textile industries. A task group, appointed by Marais to investigate a new policy to help the industries adapt to lower levels of protection, has submitted its recommendations.

The Board of Trade and Industry has been restructured and a new chairman has been appointed to implement the IDC proposals and new anti-dumping measures. The BTT's investigation into food prices has yet to report its findings and it is possible that a similar investigation will be conducted into building materials.

Marais was also responsible for the introduction of section 37E of the Income Tax Act, an incentive programme which allows for accelerated tax write-offs on mineral beneficiation projects that add value to local minerals and export at least 60% of production. Anglo American and Gencor's joint Columbus project is likely to be one of the major beneficiaries of the programme.

Keys' biggest task is likely to be the co-ordination of all these policies into comprehensive industrial policy, interwoven with economic policy.

**The Argus Correspondent**

**THE** real work of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) begins today.

The five working groups established at Codesa 1 meet at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park to begin discussions about transitional arrangements for South Africa.

The launch of the five working groups, each comprising two delegates and two advisers from the 19 participating organisations, marks the end of the talks-about-talks phase and the beginning of real constitutional negotiations.

The groups will seek preliminary consensus on how the new South Africa should look — and how it should be reached.

Their findings will be discussed by Codesa's management committee behind closed doors before they will be publicly examined at a second Codesa plenary session, planned for March.

The task of Working Group One will be the creation of a climate for free political participation, and deciding the role of the international community in the transitional phase.

The 38 delegates in the group are to make recommendations regarding the establishment of a climate in which all South Africans and organisations can take part freely, without interference or intimidation, in all political activity and, in particular, in the process leading up to the introduction of a new constitution.

They will also specifically consider whether and how issues such as the return of exiles, the repeal or amendment of remaining laws hampering free political activity, the political neutrality and free access to State-controlled media and the funding of political parties should be addressed.

Its second assignment is to consider whether and what role the international community can be asked to play in the formal or informal processes of transition.

The second working group will attempt to reach consensus on constitutional principles and a constitution-making body or process.

Specific issues it will consider include national symbols, official languages, economic principles, a bill of rights and the composition of the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government.

It will also make recommendations on the appropriate body or process to draft a new constitution. Regarding a constitution-making process, the delegates will discuss how far the process can be taken by Codesa itself, the role of referenda and at what stage a special constitution-making body — if any — should be established.

It will also consider the composition and legal status of such a body.

The third group will report back on transitional arrangements. Its terms of reference are to investigate ways in which the country should be governed in the period leading to a new constitution.

Working Group Four will discuss the future of the TBVC states. Participants will look at the way Codesa's outcome can influence these states and the desirability of their re-incorporation into South Africa.

The fifth working group will recommend appropriate time frames for the completion of assignments, working groups and other bodies created by Codesa.

# Codesa buckles down

Five working groups meet to discuss constitutional plans for SA

30411

Aug 29/1992





EMOTIONAL: Mrs Winnie Mandela wipes away tears after being given a special award by Mrs Coretta Scott King, right.

ARC 20/1/92 (3047)

## Winnie: ANC could win election

ATLANTA. — Mrs Winnie Mandela said the ANC, led by her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela, could win an election if free voting was guaranteed.

At the start of a US fund-raising tour, she said, however, that the ANC needed money for resettling ANC members from exile and transforming itself into a fully-fledged political party.

"I do not imagine any situation where the ANC would be in a position to look after itself financially," Mrs Mandela said.

"I do know that we are terribly affected by the fact that we haven't got sufficient re-

sources. But that would not affect us politically insofar as the concept of one-person, one-vote."

But Mrs Mandela said the ANC was "not really a government in waiting at this stage," noting leaders were pressing Pretoria to yield power later this year to an interim government which would sponsor open elections by early 1994.

It is "very difficult" to trust President F W de Klerk, she said.

"Up to now, De Klerk has proved himself to be a man of double standards and a man

who cannot be trusted by our people. He has remained the leader of a discredited and illegitimate government."

Mrs Mandela charged the government "has not lifted up a finger to help" in repatriating up to 40 000 exiled ANC members and their families to South Africa "so we have to look after our people ourselves."

● A report from Tunis quoted Mr Mandela as saying yesterday that only a South African government of national unity could end the violence which had killed 11 000 people in the Republic since 1984. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Tight guard for Codesa group talks

Sowetan 20/1/92 (304A)

**SPECIAL security arrangements have been made for today's first meeting of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa working groups.**

At least 100 security officers from the 19 participating parties will patrol the area in and around the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park where the five working groups meet, said sources close to Codesa.

The parties have nominated two representatives and two advisers to each of the groups.

The 190 representatives are expected to discuss their tasks and work pro-

grammes today. They meet again on February 6.

Representatives will discuss the creation of a climate for free political activity and the role of the international community, general constitutional principles and a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements, the future of the TBVC states and time frames for implementing Codesa decisions.

Codesa's daily management committee also meets today to finalise outstanding matters for the functioning of these groups.

The eight members of the committee are expected to assist the working groups in getting their work under way. - *Political Staff*



# Heavy security for Codesa talks

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Special security has been laid on for today's first meeting of the working groups of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa.

At least 100 security officers from the 19 participating parties will patrol the area in and around the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where the five working groups meet, said sources close to Codesa.

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The 190 representatives are expected to discuss their work pro-

grammes today. They will meet again on February 6.

Codesa's daily management committee also meets today to finalise outstanding matters for the functioning of these groups. The eight members of the committee are expected to assist the working groups. The committee is made up of Dr Zach de Beer (DP), Privan Gordhan (NIC), Peter Hendrickse (LP), Dr Frank Mdlalose (IFP), Roelf Meyer (NP), Professor Selby Ripinga (Inyandza National Movement), Zamindlela Titus (Transkei government) and Jacob Zuma (ANC).

● Horse-trading begins

— Page 11

# Real political horse-trading begins

Star 20/1/92

3044

**THE REAL** work of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) begins today.

The five working groups established at Codesa I meet at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park to start discussions about transitional arrangements for South Africa.

The launch of the five working groups, each comprising two delegates and two advisers from the 19 participating organisations, marks the end of the talks-about-talks phase and the beginning of real constitutional negotiations.

The groups (see accompanying graphic) will seek preliminary consensus on how the new South Africa should look — and how it should be reached.

Now that the razzmatazz of Codesa I is over, delegates are getting down to the nitty-gritty. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH examines today's launch of the Codesa working groups to smooth the period of transition in South Africa until the country becomes a fully participatory nonracial democracy.



take part freely, without interference or intimidation, in all political activity and, in particular, in the process leading up to the introduction of a new constitution.

They will also specifically consider whether and how issues such as the return of

exiles, the repeal or amendment of remaining laws hampering free political activity, the political neutrality and free access to State-controlled media, and the funding of political parties should be addressed.

Its second assignment is to consider whether and what role

the international community will be asked to play in the formal or informal processes of transition.

The second working group will attempt to reach consensus on constitutional principles and a constitution-making body or process.

or process to draft a new constitution.

Regarding a constitution-making process, the delegates will discuss how far the process can be taken by Codesa itself, the role of referendums, and at what stage a special constitution-making body — if any — should be established.

## Working group 2

**TASKS:** Constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: C Ramaphosa, M V Moosa  
Bophuthatswana government: S G Mochibhe, R Cronje  
Ciskei government: M C Kashe, I J Samuels  
Democratic Party: M M Makhalanele, S O M Mofe  
Democratic Party: C W Eglin, D J Worral  
Inkatha Freedom Party: A Blaustein, S H Gumede  
Inkatha Freedom Party: S Mgid, A Laka  
Inkatha Freedom Party: C Albertson, E Mabuza  
Labour Party: M Richards, D Lockey  
National Party: F van Heerden, J Rabie  
National People's Party: M Moshale, S Ismail  
National People's Party: M Moshale, S Ismail  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: F Cachalia, Y Yacoub  
Solidarity: I Omar, D S Rajah  
South African Communist Party: J Slovo, B Ntshangwe  
South African Government: G Viljoen, T J Delpont  
Transkei government: P Holomisa, P Z Ndumase  
United People's Front: M J Mahlangu, M C Ramusi  
Venda government: V G M Ligege, N P Ntshabala  
Ximoko Progressive Party: E E Ngobeni, K R Myakayana

## Working group 3

**TASK:** Transitional arrangements.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: T Mbeki, J Ntshabala  
Bophuthatswana government: G S Nkomo, S C K. Goboloe  
Ciskei government: H J S Kayer, S V Ntshabane  
Democratic Party: R H Mopeli, B S Rajulu  
Democratic Party: K M Andrew, R V Carlisle  
Inkatha Freedom Party: M Myeni, A McCauley  
Inkatha Freedom Party: N J Mahlangu, M P Mahlangu  
Inkatha Freedom Party: E J Mabuza, E N Ginhinda  
Labour Party: P Hendricks, L Landers  
National Party: D de Villiers, R Meyer  
National People's Party: A Rajhans, K Panday  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: N J Patel, P Gordhan  
Solidarity: A Arbee, K Rajoo  
South African Communist Party: J Cronin, N Madlala  
South African Government: B J du Plessis, J Scheepers  
Transkei government: L L Mshizana, J T Madiba  
United People's Front: E Maphele, K A Marti  
Venda government: K B Magwaza, Rev Khononambi  
Ximoko Progressive Party: M L Nkomo, A E Nkomo

## Working group 4

**TASK:** The future of the TBVC states.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: A Nzo, M Phisoa  
Bophuthatswana government: B E Kekelame, S S Seane  
Ciskei government: N Nongcisi, B R Tokota  
Democratic Party: S P Matla, S Manyane  
Democratic Party: J Jordaan, E K Moorcroft  
Inkatha Freedom Party: F T Mdlalose, V T Zulu  
Inkatha Freedom Party: J L Mahlangu, J Mabena  
Inkatha Freedom Party: P M H Maduna, M M Nxumalo  
Labour Party: T Abrahams, J Douw  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: C Saloojee, P David  
National Party: J Mentz, P Farrell  
National People's Party: D Govender, L Dwaikheisad  
Solidarity: M F Cassim, G N Naidoo  
South African Communist Party: S Mufanadi, T Minto  
South African Government: R F Botha, A T Meyer  
Transkei government: S N Sigcau, Z Tlusu  
United People's Front: L M Mokoena, N M Malekana  
Venda government: Councillor Makhuva, S E Moeti  
Ximoko Progressive Party: C D Marivate, C Khosa

## Working group 5

**TASKS:** Time-frames and implementation of decisions.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: P Jordan, Z Sireweya  
Bophuthatswana government: T M Setlhoane, I J Reid  
Ciskei government: P Jacobs, B H Muller  
Democratic Party: D T Mokoena, S T Leckacke  
Democratic Party: R M Burrows, R R Fuller  
Inkatha Freedom Party: L Mshali, F X Gasa  
Inkatha Freedom Party: V S Mahlangu, M Mbonani  
Inkatha Freedom Party: S S Ripinga, G G Zama  
Labour Party: D Curry, Y Bassier  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: H Ebrahim, Y Vawda  
National Party: G Bartlett, C Fister  
National People's Party: A Ramulu, O Gany  
Solidarity: P N M Raju, Y Moolia  
South African Communist Party: D Mwehlase, Y Vawda/E Daniels  
South African Government: L Wessels, A Williams  
Transkei government: G Zilwa, N Bebeza  
United People's Front: M J Diba, R Ramontja  
Venda government: L S Ramavhoya, Professor Lukhaimane  
Ximoko Progressive Party: D Z J Mbeule, H M Matjokane

## Working group 1

**TASKS:** Creating a climate for free political participation; the role of the international community.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: J Modise, J Zuma  
Bophuthatswana government: K C V S Sehmne, S M Seodi  
Ciskei government: L W Magoma, M B Webb  
Democratic Party: D J Dalling, P G Saal  
Democratic Party: T J Mchapi, J S S Phatang  
Inkatha Freedom Party: D B Madde, E Bernard  
Inkatha Freedom Party: E Masango, S Mthimunywe  
Inkatha Freedom Party: D S Mthwazi, M S Ginhinda  
Labour Party: C April, E Samuels  
National Party: G Myburgh, B Geldenhuys  
National People's Party: A K Bheestlam, R B Garrth  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: M Moolia, R Shah  
Solidarity: M Moshale, P Naidoo  
South African Communist Party: E Padad, R Kasrils  
South African Government: H J Coetsee, H J Kriel  
Transkei government: L V Ntshabane, A M Ntshabane  
United People's Front: M J Mthimunywe, R Maponya  
Venda government: J Ntshabane, Dean Farisani  
Ximoko Progressive Party: D Z J Mbeule, H M Matjokane



# Peace Accord may be absorbed into Codesa

STAR 20/11/92

(140)

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius  
Political  
Correspondent

Moves are expected to be made soon to absorb the National Peace Accord (NPA) into Codesa because of growing concern that the elaborate peace accord structures are not being implemented.

Sources close to both the National Peace Committee and the Conference for a Democratic South Africa have remarked that Codesa had "overtaken" the peace accord.

Government sources have pointed out that no local dispute resolution committees and only two regional dispute resolution committees — on the Witwatersrand and in Natal — have been set up since the NPA was signed on September 14.

The committees are supposed to be the key elements in peace accord mechanisms.

Other important peace accord mechanisms such as the Police Board, the police reporting officers,

the special criminal courts and the special justices of the peace, have also not been implemented.

Only the Goldstone standing commission investigating violence and intimidation seems to be working.

The sources have identified several reasons but the main one is a feeling that Codesa has overtaken the peace accord.

The brief of the Codesa working group investigating ways of creating a climate for negotiation covers much of the peace committee's province.

## Complaining

Peace committee participants are concerned that this could lead to unnecessary duplication of effort by party and Government officials.

Government sources said police were complaining they had now almost fulfilled all their obligations under the peace accord, but other parties had not.

Some sources also believe the bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC should also be absorbed into Codesa.

At a press briefing at Saldanha at the weekend, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the relationship between Codesa and the peace committee would have to be evaluated.

He conceded that the peace accord had not caused a "marked reduction" in unrest-related incidents, but said it would take time for political leaders to get the peace message to the grassroots.

At the briefing, Major-General Andre Pruis of the SAP's crime combating and investigation division said the number of acts of unrest-related violence dropped by more than half last year.

He attributed this to the implementation of various strategies by the SAP and others.

But General Pruis said the intensity of unrest crime had not decreased much.

Murders had only dropped from 1 372 to 1 246, and attempted murders had almost doubled from 425 to 831.

General Pruis said the SAP:

● Would begin this year a programme of upgrading the training of police-

men in skills such as conflict resolution.

● Courses in negotiation skills had begun in December.

● With a few exceptions, all police members had signed the SAP code of conduct in the peace accord. Exceptions mostly involved inaccessible policemen, such as those on stock-theft patrols, but Mr Kriel conceded that some policemen still needed to be persuaded to sign.

● Special forms had been drawn up to give complainants information about investigations.

● Special unrest investigation units consisting of 480 members were already in action.

● The SAP was waiting for the National Peace Committee to provide names of candidates for posts of police reporting officers.

● Logistical problems meant not all police members had been provided with name plates. All should have them by March.

● The SAP had already nominated members to serve on the Police Board and was waiting for the names of members of the public to serve on the board.

# PAC spells out its plan for dialogue

Sowetan 20/11/92

304A

**THE Pan Africanist Congress has come out with an alternative to Codesa - a two-sided negotiating table, with those in favour of a constituent assembly opposing those who are not.**

In an exclusive interview with a *Sowetan* correspondent, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke

yesterday spelled out the PAC's plan and reiterated its demand that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa should disband and make way for a new negotiating forum.

Moseneke said the Government should be "engaged on a limited agenda" centred around the demand for a constituent assembly.

He said the PAC campaign plan for such a negotiating forum includes consultations with various organisations and the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

The new forum should be free from the defects Codesa suffered from, he said.

Detailing the PAC's objections to Codesa, Moseneke described its structure as "obese, bloated

and most unrepresentative".

It also had a structural inability to deliver a constituent assembly, he said.

Codesa was pre-packed with 14 tricameral and "homeland" leaders who would be "virtually wiped out" if they were to stand for elections. "To have them go the constituent assembly way is to have them commit suicide," he said.

The PAC also objected to the status of decisions taken at Codesa, saying they should be legally binding. Codesa was therefore "little more than a talking shop".

Codesa decisions were also subject to a white veto.

"After all is said and done the existing non-representative Parliament will have to give the go-ahead."



# De Klerk to brief Cabinet before House sits

STAR 21/1/92

Political Staff 304A

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk will chair the first Cabinet meeting of the year in Tuynhuys tomorrow.

Aspects of his speech for the opening of the new session of Parliament will be on the agenda.

Among these are the Government's plans to install an interim or transitional government and a new parliament that is representative of the entire population.

Mr de Klerk told the first meeting of Codesa

last month that the Government was ready and eager to have such a government.

Tomorrow's meeting is expected to put the finishing touches to a detailed plan for an interim constitution which will be presented by Mr de Klerk when he opens Parliament on Friday.

The new Minister of Trade, Industry and Economic Co-ordination, Derek Keys, was yesterday sworn in by the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik.

Mr Keys, widely credited with the successful

restructuring of the Gencor Group, was appointed to the Cabinet by Mr de Klerk on December 4 after the death of Dr Wim de Villiers.

His portfolio, seen as vital to industrial and economic strategies aimed at making the private sector internationally competitive, will make him a key Minister.

Several meetings of the Houses of Parliament will precede the official opening of the session.

Tomorrow, MPs will meet in the Great Hall to adopt a motion of condolence after the death of

Speaker Louis le Grange.

Afterwards the Houses will nominate their members of an electoral college to choose a new Speaker.

This college will meet on Thursday. Eli Louw, former Minister of Manpower, is likely to be elected unopposed.

On Thursday afternoon there will be another joint session of Parliament to welcome the new Speaker.

In contrast to previous years, there will be a certain amount of military pomp and ceremony at this year's opening.

# Permanent security staff for Codesa

STAR 21/1/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter (304A)

Codesa is to get a permanent security staff.

The daily management committee yesterday resolved to establish a permanent mechanism to ensure security at Codesa meetings.

Until yesterday's meeting, security was arranged on an ad hoc basis for each meeting.

The new chairman of the daily management committee, Privan Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress — replacing Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer on a rotating basis — told The Star the proposed mechanism would take shape over the next few days.

The 19 participating groups had been invited to send representatives for the new security staff, said Mr Gordhan.

The decision was taken in order to get Codesa security on a more organised footing, he said.

The five working groups, which will thrash out transitional arrangements for a post-apartheid South Africa,

also met yesterday for the first time at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

At the meetings, held behind closed doors, each group appointed a steering committee, agreed on dates for further meetings and finalised their tasks.

Members of the steering committees will rotate as chairmen of the groups.

Three working groups reached consensus on steering committees comprising eight members each, while two working groups — one dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity and the role of the international community, and the other concerned with the future of the TBVC states — have nine steering committee members.

Dr de Beer said the working group chairmen would rotate at "sensible" intervals and not necessarily at each meeting.

"It has been a very good day. It went slowly, but people don't know each other and are building up trust. I think we are literally building a nation," he said.



# ANC, Cosatu appeal

Business asked to allow workers to attend 'People's Parliament'

1992/11/21

3044

**SHARON SOROUR**  
Labour Reporter

THE ANC has asked Western Cape employers, organised business and labour to allow workers to attend the "People's Parliament" on the Parade.

Appealing to businesses to negotiate with workers and trade unions and not to take disciplinary action against workers who wished to attend the "parliament" on Friday, the ANC and Cosatu said the "People's Parliament" was a demand to end the "racist parliament" and create an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC Western Cape region and Cosatu yesterday met representatives from the Cape Town Chamber of Industries, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, the Western Cape Traders' Association and the Federation of African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) to inform them about the "parliament".

"We appeal to all employers to negotiate with their workers and trade unions to allow those who wish to attend the People's Parliament to do so in an organised and disciplined way with the minimum of disruption," they said in a joint statement after the meeting.

Cape Town City Council spokesman Mr Ted Doman confirmed municipal and magisterial permission had been granted for the meeting on the Parade and the march to parliament through the city centre.

"The Parade will be closed for parking from 11 am to 4 pm," he said.

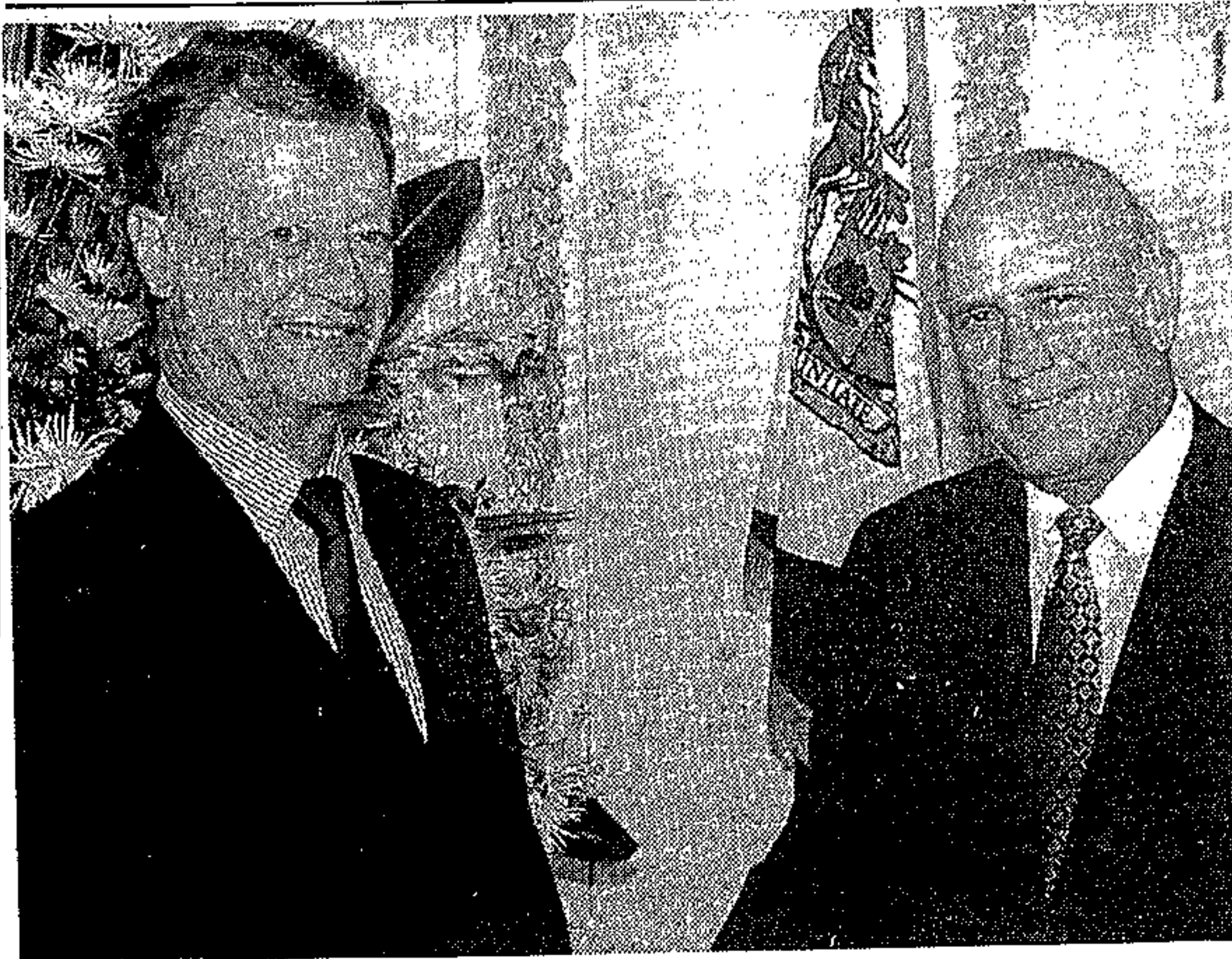
Cape Town Chamber of Commerce vice president Mr Herbert Hirsch said the appeal to allow workers to attend was not "a confrontation against business" and should be seen in this context.

"We appeal to employers to negotiate a mutually acceptable agreement."

He also appealed to workers to discuss the issue with their employers in good time and not to "walk out 30 minutes before the meeting is due to begin".

Chamber of Commerce manpower manager Mr Charl Adams said employers had become "uncomfortable" about the confluence of stayaways towards the end of last year.

"It is unfortunate that this has started again so early this year and while we believe business must continue, we are not unsympathetic to extra-parliamentary groups."



**WELCOME:** President De Klerk welcomes former Gencor chairman Mr Derek Keys into the Cabinet.

## Derek Keys welcomed in Cabinet

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk has formally welcomed the former chairman of Gencor, Mr Derek Keys, into the Cabinet as the new Minister of Economic Co-ordination and of Trade and Industry.

A brief ceremony at Tuynhuys was conducted by the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik.

Mr De Klerk acknowledged the invaluable "experience and expertise" Mr Keys would bring into government from the private sector and paid tribute to his "selfless" attitude to serving the country.



ARG 2/11/92

## Confusion over Dutch PM's visit

The Argus  
Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Confusion still surrounds the planned visit to South Africa by Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers — with the ANC saying the visit is definitely off and Dutch embassy sources saying the Dutch government has not yet made a decision.

Mr Yusuf Saloojee of the ANC's international affairs department said the visit was "definitely off" until Codesa had worked out a new foreign policy.

The matter is due to be discussed today in the Dutch parliament.

## Peace Accord men reject allegations

STAR 21/1/92 (304A)

The organisers of the National Peace Accord today rejected allegations that the accord was not working.

John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC) and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, reacted to a report in The Star yesterday quoting Government sources as saying the Peace Accord may be absorbed into Codesa.

The sources said none of the local dispute resolution committees had yet been established and only two regional dispute resolution committees were operating.

The sources also said other peace structures had not yet been established and because of this and duplication of effort moves were afoot to absorb the Peace Accord into Codesa.

Other NPC sources estimated that dispute resolution committees had now been established in about half the country's worst conflict areas.

Dr Gildenhuys said legislation would have to be passed before other structures such as the Special Criminal Courts and Justices of the Peace could be established.

Mr Hall said he had no problem with the Peace Accord being absorbed into Codesa as long as the process was managed properly. — Political Correspondent.

● More reports — Page 8



(3041)

# Business wants a say in Codesa

Sowetan 21/1/92

By JOSHUA  
RABOROKO

THE National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industries and the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services will lead high-level delegations to the economic forum to be held in Johannesburg today.

The meeting, convened by the Consultative Business Movement, will include delegations from trade unions and business organisations.

Nafcoc's economic adviser, Mr Vincent Phaahla, said yesterday that there were strong sentiments among black businessmen that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was addressing political issues to the exclusion of economic matters.

"The business community will have to come out with clear solutions and options. Political power without economic muscle might be meaningless," he said.

Fabcos' public affairs manager, Mr Mike Ntlalleng, said the meeting would have to decide on "an action plan and objectives" that should be taken regarding Codesa.

# 'A very good day' at Codesa meeting

304/1

South African Press Association 21/1/92

THE first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa's five working groups yesterday achieved what it set out to do, though progress was slow.

"This was really a very good day," Dr Zach de Beer, the chairman at yesterday's Codesa daily management committee meeting and leader of the Democratic Party delegation, told a media conference afterwards.

About 420 delegates and advisers of Codesa's 19 participants attended the first meeting of the working groups at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

"It went slowly but then these are people who have never met each other before," De Beer said.

## Trust

It was a process of trust-building, which De Beer said he had witnessed in all five working groups.

"That really gives me something of a thrill. I think we're literally busy building a nation," De

## South African Press Association

Beer said.

He said the purpose of the meeting was to get the working groups off the ground and "up and running".

They were more concerned with targets than firm time periods. "That was achieved and I am satisfied with what's been done."

Substantive matters would be dealt with when the working groups meet again on February 6.

## Rotate

Each working group, made up of 38 delegates and 38 advisers, elected a steering committee - three chose eight members and the other two nine members.

The steering committees are responsible for finding the chairmen for meetings.

"The principle will be that the chair will rotate, but not necessarily at every meeting," De Beer said.

"It will rotate at sensible intervals."



# Codesa groups activated

304A  
CT 21/1/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa working groups due to begin negotiations on SA's political future were yesterday activated with the appointment of steering committees to direct their work.

The steering committees will provide chairmen for sessions between now and March when the working groups will present their reports to the second plenary session of Codesa.

Yesterday, about 200 delegates representing 19 political groups, homeland governments and the SA government met at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park to start drawing up agendas for working group meetings and to appoint, by consensus, steering committees for the working groups.

The only chairman announced was that for the working group examining transitional arrangements, DP MP Mr Ken Andrew. In the working group dealing with constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process, the ANC's Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Tertius Delpont were chosen joint conveners. Steering committee representatives in this group were chosen on the basis of their competence in the constitutional field and not on party affiliation.

The other three working groups will discuss the future of the TBVC states, a time-frame and implementation of

Codesa decisions and the creation of a free political climate and role of the international community.

The working group steering committees are dominated by the ANC, the NP/SA government, Inkatha and the Labour Party. Parties represented on some, but not all, the steering committees include the Transkei government, the SA Communist Party and the DP.

Codesa daily management committee chairman Dr Zach de Beer said that although yesterday's proceedings had gone slowly, they were part of a process of trust-building. He said the aim was still to convene Codesa again in March, but this depended largely on the progress within the five working groups.

Delegates would meet each Monday at the World Trade Centre, Sapa reports.

## Progress

Delegates at yesterday's meeting generally felt that Codesa II would most likely be held in the first part of April, when they expected the working groups to have made substantial progress in their work.

Those at yesterday's meetings included National Intelligence Service director Dr Neil Barnard, who is an adviser to the government in the working group on creating a free political climate, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitution group, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his director-general Mr Neil van Heerden in the TBVC states group.

# CP campaign pictures slain kids

A CONSERVATIVE PARTY decision to use gruesome pictures of the bodies of two young children and their grandmother — who were killed in a guerilla attack on a farm in Namibia 12 years ago — in a pamphlet could lead to legal action.

Cape Town woman Mrs Lena Haggard, whose mother and two youngest children were murdered in the attack, saw the grim pictures for the first time in a CP pamphlet.

The pictures are being used by the CP without her permission in their campaign in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Mrs Haggard said it was inhuman to use the photographs in an attempt to win votes.

Her husband, Mr Eugene Haggard, is consulting his attorney about possible legal action against the CP because of its "dirty politics".

Since seeing the pictures, Mrs Haggard has been reliving the pain of the tragic day in May 1979 when her two youngest children, Jenny and Willie Roodt, 5 and 2, and her mother, Mrs Johanna Smit, were bayoneted to death on a farm near Tsumeb.

She said similar pictures were withheld from her with good reason by the police 12

years ago.

However, the CP candidate in Potchefstroom and the party's general-secretary Mr Andries Beyers said he would use the pamphlet in his election campaign.

"Leave it alone. It is not good manners. It has nothing to do with politics," he said.

The family is also demanding an apology in the form of a press statement.

Mr Beyers said he would not make any apology and said the government should rather make an apology.

However, Mrs Haggard said the murders had nothing to do with political opposition to the government.

CT (3047) 21/1/92

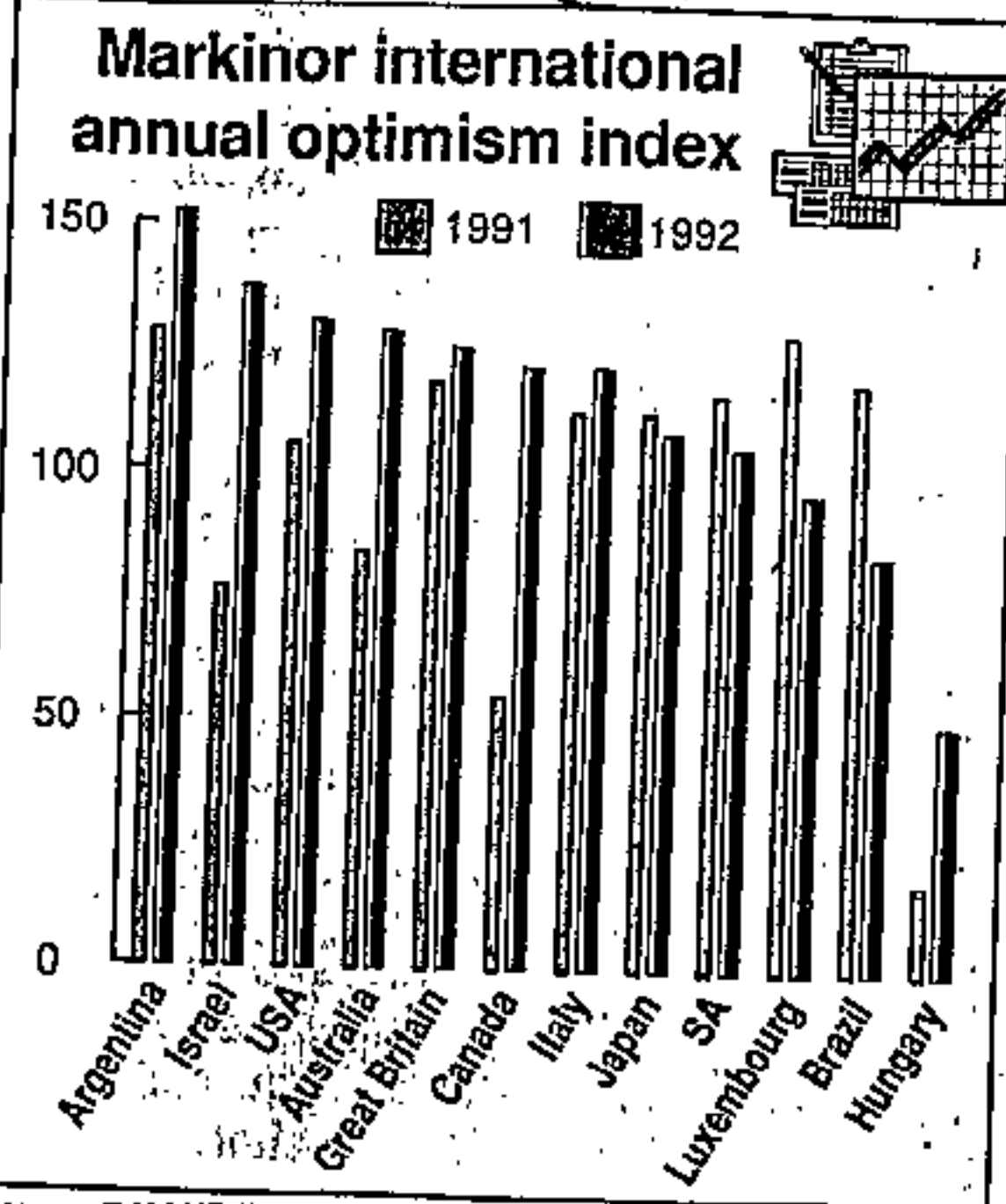


# SA joins the gloom squad

OPTIMISM among South Africans about the outlook for 1992 has fallen significantly, says Markinor research group in a year-end poll conducted in 45 countries by Gallup International.

(306A)

By Day 21/1/92  
JONW WATERS



Source: GALLUP INTERNATIONAL YEAR END POLL  
Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Compared with 1990's outlook for 1991 the optimism of South Africans dropped by 11 points from 116 to 105. But Brazil showed the biggest drop, from 119 to 84, followed by Luxembourg, where optimism fell from 128 to 96 (-32).

Of the countries polled, 22 registered an increase in optimism, the most dramatic being Canada with a 66-point jump. Israel, which registered the most dramatic fall last year (-71), showed the second-highest leap in optimism this year, from 77 to 137.

Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson said "the Israeli outlook had clearly been affected by the Iraqi threat".

The most optimistic country was Argentina which registered 152 points, an increase of 24 points on the 1991 figure.

The major industrialised countries recorded mixed results. Despite unemployment in the US, optimism increased by 24 points to 130. The UK recorded a seven-point increase to 125, Italian optimism increased by nine points to 112, but Japan recorded a four-point drop to be placed just above SA on 108 points.

# Codesa groups activated

810am 21/1/92 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

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The steering committees will provide chairmen for sessions between now and March when the working groups will present their reports to the second plenary session of Codesa.

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the SA Communist Party and the DP.

Codesa daily management committee chairman Zach de Beer said that while yesterday's proceedings had gone slowly, they were part of a process of trust building. He said the aim was still to convene Codesa again in March, but it depended largely on the progress within the five working groups.

It had been proposed to spend two days a week in working group meetings, but the workload made this impossible. Instead, delegates would meet each Monday at the World Trade Centre, Sapa reports.

Delegates at Monday's meeting generally felt that Codesa II would most likely be held in the first part of April, when they expected the working groups to have made substantial progress in their work.

Yesterday's full-day meetings of the working groups were attended by high-ranking government officials and members of political groups.

These included National Intelligence Service director Neil Barnard who is an adviser to government in the working group on creating a free political climate, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitution group, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his director general Neil van Heerden in the TBVC states group.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser was named government adviser on the TBVC group.

Negotiations will begin next month.



## Derek Keys is sworn in

Billy Paddock

CAPE TOWN — New Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keys was sworn in yesterday by Judge President of the Cape Mr Justice George Munnik at Tuynhuys. (304A)

Welcoming Keys to the Cabinet, President F W de Klerk said he did not know whether congratulations were in order because Keys was such a prominent figure doing great service in the private sector.

He said the decision to leave the private sector at such an important stage of his career must have been a difficult and momentous one for Keys, now called upon to give his expertise to the country.

"Your experience and expertise from the private sector will stand the country in good stead. It is the experience and expertise required and necessary for us in the Cabinet who will put it to good use," De Klerk said.

He said Keys's decision to join government was indicative of the spirit of realisation "that we stand in the decision-making phase of our history".

● Comment: Page 6

**MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent**

IN an unprecedented move, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu will attempt to address parliament at the opening of the 1992 session on Friday.

He will seek to call on MPs directly to disband parliament and leave the way clear for an interim government.

This will follow a march to parliament from the ANC-sponsored "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade.

Mr Sisulu's intended intervention — confirmed by another key figure in the march, national executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus — forms part of what the ANC has described as its biggest campaign in the Western Cape since its unbanning.

Organisers predict a turnout of at least 50 000 and about 1 000 marshals will be on duty.

Free train, bus and taxi services from the townships and the Cape Flats, Paarl, Worcester and Stellenbosch have been laid on to ferry supporters to the city centre.

The ANC is holding rallies throughout the Western Cape today and tomorrow to publicise Friday's events and employers have been urged to give workers time off to attend the demonstration.

Talks have been held with organisers of a separate anti-Codesa march by the PAC in the city on Friday in a bid to prevent clashes. The ANC has emphasised the importance of its demonstration being peaceful and orderly.

Top ANC figures, including Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Steve Tshwete, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, will address the two-hour "people's parliament" from 10.30 on Friday morning, coinciding with President De Klerk's address in the Great Hall of parliament.

The "people's parliament" — which will centre on a specially constructed stage on the Grand Parade — will pass two symbolic Bills: one disbanding the "racist" parliament, the other setting out key elements of the ANC's socio-economic policies.

This will be followed by the march to parliament.

Ms Carolus said: "Mr Sisulu will ask to be allowed to address parliament."

If he fails, he will hand over a notice addressed to Mr De Klerk "demanding the disbanding of the racist parliament".

The notice will also call for an interim government to be established by June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

Final details of the route of the march — and the gate at which Mr Sisulu will seek to enter the precincts of parliament — are still being worked out with municipal traffic authorities.

Mr Tshwete told a Press briefing last night: "The racist parliament is illegitimate and is an insult to the people of South Africa. President De Klerk must get this message on Friday."

Mr Kasrils described the "people's parliament" as the "springboard to develop a mass campaign through 1992 to mobilise people throughout the country to achieve the democracy this country so badly needs".

"We will use mass pressure. That is what democracy is all about."

● See page 2.



Mr Walter Sisulu

# Sisulu bid to address parliament

'Direct call to MPs to make way for interim government'

(3044) MCA 22/1/92



# Winnie warms to FW's reform efforts

ET 22/1/92

304A

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. President F W de Klerk has taken tremendous steps towards the solution of our country's problems. Mrs Winnie Mandela acknowledged in a television interview.

In Atlanta to celebrate Dr Martin Luther King's birthday with his widow Mrs Coretta Scott King, Mrs Mandela also admitted that the ANC had not always seen eye-to-eye with the civil rights leader's non-violent creed.

"But, at the end of the day, we have had to come to terms with his dream of a peaceful solution to our country's problems."

She added that it was now unlikely that the ANC would ever have to stray from Dr King's philosophy again, though she did not rule it out. "We are very hopeful that we don't have to resort to violence again."

Interviewer: Mr Charles Shneider noted that Mrs Mandela was appealing her conviction on kidnapping charges and recalled that the judge was pretty blunt in his assessment of you. He called you a liar, essentially. Where does the appeal stand right now?

She shot back: "I really regard the question as so irrelevant. I would really have been much happier if you had asked me about the violence of the racist Pretoria regime and not about some nonsensical political witchhunt."

"Not even the racist regime has found us guilty of this so-called murder," she added, referring to Stompie Seipei.

Mr Delpont was a good shot

The first to die was Mr Delpont's father Marthiens, 68.

dents are still puzzled as to the motive for the killings.

## Codesa sidelining parliament, says CP

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has expressed outrage at the announcement that parliament will initially sit three days a week, enabling MPs to take part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

"This has proved we were correct in our allegations all along that parliament was being sidelined in favour of Co-

desa," said chief whip Frank le Roux.

The CP objected strongly to the "intolerable and unconstitutional" pushing aside of a sovereign body and was committed to restoring the House of Assembly as the sovereign body of white South Africa.

Parliament's chief whip, Mr Alec van Breda, has written to all party whips asking them to

pass resolutions in the three houses that they will not sit on Mondays and Tuesday, the days Codesa's five working groups and other committees convene at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Five parliamentary parties involving 74 MPs are deeply involved in Codesa. The only major group not taking part in Codesa is the CP.

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25  
K



ARG 22/1/92

## ANC starts 'people's parliament' campaign

VUYO BAVUMA  
Staff Reporter

304A

THE ANC's "people's parliament" campaign has kicked off with four rallies in Khayelitsha and Athlone.

Addressed by five members of the ANC's national executive, including South African Communist Party member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Steve Tshwete, the meetings were attended by hundreds of people yesterday.

The emotion-charged gatherings were punctuated by freedom songs and chants of "Viva Codesa!" and "vala ipalamente yamaBhulu! Vula ipalamente yaBantu! (Close the Boers' parliament! Open the people's parliament!)"

At Luhlaza High School in Khayelitsha, Ms Carolus said to 250 people that President De Klerk would be told on Friday (when parliament opens) that the "time of the tea party is over".

"If he wants us to be part of the new South Africa, why is he keeping the white parliament?"

"We are going to say President De Klerk must stick to the words he uttered in Codesa. We believe Codesa will work but the people should fight to ensure this happens."

Addressing about 300 people at Malizo High School, Mr Kasrils said: "On Friday you must use your mouth like an AK-47, just as Mandela did when he gave President De Klerk the tongue-lashing of his life at the Codesa conference."

"This will give President De Klerk and Minister Gerrit Viljoen a nightmare on Friday night, Mr Kasrils said to thunderous applause."

He urged the people, in Zulu, to "close the parliament of the Boers and open the people's parliament".

Mr Tshwete said the ANC was relying on the people to carry on the struggle so they could become the "government of tomorrow".

"This year will definitely be the end of the story of oppression. If it was not for our armed struggle, we would still have been oppressed by the government," Mr Tshwete said.

● Five more rallies will be held today leading up to a gathering on the Grand Parade and a march on Friday.

# Chief constitutional post goes to top SA spymaster

STAR 22/1/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

3067

The appointment of South Africa's spymaster, Dr Niel Barnard, as top civil servant in charge of negotiations has been greeted with a mixture of surprise and suspicion in political circles.

But Government sources said Dr Barnard's expertise in negotiations and administration made him an excellent choice.

President de Klerk announced yesterday that because of the great demands made by constitutional negotiations, the Division of Constitutional Development Services (CDS) was being upgraded to a full department.

Fanie van der Merwe would remain in the post of constitutional adviser and a new post of head of the CDS was being



Dr Barnard ... to take over workload.

created, to be filled by Dr Barnard from February 1.

His title would be head of constitutional development services.

Government sources said Dr Barnard would take over much of the administrative workload from Mr van der Merwe.

They added that there was nothing sinister about using an intelligence official in this position and pointed out that former ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma was now deputy general secretary of the ANC.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that putting the head of the National Intelligence Service in charge of constitutional development "shows the role which the intelligence service plays in the constitution-making process".

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse — the LP's representative on the Codesa executive — said the appointment was "insensitive".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I presume the State President knows something about him, and for South Africa's sake I hope he chose well."



# Spy boss moved by FW

22/1/92  
Political  
Correspondent

INTELLIGENCE chief Dr Neil Barnard is to head the Constitutional Development Service, a government department believed to be the Codesa sponsor.

This moves the former head of National Intelligence Service from spying on the extra-parliamentary opposition to negotiating with it from within constitutional development.

State President FW de Klerk said in a statement released in Cape Town yesterday that the weight of constitutional negotiations was increasing and it was necessary to re-arrange the top structure of Constitutional Development Service.

Barnard will be the head of CDS, the government department believed to be the sponsor of Codesa.

Dr Faan van der Merwe will remain chief constitutional adviser.

Barnard will assume his new position on February 1 and his old position at NIS will be filled in due course, De Klerk's statement said.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria, West, Johannesburg.

# Codesa meetings chart path ahead

*Sowetan* 22/11/92

THE working committees of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa met for the first time this week to chart the path forward.

The meeting, four days before the official opening of the all-white Parliament in Cape Town on Friday, is seen as an indication of the importance attached to Codesa by both the Government and participants.

Commentators argue that with Parliament less representative than Codesa, the latter would overshadow and "lead" discussions in Parliament, albeit from the outside.

The engine of this leading vehicle are the five working groups which met at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Monday.

The committees comprise 38 people each, with two representatives for each of the participating 19 organisations, parties and governments.

## FOCUS

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

The committees or task groups are:

- \* A group on the creation of a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community.

Its role is to recommend ways of creating a climate for political activity free of intimidation, especially during the process leading to the introduction of a new constitution which also looks at the return of exiles, the repeal of discriminatory laws and control of State-controlled media;

- \* A constitution-making body which will formulate and agree on basic constitutional principles and the manner in which the constitution will be drafted;

- \* A group on transitional arrangements which will determine transitional government rules during the negotiation process. It will also look at the time frame for the transitional arrangement - the Government has set a time frame of 10 years while the ANC puts the ceiling at 18 months;

- \* A group on the future of the TBVC states will look into the desirability and manner, where applicable, of the reincorporation of these territories; and

- \* A group on the implementation of Codesa decisions will put time frames for the completion of specific tasks by the groups and the creation of new groups for the working of Codesa.

At the meetings on Monday,

steering committees were elected to serve as chairmen on a rotating basis.

All the committees will make recommendations to the working committee who will then table its own proposals to Codesa 2, scheduled for March.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Monday's meetings and leader of the Democratic Party, said afterwards that progress had been good and the process was "literally building a nation".

But at stake is what effect the Codesa decisions will have in law.

The postponement of the introduction of the Referendum Bill in Parliament until April is seen as a way of giving the steering committees a chance to make recommendations on the matter instead of the Government taking unilateral decisions.



# Winnie spares a word of praise for FW

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk had taken "tremendous steps towards the solution of our country's problems", Winnie Mandela acknowledged in an interview on ABC Television's Good Morning America programme.

In Atlanta to celebrate Martin Luther King's birthday with his widow, Coretta Scott King, Mandela also admitted that the ANC had not always seen eye to eye with the civil rights leader's non-violent credo.

"But, at the end of the day, we have had to come to terms with his dream of a peaceful solution to our country's prob-

lems." While it was now "unlikely" the ANC would have to stray from King's philosophy again, she did not rule it out. "We are very hopeful that we will not have to resort to violence again."

Asked about her comments on Sunday, when she described De Klerk as "a man who cannot be trusted", she said: "Discredited as he is, and having the double agenda he has always had, Mr de Klerk needs us as much as we need him. We see no one else in the NP we can negotiate with."

"Mr de Klerk has taken tremendous steps towards the solution of our country's problems and there is no other Nationalist, in our view, who could take the role (he) has taken. Yes, it is true he has let us down a number of times."

She was less polite about the PAC and Azapo, whom she referred to as "splinter organisations ... who do not have any constituency".

Mandela is on a seven-city ANC fundraising tour through the American South. She winds up her trip on Saturday in Los Angeles.

SIMON BARBER

# Cosatu vies for Codesa seat

CODESA was willing to consider Cosatu's claim to membership, Codesa daily management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

Gordhan said while Codesa in principle was open only to political parties and groups with proven support, Cosatu's history justified that its claim should be considered. But he said no Cosatu application for membership had been received.

Gordhan, a Natal Indian Congress office-bearer and former Operation Vula trialist, takes up Codesa's chairmanship after DP leader Zach de Beer. Gordhan was arrested and charged in 1990 for treason and possession of arms, but was indemnified last year.

A Cosatu spokesman said the 1.5-million-member labour congress's decision to apply to participate in

PATRICK BULGER  
and DIRK HARTFORD

Codesa did not make applications from a host of non-political organisations legitimate.

"Cosatu has a legitimate right to be part of Codesa as the force representing the majority of workers in the country." (304A)

He said participation in Codesa in no way compromised yesterday's initiative by business and organised labour to set up an economic forum.

"Our aim in the economic forum is to develop mechanisms to deal with the economy in the transition period. Our participation in Codesa will help us to look at what kind of relationship there might be between the economic forum and an interim government," he said.



# ANC warning on new bond

30411  
CT 22/1/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday severely criticised government's raising of an ECU bond worth R890 million, and warned that a democratic government would "assess its obligation" to service and repay debts contracted by the present government.

The ANC said: "... we are bound to declare, once again, that a democratic government will carefully assess its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the South African government and its various agencies."

The ANC statement said it was particularly critical because the issue took place just before the formation of an interim government.

## 'Buying votes'

One ANC source said, however, that the ANC's anger was more a "shot across the bow", although ANC members insist the threat had to be taken seriously.

The ANC's concern derived from its impression that government was cynically attempting to buy votes in a future election by presenting itself as the champion of the poor, the source said.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser justified the bond by saying the money raised would contribute to the financing of the national budget "the thrust of which is increasingly the upliftment of the less advantaged part of the community".

● ECU issue: 'Generous rewards' — p13

# Labour Party to sit on all Codesa bodies

Communist  
to chair  
Codesa

THE Labour Party has emerged as the only party apart from the "big three" — the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party-government — to have representation on all five working group steering committees of Codesa.

And, national PRO Mr Peter Hendrickse, is one of eight representatives on the "dagbestuur" of Codesa's management committee.

Parliament is to be asked to sit only three days a week to allow MPs to participate fully in Codesa, according to chief whip Mr Alex van Breda.

He said in a statement yesterday that each house would be requested to pass a resolution that Parliament not sit on Mondays and Tuesdays with effect from February 10.

Mr Van Breda said that if the Parliamentary programme necessitated it, sittings would be possible on these two days. This was however not envisaged at this stage.

Meanwhile Codesa daily management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said yesterday Codesa was willing to consider Cosatu's membership claim.

Mr Gordhan said while Codesa, in

JOHANNESBURG. — The breakdown of steering committee members from each of Codesa's 19 participants is as follows:

ANC	5
Bophuthatswana Government	1
Ciskei Government	1
Democratic Party	2
Dikwankwetla Party	4
Inkatha Freedom Party	2
Intando Yesizwe Party	4
Inyandza National Movement	none
Labour Party	2
Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress	5
National Party	none
National People's Party	2
Solidarity Party	none
South African Communist Party	1
South African Government	3
Transkei Government	3
United People's Front	4
Venda Government	2
Ximoko Progressive Party	1
	none

principle, was open only to political parties and groups with proven support, Cosatu's history justified that its claim to membership be considered. But he said no Cosatu application for membership had been received.

A Cosatu spokesman said its decision to apply to participate in Codesa did not legitimise applications from a host of non-political organisations.

"Cosatu has a legitimate right to be part of Codesa as the force representing the majority of workers in the country." — Political Staff, Sapa and Own Correspondent

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Pharmacist and senior Natal Indian Congress and SA Communist Party official, Mr Pravin Gordhan who was subjected to house arrests, bannings and detentions over the years was this week elected chairman of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The former Operation Vula trialist took over from Codesa's first chairman, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer. The position of chairman is rotated.

Mr Gordhan, 42, said yesterday it was an honour for a "congress movement official" to take the top position.

He holds the post until February 10, when a new chairman will be elected.

"My function is to chair meetings of the daily management committee and management committee until February 10 when they meet and the principal of rotation will be applied again. I will also be the spokesman for Codesa," Mr Gordhan added.



# Spy chief to head constitutional services

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk restructured Constitutional Development Services yesterday in an effort to position government more carefully and to strengthen its hand in constitutional negotiations.

At the same time as upgrading it to the status of a full state department, he also announced that he had appointed National Intelligence Services chief Niel Barnard to the new post of Constitutional Development Services head.

Appointed by former Prime Minister P W Botha to head NIS in 1980, Barnard is the longest-serving director-general in the public service. He previously headed Free

B1 Day 22/11/92

(304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

State University's political science department. He was one of the first government members to start talking clandestinely to the ANC and accompanied Botha when he met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison.

He has also played an important behind-the-scenes role in government's negotiating strategy and in facilitating talks with the ANC.

De Klerk has split the functions of Constitutional Development Services. The department's most senior public servant,

Panie van der Merwe, remains constitutional adviser to government's negotiators, while Barnard will be responsible for running the department.

De Klerk said he was particularly grateful that the state could call on the services of two such outstanding officials.

The changes become effective from February 1. Barnard's replacement in the NIS will be announced soon.

Labour Party spokesman and Codesa negotiator Peter Hendrickse said the appointment was insensitive as Barnard had once headed a department aimed at destroying government opponents.

# All set for a Codesa

STAR 23/1/92

(3044)

**B**EHIND the parliamentary pomp President de Klerk usually shuns the more flamboyant trappings of office. But at the opening of the 1992 session of Parliament tomorrow, a 21-gun salute will thunder from Signal Hill as it has not thundered for some years.

A loud reminder to the nation, perhaps, that Parliament is still around — and that the seat of legislative power is still in Cape Town and not the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park?

Notwithstanding the increased pomp and ceremony, Parliament will assemble this year very much under the shadow of Codesa.

Though the last-minute refurbishing of the House of Assembly and re-upholstering of its green leather benches suggests confidence in the durability of this institution, a palpable air of impermanency hangs over Parliament.

MPs, officials and journalists are all painfully conscious that its future and theirs lies in the hands of a rather ad-hoc body of people elsewhere, whose deliberations are systematically undermining the political foundations of the imposing Victorian edifice of Parliament.

ment.

Although Parliament still remains constitutionally sovereign, no one doubts it has already surrendered much of its supreme political power to Codesa. On December 20 last year, the majority parties, and other players in all three Houses, solemnly committed themselves to implementing the decisions of Codesa. They encroached further on Parliament's realm by agreeing that Codesa should have a hand in drafting the legislation which would give effect to its decisions.

Since then it has become apparent that not only will Parliament be obliged to enact the decisions of Codesa — it will also have to be consulted before any important legislation is passed. This was demonstrated last week when Parliament's joint standing committee on home affairs agreed to postpone consideration of a referendum Bill until Codesa had discussed the subject.

The impact of Codesa on Parliament was also starkly illustrated this week by the Government's proposal, certain to be implemented, that Parliament should meet for only three days a week

to allow MPs to attend to Codesa business. If not for this proposal, the workings of Parliament would have ground to a halt while Codesa was busy, as about half the MPs have Codesa duties.

Mr de Klerk's hands will also be tied by Codesa when he opens Parliament tomorrow. For the last two years he has used the occasion to announce dramatic initiatives, such as the unbanning of the ANC and the scrapping of the Population Registration Act. The question this year is whether he can do so again — in the knowledge that any big surprises will immediately be subject to the criticism that he has not consulted Codesa.

Under these constraints, National Party MPs expect the speech to be one of explanation and consolidation rather than revelation. Significantly, Mr de Klerk has already announced at Codesa the outline of what is likely to be his chief theme tomorrow — the NP's plans for "transitional arrangements" or a form of interim government.

He told Codesa in December that the Government envisaged an interim government based on the

NP's constitutional proposals, that is, a government based on an interim constitution properly enacted by Parliament after approval in a referendum.

Once approved, South Africa's first elections under universal suffrage would be held for a power-sharing legislature and government with strong built-in protection and veto rights for minorities. This legislature and government — preferably with an indefinite lifespan — could then decide whether or not and how to introduce a permanent constitution.

The NP believes the virtue of this transitional model is that it will provide an opportunity for the major re-structuring of society to be performed before the final break with the past. Given the constraints of Codesa, it is hard to imagine what other far-reaching announcements Mr de Klerk could make.

There is some speculation that he might announce further rationalisation of the tricameral administrations — falling well-short of anything requiring constitutional changes.

For the rest, Mr de Klerk may turn his speech into a state of the

nation address, reporting improvements in the economy, halting the crumbling of sanctions and the burgeoning of sporting links.

He may well address the public's growing fears about crime and give some idea of how the Government intends dealing with it.

Mr de Klerk might also be tempted to use the platform of Parliament to indulge in a little ANC-bashing — he did so at Codesa with rather disastrous results — but Mr Mandela would not now have the right of immediate reply.

Government sources have hinted that he may return to the theme of the ANC's armed struggle and state more explicitly that he is not prepared to sign any important agreements at Codesa until the ANC finally abandons the armed struggle.

This sort of tough approach is the more likely because of the by-election in Potchefstroom in February, a critical test of NP support in relation to the CP.

If Parliament does become something of a side-show to Codesa, as seems likely, the clash between the Government and the Conservative Party is likely to be

the main attraction in this session.

The CP has already fired — first salvos by accusing the Government of sidelining Parliament through its decision to shorten the parliamentary week to accommodate Codesa.

The true test of the CP's commitment will come when the first decisions of Codesa reach Parliament for enactment.

Will it stay to fight the Government across the green carpets of Parliament — or walk out once and for all to become an extra-parliamentary resistance movement? That momentous decision may not face the CP immediately. Most negotiators do not expect Codesa to reach important agreement during this session of Parliament.

They believe Parliament will be called together again next year — or perhaps in a special second session later this year — to enact the decisions of Codesa and its own demise.

If they are right, this will not, in a strictly technical sense, be the last Parliament of the old South Africa. But the writing will have been clearly seen on the wall. □

# Sideshow



## CP objects to shorter sittings of Parliament

Political Correspondent

A Government proposal to shorten parliamentary debate to three days a week to accommodate Codesa has been condemned by the Conservative Party as an infringement of the sovereignty of Parliament.

NP chief whip Alex van Breda has proposed that from February 10 until the Easter recess, Parliament should not

meet on Mondays and Tuesdays.

Mr van Breda said a substantial number of MPs were involved in Codesa working groups and this arrangement would allow Parliament to continue without disruption.

If approved by the majority parties in all three Houses — as it is sure to be — the plan would be implemented.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said the proposal proved the CP's contention that the Government intended to allow Codesa to sideline Parliament.

"It is intolerable and unconstitutional that Parliament should be subject to the deliberations of Codesa — a non-statutory body with no constitutional status."

"The Conservative Party will oppose it."

23/1/92

(304A)

# What aces has FW got up his sleeve?

*So we fan 23/1/92 (304A)*

THE question on the lips of political observers over the past few days has been: What will State President FW de Klerk pull out of his hat when he opens Parliament tomorrow?

It was with similar expectation that people awaited De Klerk's speech last year, when he dropped a bomb on February 2 in 1990 by unbanning and lifting restrictions on all extra-parliamentary opposition.

The 1990 speech is still spoken of in political circles as a watershed event in South Africa's political history.

## Historic speech

But while the Government and the international political community saw this historic speech - and the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP - in the context of global developments, in terms of black political perceptions it took the country back to the time before the liberation movements were unbanned.

One PAC executive said at the time that De Klerk was not doing the political movements any great favours.

"The National Party has always ignored the aspirations of the African people, and when they couldn't ignore it they would simply subvert it with repression. He hasn't done us a favour by unbanning us," he said.

## Political debate

Nevertheless, De Klerk did place the country on the road to redevelopment, and the liberation movements did become part of the country's political debate.

The contradiction then became clear: If De Klerk unbanned the liberation movements, what of the actual legal and political structures

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

that these movements were fighting to overthrow?

De Klerk reprised the starring role that he played on February 2 1990, with similarly powerful - but less dramatic - speech on February 1 1991.

In his opening remarks, De Klerk spoke of the effect that the February 2 speech and on the country's political landscape and its search for an equitable dispensation with justice for all.

"The (ultimate) goal," he said, "with the removal of discrimination, is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life."

## White rule

Last year's speech, and the announcements contained in it so undermined white rule that the far-right Conservative Party - the official Opposition in the House of Assembly - called De Klerk a traitor.

He announced that the Government would in the course of the parliamentary session table legislation to repeal the cornerstones of apartheid; the Land Acts of 1913 and 1937, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act.

"Should Parliament accept the Government's proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid within months of the remnants of the racially discriminatory pieces of legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apart-

heid," De Klerk said.

With this speech last year, De Klerk announced the death of legislated apartheid, thus reprising the role he played on February 2 1990.

In spite of his speech and the international political acclaim he received, apartheid did not die last year, not even legislatively.

All the apartheid education laws, laws dealing with social pensions (which discriminate against black people), and in fact the very constitution upon which Parliament is based - the Constitution Act of 1983 - remained intact.

## Empty applause

The applause was, to say the least, a case of empty applause.

But be that as it may, there is very little De Klerk can announce in his speech tomorrow that can stand up to the opening-of-Parliament speeches of the past two years.

It has been speculated that De Klerk would announce at the opening of Parliament tomorrow the Government's proposals for an interim government.

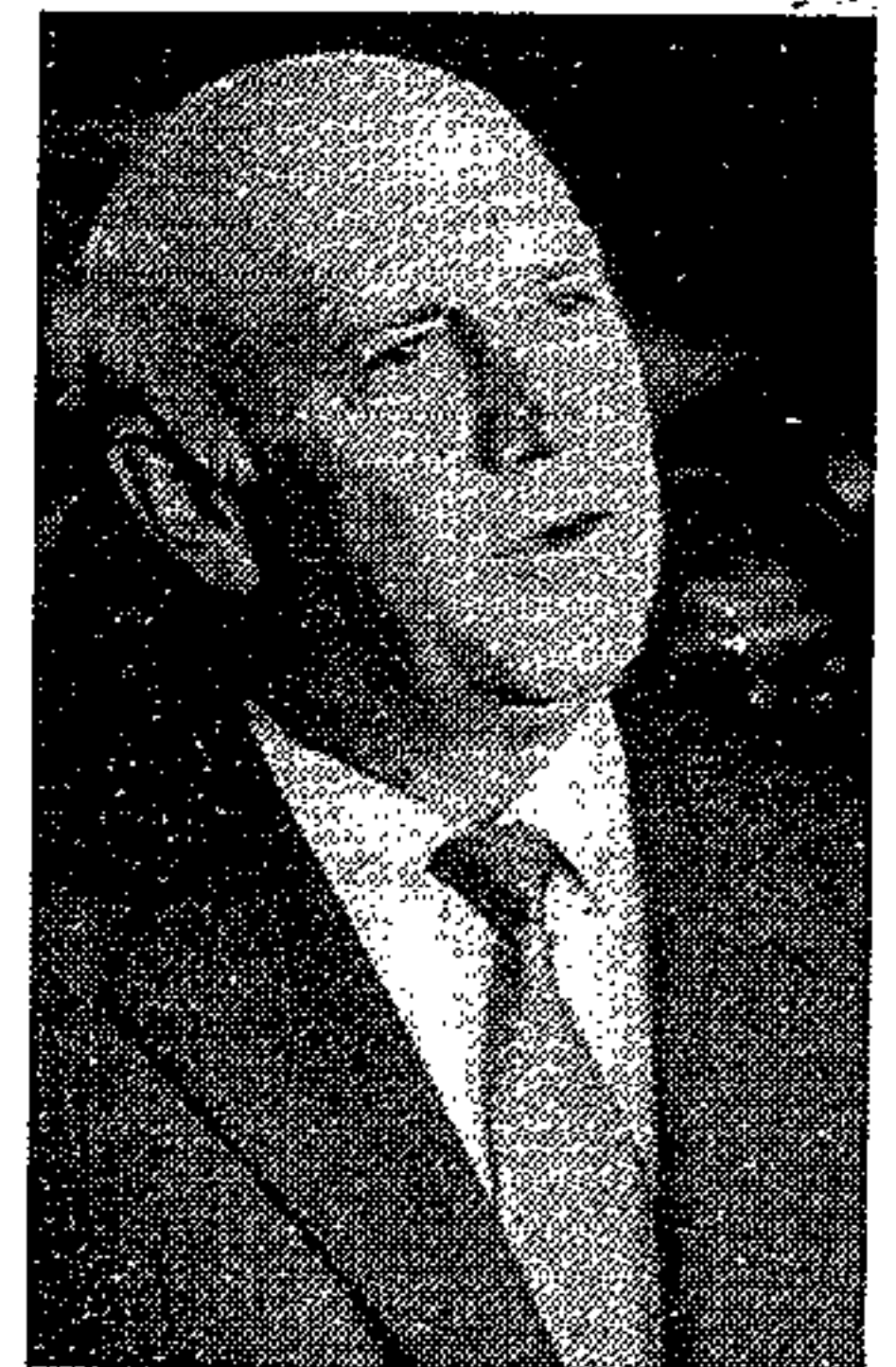
If he does, it will not be the something which he can impose (unilaterally) upon the country - as he has with the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, or as he has with the repeal of apartheid legislation.

## Negotiated

Any interim government would have to be negotiated with the people whom he wants to govern the country with during the transition.

And, whatever he says tomorrow in this regard, it remains to be approved of and or amended by Codesa.

At the conclusion of Codesa's first meeting in Johannesburg of December 20, ANC president Mr



FW DE KLERK

Nelson Mandela said his movement would look at the Government's proposals for an interim government.

This was only a commitment to look at the proposals. Codesa established a working group to deal with the issue, and it is hardly likely that a decision would be taken before this group presents its report in a few weeks.

## Background

On the other hand there is one issue that has kind of melted into the background of political developments in recent weeks - the continued imprisonment of Mr Robert McBride.

Mandela himself has said that the redevelopment of South Africa was seriously impeded by the continued imprisonment of the remaining political prisoners.

De Klerk will remain in the limelight if he releases McBride on Friday - there has been speculation that he will release mass murderer Mr Barend Strydom at the same time.



IT IS widely recognised that the grant to South Africa of a whites-only Parliament in 1910 was a historic blunder by Britain.

The original Parliament turned republican in 1961 and tricameral in 1984 (whose session is about to open in Cape Town). Whatever the constitutional guise, the glaring fact is that the majority of South Africans were denied the right to vote for the most important institution in the land.

The present Parliament was aptly described by a leading newspaper in the 1983 referendum campaign as "fatally flawed", but that did not stop the Gadenere rush by the white business and media establishment — with some notable exceptions — to support it. They fell ready victim to the blandishments of white power exercised so destructively by the politically departed P W Botha.

Things have now turned full circle and even some of those who supported Mr Botha's convoluted monstrosity now wish it buried and forgotten. The far-from-radical government-appointed Law Commission made unfavourable remarks about the tricameral Parliament in a recent report.

In essence, Parliament is a toothless, racist tool of the ruling National Party. It is time for the people to demand, as did Oliver Cromwell of the Long Parliament in Britain: "In the name of God, go!"

### Fawning media

But Parliament meets again, with pomp and fanfare.

Far from hanging their heads in tricameral shame for a record of failure and racial selfishness, most of the

white, coloured and Indian members will be debating, tabling, voting, diving, dining, wining, flying SAA free, looking forward to their gratuities — as if nothing has changed. Some, in the minority, will be sensitive to what is happening outside the debating chamber.

The public show of irrelevance will be accompanied by the usual fawning by the establishment media — again with some notable exceptions — in ways which should make self-respecting members of the Fourth Estate ashamed.

Acres of newsprint and air time will be devoted to parliamentary debate which, in the affairs of South Africa, might as well be taking place on Mars. The triumph of the liberation struggle in forcing a hesitant government to negotiate its own end has unleashed a surge of democracy in the country at large which makes Parliament even less relevant than before.

### Reflect debate

With this in mind, the African National Congress is launching a campaign to show up Parliament for what it is. It plans to take that campaign to its very portals.

The ANC is demanding that at least the same amount of attention be given to its affairs as is given to the minority situation at the top of Ad-dersley Street. A Peoples' Parliament will meet on the Parade simultaneously with the open-

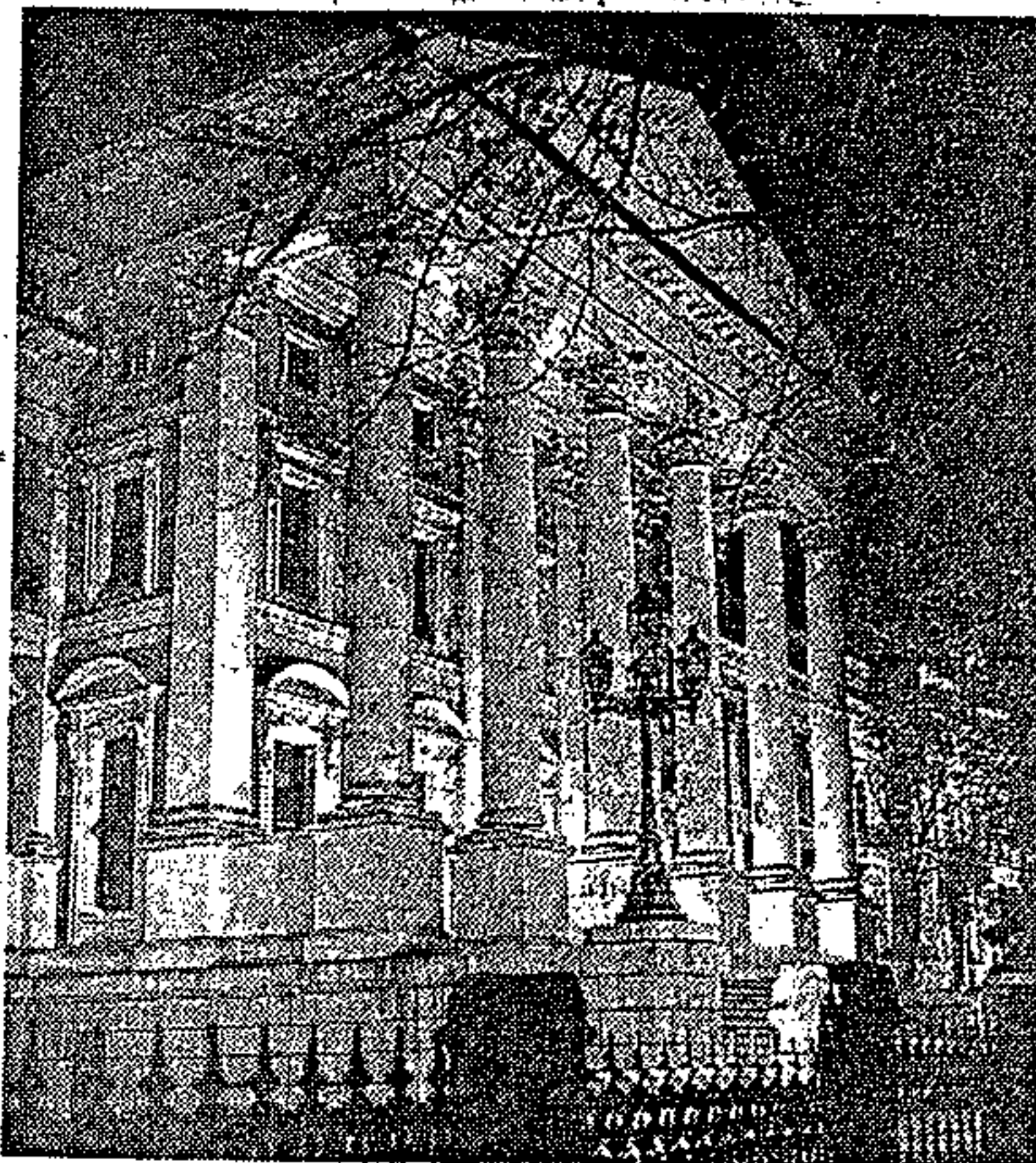
ing of Parliament, followed by a march to its precincts.

While at the top of Ad-dersley Street in Parliament there will be a demonstration of illegitimacy, the real representatives of the people will make their combined voice heard below.

As the weeks and months of this money-wasting parliamentary exercise unfold in a land impoverished by apartheid, the ANC will demand that its voice be heard adequately over the airwaves and in the Press. Elementary fair-

### Viewpoint

by STEVE TSHWETE and TONY YENGENI



ness requires that the time and space be given.

Newspapers generally publish separate sections for Parliament and politics, and the SABC has its special report on Parliament. In the changed atmosphere of South Africa, it is incumbent on those organising these services to ensure that they do not draw only on the soaring mediocrity of parliamentary debate, but reflect the great debate outside.

That debate is in the streets, in apartheid's ghettos, in the educational institutions and the churches and in Co-

desa — indeed, where people who shall one day govern themselves converse.

Many of the readers of the newspapers, and listeners or viewers of the electronic media, have no vote for Parliament and yet many more have rightly spurned the meaningless vote offered to minority groups. The majority rightly demand that their legitimate interests be reflected in the media.

Parliament should, indeed, curtail its sittings — as part of a valedictory programme of making this session its very last. This would save the public a lot of money.

Codesa has become far more important, in a matter of months, than the South African Parliament was for eight decades. MPs, if they consider it worthwhile to continue nominally in a meaningless, toothless institution, can at least spend their time more profitably in Codesa-related activities — and thereby help Codesa speed its way to an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly.

That will mean early freedom for all South Africans, under a non-racial Parliament.

That will mean righting the glaring wrong of 1910 — and a good start in righting all the other wrongs that make this country unjust for so many.

[Steve Tswete is a member of the national executive of the ANC. Tony Yengeni is Western Cape regional chairman.]



# Another foreign trip for FW

304A

## Political Staff

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk** leaves on another overseas trip next week when he will visit several western and central European countries over a 10-day period.

Mr De Klerk's first stop will be when he meets British Prime Minister Mr John Major on Saturday, February 1, as announced in London on Tuesday.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday confirmed that Mr De

Klerk would then travel to Davos, Switzerland, to address the World Economic Forum on SA's role in a changing world.

Following his speech he will join a panel as NP leader with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Barlow Rand director and chairman of the National Peace Secretariat Mr John Hall and Venda leader Mr Nelson Ramodike. The panel will

discuss the future of SA.

On Monday, February 3, he travels to Paris to be awarded the Unesco peace prize of R364 000 jointly with Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will get the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize for their contribution in bringing about a democratic dispensation in SA during the past 18 months.

Mr De Klerk will also travel to other European countries before returning home. CT 23/1/92



# Plan to upstage Parliament

## Political Staff

THE ANC and the PAC plan to upstage the opening of Parliament tomorrow with demonstrations of mass action.

The ANC is hoping to attract 100,000 people to the Grand Parade for its people's parliament, followed by a march on Parliament.

The planned protest is arranged to coincide with President F W de Klerk's opening address to what could be the last session of the tricameral Parliament.

Tomorrow's protest is the climax to a week-long series of mass rallies and meetings the ANC has been holding throughout the Peninsula.

Last week the ANC held 23



## ON THE STREETS

ANC executive member Mr Ronnie Kasrils campaigns for the alternative opening of parliament. Preparatory forums for ANC, Inter, Montagu and Beaufort activists in the Peninsula with West. The PAC plans a separate additional planning meetings. In towns like Atlantis, Worces- anti-Parliament and anti-Co-

30414

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desa protest meeting in the Bo- Kaap tomorrow morning. This will be followed by a march on Parliament.

Yesterday senior members of the ANC took to the streets to hand out more than 500,000 pamphlets in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

Cars fitted with loudspeakers and playing tape-recorded messages by Dr Allan Boesak have been traversing townships around Cape Town all week in a bid to rally support for tomorrow's protest.

The ANC also plans to use an aircraft advertising the Parade meeting.

● Big march to Parliament — Page 5

# PAC condemns Indian visit

310am 23/11/92  
THE Foreign Affairs Department yesterday confirmed that a delegation of 10 Indian businessmen, religious leaders and an MP had arrived in SA — a visit quickly condemned by the PAC.

The ANC stopped short of condemning the visit, saying only that it was not aware of the government-sponsored tour.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the ANC was not consulted about the visit and no ANC members were scheduled to meet the visiting delegation.

The delegation consists of Prof Chandra Swami, MP Subramoney Swamy, four businessmen, two religious leaders and two educationists.

The itinerary of the group is not yet known, but it is understood it will

30447 (23/11/92)  
TIM COHEN  
attend the opening of Parliament and will meet Inkatha leaders.

Durban businessman CT Bhoola said yesterday he would be hosting a lunch for the visitors today to meet members of the Indian community.

It is not the first delegation of Indian luminaries to visit the country. A group of 15, including a former Indian foreign minister, visited SA to attend the ANC national conference last year.

The PAC said it learned of the visit with "dismay" because, although "the struggle for national liberation and self-determination has intensified, apartheid and racism in SA are far from over".



## Cosatu in bid to sign up at Codesa

South 23/11-29/11/92

By Thoraya Pandey (304A)

COSATU this week announced plans to formally apply for membership to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Their letter of application, already drafted, has received support from the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and their other allies.

Cosatu Western Cape regional chairperson, Mr John Malebo, said: "Broad principles for a new constitution will affect workers and it is crucial for both Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) to be part of the process.

"We won't always agree with the ANC on policy matters and it will be good for us to be seen as separate," said Malebo.

A survey conducted among Cosatu shopstewards recorded a 70 percent support for the labour federation to be independently represented in Codesa.

"Unilateral restructuring affecting workers is taking place and would be unacceptable should we not be part of the process," Malebo said.

"We have shown our negotiating abilities with the signing of the National Peace Accord and business organisations."

Malebo said Cosatu has gained recognition as an independent force in determining the future of South Africa since the success of the Anti-VAT stayaway.

The application will be considered by the Codesa daily management committees if it reaches its offices by January 28.

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

**PRESIDENT De Klerk is keeping everyone guessing about the big speech he will deliver tomorrow at the opening of Parliament.**

He has often in the past caught his opponents and political observers off-guard with dramatic announcements.

This time he faces a challenge — will he be able to pull off a political hat-trick after his first two remarkable speeches at the opening of the 1990 and 1991 sessions of parliament?

In 1990 he announced the unbanning of movements including the ANC and the PAC and he placed South Africa firmly on the road to a new political dispensation.

Last year he announced that the last remnants of apartheid laws were being removed.

Details of plans for a transitional or interim government before a new constitution is drawn up are expected to feature in tomorrow's speech.

Mr De Klerk told the first meeting of Codesa last month that the government was ready and eager to install an interim government and a parliament representative of the whole population.

He is also bound to deal with the worrying economic situation, the continuing violence and the rising crime rate and the feeling of uncertainty in the country.

This year Nationalist MPs are trying to play down expectations about the speech. They say Mr De Klerk cannot be expected to match the drama of the first two speeches.

The MPs were not given any detailed outline of the speech at this week's National Party caucus meeting.

They expect it to be more of a consolidating speech dealing with the progress that has been made on the way to a new South Africa.

They also expect Mr De Klerk to give more details of the government's plans for transitional arrangements.

### **No parking along routes**

The president will begin his speech in the Great Hall of parliament at 11am tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Staff Reporters Don Holliday and Vuyo Bavuma report that extra police and troops will be on duty to maintain law and order during the opening of Parliament ceremony and the expected marches by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Acting regional police commissioner of the Western Cape Brigadier G A G van Zyl warned that no deviation from the agreed routes would be tolerated.

He said everything would be done to ensure the events went off smoothly.

Three processions will make their way through the city — those of Mr De Klerk, the ANC and the PAC — but they will follow different routes, with virtually no overlap.

Brigadier Van Zyl said the relevant routes had been explained by the chief magistrate to representatives of the various organisations and they had accepted them.

He asked for all parties to co-operate with the police.

Members of the public have been requested "for security reasons" not to park their cars anywhere along the routes.

The ANC route starts at the Grand Parade and includes Darling, Adderley, Bureau, Corporation, Caledon and Buitenkant streets.

The organisation has been given permission to march between noon and 1:45 pm.

The PAC route runs from the Yusuf Drive playground in the Bo-Kaap down Wale Street to Queen Victoria Street and back.

It has permission to march between 10.30pm and noon.

● See page 19

# FW Kleeps 'em guessing

Details about plans for transitional or interim government expected in speech

(3047) NR 23 1192



population.

In at least one respect, this session will differ from previous ones: Although Parliament will remain the sovereign legislative body in the country, there will have to be close liaison with Codesa on proposed legislation.

While Parliament will continue to have the basic task of budgeting and approving routine administrative legislation, any major legislation affecting groups now not represented will first have to be negotiated through Codesa or through some other broad-based forum.

The tempo of much of the legislation in the coming session will depend on how the Codesa negotiations progress.

Throughout the session there will have to be close liaison between the present Parliament and Codesa.

It has already been announced that, from February 10, Parliament will not sit on Mondays and Tuesdays to enable parliamentarians to take part in the Codesa committees until the next plenary session of the Convention in March.

In the meantime, the immediate political focus is on the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

All political parties expect Mr De Klerk to deal with at least three major issues in his opening speech:

- Details of the interim government plans;
- The economic situation and the urgent need to create more jobs to deal with growing unemployment; and
- The continuing violence, along with the rising crime rate and attacks on the police.

There is a feeling that Mr De Klerk needs to reassure his own followers and South Africans in general about an uncertain future.

In his new year's message he conceded that there were fears and doubts about the future in the white as well as black communities. He called for the supplanting of a negative spirit with trust and cooperation and he is expected to continue with this theme in his opening speech.

Mr De Klerk will base his approach to constitutional reform on the National Party's plan including aspects such as protection for minority groups, strong elements of federalism and a proposal for a collective presidency.

Amendments to the present constitution — to accommodate blacks — may be formulated this year, but Mr De Klerk is committed to having a referendum for white voters on such proposals.

If he wins this referendum

De Klerk will probably have the support, most of the time, of all political parties in Parliament except the Conservative Party. The CP keeps demanding an all-white general election and it refuses to take part in Codesa, but there are indications of strains on this issue within its ranks.

Already there are indications that there will be rough scenes and considerable bitterness between the government and the rightwing.

CP Chief Whip Mr Frank Le Roux makes no bones about his party's bitter opposition to Codesa.

"We would like to see Codesa fail, because it is a monstrosity, and we will try our utmost to that effect."

"We are confident that we the true representatives of whites and we will seek to prove that by concentrating to a large extent on the Potchefstroom by-election."

"We will continue to make the point that the government does not have a mandate for any of things it is doing — especially making concessions with regard to an interim government."

He added: "We will resist the surrender to black majority rule and the submerging of the white nation in a non-racial society."

Mr Le Roux predicted that the process of "ignoring Parliament, making it irrelevant", would continue. Proposals that Parliament should not sit on two days every week from February to accommodate Codesa was an example of this.

He also expected important legislation to be referred to Codesa.

Codesa, he believed, would be "subjugating" the parliamentary process and the CP would "fight that tooth and nail".

He also foresaw that one of the effects of the emphasis on negotiations would be the neglect of important issues such as law and order, the economy and the "tragic" state of agriculture.

On the response of the right, Mr Le Roux said he did not expect any "acknowledged" groupings to join Codesa.

"I cannot foresee that. There is unity of spirit among us, though we might operate in different spheres. We are certainly not fighting among ourselves. In an electoral setting, for instance — which is our terrain — supporters of other groups would support us," he said.

The ANC's agenda for 1992 is simple: An interim government, followed by elections for a constituent assembly.

The "people's parliament" convening on the Grand Pa-

"I don't think there is any alternative to an interim government and a constituent assembly. I would wish that he would accept that," he said.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party said that Mr De Klerk would have to elaborate on his Codesa speech. He said the speech was drafted in such unclear language that no-one understood it.

It was necessary for him to elucidate on aspects of an interim government and negotiations within Codesa on constitutional reform.

Mr De Klerk should also make it clear that the government wanted to move towards a definitive new constitution with all deliberate speed and that the second working group of Codesa must fulfil its mandate to determine the principles of such a constitution with the structures and procedure that would be required to write and implement it.

The PAC — which withdrew from Codesa "because we felt the whole show was against us" — is, like the ANC, committed to a constituent assembly.

But, unlike the ANC, it does not believe Codesa is a feasible vehicle for achieving that aim.

Publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said: "We had to make an assessment of what Codesa could actually achieve and we felt that, as presently composed, there was no chance that the central premise of our policy — the demand for a constituent assembly — would be delivered by Codesa."

However, he added: "Nevertheless, we are committed to pursuing the objective of a constituent assembly through all channels. We will work for it and make it a reality."

"Part of that campaign is working for the reconvening of the patriotic front in which there is considerable support for our view. We want to consolidate that support."

"Our essential message is that Codesa is a trap. We will tell people that it is more than likely that what will come about is a prolonged interim government not created through universal adult suffrage, but through a process of referendums. We strongly reject that. We do not want to be locked into a situation where we are co-opted."

Mr Desai said the PAC would use peaceful means to pursue its objectives, but added: "However, we cannot abandon bullets until a ballot has been achieved."

It has emerged, however, that there is concern in PAC ranks at the growing danger of being marginalised.



**PRESIDENT  
FW DE KLERK**

A need to reassure  
South Africa.



**MR FRANK  
LE ROUX (CP)**

Codesa monstrosity  
must fail.



**MR ZAC  
DE BEER (DP)**

De Klerk's Codesa  
speech was unclear.



**MR BARNEY  
DESAI (PAC)**

We cannot abandon  
bullets until a ballot has  
been achieved.



**DR ALAN  
BOESAK**

No alternative to an in-  
terim government.



# The final mile?

Will this be  
the last session  
without blacks?

30479 A&G 23/1/92

**P**REPARING for interim rule in South Africa will be the dominant, and no doubt controversial, theme of the new parliamentary session starting tomorrow.

It will almost certainly be the last session from which blacks will be excluded.

In a sense, Parliament sits in 1992 to contemplate its own dissolution.

South Africa may get its first fully-representative, non-racial interim government by next year.

But, while the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groupings increase pressure on the government to speed up the creation of an acceptable interim administration, fiercely implacable opposition is expected from the Conservative Party and its right-wing cohorts.

President De Klerk made his first far-reaching announcement on the government's interim government policy at the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) last month.

He said the government was ready and eager to instal an interim or transitional government and an elected Parliament, representative of the whole

## Rough scenes in the House are ahead

the theory in some Nationalist circles is that an election for blacks could be held early next year and that the new MPs along with the present ones in the Houses of Parliament for whites, coloured people and Indians could then form one council.

Politicians do not expect Mr De Klerk's speech to have the same drama as his last two speeches at the opening of Parliament.

Nationalist MPs certainly aren't expecting a dramatic speech.

"It is more likely to be a speech of explanation and consolidation, rather than revelation," one said.

trade tomorrow as a counterpoint to the opening ceremony in the Great Hall is intended as the "springboard" for mass action throughout the country, throughout the year to steadily increase pressure on the government to concede to the demand for a speedy transition to an acceptable interim administration.

This, the ANC wants in place by June. Its second demand is that elections for a constituent assembly should be in place before the end of the year.

The ANC is determined to ensure that Codesa is a genuine debating forum where thorny issues can be thrashed out and clarified without undue bureaucratic delay.

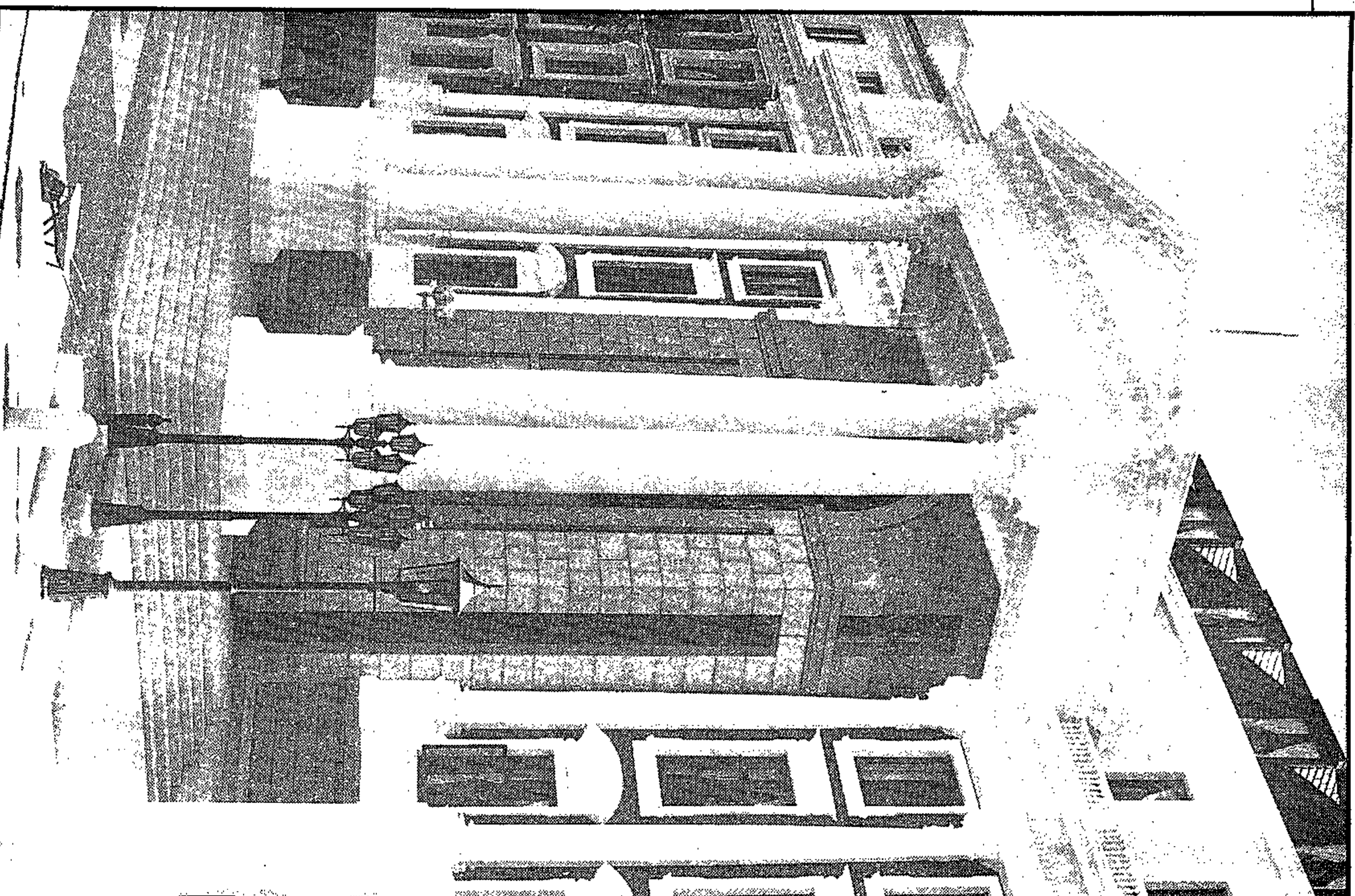
Regional president of the ANC Dr Allan Boesak said he would hope Mr De Klerk would "rise above party politics and grasp the interests of the process".

"What worries me is that Mr De Klerk may reiterate his intention to hold a referendum for whites. He is incredibly weak in that area. I don't think the government has really thought about it



**SPECIAL  
REPORT  
TOS  
WENTZEL  
and  
MICHAEL  
MORRIS  
Political  
Staff**

The men



The setting

A TRANQUIL entrance to Parliament. Tomorrow it could witness an historic change.



# Horror! It's Vorster and Hendrik Verwoerd

The doors of parliament are expected to open to all South Africans in the next session. But **SABATA NGCAI** discovered, when he entered through a crack in the door this week, how daunting it is when a black man strolls through the corridors of white power: (304f)

THROUGHOUT my visit to parliament, I found myself holding my breath as I wondered what might happen if the ghost of the architect of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, found a black person inside the white parliament.

Without my guide, Hansard official Mr Paul Wise, noticing, I fairly shivered with fright when I saw the busts of Mr BJ Vorster and Verwoerd standing side by side in the Gallery Hall.

In my overactive imagination, the two effigies of the former South African prime ministers appeared to be staring at me and shouting, "Why are you here, where did things go wrong?"

Designed in the unprecedented style of a tricameral parliament, the South African parliament comprises old and



**PARLIAMENT:** SOUTH reporter Sabata Ngcai contemplates sneaking into the halls of white power

new parliament buildings.

In the entrance of the old parliament building is a large portrait of the last white cabinet meeting held before the tricameral parliament was established.

The portrait, done in the style of Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper", includes former prime minister Mr P W Botha, former ministers Dr Piet Koornhof and Prof Owen Horwood and the minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, seated around a table,

South 23/11 - 29/11/92.

looking sufficiently serious as they contemplate the future of South Africa. There are no black faces at the table.

Floored with South African handmade carpets, the old building houses the House of Representatives for the coloured population group and the Assembly Chamber for the white population group.

The stinkwood-furnished House of Representatives was used by the Legislative Council of the Cape

Colony from 1885 to 1910 and by the Senate from 1910 to 1980.

According to Wise, the aristocratic red-upholstered benches in the chamber are reminiscent of the British Senate House.

The whites-only Assembly Chamber is panelled in stinkwood and its benches upholstered in South African leather.

Wise said it was in this chamber that Verwoerd was assassinated. The parliamentary museum is cov-

ered with a carpet given to South Africa as a gift by Tsarist Russia in 1900.

The museum, formerly used as a parliamentary caucus room, bears large portraits of the British royal family, from Queen Elizabeth II to Queen Victoria.

A huge stinkwood-panelled parliamentary library is dominated by portraits of Jan van Riebeeck and his wife, Maria de la Quellerie.

A portrait of the last governor of the Union of South Africa and the first State President of the republic, Mr C R Swart, hangs in the Queen's Gallery alongside the South African flag.

Needless to say, there are no portraits or busts of prominent black South Africans in the halls of parliament.

The new marble-floored parliament building houses the Chamber of Parliament and the House of Delegates.

At the entrance of the new building stands a colourful portrait of the former Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman.

The chambers' benches are upholstered in brown and navy British imported leather.

The Chamber of Parliament which caters for joint meetings of the three houses, is where the state president will make his parliamentary opening speech on Friday.

For yet another year, blacks will be excluded from the pomp and ceremony of the opening of parliament.



It will be difficult to spot the re-emergence of parliament during all the pomp and ceremony at the opening session. With Codesa set to emerge as the primary decision-making forum, the "old South Africa's" legislative body is disappearing into the shadows of the convention.

According to observers, the National Party is evolving into a party that aims to harness middle-class support for democratic elections. Moving away from white nationalism, they aim to capture a constituency defined more by class than race to ensure success in future electoral battles.

Like other South African political organisations, they are in a state of flux. They cling to the past with talk of white referendums, while trying to move into the future by opening their ranks to disenfranchised South Africans.

De Klerk's speech opening parliament will reflect how far along this evolutionary road they have come. Overtures to protect white privilege will do much to jeopardise this chance of assertion in the unfolding South Africa.

Political observers agree he will have to elaborate on the government's qualified conversion to an interim government.

If he does not make clear the government's stand on its nature and life expectancy, his speech could sink into double-talk reminiscent of Rubicon days.

If it is true that the NP is looking for support from a multi-racial middle-class, it is in their interests to stall for as long as possible before consenting to democratic elections.

Firstly, they will need up to 10 to 15 years to rid themselves of the image of being a white party and more importantly, they will need this time to continue building an African middle class — their aspirant support base.

It would not be surprising, therefore, if De Klerk tried to define an interim government that ruled for this time.

This would not go down at all well with organisations on the left as ANC national executive committee member Ms Cheryl Carolus said this week: "We hope he does not follow his irrational scheme of pushing for an

# De Klerk's last stand in the shadow of Codesa

South 23/11 - 29/11/92

(BoCUT)

While the ANC hosts its "people's parliament" on Cape Town's Grand Parade on Friday, President FW de Klerk will open the last racist parliament. **QUENTIN WILSON** looks at where De Klerk and his government are headed.

interim government for a 15-year period — this would mean instability for 15 years as it would create an ideal climate for lunatic fringe right-wing violence."

This position definitely runs contrary to the ANC's insistence on an interim government which organises a constituent assembly by the end of this year.

"What we need as soon as possible is a strong government and what we mean by a strong government is one that has strong support from the people," Carolus said.

It is doubtful whether De Klerk can duck the issue of an interim government any longer and it would be extremely dangerous for him to create any legislation-tinkering diversion that steps on the toes of Codesa colleagues.

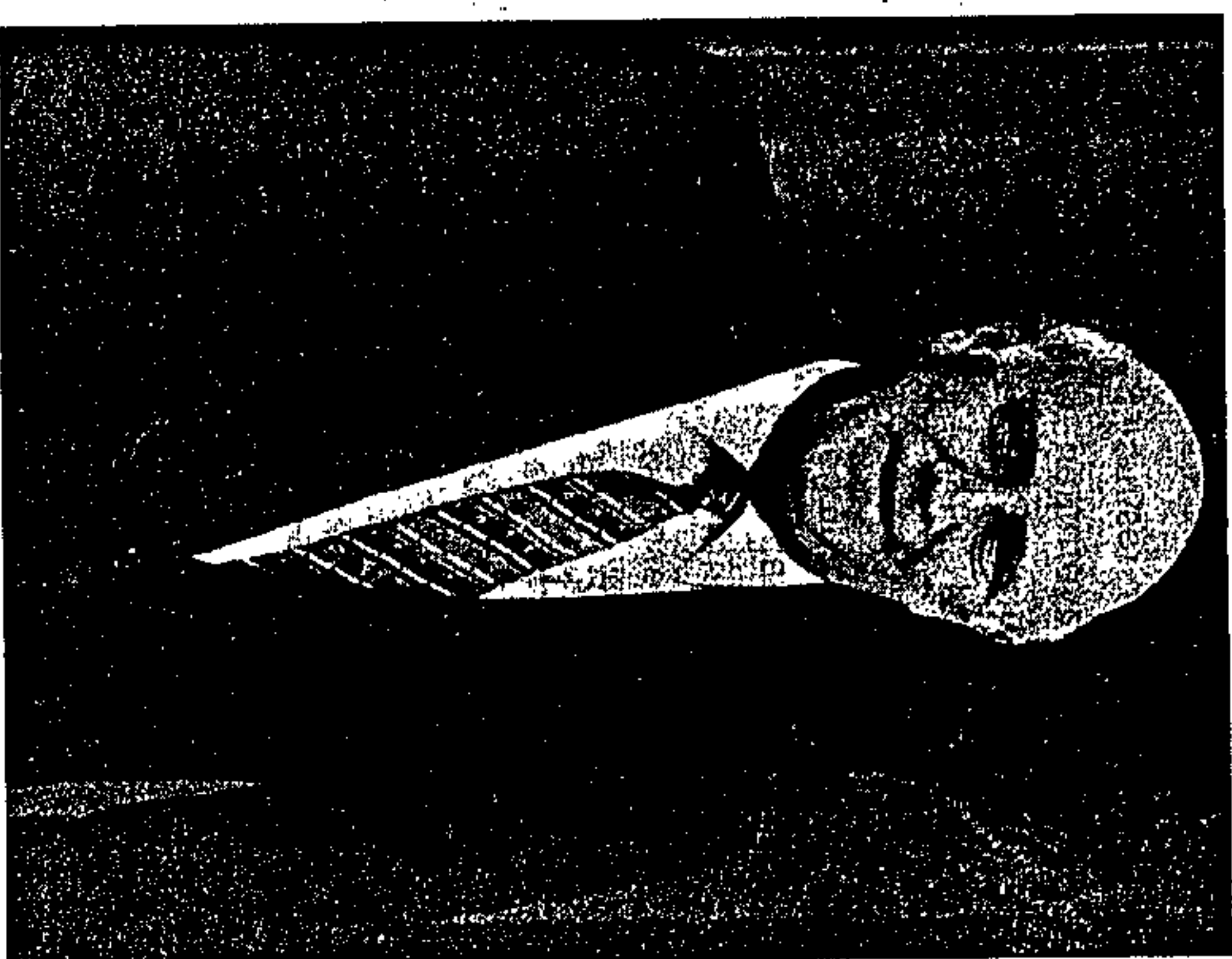
Ironically, everything in his address will be tempered and directed to Codesa delegations as the clout of the convention grows at the expense of parliament.

The Democratic Party's Claremont MP, Mr Jan van Eck, said this week: "It will be impossible to go ahead with legislative changes in parliament as Codesa gets into action. We all accept that parliament has a less important role to play as Codesa becomes more important."

He also said the Conservative Party and a large number of Nationalists do not understand this.

The NP leadership will therefore have its work cut out to keep these elements in check.

It is a sign of the times that this leadership will need to point to pressure by extra-parliamentary, pro-



President FW de Klerk

Codesa organisations to convince these dissident Nats to abort any maverick attempts at making parliament a more powerful body than the situation demands.

Still, a powerless parliament will make it very difficult for De Klerk to keep these elements at bay — specially when it comes to the rubberstamping of Codesa decisions.

Although cabinet minister Dawie de Villiers has said, "parliament will at the least have a moral obligation to carry through agreements reached at Codesa", the ANC does not feel assured.

"We feel that the very existence of a tricameral parliament is immoral," said Carolus.

"How can a minority that claims to represent all South African people talk about morality?" she asked.

Not trusting the integrity of parliament, the ANC continues to insist that it becomes binding in law for parliament to unconditionally follow through all Codesa agreements.

There is widespread speculation however that De Klerk could, with typical guile, sidestep the ANC vision completely and re-inject parliament with the power to thrash out a new constitution.

A possible tactic could be to expand the tricameral parliament into a four chamber affair by opening an African house as well as transforming the cabinet into a forum open to extra-parliamentary leadership.

Whether he goes this far remains to be seen. He has already indicated that he is ready to admit Africans to the white-dominated parliament and steer the transfer of power on these terms.



8/Day 23/1/92

### Labour Party walks out

THE Labour Party refused to take part in an electoral college to elect a new Speaker of Parliament yesterday and walked out of the House of Representatives.

It said in a statement the NP was abusing the position of Speaker to sideline former Manpower Minister Eli Louw. (304A)

# ANC, SACP issue interim govt deadline

STAR 23/1/92 (304A)

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and SACP would launch a campaign of mass action if an interim government were not in place within six months, SACP and ANC leader Chris Hani said yesterday.

The "people's parliament", to be held in Cape Town's Grand Parade tomorrow, was one of the first steps towards the implementation of an interim government, he said.

Addressing a press conference, Mr Hani said the struggle for an interim government in six months would be stepped up in an attempt to pressure the Government into realising the "futility of hanging on to Parliament".

He said it made no

sense for the Government to refuse the implementation of an interim government as it was already involved in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

ANC national executive committee member Popo Molefe said the ANC viewed the National Party's request for Parliament to sit for only three days each week as a recognition of the "increasing irrelevance" of the tricameral Parliament.

Codesa was at present the most appropriate forum for the expression of the views of all South Africans.

The "people's parliament" would demand the disbanding of the tricameral Parliament.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu would lead a march to Parliament to demand that a representative of the "people's parliament" be allowed to deliver its decisions to

the tricameral Parliament.

ANC western Cape leader Willie Hofmeyr said the organisation expected between 40 000 and 50 000 people to attend the "people's parliament".

National executive committee members would hand out pamphlets, demanding the disbanding of Parliament, to MPs as they arrived for the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

It was ironical that at the time the modalities for the transfer of power were being negotiated, an "illegal and unrepresentative" Parliament had decided to convene, Mr Hani said.

An end should be put to "this circus", he added, referring to the tricameral Parliament.

Mr Molefe said the present Parliament's relevance was only to give effect to Codesa decisions.



## FW, Mandela to share peace prize

STAR 23/1/92  
PARIS — President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will share the \$148 000 (about R414 000) United Nations Scientific, Educational and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) peace prize, it was announced in Paris yesterday.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela

(304A)  
will attend the award ceremony on February 3, Unesco said.

An international jury headed by former United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger honoured Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk for their efforts to end the apartheid system of government. — Sapa-AP.

# Demos at supreme courts planned

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

304A  
23/1/92

The Witwatersrand regions of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance have unveiled plans to stage demonstrations at two supreme courts for two months to protest against the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said pickets would be held outside the Pretoria and Rand supreme courts between January 24 and March 21 — the day of the Sharpeville massacre.

STAR 23/1/92

Describing Parliament as illegitimate and undemocratic, Mr Sexwale said efforts would be made to make the campaign a success "that future generations will live to cherish".

The protest would coincide with the holding of a mock "people's parliament" at the Grand Parade in Cape Town by the ANC's western Cape region tomorrow.

Protest organisers have urged employers to give workers time off to attend the "session", to be addressed by top ANC, SACP and Cosatu leaders.

Mr Sexwale said the session of the "racist" Parliament was "irrelevant" and against the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Accusing Parliament of failing to stop or bring violence under control, Mr Sexwale added: "The Nationalist Party Government, sitting in this Parliament, continues to sanction and channel funds for surreptitious anti-democratic operations."

"We demand nothing less than an interim government and a constituent assembly."



# Major to meet FW in London

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



FW DE KLERK



JOHN MAJOR

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will meet British Prime Minister John Major in London next month.**

The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday confirmed this and said FW de Klerk would also visit Switzerland and central and eastern European countries.

In Switzerland De Klerk will address a conference which could encourage international investment in South Africa.

The conference, which will be held in the ski resort town of Davos, has been arranged by the World Economic Forum.

It is understood De Klerk will also travel to Paris where he will be given the United Nations award for peace along with African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The award, worth R364 000, is for work they have done in South Africa over the past two years to reach a political settlement in the country.

The announcement of the visit follows the British Prime Minister's insistence earlier this week that existing sanctions against South Africa be removed.

Major rejected demands by British opposition parties that sanctions against South Africa be retained.

"In order to encourage the growth that the South African economy desperately needs, we shall continue to work for the removal of the remaining economic and financial sanctions," Major said.

De Klerk's full itinerary will be made available only shortly before he departs in the first week of February.

## Grant for Turfloop

THE University of the North has received a grant of R60 000 from the Human Sciences Research Council for a research programme on development.

A university spokesman said the funds would be used for ten research projects within the social sciences departments focusing on development.

The 10 research projects in the programme have been divided into six categories: institutional struc-

tures and policy, economic policy, agricultural policy, business development, education and training and urbanisation.

"The grant also provides for funds to appoint a research assistant to undertake administrative, data collection and computer analysis tasks to support the researchers," the spokes-

man said.

Meanwhile, the university has introduced a new multi-disciplinary post-graduate programme in development studies in the faculty of economics and administration.

Seven departments - development studies, economics, agricultural economics, business economics, public administration, geography and sociology are participating in the programme.

By DON SEOKANE

Sowetan 23/1/92

30411 Sowetan 23/1/92



# Big march to Parliament

## ANC, PAC in rival protests

CT 23/1/92  
(3047)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

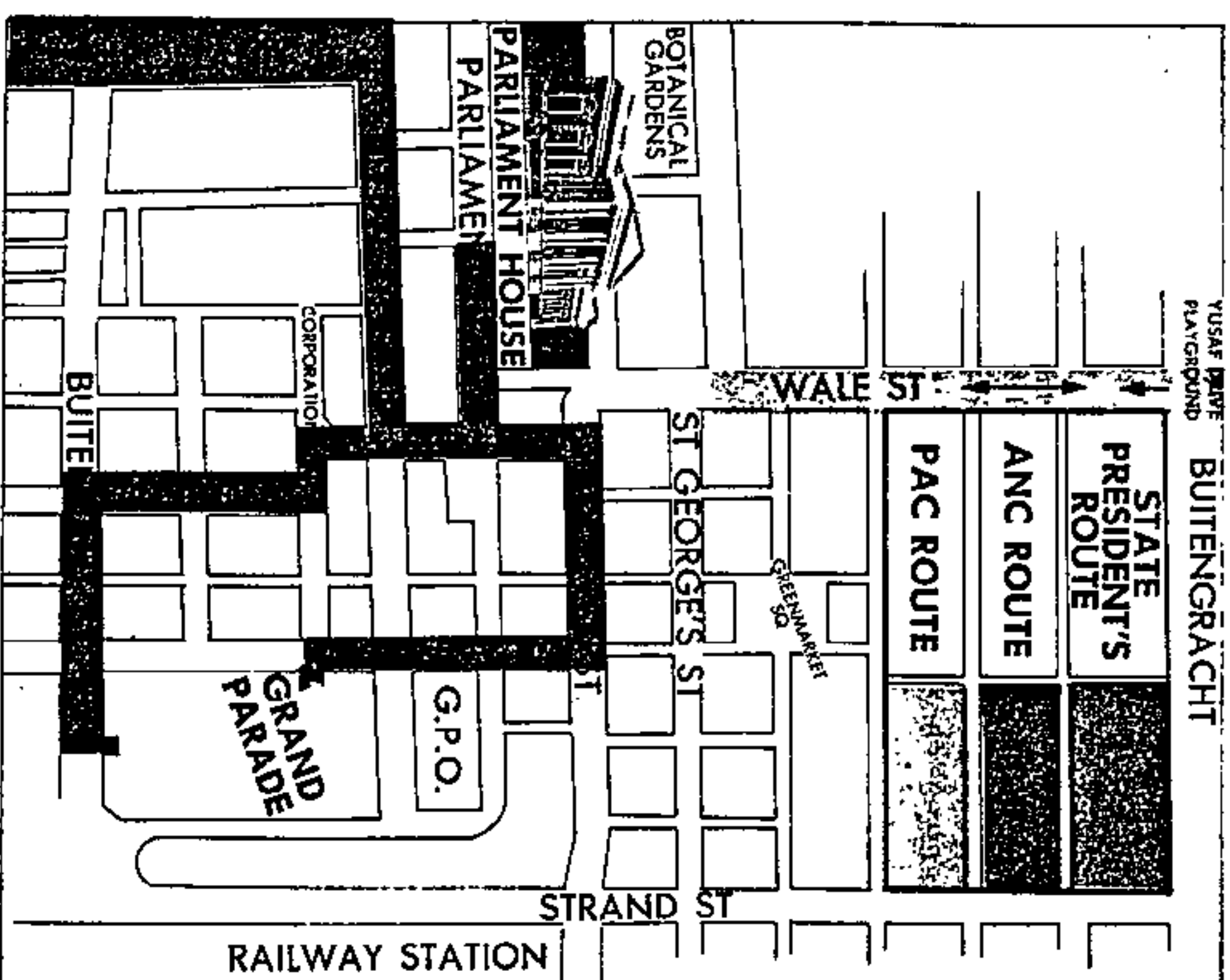
THE ANC plans to turn tomorrow's climax of its week-long "people's parliament" campaign into the biggest protest gathering since its unbanning.

After days of feverish mobilisation and a publicity blitz by a team of local and up-country ANC heavyweights, the organisation hopes to attract up to 100 000 to tomorrow's protest meeting on the Parade and a march on Parliament.

The planned monster protest will coincide with President F W de Klerk's opening address to what could be the last session of the tricameral Parliament as we know it.

The PAC plans a separate anti-Parliament and anti-Codesa protest meeting in the Bo-Kaap tomorrow morning. This will also be followed by a march on Parliament.

The ANC said yesterday that its deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, would attempt to address Parliament in a bid to appeal directly to the 308 white, coloured and Indian MPs to disband the insitu-



tion and pave the way for an interim government.

However, the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, said that no such request had been received from the ANC and no provision was made in the rules of Parliament for such a step anyway.

SA Communist Party head Mr Chris Hani told a press conference in Woodstock yesterday that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would resort to a new wave of mass action

if the government refused to accede to the demand for an interim government in six months.

ANC executive member Mr Popo Molefe said the organisation saw the government's proposal that Parliament sit only three days a week as recognition of the "increasing irrelevance" of the tricameral system.

"Codesa is at present the most appropriate forum for the expression of the view of South Africa's



**PEOPLE'S PUBLICITY** . . . ANC executive members Ms Cheryl Carolus (left) and Dr Allan Boesak hit the streets yesterday to publicise the organisation's alternative meeting of "parliament" tomorrow.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

people," he said.

The ANC disclosed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had considered cutting short his current African tour to be present at the climax of the ANC's anti-tricameral Parliament campaign but that the organisation had finally decided against this.

Mr Molefe said the ANC would be deploying more than 1 000 marshals in the city and on buses and trains tomorrow to ensure that the

"people's parliament" protest takes place "in a disciplined, peaceful and orderly manner".

The ANC has hired special trains to bring its supporters from all over the Western Cape to the Parade before the 10.30am starting time.

The ANC had called on its members and supporters not to interfere with the planned PAC march and it called on the PAC to respond in kind.



## to decide prof's status'

NEW YORK. — American Professor Albert Blaustein, whose participation in talks to draft a new South African constitution sparked a clash on Monday, said yesterday the Inkatha Freedom Party, would decide his status.

The ANC and the SACP objected to including Prof Blaustein as a member of the constitutional working group, saying he was not an SA citizen.

Prof Blaustein, a specialist in constitutional law and professor emeritus at Rutgers University in New Jersey, said his anti-communist views may have prompted the criticism. — Sapa-Reuter

98 304A

# Huge Codesa travel bills face taxpayer

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Codesa's decision that its working groups will meet every Monday and Tuesday in Johannesburg will compel about 100 MPs and officials to travel from Cape Town at a cost to taxpayers of R140 000 a week.

These figures do not take into account the costs of all the other members who have to travel to Johannesburg each week. There are 19 parties, each with 20 delegates and advisers. This will involve 74 out of 308 MPs.

The costs also take into account only the standard economy class airfare and two nights at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn. Special deals may still be worked out for block bookings and frequent use.

Codesa management committee sources said government would be responsible for paying the costs of all the parties' travel and living expenses, including secretarial backup. No one was prepared to venture a ballpark figure.

To accommodate Codesa working group requirements, Parliamentary Chief Whip Alex van Breda said, the NP was recommending that parliamentary sittings be reduced to three days a week from February 10 until the Easter recess on April 8 or 9.

He said Parliament's workload this year was not very heavy and, by reducing the week to three days, it would quite easily complete the necessary work.

The move was welcomed by the ANC which said the announcement was the NP's "recognition of the increasing irrelevance of the tricameral Parliament".

"Codesa is at present the most appropriate forum for the expression of the views of SA's people," Popo Molefe said at a briefing yesterday.

The ANC was planning an alternative people's parliament outside Cape Town's city hall tomorrow which it expected more than 50 000 people to attend.

The demonstration would then march to Parliament where ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu would demand to address.

□ To Page 2

## Codesa (304A) 23/1/92

Parliament, demand that an interim government be set up within six months, that a constituent assembly be formed and that Parliament disband.

Van Breda said the ANC had made no formal request for Sisulu to address Parliament and, as it was against standing rules, this could not be allowed.

The Labour Party swiftly joined the ANC and demanded an interim government within six months and the scrapping of the tricameral Parliament.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said Parliament was increasingly playing a secondary role to Codesa, with technical and legalising functions for decisions taken at Codesa.

SA Communist Party secretary general Chris Hani said his party fully endorsed the

ANC's programme of action.

He said SA needed a representative Parliament whose objective was the socio-economic upliftment of all South Africans. If an interim government was not acceded to by government within six months the ANC and its allies would embark on mass action.

The chief whip of the CP, Frank le Roux, reacted angrily to the announcement that Parliament would sit for only three days a week, and said it was an infringement of the sovereignty of Parliament.

He said the proposal proved the CP's contention that government intended to allow Codesa to sideline Parliament.

"The CP will oppose the intended step with all the power at its disposal," he said.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1



## Interim govt 'in 6 months'

Staff Reporter (204A)

TOMORROW'S opening of Parliament would be the last white parliament, as an interim government — with control over broadcasting services, the state coffers and security forces — should be in place within six months, MK chief Mr Chris Hani said last night. ET 23/1/92

Addressing a 500-strong ANC rally in Woodstock, the uMkhonto weSizwe chief said the "winner would take all in a general election" as that was democracy.

He rejected possible compromises such as 20 seats for NP members and five for the AWB in a new constitution.

# What's new? — A difficult act for FW

Political Staff

TOMORROW President F W de Klerk has a near-impossible act to follow — his own opening addresses to Parliament over the past two years.

That probably explains the deliberate effort from the government to dampen any speculation about what this year's speech will contain. "Don't expect fireworks" is the thrust of what most ministers are saying.

Mr De Klerk has few rabbits left to pull out of the hat this year, and certainly none of the magnitude of the release of Mr Nelson Man-

del, the unbanning of the ANC or the repeal of apartheid legislation.

But there are several highly important issues that he cannot ignore and where he could spring a few surprises. They will also be the issues that dominate the parliamentary session which President De Klerk will be starting.

Violence continues to tear the heart out of various South African communities and the president cannot ignore it. At last year's Transvaal congress of the NP and subsequently on his visit to Israel, he warned that if the

Peace Accord failed to stem the violence he would not hesitate to take further action.

Last weekend new Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel frankly admitted that the accord had yet to make an impact on the horrific statistics about violence.

Mr De Klerk may now feel the time has arrived to announce new steps. He may also take a swipe at the ANC over this and point to the proliferation of AK-47s in the country.

He is also expected to flesh out his proposals for transitional arrangements to be put into place during negotiations.

He first raised the issue at Codesa but the significance of his announcements were almost overwhelmed by the stinging match he indulged in with Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk has since said that the government's plans are all but finalised and he will probably use this opportunity to place these on the table.

In fact, Codesa appears set to overshadow Parliament this year. Already the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, has announced that from February 10 parliamentary sittings on Mondays and Tuesdays will be cancelled for Codesa.



# R140 000 a week for MPs' travel

CT 23/1/92 Political Staff (3047)

CODESA's decision that the working groups will meet every Monday and Tuesday in Johannesburg has necessitated about 100 MPs and officials travelling from Cape Town at a cost to taxpayers of R140 000 a week.

These figures do not take into account the costs of all the other members who have to travel to Johannesburg each week. There are 19 parties, and each party has 20 delegates and advisers.

The costs take into account only the standard economy-class air fare and two nights at Jan Smuts Holiday Inn. Special deals may still be worked out for block bookings and frequent use.

According to Codesa management committee sources, the government would be responsible for paying the costs of all the parties' travel and living expenses, including secretarial backup. No one was prepared to venture a ballpark figure.

To accommodate Codesa working group requirements the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, announced that the NP was recommending that parliamentary debating be reduced to three days a week.

Mr Van Breda said that from February 10 till the Easter recess on April 8 or 9, Parliament would not sit on Mondays and Tuesdays because MPs were required to participate in the working groups of Codesa. He said "it was in the interest of SA that MPs give their contributions to Codesa".

As a result of his announcement, the status of Parliament and its importance in relation to Codesa as the primary political forum is being seriously questioned by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties.

The Labour Party has joined the ANC and called for an interim government within six months and the scrapping of the tricameral Parliament.

# All eyes will be on Parliament today

Sowetan 24/1/92

304A

**SOUTH Africa's Parliament convenes today amid speculation of possible significant announcements by President FW de Klerk.**

Since February 1990, Parliament's opening day has attracted unusually high local and international interest.

In 1991 the Conservative Party staged a walkout, accusing De Klerk of capitulation to "terrorists" and "communists".

Indications are that this could be the last parliament under the current constitutional dispensation. It is unlikely that there will be another tricameral election in future.

Domestic and international developments militate against such a venture. Given gains by the Conservative Party in the recent by-elections and the general mood of anxiety within the white community, the Nationalists cannot afford such a major risk.

Also, the usual "whites only" parliamentary session is not the only item on the agenda today.

## People's parliament

The ANC plans to conduct, simultaneously, an unconventional "people's parliament" on the Parade in Cape Town, quite close to the parliamentary buildings. The ANC will use the occasion to demand an interim government, a constituent assembly and an end to the "racist parliament".

These issues are likely to be pursued by De Klerk in his opening address.

On numerous occasions, the Government has rejected the idea of a constituent assembly. This position is likely to be reaffirmed by De Klerk, who regards such an assembly as tantamount to the surrender of power, even before the negotiation process has run its full

## FOCUS

**Parliament convenes today and VINCENT MAPHAI, associate professor of political science at the University of the Western Cape, examines some of the major and sensitive issues involved.**

course. At any rate, this is no longer an issue between the Government and the ANC only.

This battle will have to be waged within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa forum, with other parties taking their positions. This gives De Klerk some breathing space.

The interim government is a different matter. At first sight it seems less of a problem than the constituent assembly. After all, the Government has conceded the principle of transitional arrangements already and further announcements can be expected during the De Klerk's opening address.

Nevertheless, some questions remain unresolved. Problems are likely to arise concerning the participants in, and allocation of portfolios between parties forming the interim government. Should all participants in Codesa, for example, participate in the interim government?

The lifespan and mandate of such an interim government is another area of disagreement. The ANC envisages a short-term, approximately 18-month arrangement, whereas the Government prefers an extended, 10-15 years of shared rule.

These issues will be resolved immediately. Yet De Klerk is likely to effect, without undue delay, the constitutional amendments designed to facilitate a transitional government.

Presently a Cabinet Minister has to become an MP as well, within 12 months of being sworn in to the Cabinet.

This constitutional requirement has to be waived in order to enable disenfranchised blacks to hold Cabinet portfolios under the present dispensation.

Such developments can only be received with alarm and consternation by the rightwing parties.

De Klerk has already committed himself, unwisely some would say, to holding a referendum before any major changes to the constitution are introduced.

## Walkout

Consequently, he should brace himself for another possible walkout by Dr Andries Treurnicht's entourage, should he exploit his parliamentary majority to announce the acceptance of an interim government.

Explicit and veiled threats of violence by the rightwing will be heard as these groups bemoan the "violation of the democratic process" by the Nationalists.

The relationship between Parliament and the Cabinet, on the one hand, and Codesa on the other looks like another area of potential contention. There seems to be an unbridgeable divergence here.

Codesa would not like to be perceived as a poodle of the tricameral parliament, whose legitimacy is questioned by some Codesa members, including the ANC. At the same time, Parliament insists on its sovereignty. Ultimately, the two institutions are likely to co-operate

side by side, with Parliament essentially giving legal force to Codesa's decision.

Even here, upon close examination, the problem appears largely symbolic than real. It should be borne in mind that Codesa's deliberations will be taken by consensus or "sufficient consensus".

In practice this means that no Codesa decision will carry weight unless it is supported, at the absolute minimum, by both the ANC and the National Party.

In the same vein, the National Party not only dominates the House of Assembly, but also possesses strong muscle to enlist the support of its junior partners in the tricameral systems.

It is, therefore, unlikely that the National Party will take one position within Codesa only to reject it in Parliament. The cost of such bad faith would be far too enormous and De Klerk should know that.

Instead, if anything, he is likely to play down this issue. However, if the National Party openly restates its position on Parliament's sovereignty, it would be mainly to ward off any potential rightwing onslaught. At the end of the day, the dividing line between Codesa and the tricameral parliament is extremely fine.

The symbolic tug-of-war between these institutions will still persist. Today's "people's parliament" is designed to marginalise De Klerk's legislature by portraying it as irrelevant and moribund. In a twist of irony, De Klerk's parliament might even be declared a prohibited or affected organisation by the ANC's assembly.

Yet today even the "people's parliamentarians" and their gallery will not ignore what goes on in the House of Assembly. At worst, they will have to divide their attention between the two proceedings.



# ANC 'Bill' placed before 'people's parliament'

## Staff Reporters

A "Bill" calling for an interim government within six months and marking "the end of the long nightmare of apartheid" was put before the "people's parliament" attended by thousands of ANC supporters on the Grand Parade today.

The preamble said the ANC was committed to the enactment of all necessary measures to eradicate apartheid and to transform the country into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation.

The "Bill" declared that:

- The tricameral parliament and constitution should be abolished;

- An interim government of national unity should be installed within six months;

- The interim government should be the supreme and sovereign governing authority until a democratic government was installed;

- A new constitution should be compiled by a constituent assembly;

- Elections for a constituent assembly should take place not later than the end of the year;

- The interim government should ensure that the elections were fair and free;

- The constituent assembly should be elected by all South Africans, including residents of the homelands, on the basis of one person, one vote on a common voters' roll and that the first truly democratic parliament would then be convened.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu was to try to deliver the "Bill" to parliament later.

Thousands of people converged on the city centre by bus, train and taxi for the People's Parliament and two marches planned by the ANC and the PAC.

People also lined Roeland, Plein and Spin streets to watch President De Klerk's cavalcade arriving for the opening of parliament.

There was a festive atmosphere on the Parade where people danced to music played over a public address system.

A police helicopter flew overhead and plainclothes police monitored the crowd.

Huge banners were tied between the palm trees lining Darling Street calling for the release of political prisoners now and peace, freedom and the vote.

Most of the stalls on the Post Office side of the Parade — vandalised and looted the day ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was released from jail in 1990 — were operating normally. At least 10 mobile toilets had been placed on the Parade.

There was also a strong police presence outside the entrance to the Castle, and several video cameras were on the ramparts.

There were noticeably fewer stalls operating on Greenmarket Square and at least one shop on the route of the ANC march was shuttered.

There was already a huge police presence around parliament. A water cannon was parked in the entrance to Government Avenue and there were at least two riot vehicles with trailers packed with razor wire.



# SA unlikely to switch allegiances over China

**DARIUS SANAI**

THE recent exchange of "unofficial" visits between Foreign Minister Pk Botha and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen suggests that relations between SA and mainland China are thawing after a protracted cold war that has lasted as long as the rule of the Chinese Communist Party.

But any SA government will face a sticky problem if it wants China to follow other former arch-enemies in the defunct Soviet bloc by establishing diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

The problem is Taiwan — or the Republic of China as it is known by the 29 countries which recognise it. Taiwan and China are mutually exclusive diplomatically; both claim to be the legitimate bearers of the title of the Chinese state, neither recognises the other's right to exist, and the People's Republic of China will not allow any country it has diplomatic ties with to recognise Taiwan.

Over the past 40 years, SA and Taiwan developed a relationship, both political and commercial, as two countries increasingly isolated from the political scene. SA was isolated because of apartheid; Taiwan, even while building itself into an economic power, found itself losing diplomatic recognition in favour of its communist neighbour because of global politics.

President F W de Klerk said in Taipei late last year that the two countries' relationship would not change as long as he was heading the government. At the same time, Botha was making his historic visit to Beijing, in the mould of Henry Kissinger's "secret trips" there on behalf of former US President Richard Nixon.

A senior Foreign Affairs source said that in spite of the friendly relations between Qian and Botha, and of the "unofficial" interest offices

being set up in Pretoria and Beijing, no diplomatic ties were likely to develop between SA and mainland China for fear of offending the Taiwanese. "It is a fairly concrete policy matter: we will maintain diplomatic ties with Taiwan in order to keep our excellent trade links."

There would be no political gain, he says, in "taking sides": establishing ties with China would anger Taiwan and result in little material gain for SA. The high politics which dictated the transfer of US loyalties to mainland China in the '70s do not exist in the SA context, and trade relations with mainland China can improve without diplomatic relations.

The source said one of his department's main aims was to promote foreign trade with SA, and that there would be far more to be lost than gained on this front by "ditching Taiwan for mainland China."

Senior Taiwanese diplomats concur, saying they have no objections to SA trading with mainland China — Taiwan has itself invested heavily in China in recent years — but they doubt whether the SA government would switch allegiances after years of close links.

Yet the "unofficial offices" to be set up next week by the SA and Chinese governments in Beijing and Pretoria are effectively consular offices, although Foreign Affairs will not admit it. The offices will "facilitate the issuing of visas for business and other travellers (visas will be issued on notice of less than 24 hours) and ease

the flow of information between the two countries" — which are precisely the functions of a consulate.

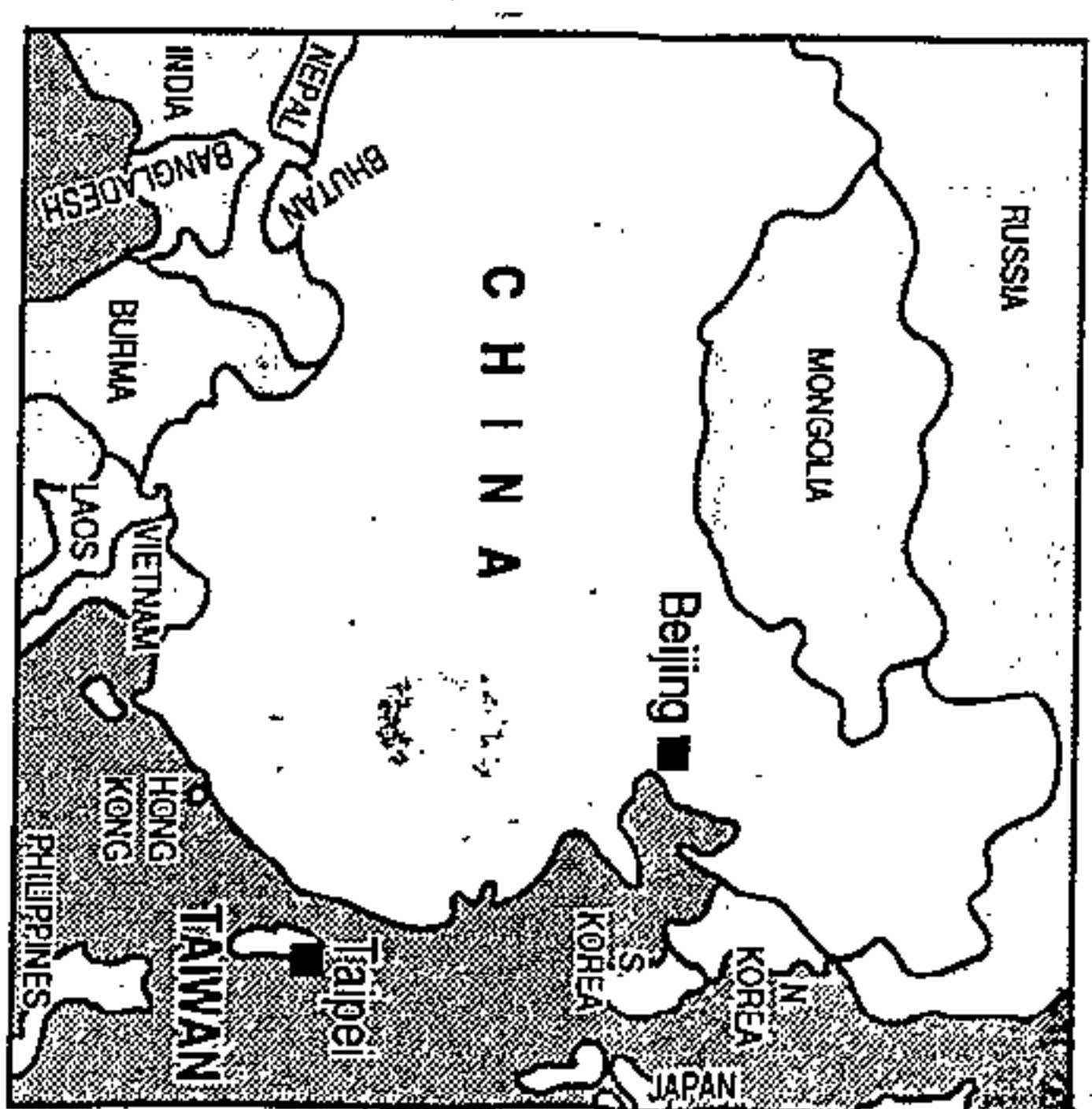
The main purpose of this is the perception by Foreign Affairs that China is a potentially huge market for SA goods — and that there are many opportunities for Chinese specialist firms to invest in joint ventures with SA firms to tap the southern African market.

Mainland China has strong ties with many "socialist" African countries because of ideological links, but knows SA has the best economic infrastructure and potential as a trading base, the source says.

Foreign Affairs agrees with general political opinion that the main reason for the survival of Chinese communism is the relaxation of state restrictions on the economy and the creation of "special enterprise zones" in the south of the country — effectively, the Communist Party in China has created a capitalist economy, kept under tight administrative rein. (Most political analysts, however, also cite brutal political repression as another reason for communism's longevity in mainland China.)

The Foreign Affairs source says SA companies can sell products to China and also learn utilisation techniques from the Chinese. "They (the Chinese) are particularly well-placed in making small machinery and handtools, and some of the quasi-governmental corporations are particularly interested in joint ventures in SA for selling to markets in southern Africa."

But there is one problem for the carefully moulded policy of Foreign Affairs: the new SA. Both the ANC and PAC have repeatedly announced that they would recognise mainland China, and not Taiwan, and nothing in their recent policy statements suggests otherwise.



The PAC has been armed by the Chinese, who resemble the French in their lack of scruples about who or what they sell weapons to. And while the ANC retains its left-wing bent, and Beijing insists, in spite of growing evidence to the contrary, that it rules a unitary Marxist state, ties between SA's biggest political group and the world's most populous country seem set to remain. Pragmatism may take over if the ANC comes to power — the Taiwanese ambassador was recently seen at an ANC function — but activists are unlikely to forget Taiwan's staunch support of apartheid SA.

For Foreign Affairs, SA's China policy is just one of the many mysteries to be unravelled as this country undergoes its transition to democracy.



# Policemen start integrated training

B/Day 24/1/92

ESP

JONATHON REES

PRETORIA — Thousands of new police recruits began racially integrated training at four colleges this week.

However, the colleges will retain their previous "culture". Black recruits to the Pretoria college, for instance, have been told they will have to adapt to its Afrikaner culture and "boerekos".

No forced integration had taken place, with recruits being advised about the nature of individual colleges and asked to make a choice, said acting SAP Training and Manpower Development head Major General Herman Grobler.

While 317 black recruits join their 1 101 white counterparts at the Pretoria Police Training College this year, no white recruits chose to join the 1 259 aspirant black policemen at Hammanskraal.

Durban and Cape Town colleges have mainly Indian and coloured recruits respectively, although both have a scattering of recruits from other race groups, Grobler said.

New subjects have been introduced to police training this year, including mandatory public relations and ethics courses.

Although consideration is being given to language programmes to make policemen more accessible to all South Africans, they will not be

introduced this year.

Increased self-protection training will be offered this year.

Pretoria Police Training College head Brigadier Daantjie Hugget said his college would retain its white Afrikaner culture, and recruits who chose to train there would be expected to adapt to it.

## Uniformity

"We are going to try to keep its white Afrikaans culture, but will of course accommodate other race groups. We will not easily be able, however, to cater for their cultures — they must adapt to the culture of this college.

"Black students will just have to become acquainted with our culture, in order to have uniformity. But we won't make an issue of this and force our culture down their throats."

All instructors at the Pretoria college are white and there is a predominantly black training staff at the Hammanskraal Training College. The Pretoria college has 899 white male recruits this intake, and 202 white women. The 1992 intake includes 67 black men and 29 black women, 34 coloured men and three coloured women, and 39 Indian men.

## New polling system to be investigated

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk, has asked the President's Council to investigate a proportional polling system for a new constitutional dispensation, council secretary J Weilbach said yesterday.

He said the request followed strong views in favour of such a system.

The council's constitutional affairs committee has been asked to investigate:

- The most appropriate form of proportional polling system for the different levels of government;
- The adaptations necessary to the administration of elections in the event of such a system being introduced;
- The influence such a new polling system will have on the structuring and functioning of political parties and the political process, and
- Measures to ensure that political parties function democratically in a proportional polling system.

Those interested have been invited to submit memoranda to the council before April 15. — Sapa.



# Back to back they faced each other

It was hardly a year ago when Operation Vula cadres Pravin Ghordan and Mac Maharaj were being roughed up as involuntary wards of the state, and co-conspirator Janet Love was being hunted by the police.

Today, all three are central to administering the national negotiations taking place through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Ghordan is the chairman of Codesa's seven-member Daily Management Committee, having just taken over from Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer. Maharaj, with Love as his alternate, serves on the Political Secretariat — together with the government's Fanie van der Merwe.

It's the kind of development that confirms the nightmares — or the "told you so" — hopes of the far right and the far left. Yesterday's terrorists running today's government-in-waiting. Yesterday's guerrillas buying in with their former enemies.

But it is also one of many signs that suggest just how far things have come in the negotiations that began in earnest this week.

The five working groups started business on Monday by deciding on procedural issues, electing steering committees and, in the case of Working Group 3 on Transitional Arrangements, a chairman (the DP's Ken Andrew).

The groups get down to the nitty gritty from February 9 and will meet at least once a week until they reconvene at the next convention — "Codesa 2" — at the end of March. By this time they are expected to have made their proposals, but given the enormity of the issues they are considering, there is some doubt this would have been achieved by then.

Despite the fact that the government and the African National Congress have come closer together in recent months, reaching "sufficient consensus" will not be easy in any of the working groups, each of which have their huge issues.

In Group 1, whose main task is defined as "creating a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community", it is likely to be a question of the disbanding of Umkhonto weSizwe or its integration into the South African Defence Force/a new defence force. Which is why the ANC has chosen MK commander Joe Modise as one of its two representatives, the NP its defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys and the government its Law and Order Minister Hennie Kriel. If that's not enough Group 1 will also look at the future of the SABC, the repeal of remaining discriminatory legislation, the return of exiles and the ending of political violence.

Group 2, which is dealing with "constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process", has already opted to meet twice a week (compared with once a week for the others) in anticipation of some tough horse-trading. Most of the parties have chosen big guns — ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, DP MP Denis Worrall and Inkatha acting secretary general SH Gumede to name a few.

Aside from having to decide on touchy questions like the future of Afrikaans and other languages and how the flag and other national symbols should look, it will also have to make proposals on future economic principles, the composition of the three branches of government and, most difficult of all, whether a referendum should be held and whether there should be an elected constituent assembly.

Group 3, whose brief is "transitional arrangements", will pit the likes of Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and Jeremy Cronin (SACP) against cabinet ministers Barend du Plessis, Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers in trying to reach compromises on a range of issues relating to an interim government.

Group 4, which is looking into "the future of the TBVC states", will have tough task of trying to bend the arm of the Bophuthatswana government into re-integrating into South Africa.

Group 5, whose job it is to deal with "time-frames and implementation of decisions", will be deciding how much time to give Codesa to reach its decisions. It will also be trying to find consensus where it exists and will be involved in the formulation of legislation to give these decisions legal effect.

Prior to "Codesa 2" there are several other issues which may require resolution:

●With 19 parties (each having 12 delegates plus advisors), the process is already unwieldy. So far 28 more political parties or organisations have applied to join.

A special sub-committee is meeting to consider the applications. Their recommendation will be made to the Daily Management Committee, which is answerable to the 38-member

*Old enemies shelved their differences at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa this week when Codesa's five working groups met to start hammering out a blueprint for the 'new' South Africa.* **By GAVIN EVANS and PAUL STOBER**

Management Committee, which next meets on February 10.

Most important has been the application for a delegation from the Zulu royal family, and the counter-application from the ANC-aligned chiefs organisation, Contralesa. The ploy of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stay out of the talks and make dire predictions of violence unless King Goodwill Zwelithini's delegation is accepted, seems to have worked — but at a cost.

Their approval will mean the Contralesa delegation, and perhaps one from the Transkei chiefs, will also have to be included.

Contralesa national treasurer Raishivhanda Ndou was confident about his organisation's chances of acceptance. "I don't think any political party will have problems with Contralesa, our

members still represent 50 percent of the people in this country," he said.

Three tiny renegade rightwing parties, Boerevolk, the newly-formed Afrikaner Party and "Boerentia", have applied and at least one will be accepted, if only to give the sense that the white homeland issue has been aired, and the right have had their say.

●Bophuthatswana and Inkatha have still not signed the Declaration of Intent, which means they are not bound by Codesa's decisions.

Bophuthatswana government official Alwyn Viljoen said this week his government had not signed the declaration because it had problems with the declaration's "precise wording".

"The fact that the Bophuthatswana government is participating in Codesa and the working com-

mittees shows they support the spirit of the convention," he added.

Inkatha has adopted a harder line. According to its representative, Suzanne Vos, "We have tabled our amendments to the declaration before the management committee. If the issue is not resolved there, then we expect it to be discussed at the next plenary session of Codesa." Inkatha's objection to the declaration centres on the lack of provision for regional governments in a federal South Africa.

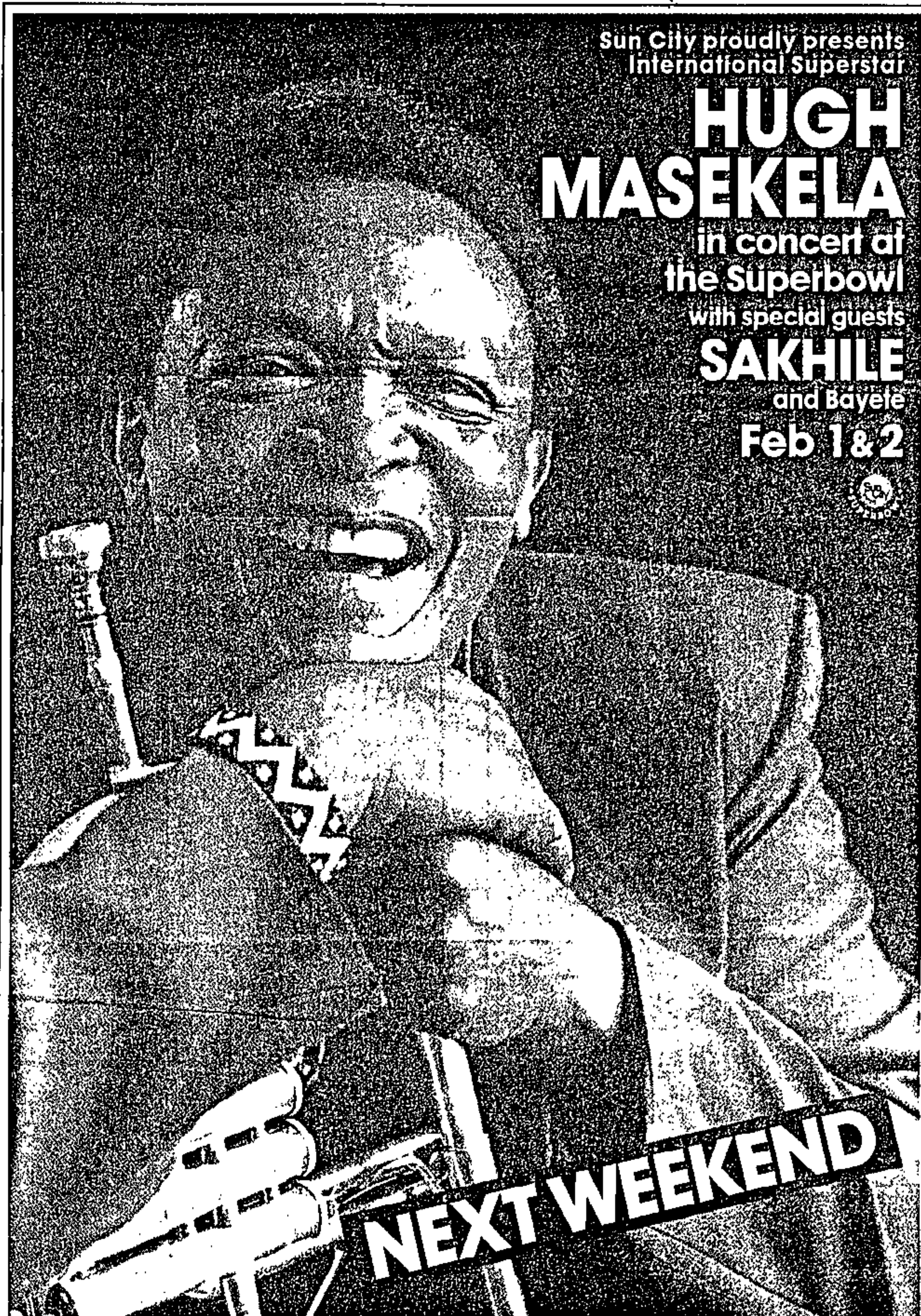
●The National Peace Accord appears to be on shaky legs at the moment. While the Goldstone standing commission investigating violence is underway, only two regional peace committees and no local dispute resolution committees have been set up since the accord was signed on September 14. Other mechanisms, such as the Police Board and reporting officers, special criminal courts and special justices of the peace, have also not been implemented.

There is now a strong feeling among several of the parties that the accord has been overtaken by Codesa and should be absorbed into it to prevent duplication.

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# SA and Angola to exchange envoys

STAR 24/11/92

304A

LUANDA — Angolan Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem and South African counterpart Pik Botha broke the ice of a 17-year diplomatic freeze yesterday with an agreement to exchange envoys.

The two countries, which have had no road, air or telephone links since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, agreed to open "representative offices" with full diplomatic immunity.

Mr van Dunem welcomed the thaw, saying in an interview that his government would not dwell on the history of invasion and covert South African action in Angola.

"We are trying hard to forget the past. Angola and South Africa are the two most important countries in the region. One cannot grow without the other."

Mr Botha, who also met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and opposition leader Jonas Savimbi in Luanda, said he would promote a regional trade and technical alliance to protect southern Africa against the stronger economies in the northern hemisphere.

"This is an historic moment. After all those years of isolation

under apartheid, we have now opened offices in nine of the 10 countries we regard as southern Africa," he said in an interview aboard his government jet.

Mr Botha said negotiations had started with Zambia over an exchange of representatives that would put South Africa in direct contact with all its nearest neighbours.

South Africa had some form of diplomatic representation in Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi and Madagascar.

Mr Botha told Mr van Dunem before the signing that South Africa would build two labour training centres in Angola and would offer medical assistance and technical advice on communications.

He said South Africa would train and equip Angolan troops to clear landmines scattered throughout the country during conflicts involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and Dr Savimbi's opposition Unita.

South Africa backed Unita against the Luanda government for 13 years and fought directly against Angolan and Cuban troops helping Sam Nujoma's Swapo during its battle for independence from Pretoria.

Mr van Dunem said Angola would need South African help to rebuild its shattered economy but would not seek official reparations for the destruction of the war.

"We want South Africa to play an important part in repairing the damage of the war. We cannot survive without an infrastructure," he said.

One official said more than 200 bridges were destroyed during the war years, railway lines were uprooted, roads were bombed and large areas were mined.

Mr Botha said South Africa would consider helping Angola to rebuild roads, railways, bridges and reservoirs damaged by its own troops and by Unita.

He said a reciprocal agreement on landing rights was imminent and urged Angola to join a three-nation pact with Mozambique to protect southern African fishing grounds against foreign exploitation.

"The time has come for southern Africa to stand together, to put people first and not ideologies. I am trying to wake up my African brothers but some of them don't want to wake up," Mr Botha told Angolan reporters. — Sapa-Reuter.

AKG 24/1/92  
(30447)

# Referendum for all

## State President bids to consolidate reform moves, asks country to decide

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk today re-committed the country to transitional government and made it clear he regarded a referendum as a crucial step towards constitutional reform.

He emphasised that the changes, leading to full democracy, must be achieved through negotiations.

Opening the new session of parliament he stressed that a transitional government would be subject to parliamentary control and would have to submit legislation to parliament.

Mr De Klerk did not make any major, detailed announcements on how further constitutional reform will unfold.

In senior government circles the speech was seen as an attempt to consolidate reform moves of the past two years. Mr De Klerk said: "We are firmly on course towards our goal of a free and democratic constitutional system based on the principle of representation for all and the elimination of domination and abuse of power."

He pointed out that he had in the past stated it would be in the best interests of South Africa to institute expeditiously a government that was broadly representative of the total population.

He said the government was convinced the composition of parliament should be changed during this initial phase to include the total population in an equitable manner.

He had also stated that any substantive constitutional amendments, even if they were aimed at transitional measures only, would have to be adopted by parliament after a mandate had been obtained by means of a referendum.

### Honour-bound

"We are honour-bound to hold a referendum which will offer the electorate of each of the three Houses of parliament the opportunity to express themselves on any substantive changes to the constitution that may be proposed.

"At the same time we also believe that the section of our population that does not take part in parliamentary elections at present, that is our black population, should be given the opportunity of expressing itself in such a referendum.

"I envisage a referendum in which every South African will be able to take part and in which the result may be determined globally as well as per parliamentary constituency."

Only after such a referendum, and if the result was positive, would implementation follow. Only parliament as constituted at present would have the power to amend the present constitution.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa was looking back on two years of unprecedented and dynamic change.

The new constitutional order to be born out of this era would differ incisively from the present dispensation. Without it, lasting peace could not be achieved, he said.

Parties still keeping violent options open were making it more difficult to achieve a fully-fledged democracy.

That in itself placed obstacles in the way of reaching credible agreements during the constitutional negotiating process.

● See pages 12 and 13



What the others say

# Sisulu delivers searing attack on parliament

304A  
ARC 24/1/92



Walter Sisulu

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu opened the "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade in Cape Town today, charging President De Klerk's government of scheming to retain white power "behind a complicated charade of democracy".

He also signalled clearly the ANC's determination to reject a role in any interim administration that was not democratic and fully representative, and said the government was "the real obstacle to peace".

The movement would use mass action to reinforce its demands at the negotiation table.

In a speech sharply critical of the National Party's approach to negotiations, Mr Sisulu called for a "democratic parliament of the people" that "must correct the injustices of 300 years of colonialism and 40 years of apartheid".

He dismissed parliament as "that house up the road ... serving the interests of the rich".

It must be transformed, he said, into "a place where the problems of the hungry and those without rights can be solved".

Mr Sisulu said: "Until that happens, the ANC will not accept any seats in that house of apartheid or in De

Klerk's Cabinet. It is arrogant of the National Party to think they can draw our leaders into a structure which we have fought all our lives, a structure which has legalised the killing, torture and suffering of our people."

He accused the government of wanting "to change the rules of the game in order to prevent an ANC government coming to power" because they knew the outcome of free and fair elections would be an ANC victory.

"That is why they are attempting to prevent the future government from having the power to do what the people need to decide."

● PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu delivered a forceful attack today on parliament and on Codesa, warning that negotiations were heading towards an unacceptable "Muzorewa-type interim government".

In a hard-hitting speech during the PAC's march on parliament this morning, Mr Makwetu rejected Codesa as a "monster".

The PAC remained committed to pursuing a constituent assembly "through all channels".

He repeated an earlier PAC proposal that "the farce of Codesa be halted and that two-sided negotiations start with the regime on one side and those supporting the constituent assembly on the other side".





OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, JANUARY 24, 1992

MAG 24/1/92

304A

# 'Reconcile yourselves

An extract from President FW de Klerk's speech today.

**S**OUTH Africa is looking back today on two years of unprecedented and dynamic change. It is noticeable and tangible in every sphere of life. Nothing and nobody has been left untouched by it. Everywhere it has finally dawned upon everybody that we are experiencing a decisive period in our history.

Out of this era will be born a new constitutional order. It will differ incisively from the present dispensation. To that all South Africans now have to reconcile themselves once and for all. Without it, lasting peace cannot be achieved. For it the Government has obtained a mandate which it will implement responsibly and constitutionally.

In my speech on February 2, 1990, I differentiated in respect of a new constitutional dispensation between the prelude to negotiation and the negotiating process itself. To-

for all and the elimination of domination and abuse of power.

In this context I wish to refer in greater detail to two aspects, namely transitional government and the status of Codesa.

## TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

At the launching of Codesa on December 20, 1991, I put the government's broad point of view in respect of a transitional Government, among other things, as follows:

"We are convinced that it is in the best interests of South Africa and all its people for us to institute expeditiously, as a first phase, a government that is broadly representative of the total population. Such a generally representative government will not only see to the administration of the country, but will also be able to take the lead in further constitutional reform.

"We are equally convinced that the composition of parliament too should be



**PRESIDENT de Klerk, in parliament.**

universal suffrage for all South Africans. It is precisely these principles, in appropriate form, that we wish to make part of any transitional arrangements. If there may

ry elections at present, that is our Black population, should also be given the opportunity of expressing itself in such a referendum.

Therefore, I envisage a ref-

What the government envisages is a transitional government that will be subject to Parliamentary control and which will have to submit legislation to parliament. That is the essence of democ-

## BILL OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

A new constitution cannot be separated from a bill of fundamental rights. The government is committed to the principle of a justiciable bill of fundamental rights as part of a new constitutional dispensation. That is why it took the initiative that led to the recent publication of the South African Law Commission's Interim Report on Group and Human Rights.

In conjunction with this, the Government has also taken the initiative of making a study of international conventions on fundamental rights, including the rights of women and children and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. We have already progressed a long way with this in the realisation that it is necessary for South Africa to come into line with the international community.

## STATUS OF CODESA

Consideration of all of these matters will have to be given in Codesa. The Govern-



day I am able to create a confidence that the prelude is past and that negotiation has commenced.

The obstacles that stood in the way of negotiation were removed systematically. On its part, the government levelled the playing field and discriminatory legislation which inhibited negotiation, was repealed. On the part of several other political organisations somewhat remains to be done before they may become worthy participants of democracy.

Democracy is fundamentally a peaceful process. Parties still keeping violent options open are making progress towards a fully-fledged democracy more difficult. That, in itself, places obstacles in the way of reaching credible agreements during the constitutional negotiating process.

Overall, however, much progress has been made. In my speech on February 1, 1991, I outlined a vision for the future in the manifesto for the New South Africa. Today, several of the most important aspects of that manifesto are already part of the agreed Declaration of Intent which was adopted in December 1991 by the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Now Codesa working groups are negotiating and deliberating on a continuous basis on the foundations and principles on which a new constitutional system may be established successfully.

We are, therefore, firmly on course towards our goal of a free and democratic constitutional system based on the principle of representation

changed during this initial phase already, to include the total population in an equitable manner."

In the same speech I stated clearly that the institution of any transitional government would have to take place constitutionally and be based on power sharing.

Since there has been a great deal of speculation about this since then and in view of the importance of the subject, I wish to elaborate on this point of view today to refute the erroneous deductions that have been made.

Firstly, it is being alleged in certain circles that this amounts to the government yielding to pressure. That simply is not true. Numerous previous pronouncements prove that we have proposed a phased approach to constitutional changes to be a viable option throughout. On September 20, 1991 I did, for the first time, express the government's preference for this option, namely a transitional government as a first phase. We have always been and remain opposed to a so-called interim government which is not composed according to the constitution or which governs by decree.

Secondly, our point of view on transitional government is being presented as being tantamount to abandoning important principles to which the Government previously considered itself to be committed. That is equally untrue. The Government's mandate, based on the National Party's election manifesto of 1989, includes in clear terms the principles of power-sharing without domination and

ultimate new constitution, then this applies even more so to a transitional government.

Thirdly, the government's point of view on transitional government is being presented as a breach of confidence in respect of its undertaking that substantive changes to



the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa would be preceded either by an election or by a referendum. That, too, is totally untrue. I put it clearly at Codesa when I said:

"What we are not prepared to consider is the circumvention or suspension of the present Constitution of the Republic. Any substantive constitutional amendments, even if they are aimed at transitional measures only, will have to be adopted by parliament after a mandate has been obtained by means of a referendum."

The government still stands by this. We are honour-bound to hold a referendum which will offer the electorates of each of the three Houses of Parliament the opportunity to express themselves on any substantive changes to the Constitution that may be proposed. At the same time, we also believe that the section of our population that does not take part in parliamenta-

erendum in 1991, even if South African will be able to take part and in which the result may be determined globally as well as per parliamentary voters' rolls. In this way, the legitimacy of any transitional government will be placed beyond doubt in a democratic manner. At the same time, the government will be honouring the undertaking it gave during the last election.

Only after such a referendum, and if the result is positive, will implementation follow. I also wish to emphasise that only parliament as constituted at present has the power to amend the present Constitution.

Fourthly, there is suspicion that the government's proposal concerning transitional government is designed to ensure continued domination by Whites or at least to the drawn-out withholding of full participation by Black South Africans.

I wish to put it clearly that there are no grounds for this suspicion. The government is not playing games with this important issue. Its proposal is motivated on the one hand by the genuine conviction that the final negotiation of a comprehensive and all-embracing constitution will be best achieved under circumstances in which no party will be able to be accused of abusing governmental power to further its own interests. Only the institution of a transitional government that is broadly representative of the entire population will be able to ensure that.

racism. Government by decree is not acceptable. Parliament has to be a fully-fledged part of every phase of constitutional change.

Mr Speaker, mere reference to a transitional government conjures up a picture of temporariness and automatically raises the question: "How long will the transitional phase last?"

The government believes it would be unwise to commit a transitional government on this in a rigorous manner in advance.

Since the most important parties will be part of a transitional government, their leaders will be in an excellent position themselves to determine the rate of continued change. The general climate in respect of violence and intimidation, as well as the degree of consensus on specific changes, together with a variety of other considerations, will determine the rate of change.

Therefore, the government believes that no prescriptive action should be taken. There has to be room for various possibilities. Rigidly defined periods, even before there is clarity about what has to be done next, may lead to an untenable situation. A reasonably high degree of flexibility is indicated.

At the same time, we are not opposed to any reasonable measures being taken to obviate unnecessary or wilful delays. The sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better.

...sees Codesa as being of decisive importance to the achievement of agreements based on adequate consensus. We have advocated a multi-party conference from the outset and are grateful that it materialised within a relatively short time.

Together with the government's point of view on transitional government, it is necessary to emphasise, however, that Codesa is not or should not be an institution of authority. It does not in any way take the place of the Government, Parliament or any other legal institutions of authority. Codesa is neither a joint legislator nor a joint government and the Government's participation in it does not in any way entail any relinquishing of its powers or authority or those of Parliament.

## VIOLENCE

Constitutional government also includes the maintenance of law and order by the South African Police, assisted — when necessary — by the South African Defence force.

The maintenance or establishment by parties of private armies cannot be tolerated. Any activities which are illegal in this context, will be combated with all available might by the country's legitimate security institutions. That this is being done is apparent from the successes achieved in 1991 with the tracing of illegal weapons.

Towards attaining our goal of ensuring peace and security for all South Africans, a great deal has been achieved over the past two years.



# once and for all to change



→ cont.

(3044) MC 24/1/92

Arising from an earlier Government initiative, the Peace Accord was concluded in September 1991.

Codesa was launched and almost all of the significant political leaders in South Africa are negotiating peacefully with one another.

Since 1990, the police establishment has been expanded by almost 18 000 members.

Assistance by the Defence Force takes place continuously with substantial manpower implications.

New initiatives have been taken and are being taken, such as the establishment of hundreds of satellite police stations and contact points and regular special operations.

A new riot control unit will be deployed in 1992.

We should soon be reaping the benefits of all of these steps to an increasing extent.

In the meantime, it is essential for every leader to assume joint responsibility for ending the climate of violence.

They have to stop seeking all the blame elsewhere and should take greater pains to motivate their followers to peaceful behaviour.

Mass actions, which so often lead to violence have to

mechanisms for investigating allegations of improper involvement in violence by members of the security forces.

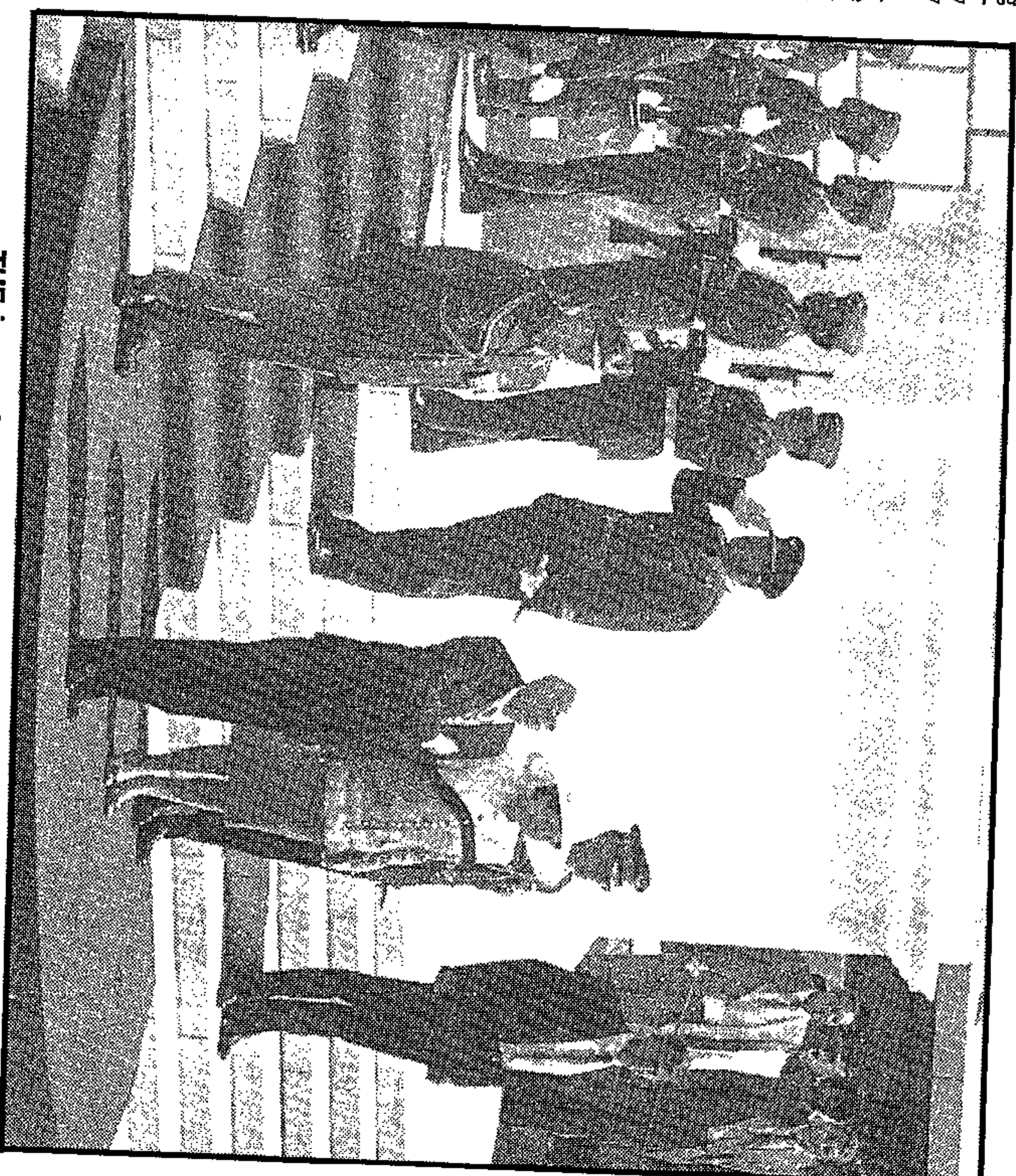
It is, in fact, the government that took the initiative in introducing these mechanisms and the government itself refers relevant allegations for investigation. Just recently there was such a referral to the Goldstone Commission.

Instead of making use of these mechanisms, however, there still are those who persist in denigrating the security forces. To those taking part in that I wish to say today: .

The deaths of so many members of the Police Force in 1991 as a result of unrest or murder should be as much on the consciences of those who persist with incitement to violence and undermining of our security forces as on the consciences of those who caused their deaths.

## CRIME

The high crime rate is equally disturbing. I could digress at length about its causes. Similar trends in the rest of the world as well as the relationship of crime, political unrest and unemployment. Perspective on these



THE impressive opening of parliament ceremony.

is being kept on all allocations for 1992/93.

Furthermore, all government departments will have to submit a proper management plan shortly to ensure that they keep within their reduced allocations. New approaches and methods are being used to this end, and unprecedented discipline in respect of public spending will be applied in the coming financial year.

## TAXATION

Our determination to keep state expenditure within rigorous limits is not a mere fad. The high and rising level of such expenditure impinges directly on our already onerous burden of tax and debt-servicing.

We are still pursuing the systematic lowering of tax rates on companies and individuals alike in order to neutralise their adverse impact on domestic interest rates and savings and improve our international competitiveness. Regrettably, however, the circumstances to which I have referred have prevented the Government from moving as rapidly on this front as it would have wished. Nevertheless, it remains a matter of urgent importance.

South Africa's return to the

will result in a higher deficit than planned. Fortunately, this temporary imbalance was concentrated in a period of pronounced weakness in general demand. Therefore, it performed a valuable counter-cyclical role, was easily financed and had a negligible effect on inflation, which is still in a long term downtrend to healthier levels.

## SOCIAL AFFAIRS

There is an increasingly greater demand for more and better health services, education, housing and welfare services. If we wish to realise South Africa's economic potential, we shall have to overcome the problems of a birth rate that is too high, of poverty, illiteracy, overheated urbanisation, social malfunctioning of communities and family disintegration.

In the knowledge that all of this and more is urgently necessary, we are seeking progress for all South Africans within an equitable social dispensation. In respect of this goal, too, we are still on course towards achieving progress for more and more South Africans.

There is significant progress towards equal education opportunities and we are engaged energetically with the Government of Botswana and re-

by the lifting of sanctions on a global basis, the opening of new markets, the reciprocal attention by other countries to the markets offered by South Africa and the growing number of countries in which there is an official South African presence, heighten the government's direct concern in the momentous global changes which have marked, and will continue to mark, the last decade of the Twentieth Century.

It is a pity, therefore, that certain elements in South Africa are still persisting with their efforts to delay the normalisation of South Africa's international relations. Those who are doing so, are swimming against the tide. In spite of a temporary success here and there, they are rapidly losing the grip they once had on the foreign policies of many countries towards South Africa. The world outside wishes to see orderly reform succeed and are critical of elements that are negative. The ending of our isolation has become irreversible.

We cannot afford to waste any time in this regard. Together with other African States, we have to adjust to a new situation. A cold war between two superpowers has given way to a completely new situation. We



be kept to a minimum, that if they do occur, they have to be better managed and controlled.

Inciting speeches and pronouncements have to cease and the letter and spirit of the Peace Accord have to be honoured.

If everyone were to sweep before his own door and stop undermining the South African Police and placing it under suspicion, things will improve very quickly.

It is unjustified to try to put the blame for the current violence, particularly in the black residential areas, on the security forces. On the contrary, all political leaders owe a debt of gratitude and appreciation to our security forces and should go out of their way to boost their confidence and morale.

Only if the masses respect our men and women in uniform and have confidence in them will they be able to be fully effective. Only if political leaders are responsible in their utterances about our security forces will the masses develop that confidence and respect.

Naturally mistakes are made in the security forces. Certainly individual members do not always act faultlessly — neither in other countries nor in South Africa. In such cases there are adequate

the solution to the crime problem does not lie in policing alone. Nonetheless, enforcement of the law remains a key factor and the Government does not wish, in any way, to evade its responsibility in this connection.

In contrast with allegations to the contrary, the government has taken far-reaching steps to improve law enforcement. The budget of the Department of Law and Order was increased from R1 900 million in 1988/89 to R4 600 million in 1991/92. In addition to the expansion of the strength of the Police and the establishment of satellite police stations and contact points, many other steps were taken. They include:

■ The revision and improvement of training.

■ The administrative utilisation of large numbers of civilians to enable policemen and women to be used more effectively against crime.

■ The regular deployment of special actions on a large scale. These include regular use of road blocks, more intensive patrolling, a bigger police presence in crowd situations, such as at railway stations and on trains, and improved cooperation with organisations and law-abiding citizens who are prepared to make a contribution.

In the administration of justice, together with the aforementioned, the effectiveness of the courts, access to them and the imposition of punishment are receiving ongoing attention.

Legislation designed to improve the protection of witnesses against intimidation has been initiated. A project to inform witnesses about their rights and obligations has been launched.

As far as the imposition of punishment is concerned, due cognizance has been taken of the increase in serious crime and the community's need for penalties which are sufficiently deterrent. Attorneys-general and their staff consistently draw the attention of the courts to this fact.

In combating crime and violence it is ultimately essential for all South Africans to join hands and co-operate with one another in order to deal with these pressing problems effectively.

The government will do its duty and will not allow chaos and lawlessness to destroy the country. I urge all South Africans to do their duty as well. They may do this, for example, by joining neighbourhood watches and protecting themselves and their property by acting sensibly and co-operating with the Police.

## THE ECONOMY

As in the political arena, the emerging new South Africa faces daunting challenges in the economic sphere. Chief among these is the pressing need to accelerate the process of economic growth to generate work and income for our fast-increasing workforce and to support the extensive development programmes we have embarked upon.

Fortunately, the days are past when economic realities could be brushed aside with the facile claim that all things would come to those who sought first the political kingdom. It is encouraging that there has been a steadily growing recognition over the past two years of the fact that the profound changes now taking place in the constitutional sphere will not, on their own, alter either the nature of the economic challenge facing us as a country, or the steps needed to meet it.

Therefore, it is vital that high priority be given to the consistent execution of economic policy. To this end and with a view to the promotion of economic growth, the responsible handling of the downsizing phase which began almost three years ago and preparing for the next

upswing phase, I committed the Government to several important goals and policy stances on February the 2nd 1990 and February the 1st 1991.

The over-arching goal we have accepted is prosperity for all, based on a free and just economic system. In this connection, too, it is appropriate to take stock and ask where we stand.

## STATE EXPENDITURE

The long recession, with all of the social problems it brings with it, coupled on the one hand with urbanisation, droughts and natural disasters, and on the other with combating crime and violence, has placed heavy demands on the Government.

We have had to grapple with the resulting strong and often justifiable demands for higher State spending, but we have succeeded in limiting expenditure to levels which could be financed with minimal disruption.

However, if we are to ensure that the level and composition of state expenditure plays an ongoing positive role in economic growth, additional and relatively drastic structural changes will have to be made, especially in respect of current expenditure. For that reason, a tight rein

trading markets will have a



positive influence on our economic growth capability. However, it will not follow automatically on the disappearance of international constraints, but will hinge rather on investor confidence and the commercial imperatives of quality, price and assured delivery in a highly competitive world market.

The successful implementation of VAT as a broadly-based consumption tax is an important step in our ongoing reform programme. The cut

in the rate from the proposed 12 percent to 10 percent has meant a not unappreciable loss of revenue, but has helped, together with other forms of aid, to reduce any adverse impact of the change-over from GST, particularly for the less-privileged.

It is common knowledge that both the change-over to VAT and the decline in economic activity have affected income to an extent which, according to our best available information at present,

structuring our system, which includes greater emphasis on career-oriented education to increase the relevance of education to our pupils and our country.

Thousands of millions of rand have been allocated by means of extraordinary provision and are being spent directly and indirectly at present on education, housing, clinics, the expansion and improvement of primary health care, combating Aids, nutritional development, sport and recreational facilities and services. Together with all of this, statutory discrimination has been removed and land and social services rendered accessible to all South Africans in a non-discriminatory manner.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1991 was a year in which Africa and Central Europe opened their doors to us. These valuable relationships will be strengthened in 1992.

At the same time, the importance of the nations of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, in a world in which South Africa is able to freely seek its trading partners, becomes self-evident and has paved the way for establishing new diplomatic links and trade missions in this region.

The opportunities offered

term superpower no longer has a purely military overtone but also implies economic performance and human development.

To survive in this competitive climate, the countries of Africa will have to take concerted action. They will have to jettison internal conflict in favour of a strategy of regional organisation and planning. This will oblige the industrial nations to reverse the process of marginalising individual states and to recognise that our continent is a part of global and regional interaction.

All of this has placed us before one of the greatest tests in the history of our country — the test to succeed in honestly negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.

There are some political parties and organisations that are still shying away from it. They ought to know that their refusal to take part will not halt the changes. What has been begun, has to be concluded. Without successful negotiations, long-term peace and prosperity cannot be assured.

The government is determined to make 1992 a year of significant progress. It can be done.

To all South Africans my message is: Bear up!



CP claims it's 500  
votes ahead in Potch

By Carina le Grange

(304A)

Election fever was running high this week in Potchefstroom in preparation for the February 19 by-election, with more than 2 500 special votes cast by last night.

Conservative Party candidate Andries Beyers said yesterday his party was ahead by 500 votes at this stage and expected a comfortable win.

The National Party's Theuns Kruger said the NP was eroding the CP's advance over the first few days and he was feeling optimistic about the outcome.

Special voting opened on January 16 and continues until 2 pm on the eve of the by-election.

The constituency has about

24 000 registered voters, of whom 7 000 have moved away with about 3 000 of them untraceable. Students account for 4 000 to 5 000 of the votes.

"We are very happy at this stage, although we were behind over the first few days," said Mr Kruger.

"But we are now comfortably in the race and are satisfied. If we haven't yet caught up completely, we have almost done so."

Mr Beyers said: "The NP's battery is dead; they have lost their support, and are lagging more and more. Their power base was in the old-age homes who have already voted and left us in the lead."

"I expect a comfortable win."



# New polling system mooted (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has requested that the President's Council investigate a proportional polling system for a new constitutional dispensation, secretary to the council J Weilbach said yesterday.

The President's Council has been asked to investigate:

● The most appropriate form of proportional polling system for the different levels of government.

● The adaptations necessary to the administration of elections in the event of such a system being introduced.

● The influence such a new polling system would have on the structuring and functioning of political parties and the political process.

● Appropriate measures to ensure that political parties function democratically internally in such a polling system.

The council has also

been asked 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.

Those interested are invited to submit memoranda to the Secretary to the President's Council, Box 3601, Cape Town 8000 before April 15.

Contact J F Marx and/or D G Truter at (021) 45-5541. — Sapa.

# Treurnicht makes plea to F W

By Martin Challenor  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Please do not make us protest against your opening address to Parliament. That was the plea from Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday to President de Klerk.

Dr Treurnicht also announced a nationwide CP prayer hour between 10 and 11 this morning and coined a new term for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

— Condemns.

The CP yesterday handed a protest note to new Speaker Eli Louw for attention Mr de Klerk pointing out the CP's serious objections to the type of speech the President had made at the 1990 and 1991 opening of Parliament.

Issues raised in the speech should have been dealt with in his budget vote, the CP said.

The 1990 and 1991 speeches were provocative "and other Members cannot expect us just to

sit quietly and listen to it when he was signing away the claim of the white man to his own land, own political structure and own self-determination", Dr Treurnicht said. "We were justified in expressing our strongest disapproval."

Last year four CP MPs were ordered out of the chamber while Mr de Klerk was delivering his opening address. The remaining CP MPs then walked out in a demonstration of solidarity.



Self-determination will be put on Codesa agenda

# De Klerk coaxes CP

SM 24/1/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

In an obvious attempt to draw the Conservative Party into Codesa, President de Klerk said today the Government would propose that the principle of self-determination of nations should be put on the agenda of Codesa.

Speaking at the opening of Parliament, Mr de Klerk said the Government had discussed this proposal with a range of Codesa participants as recently as yesterday evening and that they had given their approval.

He was therefore convinced there would be "complete consensus" on accepting the proposal. (304A)

Mr de Klerk said the door was now open for all proponents of the principle of self-determination of nations to freely take part in the crucial negotiations.

"In the interests of peace and the prevention of conflict, I now call on all proponents of the principle of self-determination of nations who are not yet part of the negotiation process to use this open door in the light of this development," Mr de Klerk said in a clear reference to the CP.

He added that although the Government had rejected the policy of self-determination in the form of partition, it was not opposed to the principle.

Much of the focus of the day fell outside the embattled Parliament - on the rival ANC "Peoples Parliament" a few blocks away on the Grand Parade.

● To Page 2



## FW coaxes CP to join Codesa

STAR 24/1/92

● From Page 1

It was there that Walter Sisulu, ANC deputy president, accused the Government of "scheming to retain white power ... behind a complicated charade of democracy".

And the PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, in a speech during a march on Parliament, attacked Codesa, warning that negotiations were heading towards an unacceptable "Muzorewa-type interim government".

He rejected Codesa as a "monster".

Mr de Klerk told Parliament the Government was determined to make 1992 a year of significant progress.

He repeated the Government's commitment to a transitional or interim government and strongly stressed that the Government envisaged a transitional government with "an indefinite life-span" which would be determined by the participants themselves.

"Since the most important parties will be part of a transitional government, their leaders will be in an excellent position themselves to determine the rate of continued change."

This differs from the ANC view that Codesa should agree on a limited time-span for the interim government.

He announced that all government departments would have to submit proper management plans shortly to ensure they kept within budget.

"Unprecedented discipline" in public spending would be the theme for 1992 and this would require "relatively drastic" structural changes.

Other points he made:

- The special new riot control announced last year would be implemented this year.
- The Government would not tolerate the continuation of private armies by political parties and would combat them "with all available might".
- The high crime rate was disturbing and steps to combat it included an increase in the police budget from R1,9 billion in 1988/89 to R4,6 billion in 1991/92.
- The country was on the eve of a moderate economic upturn and good progress was being made in controlling the money supply. The "chronic expectation of continued inflation" was starting to decline.

2 shot dead,  
police hurt  
in explosion

By Melody McDougall  
Vereniging Bureau

Two men were  
killed, in  
a shooting



30417

Sunder 24/1/92

**elected members are allowed to address the House.**

**Sisulu will try and address the 308 white, coloured and Indian MPs directly in an attempt to persuade them to step down to make way for an interim government.**

Before the ANC starts its march, it will hold what it calls a "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade where senior executives of the movement will "declare the minority white Parliament illegal".

The PAC will hold a meeting early today in the Bo-Kaap, which will be addressed by the Africanists' president Mr Clarence Makwetu before it proceeds to the Parliament building on its "anti-Codesa and anti-Parliament march".

**Parliament will officially open at 11am.**

While both movements will march in protest against the tricameral parliament - which specifically excludes blacks from central government - the PAC and ANC are at loggerheads over Codesa.

So a significant sideshow - crucial to black politics - will be played outside Parliament with the ANC and PAC headed for a clash over

**Culesa.**

The PAC will march on Parliament from District Six while the ANC will come from a different direction; but both are expected to meet at the entrance at about mid morning.

Nevertheless the ANC, as part of Codesa, will indirectly come under fire from the PAC for its involvement in the Convention.

Both parties' leaderships have suggested that it would be difficult to control their following in the heat of the moment.

The ANC has announced that its deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, would attempt to address Parliament, but this is unlikely because, in terms of Westminster parliamentary rules, only



# FW's parliamentary speech to focus on economy, crime and

CAPE TOWN — The economy, violence and crime, the status of Codesa and Parliament's sovereignty will be the central focus of President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament today.

Headline-grabbing announcements are not expected and government sources were yesterday at pains to downplay the speech. They insisted De Klerk would keep it low-key.

A source said De Klerk could not be expected "to pull another rabbit out of the hat". There was very little, if anything, government could do unilaterally as al-

most all issues were tied up in negotiations at Codesa, he said.

Another source said that for the past two years De Klerk's main aim was to regain respectability in the international community and to position SA to obtain access to international funds.

"Now that this has largely been achieved — with even sanctions crumbling as is seen from the two substantial bond issues in the past six months — he will shift his emphasis to setting the stage for the NP's battle with the CP," he said. This could be the most hard hitting part of his speech.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk is expected to once again call for monetary discipline and to promise to put pressure on his Cabinet to ensure discipline in state spending.

He will claim he and government have endeavoured to get the economy going by pointing to his appointment from the private sector of Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keys as sufficient cause for business to have confidence that government will get it right this time.

De Klerk will criticise the ANC for re-

fusing to disband its military wing and for holding on to sanctions.

He is also expected to announce rationalisation within own affairs administrations, specifically in the health and education sectors.

Rationalisation could also extend to the four provinces providing services to the six non-independent homelands on an agency basis, similar to that provided by the Cape to the Ciskei.

De Klerk will also indicate that South Africans will have to tighten their belts and expect a tougher year economically

with a real possibility of the Budget running into a bigger deficit than before.

In addressing white fears, De Klerk will concentrate on announcing measures to reduce crime. He is expected to say the police will intensify patrols and strengthen its force.

De Klerk is also expected to announce measures he intends taking on the carrying of traditional and cultural weapons at political rallies. He has apparently reached consensus with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Codessa

## China to cement ties once apartheid ends

BEIJING — China was ready to develop relations with SA once apartheid was abolished, a foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday. (3044) (SS)

"China has all along supported and will continue to support the SA people in their struggle against the apartheid system," spokesman Wu Jianmin said at a weekly briefing. B1024 24/1/92

He urged the SA government to accelerate moves to dismantle apartheid, saying: "We hope that SA will become at an early date a unified and democratic country in which all races enjoy equality." (269)

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen made a surprise visit to Johannesburg on Monday during a six-nation tour of Africa.

The tour has prevented Qian from being in Beijing for the first two days of Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy's visit to establish diplomatic relations.

Qian's unannounced stop at Jan Smuts Airport was seen as a move towards more formal relations.

He met his SA counterpart, Pik Botha, briefly in Pretoria.

The Chinese government has been the main provider of weapons and financial support to the PAC and its military wing, Apla, which has claimed responsibility for the killing of several SA policemen in the past few months.

A government source said this week that it was "a fair assumption" that the government of mainland China no longer had the same attitude towards political groups in SA as it once had.

Both SA and China have been seeking to build ties with former foes. — Sapa-AP.

● See Page 10



# Last white parly?

(3049)

CT 24/1/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk this morning opens what may be the final session of the white-controlled tricameral Parliament.**

The State President will be hard-pressed to match the dramatic announcements of his last two opening of Parliament addresses which completely transformed the face of South African politics.

This time around organisations demanding the speedy end of exclusive white rule — the ANC and the PAC — hope to upstage what is the traditional annual highlight of the parliamentary calendar by staging mass "people's parliament" street protests.

Democratic Party MPs have been instructed not to attend what the ANC believes will be the largest protest gathering organised

since the unbanning of the organisation in 1990. However, the ANC hopes pop star Paul Simon will be there.

Inside the Great Hall of Parliament fireworks are expected from members of the Conservative Party, which yesterday protested at the transformation of Parliament into a "glorified rubber stamp" of Codesa and urged its supporters to pray for the government to stop "selling out" to the "communist-controlled ANC".

Senior Nationalists were anxious yesterday to play down expectations about Mr De Klerk's speech, saying that the address would chiefly be aimed at "consolidation" of previous reforms rather than the "revelation" of a dramatic package of new ones.

Top government sources said a major theme of Mr De Klerk's speech could be measures to revive the ailing economy.

To page 2

● Pupils to join ANC mass rally — Page 5

From page 1

Some predicted that 1992 would be a year of "belt-tightening" and cutbacks in a number of areas of spending, including health, white education and the homelands.

(3049) CT 24/1/92

Government sources said Mr De Klerk could also be expected to launch a strong attack on the ANC's sanctions policy, which the government believes is retarding the prospects for a much-needed economic recovery.

Mr De Klerk is also expected to attack the Conservative Party as part of a bid to allay the fears of whites.

He could also announce fresh steps to try to bring the wave of violence and crime under control.

Mr De Klerk is due to begin his opening address at 11am — possibly the last opening speech to a South African Parliament which excludes the black majority.

The ANC also disclosed yesterday that it had formally made a request to the Speaker of Parliament to enable its deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, to address MPs.

However, it is highly unlikely that parliamentary formalities will be waived to enable Mr Sisulu to address Parliament, although it might be possible for him to speak to an informal meeting of MPs.

ANC official Mr Willie Hofmeyr said two meetings had been held with the PAC to avoid any problems with their two marches today.

The PAC march, which would be in a different part of Cape Town, was expected to start at 11.15am. "We don't foresee that there will be problems," Mr Hofmeyr said.

The ANC group is expected to arrive at Parliament at about 12.45pm.

Last night ANC leaders addressed rallies in different parts of the Western Cape in support of the "people's parliament", including the demand for an interim government by the middle of the year and preparations for elections of a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

The organisation has arranged buses and trains, which will be able to accommodate 35 000 people, and it expects thousands more supporters to use their own transport.

Meanwhile the ANC has released proposed time frames for political reform, suggesting that an interim government be established in May and elections for a constituent assembly take place in September. The proposals also suggest that the constituent assembly transform itself into the first national assembly, and that elections for the second House be held early next year.

The draft negotiation schedule appears in the latest edition of the official ANC organ, Mayibuye, due for publication soon.

The proposals suggest that Codesa agreements, which should be reached in April, be drafted by the Codesa sub-structures and made law in May.

CT 24/1/92

## PW's tape complaint investigated

Political Staff

THE Ombudsman, Mr Justice Piet van der Walt, confirmed yesterday that he was investigating a complaint by former president Mr P W Botha about the destruction of the tape recording of his conversation with Mr Nelson Mandela. (304A)

"I am investigating the matter but I can't say at this stage when it will be completed," he said.

The complaint concerns a recording made in 1989 of a conversation between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela, who was then serving a life sentence in prison.

The recording was destroyed by the National Intelligence Service after notes were made about the discussions.



# Sound and fury but Codesa is forging ahead

THERE is excitement and some apprehension today as the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, opens what we may hope will be the last Parliament of the old South Africa and crowds demonstrate in the streets to speed its demise.

This could be the year when it all begins to come right. If all goes well, an interim government could be taking shape by this time next year to preside over the negotiation of a new constitution and the transition from apartheid domination to multi-party democracy.

The main action will be taking place outside Parliament in the working committees of Codesa. But what happens in Parliament and in the streets will have an important bearing on the chances of a smooth transition.

What are the prospects? Completely trouble-free it will not be.

A culture of political violence is entrenched, partly as a result of the years of armed rebellion and partly as a result of the blind, iron-fisted repression by successive NP governments.

Some observers put the chances of getting a working democracy securely in place as not much better than even, given the endemic township violence and the fear that some recalcitrant elements in the security forces will keep stirring it up, sabotaging negotiations to the end.

## Right wingers aloof

If success is by no means assured, there are yet reasonable grounds for hoping that things will turn out pretty well after all. People close to the Codesa negotiations are much more optimistic than those who are less well-informed and there is already a remarkable degree of consensus about the main principles of a new democratic constitution.

The main problem area will not be at Codesa, where steady headway seems assured, despite some very tricky areas. The real problem lies in the groups outside Codesa. The legitimacy and ultimately the viability of a new constitution will be undermined, if significant sectors of political opinion are not represented at the talks.

As things stand, the Conservative Party and white extremist groups



Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

even further to the Right are standing aloof. On the other flank, so are the PAC, Azapo and the black consciousness tradition generally. The urgent task of statesmanship is to draw all these groups into negotiation.

Elements in the far Right, including highly trained former members of SADF clandestine forces, have the capability to sustain a terrorist campaign on Ulster lines, if they are assured of sufficient support in the white conservative population.

If conservative whites are not accommodated in some way in the Codesa negotiations, and feel insecure and at risk, there will be more than a sneaking sympathy among them for the bravos who are reaching for their rifles.

In such circumstances right-wing terrorism could survive the best efforts of the SAP to eradicate it, creating alarm and disruption which would sabotage returning confidence and wreck the chances of economic recovery. Democracy could hardly survive.

For the moment, regrettably, the CP leadership is curbing the faction in their ranks who favour going into Codesa. An impressive CP victory in the Potchefstroom by-election could harden this futile resistance to negotiation.

Ultimately, the CP could split with

a significant group going into Codesa, we may hope. Meanwhile, the anti-Codesa sound and fury coming from the CP benches in Parliament will defy all sense and rationality.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the PAC is likewise divided between pragmatists and zealots. Here, too, we may hope that a split will bring at least a section of this important stream of black opinion into the negotiations.

Since its breakaway from the ANC in the late '50s, and with the brilliant Robert Sobukwe out of action on Robben Island and later confined to Kimberley, the PAC was plagued in exile by squabbles and power plays.

The important black consciousness trend inspired by the late Steve Biko in the mid-'70s could have meant a major boost for the PAC which, after all, was the original source and origin of the doctrine of black pride, self-respect and self-reliance.

As it happened, many of the best young men of the BC generation were drawn into the ANC after the Soweto insurrection of 1976. Some of them, such as Patrick Lekota and Popo Molefe, figure prominently in the rising generation of ANC leaders today.

Azapo struggles on as a group in the BC tradition and obscure ideological differences still seem to cause disunity in the PAC-BC neck of the political woods.

The PAC certainly has a right of existence in an era when one-party domination is thoroughly discredited in Africa, Eastern Europe and everywhere else. But they will need to get into the negotiation process soon or be doomed to irrelevant impotence — or, like the extremists of the Right, find themselves overwhelmed in the bloody futility of violence.



BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 24 1992

3

## CP says its prayers

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — The CP plans to have its supporters throughout the country locked in prayer this morning in a bid to stop the government "selling out" to a "communist controlled ANC". *Bivay 24/1/92*

The CP yesterday sent faxes to all of its branch offices across the country urging supporters to arrange prayer meetings between 10 and 11am — the hour preceding President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament address.

Yesterday CP leader Andries Treurnicht sent a letter of protest to De Klerk and the Speaker to object to the erosion of the sovereignty and authority of Parliament.

Treurnicht told a news conference yesterday that there was a danger that Parliament could be relegated to a "glorified rubber stamp" of agreements reached between the government and the ANC at Codesa.

He said the CP took "very, very serious objection" to the controversial and provocative announcements De Klerk had made during his last two opening of Parliament speeches.

Treurnicht said the CP could not be expected to withhold their protest while De Klerk "signed away the white man's rights".

The CP demanded a white election so that it could replace the NP as the ruling party.



## Labour stays away as Louw is lauded

CAPE TOWN — All but one of the parliamentary parties congratulated the new Speaker, Eli Louw, on his election at a special joint sitting of Parliament yesterday afternoon.

Only the Labour Party — which refused to nominate members to the electoral college which formally elected Louw — was absent from the congratulatory sitting.

House of Assembly leader Adriaan Vlok said Parliament was lucky to have someone of Louw's calibre to fill the important post.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, J N Reddy, said he trusted Louw would have the opportunity of ushering in a new era for SA.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the CP was convinced Louw was well-equipped for his important new task.

DP leader Zach de Beer said it was a "real pleasure for all members of the DP to welcome you most warmly".

The DP's only regret was that it had been deprived by the electoral college system of the opportunity to participate in Louw's election. (Only members of the majority NP in the House of Assembly represented that House in the electoral college.)

The Speaker said he would stick closely to the challenge of reasonableness and fairness and asked all MPs' co-operation.

All MPs faced a particular challenge to display increasing understanding for each others' standpoints. — Sapa

# Session of discontent

w/mail 24/11-30/11/92

(304A)

**T**ENSIONS inside and outside parliament will dominate the new session of the tricameral legislature which is to be opened today by President FW de Klerk.

Outside the corridors of parliament, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and their allies are demanding the end of the tricameral parliament, the institution of an interim government and the holding of democratic elections by the end of 1992.

Inside the chambers of parliament, particularly from the benches of the all-white House of Assembly, the increasingly confident and militant Conservative Party is to wage all-out war against the National Party, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and any move aimed at weakening white control over the government and the legislature.

With its victory in the Virginia by-election and its likely victory in Potchefstroom next month, the CP believes it now represents the majority of white people and that it will be able to force the government to hold another white election, which it will win.

The CP, of course, realises that this may well be its last chance to stop Codesa reaching agreement on the transformation of South Africa into a democracy — and it will use every method possible to stop the government.

National Party MPs are predicting that this could be the most bitter session of parliament ever and there is every indication that their fears are justified.

The CP anger is not intimidating the government, which appears committed to the Codesa process, as this week's appointment of the National Intelligence Service chief, Dr Niel Barnard, as the head of the Constitutional Development Service reflects.

But while the leadership of the three main white parties are committed to their courses, there are rumblings developing within the ranks of their MPs.

Speculation about division within the CP has been going on for some time, particularly after the publication last year of the Koos van der

*MPs are predicting this could  
be the most bitter session of  
parliament ever — and there  
is every indication that  
their fears are justified.*

**By WEEKLY MAIL**

**REPORTER**

Merwe document about the party's role within the negotiations process and his dismissal as the party's official spokesman.

A group of CP MPs, mostly younger MPs, believe the party is marginalising itself by staying out of Codesa and they are critical of the stand taken by the party's leadership, particularly the hard-line approach of its deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg. It seems unlikely that these tensions will lead to a split within the CP caucus, following its election successes.

Rumblings are developing within the NP as well, as ordinary caucus members, especially those in the rural areas, feel the government and party leadership are not consulting them enough and keeping them informed about what is going on with the negotiations process.

It is stated that there is considerable confusion and uncertainty in the NP caucus about where the country is heading.

At the first round of Codesa, for instance, senior members of the NP delegation did not know beforehand that De Klerk was going to make his announcement about the government's acceptance of the call for an interim government. Although the composition of the interim government still has to be negotiated, the remoteness of the NP leadership from the caucus is leading to increasing tensions.

Again, it is unlikely, at this stage, that these tensions will lead to a split, particularly as the NP and its MPs have too much to lose through its control of government. However, the leadership is going to do a lot of work to rally the

party behind them.

The tensions within the Democratic Party over its relationship with the ANC and the government have been around for some time. Some MPs believe the DP should be closer to the ANC, others feel it should be closer to the government and the party leadership feels it should continue to play an independent role.

When he was re-elected Democratic Party leader in November, Dr Zach de Beer said he would crack the whip if any MP stepped out of line. Although he has not yet been forced to do so, the tensions within the DP caucus are deep and it would not be surprising if the group more sympathetic to the ANC decides to pre-empt the issue by deliberately taking action to demonstrate their sympathies.

In general, however, both wings of the DP still believe it has a role to play. And the key facilitating role played by MPs like De Beer, Colin Eglon and Ken Andrew at Codesa has reinforced a general belief that the DP should remain independent at this stage.

In the House of Representatives, where the Labour Party tenuously clings to power, the NP is likely to make every effort to recruit more MPs and enable it to take control of the House. The unpopularity of the Hendrickse family, the popularity of De Klerk, unhappiness over the LP's participation in the Patriotic Front and NP organising abilities could see the LP losing control of the House.

For all the tensions among the MPs, the crucial issue facing parliament is how it relates to Codesa. The CP will argue that power has gone into the hands of the ANC and the South African Communist Party and parliament is being reduced to the role of a rubber stamp. The other parties will reject this allegation.

But will parliament as a whole be sensitive and strategic enough to support the Codesa process and decisions creatively? Much of the answer depends on the NP and the government leadership. But for all the machinations within parliament, that is likely to be the biggest challenge facing MPs over the next six months.



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Heavy flak over 'racist' poll likely at Codesa

# Referendum: Govt faces a bruising

STAR 25/1/92

304A

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

CAPE TOWN — The Government is heading for a bruising clash with the bulk of parties at Codesa over its continuing insistence on holding a racial referendum to test any major constitutional changes.

President de Klerk made it clear in his speech at the opening of Parliament yesterday that he was still determined to keep his promise of a poll for the white electorate on proposed transitional government measures.

See Pages 2, 12 and 14

Mr de Klerk's speech has attracted mostly neutral reaction. Most local and foreign commentators found little new in it.

They approved of Mr de Klerk's decision not to make any major unilateral announcements without consultation.

Some expressed disappointment that he had not provided hoped-for clarification of the Government's view on transitional government.

But there was strong disapproval of Mr de Klerk's reiteration of his plan to hold a multiracial referendum — in which votes would be counted racially — to test any transitional government plans.

Mr de Klerk's remarks contradicted speculation this week among opposition political parties that the Government was now backing off the white referendum idea under concerted pressure at Codesa.

## Veto

Most other parties at Codesa strongly oppose a racial poll. In its reaction to Mr de Klerk's speech, the ANC rejected the Government's plan for a referendum and said it was designed to give the white minority a veto over change.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse also rejected the plan.

It is not clear if the Government intends riding roughshod over Codesa.

TO PAGE 2

Saturday Star January 25 1992

## Whites

FROM PAGE 1.

desa's objections.

It may well consider its electoral promise important enough to press on with a whites-only referendum, even if all other groups refuse to hold polls among their constituents.

The referendum issue is only one on which the Government stands increasingly isolated at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk's offer yesterday to put the right of self-determination on Codesa's agenda is being seen as a carefully laid trap to split the CP.

In his speech Mr de Klerk indirectly invited the CP to enter negotiations now that self-determination is on the agenda.

Government sources said the offer had been cleared with the key Codesa players, including the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and most parliamentary parties.

The ANC later confirmed that it "agreed the principle of self-determination ... was a legitimate issue to be addressed at Codesa".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer also backed the idea.

Political observers believe the offer is part of a careful plot to try

to neutralise the right-wing threat by driving a wedge between the hardline anti-negotiators, led by deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, and the pro-negotiators, led by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe.

A well-placed right-wing political source acknowledged that the strategy could work. "It seems Mr de Klerk has done what the CP has demanded in the past.

"I believe he has bent over backwards to accommodate the CP. It is clear the Government is taking the initiative and the CP will be on the defensive in next week's no-confidence debate."

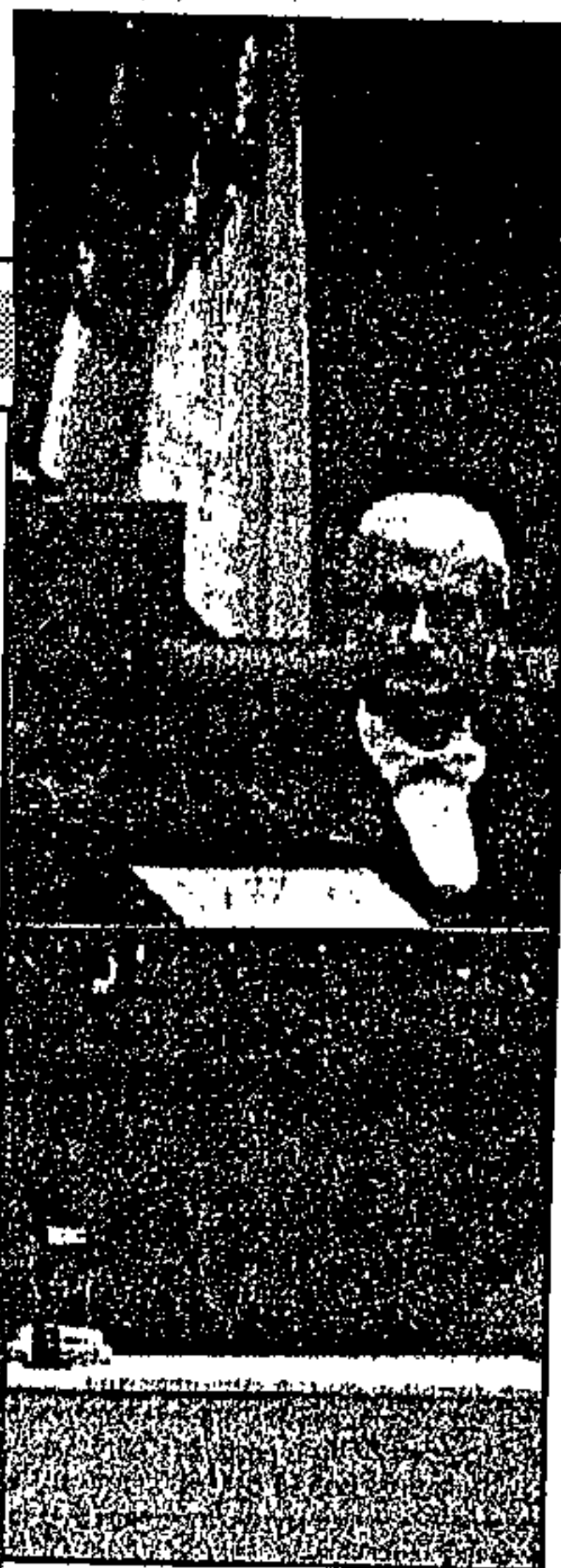
The offer to the CP was the only surprise in Mr de Klerk's speech.

Though he dealt at length with the Government's vision of a transitional or interim government, he added nothing to his announcement at Codesa in December.

Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's explanations of his transitional proposals were still "opaque".

"In particular, he seems to be proposing that black people should gain representation in Parliament during the transitional phase.

"How many black representatives are to come to Parliament? How are they to be chosen? The public is surely entitled to know what he has in mind."



at Codesa over his racial poll plan.

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Davenport said: "We are pleased to have the result we have got."

The union had held a democratic secret ballot and its members had voted to continue the ban. "I can see no reason to hold another referendum," he added.

However, Mr Davenport hinted that a reversal of Equity's ban was by no means out of the question for all time.

He said things were changing rapidly in South Africa and at a later time might be thought appropriate to hold another referendum in case the

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# Africa's newest bes

STAR 25/1/92

(304A)

## Angola comes to the party and South Africa has yet ano

**GERALD L'ANGE**  
Editor, Africa  
News Service

**A**NGOLA, potentially one of Africa's economic giants, has opened what could be a glittering association with South Africa by agreeing to restore diplomatic relations.

The signing of the agreement in Luanda on Thursday is perhaps the most dramatic manifestation yet seen of South Africa's acceptance by black Africa.

It is remarkable for several other reasons as well.

It comes barely three years after South African and Angolan troops fought each other in one of Africa's bloodiest wars. Memories of the bitter fighting around Cuito Cuanavale, for instance, are still fresh on both sides.

South Africa and Angola will establish diplomatic offices in each other's capitals while the ashes of the war are still hot, so to speak. The two main "domestic" antagonists, the MPLA and Unita, are still moving through an uncertain ceasefire towards an election that is intended to give Angola its first elected government since the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975.

The country is still littered with landmines from the war, the opposing armies are still confined uneasily in assembly points and no start has been made on repairing the damage of the war.

By signing the agreement before the election has been held, Pretoria has in a sense bypassed its ally in the war, Unita, and done a political deal with its former enemy, the MPLA government.

Unita obviously has no objection, however, for it no longer needs South Africa — unless it wins the election and forms the new government.

The signing had, however, been held up while South Africa continued to station diplomats as "observers" in the Unita capital, Jamba, even after the cease-fire.

While the MPLA was anxious to sign, it could not agree to do so until the diplomats were pulled out of Jamba. This was done only after Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, moved to Luanda last October.

The agreement to restore diplomatic relations was signed less than four months later, indicating the MPLA's anxiety to begin peaceful dealings with South Africa.

Although its potentially wealthy economy is still in ruins from the war, Angola could begin supplying South Africa immediately with the commodity that the Republic wants most — oil — provided it can see its way around the UN-imposed oil embargo.

The MPLA government has



**JOINING HANDS:** Angola's President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in 1989 at the end of the war. On Thursday, Angola agreed to restore diplomatic relations — perhaps the most dramatic manifestation yet seen of South Africa's acceptance by black

said it will not breach that embargo but if Unita wins the election, or if a coalition government is formed, that policy could change.

Luanda is more interested, however, in what it can get from South Africa immediately — investment and technical assistance to revive the economy, and manufactured goods.

Luanda has hinted it might demand reparations from South Africa for war damage, but knowledgeable observers doubt that this claim will be pressed since it could sour relations with Pretoria.

Once the Angolan economy begins to pick up the country could supply South Africa with coffee and other agricultural products. It is, in fact, one of the few African states capable of maintaining a viable two-way trade with South Africa. Many of the others either have no foreign exchange with which to buy South African products

or no products that South Africa does not already produce itself.

This has not deterred African states from seeking new ties with a South Africa that has become unofficially acceptable, even if not officially respectable, as its politicians meet in Codesa to try to shape the post-apartheid state.

Although neither the Organisation of African Unity nor the Frontline States group has given its open blessing to the exchanges, members of both organisations have opened diplomatic relations with Pretoria and the list is expected to grow.

**O**NE of the factors that makes the Angolan agreement remarkable is that the exchange of diplomats will be on a relatively high level. There are essentially five levels of representation: an interests of-

fice, a trade mission, a representative office, a consulate and finally an embassy.

South Africa's office in Luanda, and Angola's office in Pretoria, will be at representative level, which makes it the highest in Africa other than the embassy in Malawi.

The next African country to open formal links with South Africa will be Botswana. Their agreement to do so was announced last month and the signing to make it official is likely to take place soon. This exchange, too, will be at representative level.

South Africa will then have official representatives in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zaire, Madagascar, Comoros, Ivory Coast and Morocco. In addition, it will have formal relations — but not yet offices in — Mauritius, Kenya, Rwanda, San Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and

Togo.

Zambia is expected to join the list soon, followed by Cameroon, Congo (if it can resolve its current power struggle), Gabon, Senegal and other states.

Morocco set the lead for the Maghreb states with its decision to open formal relations and Egypt is expected to follow.

The Algerian government had indicated an intention to do likewise before the army stepped in recently to keep Muslim fundamentalists from winning the election. Algeria's stance towards South Africa is now in a state of suspense.

The scope of South Africa's acceptance in the continent is reflected by the attitudes of the Frontline group, which was formed to support the fight against white rule first in Rhodesia and then in South Africa. Once Zambia opens formal links, Tanzania will be the only

Frontline state to have a cold shoulder.

Nigeria is the African states — the OAU — relations until in place. dealings with become increasingly friendly, its continues to be a discouragement can countries — matic acceptance.

The OAU's largely on the ANC, which is African count. formal rela. Africa. But will being in OAU member ANC's influence is waning and become prog. as Codesa nearer to ment.

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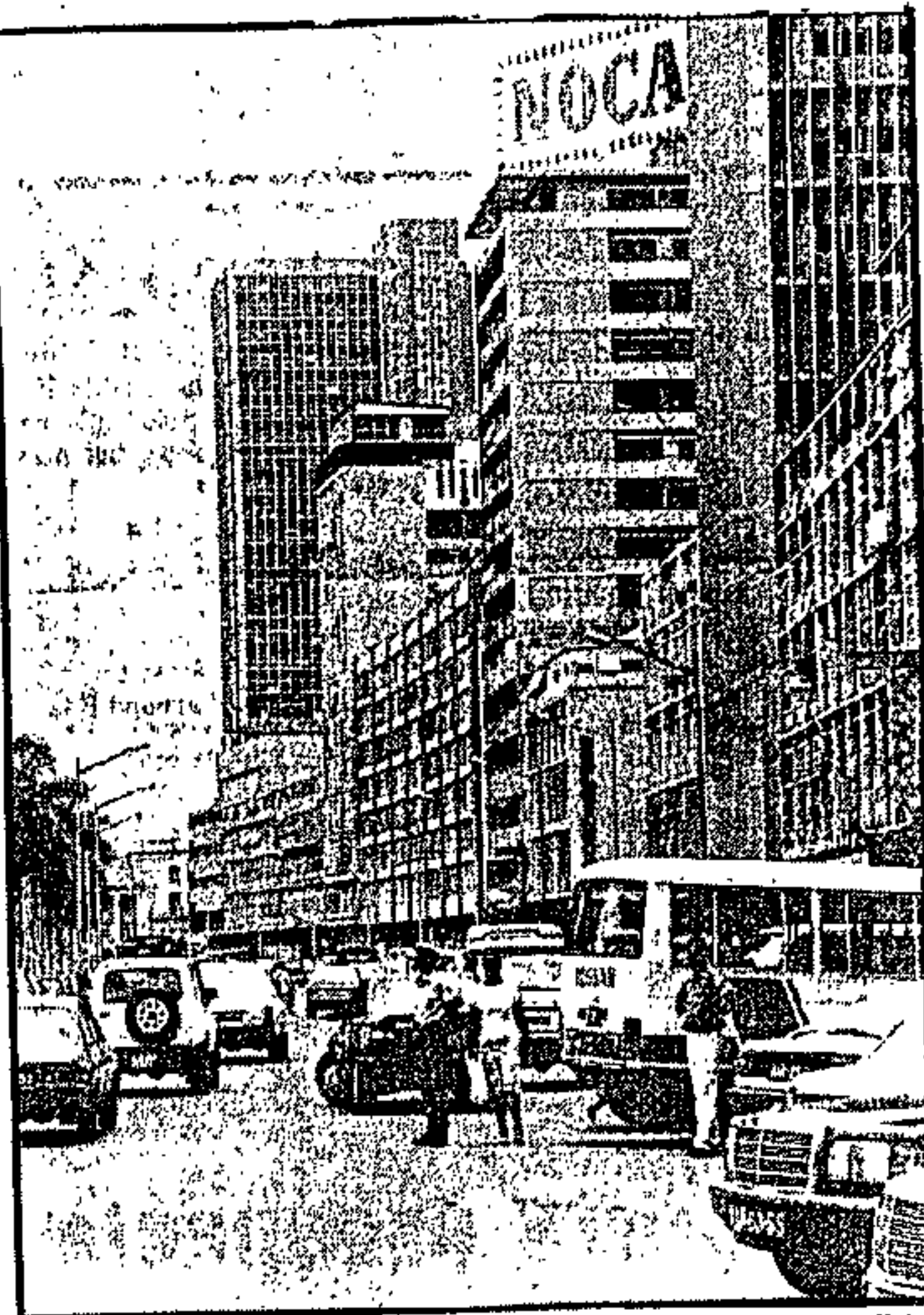
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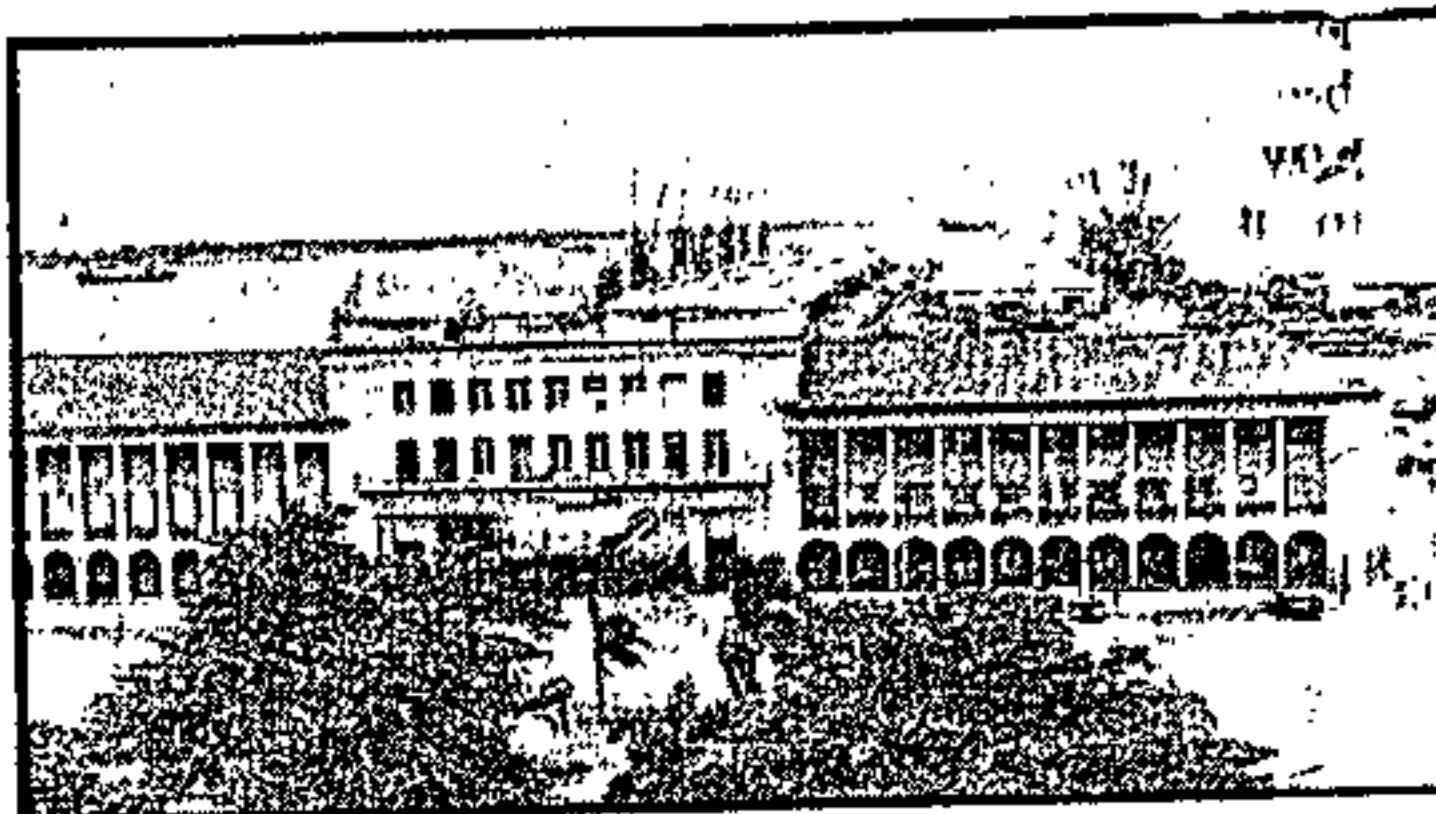
## Africa has yet another dancing partner



in 1989 at the end of the war. On Thursday, South Africa and station yet seen of South Africa's acceptance by black Africa.



THE CAPITAL, LUANDA: Although Angola's economy is still in ruins, it could begin supplying South Africa immediately with oil — provided it can see its way around the UN oil embargo.



LUANDA HARBOUR: Angola needs investment, technical assistance to revive the economy, and manufactured goods.

Togo.

Zambia is expected to join the list soon, followed by Cameroon, Congo (if it can resolve its current power struggle), Gabon, Senegal and other states.

Morocco set the lead for the Maghreb states with its decision to open formal relations and Egypt is expected to follow.

The Algerian government had indicated an intention to do likewise before the army stepped in recently to keep Muslim fundamentalists from winning the election. Algeria's stance towards South Africa is now in a state of suspense.

The scope of South Africa's acceptance in the continent is reflected by the attitudes of the Frontline group, which was formed to support the fight against white rule first in Rhodesia and then in South Africa. Once Zambia opens formal links, Tanzania will be the only

Frontline state still giving South Africa the diplomatic cold shoulder.

Nigeria is the biggest of the African states still abiding by the OAU dictum of no formal relations until majority rule is in place. While its informal dealings with South Africa have become increasingly open and friendly, its formal stance continues to be a major element of discouragement to other African countries considering diplomatic acceptance of South Africa.

The OAU's attitude is based largely on the wishes of the ANC, which is opposed to any African country establishing formal relations with South Africa. But with these wishes being increasingly flouted by OAU member countries the ANC's influence in this respect is waning and will presumably become progressively weaker as Codesa moves South Africa nearer to democratic government.

At the same time the power of the Government that created apartheid is weakening as it relinquishes it gradually through negotiation. It is this, rather than the wishes of the ANC, that appears to be the yardstick being used in Africa for measuring Pretoria's diplomatic acceptability.

**T**HAT is on what might be called the moral side. On the practical side African attitudes are shaped by a more material concern — the hope that South Africa's economic power will help to rescue them from their economic mess.

It is possible that African attitudes are shaped in part by realisation that this economic power has ironically been weakened by the economic sanctions they have supported through the OAU and the UN.

There is another irony: that Pretoria's road back to acceptance has been smoothed by the rise of democracy in Africa. The dictators and one-party governments that formerly ruled most of Africa, like the Marxist governments, were never much interested in dealing with South Africa because they seldom saw any need to do so.

But the democratic or semi-democratic authorities that are taking their place all over the continent are adopting free-trade policies that point clearly to the economic advantages of dealing with the South African giant.

The whole growing structure of relations between South Africa and the rest of Africa would be threatened with collapse if the Codesa negotiations themselves collapsed. But a growing number of African states appear to be willing to bet that they won't.



# Youngsters proud to be S Africans, says survey

STAR 25/1/92 (304A) (2388)

DESPITE widely varying feelings about the political situation in South Africa, most black and white urban dwellers aged 14 to 24 feel proud to be South African, Markinor has found in a national survey.

The research group held in-depth discussions with 12 groups of young people in the metropolitan areas last September and asked their views on a wide range of topics, including music, sport, money, drugs, sex and Aids.

The full results are not available yet, but Markinor chairman Nick

Green says the findings so far "have proved very interesting and will undoubtedly surprise a lot of people".

White and black youth are similar in many respects, the survey found.

For one thing, all the respondents agreed English would be the language of the future.

## Equality

For another, both groups spend a great deal of time listening to music and prefer overseas artists to local ones.

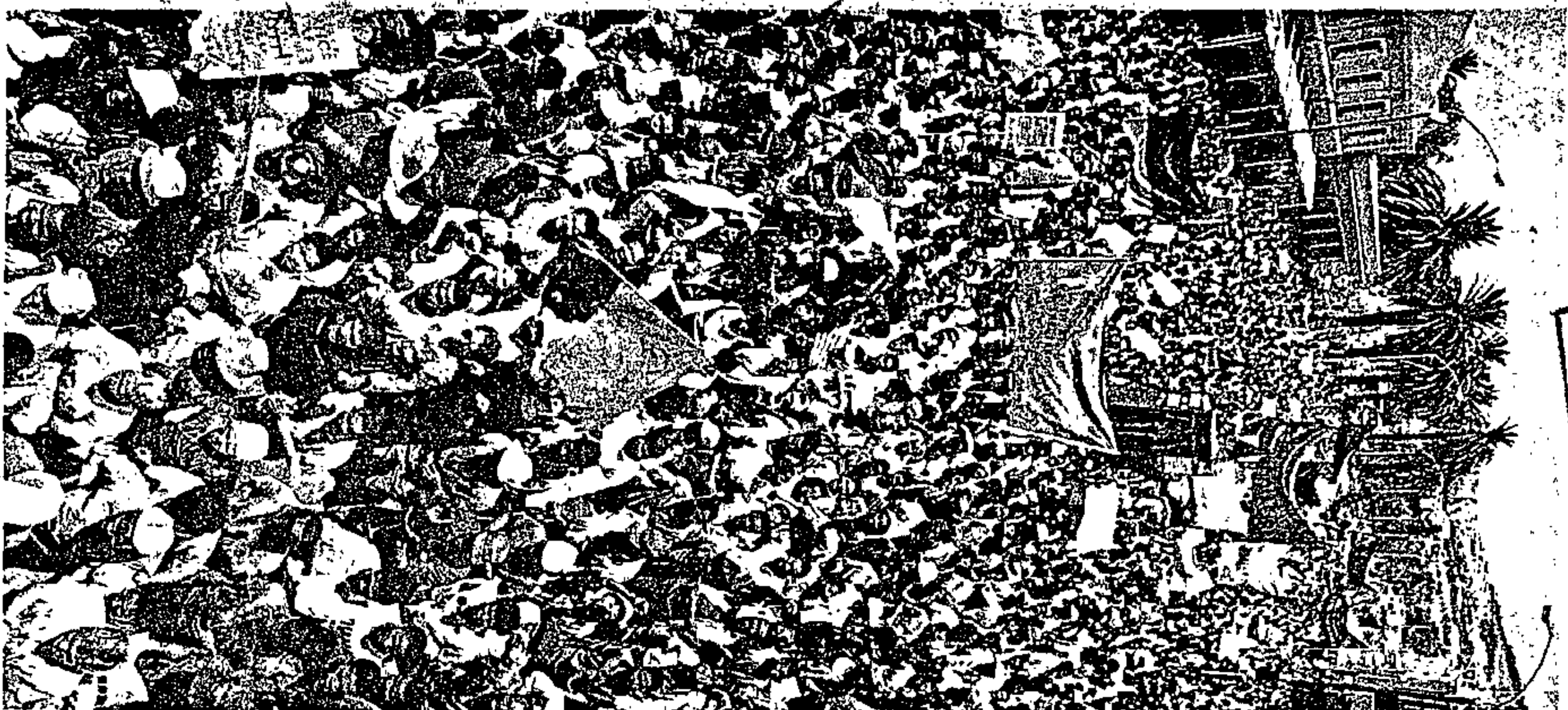
Both groups want peaceful co-existence between the races. How-

ever, blacks focused more on the need for equality between the races while the whites' hopes centred on personal fulfilment.

The study was sponsored by Cinemark, Edgars, Hunt Lascaris, M-Net, Royal Beechnut, the SA Communications Services, the SABC, Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery and Times Media.

A full quantitative study among 860 young people — the 'second phase of the Markinor Youth Survey' — will be completed by Markinor within the next week or two.





**PEOPLE'S POWER** ... Part of the estimated crowd of more than 20 000 people who attended the ANC's "people's parliament" rally at the Grand Parade yesterday set off on their march to Parliament with flags and banners raised on high.

Picture: BERRY GOOL

# Fw allys white fear

3044  
CT25/1/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk** yesterday moved to allay white fears and consolidate his power base — as tens of thousands of unfranchised blacks at a rival "people's parliament" on the Parade demanded an end to the tricameral system.

The State President told the opening of Parliament that the government was prepared to grant full participation to blacks in a referendum and an election to an interim Parliament.

## WOO CP

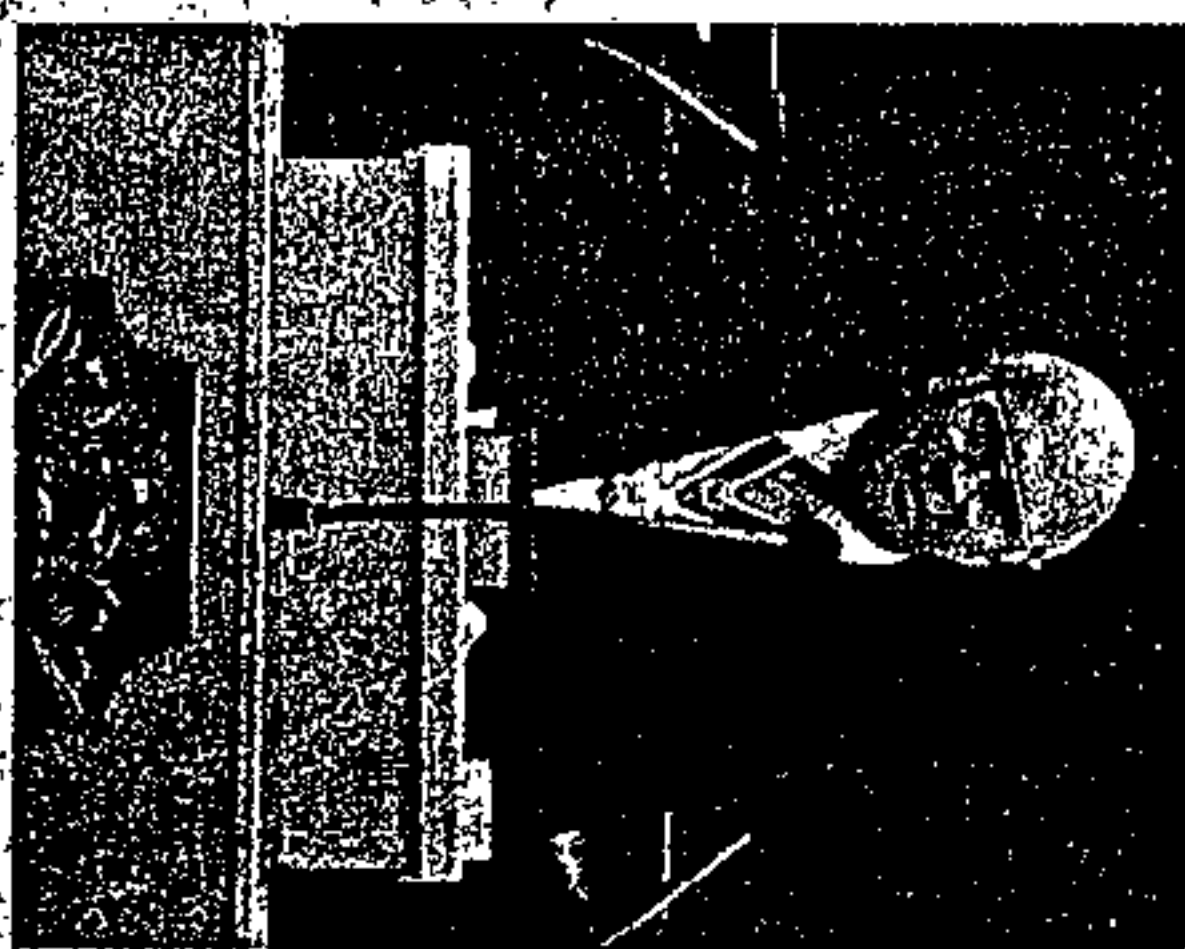
Much of Mr De Klerk's opening address, which this year was devoted to any dramatic announcements, was geared to addressing the growing uncertainty and nervousness about the future among whites and other minority groupings.

As part of this process Mr De Klerk attempted to woo the Conservative Party and other right-wing groupings into the negotiation process by proposing — in an 11-hour addition to his speech following consultations with the ANC and Inkatha — that Codesa would welcome any discussion and negotiation on the practical application of "self-determination of peoples".

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said that his initiative will bear fruit in at least a group within the CP.

● Promised whites that the government was "honour-bound" to give them an effective veto once a referendum was held on any substantive changes to the tricameral constitution negotiated at Codesa.

The ANC national executive yesterday condemned government plans for a minority veto on fundamental changes to the constitution.



**TWO PARLIAMENTS** President F W de Klerk addresses Parliament yesterday while on the Parade an MK member, carrying a 12-gauge shotgun, stands guard at the platform.

## Flexibility

However, Mr De Klerk did go some way yesterday towards addressing ANC suspicions that the government was bent on drawing out indefinitely the period during which an interim government would be in place.

He told Parliament that the government was willing to be flexible about the contentious issue and that "the sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better".

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government was not committed to dragging out interim rule for 10 years or longer and that there was room for compromise.

● Masses march in city — Page 2  
● Spending 'discipline' — Page 19



# Codesa costs rocketing

304A  
ARG 25/1/92

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

**THE price of peace in hard cash is going to be high.**

This is the message of the rising costs for Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) activities to seek a constitutional settlement in South Africa.

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

As things stand, the taxpayers will foot the bill. Both the government and Codesa's growing bureaucracy are tight-lipped about expenses.

However, in defence of Codesa's peace initiative, parliamentarians, academics and others say the cost of the exercise — whatever it amounts to — will be money well spent.

This week another fat item was added to Codesa's expenses by its decision that working groups would meet every Monday and Tuesday in Johannesburg. This would 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 also will

## Expenses mount as delegates commute to Joburg

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, but they declined to give details.

Dr Henk Fourie, chief executive director for constitutional development, told Weekend Argus the money came from the budget made available to the department.

He named constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe as the man to speak 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, before this, 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 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 that to his knowledge no members were being paid for services, but their expenses were being paid. Accommodation and travel expenses also were paid for Codesa's delegations' advisers. Codesa's staff were paid for their services.

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

Codesa financial manager Mr Deon du Plooy declined to give details, saying this was a matter regarded as part of the negotiation process.

One unofficial estimate is that the cost of Codesa's first full session last month would amount to between R3 million and R3,5 million.



# People's power on parade

STA 25/1/92

304/1

PATRICK  
LAURENCE

**CAPE TOWN** — The nature and balance of South Africa's competing political forces were graphically displayed on the streets of the Mother City yesterday during and immediately after the opening of Parliament.

The ANC showed, once again, that it is the biggest and best-organised of the forces opposed to the ruling National Party.

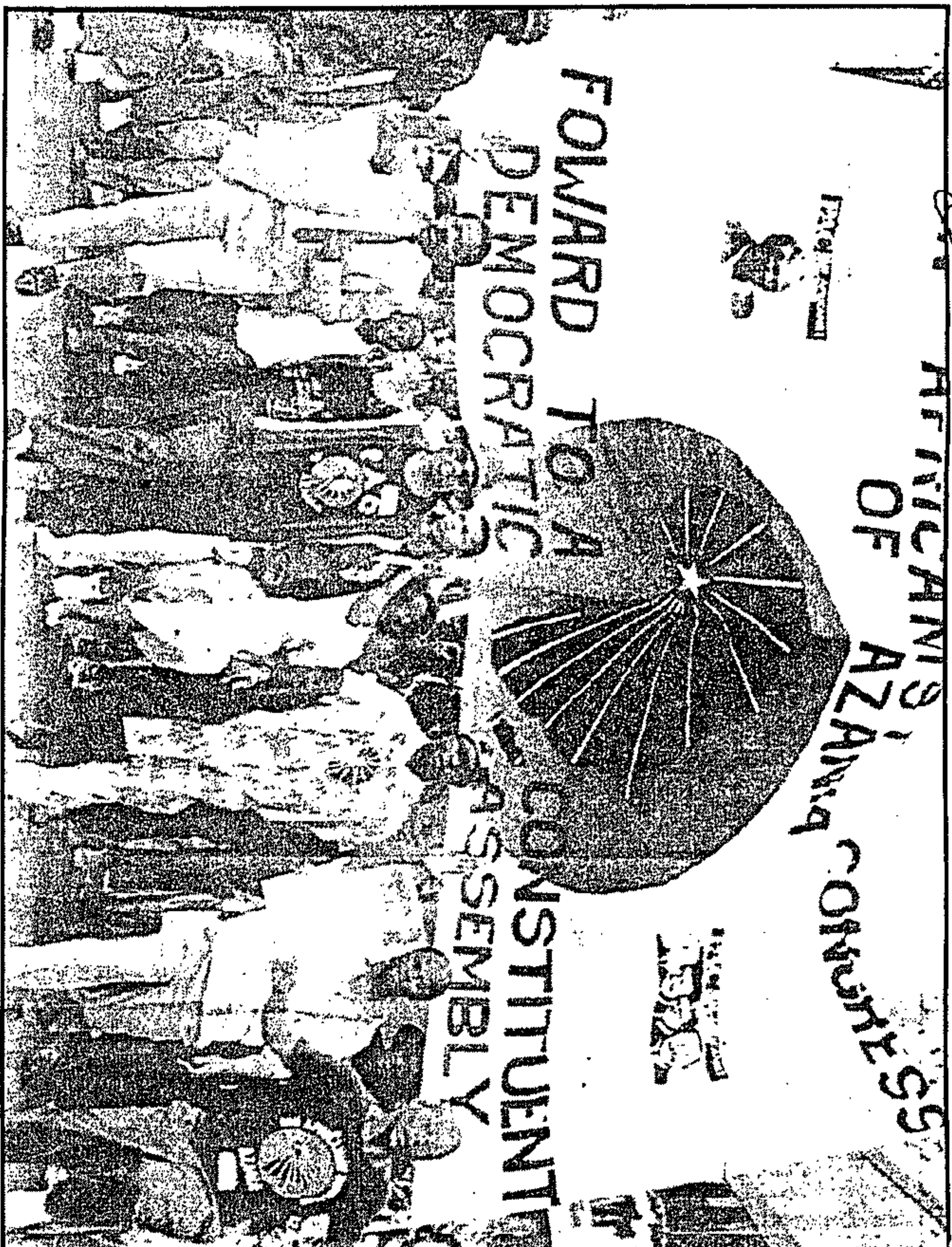
It assembled a huge crowd of 15 000 people on the Grand Parade — an open square opposite the city hall — and then led them in a march up Adderley Street to within a stone's throw of the state-ly parliamentary buildings.

A thin line of blue-uniformed policemen stood between the marchers and the Parliament from which the black majority has been excluded for more than 80 years.

As the score or so policemen looked down the street, all they could see was a concentrated mass of black people, many of whom carried posters or sang songs deriding the "Boer Parliament". Most of the policemen were white. One or two coloured policemen augmented their numbers.

But behind the young policemen, emphasising the ability of the De Klerk administration to bolster its relatively limited forces with technology, were sophisticated armoured police vehicles known as Nyalas. They were parked right across the street. Punctuating their sides were gun holes, from which automatic rifles could fire in an emergency.

The crowd stopped barely a metre from the



**CHANTING IN THE STREETS:** Pan Africanist Congress protesters march through Cape Town yesterday in protest against the present Parliament and Codessa. PAC marchers tried to compensate for smaller numbers with radical rhetoric.

police. After a few minutes, in which the two sides eyed one another cautiously, the marchers, urged by ANC marshals, cleared a channel through their ranks.

Up it walked the white-haired deputy ANC president, Walter Sisulu. An octogenarian, Mr Sisulu's presence at the head of the march symbolised the endurance of the ANC. By a strange coinci-

dence Mr Sisulu and the ANC are almost the same age. Mr Sisulu, who was a prisoner for 25 years, was born in 1912, the year in which the ANC was founded.

Mr Sisulu, flanked by senior ANC officials, including Ronnie Kasrils, walked up briskly, showing no sign of fatigue in the boiling noon-day sun. He handed over a copy of resolutions, passed by the

"people's parliament" at the Grand Parade, to a senior Parliamentarian official, Robin Douglas.

The resolutions called for the abolition of the present Parliament, the installation of an interim government of national unity within six months and the election by all the people of a constituent assembly — to draw up a new, democratic

constitution — by the end of the year.

Not far away, two different scenes reflected contrasting elements of the South African political equation.

The Pan Africanist Congress — which broke away from the ANC more than 30 years ago after charging that the ANC had been misled by white liberals into be-

traying black nationalism — had its own demonstration. Its protest was against the present Parliament and, significantly, the pro-settlement Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Condemning Codessa and, implicitly, the ANC for serving in it, the PAC said: "Codessa is a 1992 version of the Bunga system of the General Smuts era, where the govern-

ment-appointed chiefs got together in an elaborately contrived talk-shop."

The PAC, however, could assemble only a fraction of the crowd which marched under ANC banners. The PAC marchers, who were assigned a different route, numbered hardly more than 1 000.

They tried to compen-

sate for smaller numbers with radical rhetoric. They sang praises to fighters in the Azanian People's Liberation Army — the armed wing of the PAC which has claimed responsibility for the killing of policemen in recent weeks — and chanted their shibboleth: "one settler, one bullet."

Not far away, members of the present Parliament strolled from their air-conditioned parliamentary chambers to the air-conditioned Town House hotel for a multi-course lunch.

Walking up the stairs to the restaurant was Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, whose zealous regard President de Klerk as either a misguided fool or, worse, a traitor who has turned his back on his own people for international praise.

The day — described in the Argus newspaper's late edition headline as "The day of two parliaments" — ended and began with an unanswered question: did it mark the last session of the white-dominated Parliament?

The question was put to Foreign Minister P. W. Botha at a briefing for foreign journalists. He replied: "Only God can tell."

Few observers doubted, however, that they had seen the penultimate, if not last, sitting of the present tricameral Parliament, whose roots go back to the constitution adopted at the Act of Union in 1910 after the crushing of the last armed rebellion of black tribesmen.

"That first undemocratic constitution was based on the defeat and exclusion of our people," Mr Sisulu said in his address to ANC supporters yesterday, adding to thunderous cheers: "Close the Parliament of the Boers. Open the parliament of the people."



# FW stays on course

→ cont.

The heat is on to get negotiations moving — and there is agreement on key issues. This is the message emerging from the hot air and drama of South Africa's first "people's parliament" which was opened symbolically along-side the last white-dominated parliament, writes Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**.

804A  
MAY 25/1/92

## 'Differences can be settled by negotiation'

**P**OLITICAL analysts say they now expect a referendum within eight months and an interim (or transitional) government to be functioning by next year.

They point out, however, that there are potentially explosive differences between rival political groups, but these can be eliminated by negotiation.

On the surface yesterday some emotional speeches emphasised political differences rather than points of agreement, but optimists regard most of it as signs of South African politics moving forward at a rapid pace.

Some political analysts say the government and the ANC will be on a "collision course" if they do not reach an early compromise on the issue of interim or transitional government.

However, such a compromise is believed to be on the cards, as both sides realise that the consequences of a collision could wreck negotiations, plunging the country into political and economic turmoil.

It could even lead to a worst scenario — a

South African "wasteland" legacy to any future government.

Seemingly irreconcilable viewpoints of the government and the ANC include:

■ President De Klerk's adamant refusal to accept an unconstitutional "interim government" or one which governs by decree, and the ANC's demand for "an interim government of national unity" within six months.

■ The ANC's pledge at its "people's parliament" yesterday that the tricameral parliament and constitution "shall be abolished", and President De Klerk's insistence that the government will not consider the circumvention or suspension of the present constitution. Any substantive constitutional amendments — even if aimed at transitional measures only — will have to be adopted by parliament after a mandate has been obtained in a referendum, says Mr De Klerk.

■ The ANC's insistence on a timetable, with a six-month deadline for interim government, while Mr De Klerk continues to reject the idea of "rigidly defined periods" or any form of prescriptive action.

Analysis says the ANC's demands, made in

tones of intolerance and impatience, do not enhance the movement's image as an organisation claiming to strive for peace and democracy.

Mr De Klerk, in fact, focused strongly on this weakness in ANC strategy by emphasising that transitional government had to be subject to parliamentary control.

"Government by decree is not acceptable," he said.

Pretoria risk consultant Dr Wim Booysse told Weekend Argus three highly significant aspects of President De Klerk's speech were:

■ His acceptance of the basic concept of an interim government — even though he prefers to call it "transitional" government and disagrees with the ANC on how and when to establish it.

■ His move to open the doors of the negotiation process to the Conservative Party and other rightwing groups by offering to put the issue of self-determination on the agenda.

■ His strong focus on the security forces and an apparent bid to placate conservative-minded elements in the forces, especially in the police, about the government's determination to ensure

peace and security for all.

Dr Booysse said there might be clashes between the government and the ANC on the methods and mechanisms for establishing an interim or transitional government, but such differences could be overcome by negotiation through Codesa.

There was clearly agreement on the basic concept of interim government.

This means an interim government could, in fact, be a reality within six months, but it would not necessarily be functioning. A referendum could be expected within eight months and it would give the go-ahead for getting the interim government off the ground.

Dr Booysse also predicted that the Conservative Party and even the militant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) would be persuaded to join the negotiation process. "One can expect they will take part in Codesa's deliberations this year."

He said he suspected there had been some "horse-trading" between the NP and the ANC, which resulted in agreement to put the issue of self-determination on the table for discussion.



□ **PAC SALUTE:** More than 1 000 PAC members marched through the city to protest against Codesa. The marchers were led by their leaders, general secretary Benny Alexander, left, president Clarence Makwetu, foreign affairs secretary Patricia De Lille and publicity secretary Barney Desai.

Pictures: DAVID RITHEY, Weekend Argus.



□ **CODESA SUPPORTERS:** ANC marchers supported Codesa but opposed the continued existence of the tricameral parliament and called for the dissolution of parliament. Among those leading the ANC march yesterday were NEC member Popo Molefe, left, SACP general secretary Chris Hani, Western Cape chairman Allan Boesak, deputy president Walter Sisulu and NEC member Cheryl Carolus.



— in

## De Klerk's rightwing dilemma

304A

ARG 25/1/92

President De Klerk needs support from the right if his reforms are to succeed, writes **JOHN CARLIN**, correspondent in South Africa for The Independent, London.

**S**OUTH African newspaper editorials of the past few days have been remarking on what they have billed as the final session of "the last white parliament".

The qualifier that the government added at the session's opening yesterday was that a last white referendum would be held first to decide whether the white parliament should be dissolved.

If the answer in the proposed referendum is No, more white elections might of course follow — which is not the objective of President De Klerk and his government, although it might prove to be among a majority of the 15 percent of the South African population represented by whites.

In that case Mr De Klerk would be out of a job.

That is the dilemma in which the South African government finds itself.

On one hand Mr De Klerk and his ministers are concen-

trating their energies on the multiracial Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) — the 19-party body, of which the ANC is a member, established last month to negotiate the country's future.

On the other he must keep a close watch on the right wing and ensure he does not bring down the entire edifice by losing white support.

The dilemma is compounded by the ANC's rejection of a white referendum, which leaves the government assailed on both right and left.

The government, having committed itself to enacting all laws proposed by Codesa, parliament has been relegated to little more than a rubber-stamping institution.

Underlining parliament's de facto redundancy, Mr De Klerk's speech yesterday proposed not one new legislative initiative. Instead, the speech centred on his desperate need to win over whites to the Codesa cause.

The Independent News Service.

### THE PAC REACTS

## Codesa slated as 'toothless'

ARG 25/1/92

11A

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday slated Codesa as a toothless creature whose decisions were subject to the racist tri-cameral Parliament and to a referendum along racial lines.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was reacting to President De Klerk's speech made at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

The PAC maintained that Codesa was a monstrous forum which would never usher in a democratic Azania, Mr Makwetu said.

"More than ever, we remain convinced that it is our

there was ample evidence the security forces were "fomenting black-on-black violence".

Mr Makwetu said the "momentous" march yesterday by PAC members was an "opening salvo to mobilise the masses of the African people to reject collaboration in our own oppression".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) described Mr De Klerk's speech as pedestrian and uninspiring, and that no negotiations were possible until he resigned.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "Azapo calls on all"



# stormy se-





can't to warn our people about the dangers of co-opting into apartheid structures.

"Mr De Klerk's speech to Parliament makes it clear that this illegal and illegitimate regime completely rejects the only truly democratic solution, which is a democratically elected Constituent Assembly."

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's call for people to stop undermining the South African Police, Mr Makwetu claimed

## IDASA REACTS

### F W 'disappointing'

**I**T was time the government dropped its self-righteous political point-scoring and accepted responsibility for a just, peaceful and prosperous society for all South Africans, the Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa (Idasa) said yesterday.

Idasa said in a statement that Mr De Klerk's address at the opening of Parliament was disappointing and "does not bode well" for the spirit of negotiation and transition.

"This was a speech by Mr De Klerk to reassure his own constituency," Idasa said. "For the State President to dismiss 'struggle' and 'protest...' is arrogantly to reassert old-style apartheid poli-

community to see the fraud that Mr De Klerk is executing and to come together in a true Patriotic Front to force the regime to resign."

He said Mr De Klerk was silent about the problems of housing, education and health care which affected the black community and that his willingness to consider the proposals of rightwing groups for self-determination "smacks of a rehashed version of apartheid".

tics and leave little room for genuine negotiation and joint decision-making."

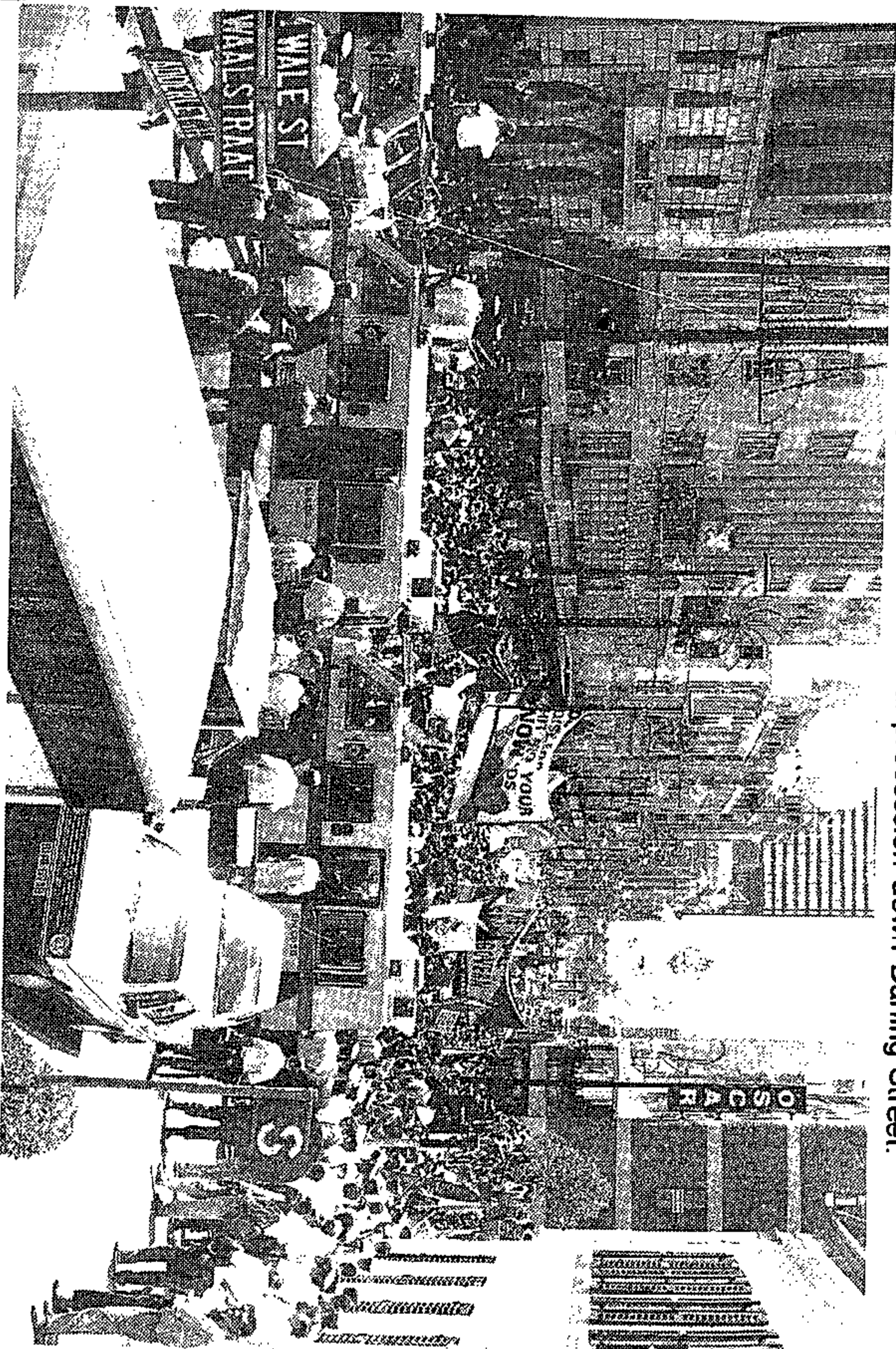
President De Klerk's return to an "us and them" scenario was disturbing.

In referring specifically to the black community in the townships and "their" responsibility for their own security and economic prosperity, Mr De Klerk resorted to blaming the victims of apartheid for the situation in which they found themselves, said Idasa.

"The State President showed little understanding of the deprivation caused by his party's policies for the last 40 years and of the responsibility his government bears for the well-being of all its citizens, not a select few." — Sapa.

☐ **THE PEOPLE ARE COMING:** The ANC showed their overwhelming support for a people's parliament they lead their colourful procession down Darling Street.

Picture: DOUG PITNEY, W



☐ **APPROXIMATING:** Police keep a watchful eye on the mass of ANC

Picture: ROY WIGLEY, Weekend Argus.



# ANC 'session' heady and good-natured

Report: JOHN YELD and STEFAANS BRÜMMER

A SEA of hands signalled the approval of tens of thousands of ANC supporters as the first "Bill" was put to the people's parliament on the Grand Parade.

The "Bill" at yesterday's "sitting" called for the tricameral parliament to be abolished, an interim government of national unity to be established and installed within six months and elections for a constituent assembly before the end of the year.

ANC officials claimed 100 000 people packed the Parade, but journalists put the good-natured crowd at 30 000.

Several people were treated for heat exhaustion during the three-hour "session" and march to parliament.

Spectators used umbrellas, placards, newspapers and even handkerchiefs for shade, while others crowded under the trees.

A section of the podium sagged and threatened to collapse after an hour, and several dignitaries moved away, carrying their chairs.

Speakers were in a fiery, optimistic mood and thundered their messages through a public-address system.

"Today is the convocation of the real parliament of this country ... that (other) parliament cannot be allowed to continue any longer. We are sick and tired of it," roared SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani to huge applause.

ANC Western Cape leader Allan Boesak was in fine voice as he led the crowd in a chant of: "Now, now, now ..." in response to his lead: "The time for the people's government is now!"

There were a few tense moments during the march to parliament, which police had barricaded.

As the crowd reached the top of Adderley Street there was a stand-off between the dancing, jubilant vanguard and a line of police with shotguns, batons and teargas.

Adderley Street was choked as the rest of the crowd surged from behind.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Dr Boesak and other ANC dignitaries emerged and handed over the "Bills" to a parliamentary secretary.

The march then coiled towards Parliament Street, where more police vehicles blocked the entrance which President De Klerk's cavalcade had used earlier.



□ Chris Hani

Plein and Corporation streets were also blockaded.

Mr Hani was trailed by a model "NP cupboard" bearing a skeleton tagged "hit squad scandal".

A bang — apparently caused by a round of blank ammunition going off when a policeman jumped from a vehicle — startled everyone, including police. The culprit was reprimanded by an officer.

As the crowd surged past police vans outside the gated entrance to Parliament Street, several over-enthusiastic comrades swore and gestured threateningly at them. "Ag, jou ... man," retorted one of the policemen.

A comrade waving a big stick at police was disarmed by an ANC marshal, who

## Handshake for Hani

SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani and Cape Town's acting head of police cordially shook hands outside parliament yesterday.

The brief contact occurred while Mr Hani was ushering lively marchers away from the Parliament Street entrance to parliament.

A smiling Brigadier Gideon van Zyl said the march had gone well and congratulated the African National Congress for "sticking to their side of the deal". — Sapa.

threw the weapon under a police van, and an alleged thief was frog-marched away by ANC marshals.

Back at the Parade Dr Boesak and ANC national executive committee member Cheryl Carolus danced briefly on the podium to the strains of *Give me hope, Joanna* as the crowd bopped below them.

British National Union of Mineworkers president Arthur Scargill was applauded when he shouted "Viva!" in a broad Yorkshire accent.

The "people's parliament" dissolved at 2.15pm with the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and the lowering of the ANC flag by two MK soldiers.

Most people then made their way back to the railway and bus stations where the ANC had organised transport.



marchers in Adderley Street.

(304A)  
ARL 25/1/92

# No 'liberation' here!

**A**TTENDED redistribution of wealth was thwarted when several youths participating in the Pan Africanist Congress's anti-parliament protest march in the city yesterday mugged a Sapa reporter and grabbed her sunglasses.

"Hey, settler, you're rich, I want your sunglasses," one of the young protesters said, pushing the reporter and snatching the glasses from her face.

The youths tried to run, but a speedy getaway was impossible through the crowd making its way to the railway station through a narrow side street.

Almost immediately about five PAC marshals caught the youths and began stripping them of their clothing and

bags which they gave to the reporter.

This induced the thief, apparently realising the sunglasses weren't worth losing most of his clothes for, to produce the stolen goods.

The PAC marshals and other concerned protesters apologised profusely to the reporter, while the thieves were roughed up and strongly reprimanded.

Police arrested 17 men, including seven youths, during the city marches in 13 cases involving handbag snatching, assault and thefts from vehicles.

Liaison officer Captain Attie Lauscher said the suspects, ranging in age from 15 to 28 years, were released on warning and would appear in court on Monday.

# FW insistence on democratic procedures widely approved

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk's message on the state of the negotiation process has had a strong impact in spite of flak from the left and the right of the political spectrum.

His insistence on democratic procedures and on making a transitional government subject to parliamentary control received wide approval in political and academic circles.

African National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said they were pleased to note the government's appreciation of the need for an interim government, but remained concerned at its insistence for an undetermined timeframe for implementing the transitional regime.

This was his first public response to President De Klerk's opening speech to parliament yesterday. Mr Sisulu said the ANC expected an interim government of national unity to be installed by July this year.

Further, he expected the first democratic elections for a constituent assembly by December 1992.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC national executive committee would meet in Johannesburg next Friday to formulate "a considered response" to Mr De Klerk's speech.

Addressing up to 25 000 people on Cape Town's Grand Parade, Mr Sisulu said: "The days of the minority government are over."

The Democratic Party welcomed most aspects of President De Klerk's opening-of-parliament address, but wanted clarity on several issues.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer commented: "The good news is that the President has committed himself clearly to rapid progress in the constitutional process. The bad news is that his explanation of what he proposes in regard to transitional government are still opaque."

In particular, Mr De Klerk seemed to propose that black people should gain representation in Parliament during the transitional phase.

"This is good in principle — but what does it mean? How many black representatives are to come to parliament? ... in particular, one hopes the government is not con-

templating any form of apartheid election."

Dr De Beer said the DP approved of what Mr De Klerk had said about self-determination and the party's representatives in Codesa Group 2 would support the proposal that the issue be put on Codesa's agenda.

He hoped this would cause the Conservative Party to rethink its position and join Codesa.

The Conservative Party rejected an invitation by President De Klerk to participate in Codesa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement it was "strange" that President De Klerk had to consult Codesa first before he could state his standpoint on self-determination to parliament.

Mr De Klerk was "miles removed" from the world-wide accepted meaning of self-determination, namely the right of a nation to govern itself.

Codesa's Declaration of Intent, including the acceptance of an undivided South Africa and one central government over all South Africa's nations, "is thus directly in conflict with the self-determina-

tion of South Africa's nations," said Dr Treurnicht.

"The invitation to take part in Codesa on that basis makes absolutely no sense. On that basis, we do not hold discussions."

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Mr Jaap Marais said Mr De Klerk's suggestion that the issue of self-determination could be put on the agenda for negotiation was "meaningless".

Such a suggestion made no sense when considered against the background of the NP's and ANC's commitment to an undivided South Africa and a system of one-person, one-vote.

Mr Marais rejected any suggestion of rightwing participation in Codesa's negotiations — "participation in Codesa can be only a drawn-out exercise in futility," he said.

Kwazulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hailed Mr De Klerk's address as "positive" and welcomed the fact that Mr De Klerk distinguished clearly between the government's concept of "transitional government" and the ANC's "interim government".

3044A



# 5pc referendum for whites 'ridiculous'

304A

Aug 25/1/92

Dateline: JOHANNESBURG

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk's intended referendum for white South Africans on current constitutional negotiations was inspired by his desire to be guided by white attitudes, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"It's ridiculous in our own view to embark on negotiations and then go and consult a particular ethnic group whose response might be negative," Mr Mandela told a large contingent of foreign and South African reporters at a Soweto news conference.

In his address to parliament Mr De Klerk also said: "We are honour-bound to hold a referendum which will offer the electorates of each of the three houses of parliament the opportunity to express themselves on any substantive change to the constitution that may be proposed."

Mr Mandela said he could not see how any public figure could undertake such an expensive exercise with a minority group which represented only five percent of the entire population.

He reiterated his organisation's rejection of the government supervising the transition process.

"We believe ... we maintain that an organ of government which can supervise the transition process must be one that represents all the people."

Mr De Klerk said the government envisaged a transitional government

that would be subject to parliamentary control and which would have to submit legislation to parliament.

Mr Mandela strongly opposed the formation of an interim government that would oversee the transition process for a longer period.

Asked whether the ANC would continue to use mass action as part of its strategy, Mr Mandela told the news conference that this depended on the government response to the demands of the people.

"If the regime responds negatively we won't fold our arms," he said.

The ANC has promised to issue a full response to Mr De Klerk's speech after it has studied the address.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Cosatu said an interim government could not be introduced with parliament in its present form.

The umbrella union called the president's speech bankrupt and said it would continue to mobilise workers into mass action.

"His speech was a thinly veiled attempt at trying to extend the lease of life of the unrepresentative minority regime," said publicity officer Bangumzi Sifingo.

Mr De Klerk had been conspicuously silent on the recently convened economic negotiation forum, he said. "The government therefore is still intent on unilaterally restructuring the economy."

Mr Sifingo said the fact that security legislation remained on the statute books constituted an obstacle to negotiation.

## INKATHA REACTS

### CP asked to join talks

ARG 25/11/92

Dateline: **DURBAN**

**I**NKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on the Conservative Party to enter formal negotiations for a future South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday welcomed President De Klerk's proposal that the principle of self-determination be put on the agenda of

the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which he said had opened the way for the CP to participate in the talks.

Chief Buthelezi also welcomed Mr De Klerk's proposal that change be introduced in a manner which fully used the parliamentary process.

The IFP, he said, had always argued that the new South Africa be "governed into existence". — Sapa.



# No alarms as 20 000 march

304A CT 25/1/92

By GUY OLIVER and  
WILLEM STEENKAMP

## Govt 'bar to peace'

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 20 000 protesters thronged the city's Grand Parade for the ANC's "people's parliament" and march to Parliament yesterday and there were few incidents to detract from the occasion.

ANC leaders deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Western Cape regional president Mr Allan Boesak, NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, SA Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani and ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba headed the procession through the city to hand deputy

secretary of Parliament Mr Robin Douglas a letter demanding the dissolution of Parliament.

There was a heavy police presence and the Parliament end of Adderley Street was sealed by three police riot vehicles.

The acting Western Cape police commissioner, Brigadier Gideon van Zyl, said the march had gone "very well" and congratulated the ANC for "sticking to their side of the deal".

The few known incidents which marred the occasion were dealt with by marshals.

An attempt by several young marchers to rob a woman Sapa reporter was thwarted by PAC marshals.

A man said "Hey settler, you're rich, I want your sunglasses" and snatched the sunglasses off her

face. ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, who opened the "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade, accused the government of being the "real obstacle to peace".

Addressing a crowd of about 20 000, Mr Sisulu said the ANC would use mass action if its demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly were not met.

He said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) must be the vehicle for democratic change in South Africa.

Addressing the gathering, Mr Chris Hani, secretary-general of the SACP, said yesterday's show of mass action to protest against the "racist parlia-

ment" was a clear sign that South Africa needed a new parliament and constitution.

ANC Western Cape regional president Mr Allan Boesak said the ANC's "people's parliament" had come "in their thousands to bury the racist parliament".

In another anti-Parliament protest, PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said the formation of Codesa was another attempt at diverting the struggle, which the PAC would fight against.

Speaking to nearly 2 000 PAC supporters in the Bo-Kaap, Mr Makwetu said the white people always fought to divert the struggles of the African people.

face.

Almost immediately five PAC marshals appeared and apprehended the youths. The sunglasses were returned and the marshals and protesters apologised, while the thieves were roughed up and reprimanded.

A pickpocket spotted in the crowd was beaten by protesters and led away by ANC marshals a few minutes before the march set off for Parliament about 1pm.

Earlier in the day ANC leaders, including Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Popo Molefe and Mr Tony Yengeni, and guests who included British National Union of Mineworkers president Mr Arthur Scargill were greeted at the Parade by a sea of clenched fists punched in the air.

# Referendum plan by FW

ARG 25/1/92 ■ From page 1

3047

ing rough-shod over Codesa's objections.

It may well consider its electoral promise important enough to press on with just a whites-only referendum, even if all other groups refuse to hold polls among their people.

The referendum issue is just one on which the government is increasingly standing isolated at Codesa.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk's offer yesterday to put the right of self-determination on Codesa's agenda is being seen as a carefully laid trap to split the CP.

In his speech Mr De Klerk indirectly invited the CP to enter into negotiations now that self-determination was on the agenda.

Government sources said the offer had been cleared with the key Codesa players, including the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and most parliamentary parties.

The ANC later confirmed that it "agreed the principle of self-determination was a legitimate issue to be addressed at Codesa."

And Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer also backed the idea.

Political observers believe the offer was part of a careful plot which has been hatching for some time to try to neutralise the rightwing threat by driving a wedge between the hardline anti-negotiators led by deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and the pro-negotiators led by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe.

And even a well-placed rightwing political source acknowledged that the strategy could work.

"It seems Mr De Klerk has done what the CP has demanded in the past," he said.

"I believe he has bent over backwards to accommodate the CP. It is clear the government is taking the initiative and the CP will now be on the defensive in the no-confidence debate next week.

"It's a well-laid trap and Dr Treurnicht has stepped into it. Maybe he doesn't want to negotiate at all and is shifting the goalposts."

The offer to the CP was the only surprise in Mr De Klerk's speech, which mostly covered old ground.

Though he dealt at length with the government's vision of a transitional or interim government, Mr De Klerk added nothing new to his original announcement at Codesa in December.

Dr De Beer said Mr De Klerk's explanations of his transitional proposals were still "opaque".

"In particular, he seems to propose that black people should gain representation in parliament during the transitional phase. This is good in principle — but what does he mean?"

"How many black representatives are to come to parliament? How are they to be chosen? The public is surely entitled to know what he has in mind."



# FW stuns the Right

SURPRISE MOVE SETS THE SCENE FOR A CP SPLIT ...

APR 25/1992

(5047)

## ... But his referendum plan will rock Codesa

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH  
Political Staff

CONTINUING insistence by the government on holding a racial referendum to test any major constitutional changes is likely to lead a bruising clash with the bulk of the other Codesa parties.

In his speech at the opening of parliament yesterday President De Klerk made it clear that he was still determined to keep his promise to his white electorate to poll its view on proposed transitional government measures.

Mr De Klerk's speech in general has attracted only neutral reaction. Most local and foreign commentators found little new in it.

They approved Mr De Klerk's decision not to make any major unilateral announcements without consultation.

Some expressed disappointment that he had not provided hoped-for clarification of the government's view on transitional government.

But there was strong disapproval of Mr De Klerk's reiteration of his plan to hold a multiracial referendum — in which votes would be counted racially — to test any transitional government plans.

Mr De Klerk's remarks contradicted speculation this week among opposition political parties that the government was now backing off the white referendum idea under concerted pressure at Codesa.

Most other parties at Codesa strongly oppose a racial poll.

In its reaction to Mr De Klerk's speech the ANC rejected the government's idea for a referendum and said it was designed to give the white minority a veto over change.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse also rejected the plan.

It is not clear if the government intends rid-

■ Turn to page 3 P.T.O.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekened Argus.

□ **PRESENT ARMS!** An ANC cadre at attention during the People's Parliament on the Grand Parade yesterday.

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Staff

A SPLIT in South Africa's right-wing movement is inevitable in the wake of President De Klerk's surprise announcement on the tabling of the concept of "self-determination" at Codesa.

This is the overwhelming view of politicians and political observers who believe Mr De Klerk's announcement — which had the blessing of several Codesa participants — is a blow to rightwing unity.

In a move clearly calculated to catch the Conservative Party — and other groupings — off-guard, the President has effectively removed his rightwing opponents' chief objection to joining negotiations.

The CP has long demanded the inclusion of self-determination on the talks agenda before considering engaging in negotiations.

The challenge was rejected almost immediately by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

However, there is now the prospect of some elements of the rightwing agreeing to enter Codesa to negotiate self-determination for whites.

It will mean an inevitable split in the CP itself. Several CP sources, however, said the announcement was a ploy. One said: "De Klerk is playing games. I don't think he is serious."

An authoritative rightist political commentator responded: "It seems obvious Mr De Klerk has done what the CP has demanded in the past."

"I think the President has bent over backwards to accommodate the CP and it is clear the CP will be on the defensive in next week's parliamentary debate."

Commenting on Dr Treurnicht's rejection, he said: "Maybe he does not want to negotiate and he is shifting the goalposts."

Mr De Klerk's announcement featured in a section of his speech which he wrote only at the last minute.

He told parliament the government had never been opposed to the principle of self-determi-

## FW STAYS ON COURSE — IN STORMY SEAS

■ Pages 18 and 19

nation, but, from experience, had concluded it was not practically achievable in South Africa.

"The allegation is made that the principle of self-determination of peoples cannot be discussed or negotiated within Codesa.

"That is not correct as it is intended that government representatives in Working Group 2 will propose that the principle of self-determination of peoples in its varied manifestations in a society be discussed."

Significantly, Mr De Klerk indicated that a considerable number of members of Codesa had already expressed agreement that the concept be raised for discussion and he was "convinced that there would be sufficient consensus to have the proposal adopted".

Dismissing Mr De Klerk's understanding of the concept of self-determination, Dr Treurnicht said Codesa's Declaration of Intent, which included acceptance of an undivided South Africa and one central government, "is directly in conflict with the self-determination of South Africa's nations".

"The invitation to take part in Codesa on that basis makes absolutely no sense. On that basis we do not hold discussions."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac De Beer said they approved of Mr De Klerk's statements on self-determination and the party's representatives in Codesa Group 2 would support the proposal that the issue be put on the agenda.

"In particular, we hope this will bring the Conservative Party to rethink its position and join Codesa."



# FW's speech slated

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament was criticised yesterday by other political groupings to his left and right.

While the British and Dutch governments yesterday warmly welcomed Mr De Klerk's "re-affirmation" of his government's commitment to a new democratic constitutional order, the ANC's national executive committee said Mr De Klerk had not taken the process towards peace and democracy forward.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said of Mr De Klerk's intention to hold a referendum for whites on current constitutional negotiations: "It is ridiculous in our own view to embark on

negotiations and then go and consult a particular ethnic group whose response might be negative."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk's invitation to the CP to participate made absolutely no sense.

Codesa had already accepted an undivided South Africa and one central government over all the nations of South Africa. This contradicted the self-determination of the people of South Africa.

He gave notice in Parliament yesterday that he would propose a motion of no confidence next Friday.

In London, the British and Dutch gov-

ernments were silent on extra-parliamentary organisations' rejection of an all-white referendum.

A British Foreign Office spokeswoman said internal political moves in South Africa were "not something that we would want to interfere in".

A Dutch government spokesman said "the important thing is that the South African government has confirmed that it binds itself to the negotiation process of Codesa".

With Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers facing searching questions over his proposed visit to South Africa, the spokesman said the situation was

## left and right

(304A) CT 25/1/92

"too sensitive" to comment on the "white veto" question.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the good news was that Mr De Klerk had committed himself clearly to rapid constitutional progress.

"The bad news is that his explanations of what he proposes in regard to transitional government are still opaque."

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said Mr De Klerk's speech made it quite clear that his illegitimate regime completely rejected the only truly democratic solution — a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said his party rejected the ques-

tion of a different referendum for each House of Parliament and a separate referendum for Africans.

In Durban, Azapo slated the government's proposals for racially separate referendums with a constitutional veto for whites.

● In the House of Delegates, the leader of the opposition, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, gave notice that he would move a motion of no confidence. In the House of Representatives, the leader of the Opposition in the House, Mr Jac Rabie, gave notice that he would propose a motion of no confidence on Monday. — Political Staff, Own Correspondent and Sapa



**W**ELL, what do you make of it?" asked one of the five men glued to the TV set.

They were listening attentively to FW de Klerk's opening speech in parliament on Friday.

"Not impressive," retorted one, "he said absolutely nothing new."

The man compared it to De Klerk's famous 1990 speech, when he announced the unbanning of all political organisations and the scrapping of apartheid laws. "Nothing but hot air" was his summary.

What then were his expectations?

Replied Dan: "De Klerk should at least have hinted to us that this could be the last whites-only parliament. Or better still, he should have told us about how the interim government was going to work. Instead, he still talks about a whites-only referendum."

Others, of course, differed with Dan. Not so much about De Klerk's speech — which they agreed fell far short of black people's expectations — but about the man's progress.

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# FW can't be another PW

CP 26/1/92

304A



Said Thabiso: "Look at it this way. Which Prime Minister or President of this country has moved as fast as De Klerk with reforms? None. I can take you back to Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster and even Botha himself. None of them ever said anything nice about us, let alone talking about sharing power with us."

Poor Thabiso. He should not have advanced this argument. He was reminded of the black man's struggle from the first day whites landed in this country.

"De Klerk is not doing all these things because he

honestly believes in them. It is because of years of resistance from blacks with assistance, of course, from other countries," said Mandela.

The debate was lively and sometimes heated. I was impressed. It shifted from white to black politics. From the ANC to the PAC to Inkatha, Azapo and the CP. Listening to this hot debate, I could not help but place myself in De Klerk's shoes or that of any white voter for that matter.

How would I have reacted if I saw a sea of black faces protesting outside parliament? If we talked of

democracy, could we fault Walter Sisulu's statement that the government should "close the parliament of the Boers and open the parliament of the people?"

Think of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's reply — "Only God knows" — when asked whether this could be the last white-dominated parliamentary session.

Did he imply it was God's will in the first place to have only whites dominating parliament?

Personally I was disappointed with President De Klerk's speech. At least he should have announced the demise of

this racial parliament. He should have reminded all South Africans and the world that the people who were demonstrating outside parliament had a legitimate point, that the days of racial division were over.

He should have assured the nation of a possible interim government soon.

He should have reminded the far rightwing that his government would not take kindly to any racism as we move into a new South Africa.

This was not the time for De Klerk to look over his shoulders. He may soon run the risk of falling into the same trap as that of PW Botha, who against all expectations failed to cross the second and third Rubicons.

One thing going for De Klerk is that he still has support among blacks, something unheard of for any previous Prime Minister or State President.

He cannot afford to erode this support by trying to appease the rightwing. One can only hope that Codesa Two will make up for the shortcomings of De Klerk.





# For a dying Parliament, one more useful task

304A

SITimes 26/1/92

**A** DISPIRITED Parliament, its sovereignty draining away, waits uncertainly for the decisions of Codesa. Neither the ritual pomp of the opening on Friday, nor the earnest reassurances of President De Klerk, have quite dispelled the air of irrelevance that oppresses the MPs.

The decline of the tricameral Parliament, which was pronounced by its defenders in 1983 to be a "calamitous abortion" and by its opponents to be something worse, was made vivid by the Nationalist proposal to suspend sittings on two days a week so that Codesa could get on with the more urgent work of shaping the future.

Parliament's loss of authority is palpable. Weakened by a constitution that placed ultimate power not in the hands of the elected representatives of the people, but in the claws of the executive, the *Groot Krokodil*, the three assemblies watch impotently as the executive bargains with outsiders — with "strangers", in parliamentary parlance — over the day-to-day administration of the country.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis barely got VAT into orbit, and nobody now believes he has the capacity to make great changes to the tax system, or to act unilaterally. Cosatu, and the ANC, and others sit astride the flow of revenues to the state, demanding a voice in the making of policy.

The word has gone out: there will be no major restructuring of the apartheid state without consultation. The Independent Development Trust, trying to raise money abroad for houses for the poor, finds itself obstructed by the ANC. A visit by the Dutch premier is sabotaged. Privatisation of government pig troughs has been forced off the national agenda. The army is told to keep out of the townships.

Don't blame this government. Sovereignty began to drain away long ago, when President Botha and his vaunted security forces lost the battle to govern the townships, when the Ministers of Parliament had to confess that they could not protect the lives and property of their subjects, that they could barely keep order.

The sovereignty of Parliament, and the legitimacy of the Republic, fell into question when the Botha government found it could not collect the rent, nor evict a tenant, nor enforce a contract, nor foreclose on a mortgage, nor indeed prevent a necklacing in the territory that fell under the sway of "the comrades".

The law, unenforced, lost its authority. From the theft of land by squatters it was a small step to the theft of building materials for shacks to the theft of BMWs for export, to the robbing of banks. In the townships, jailbird Zola Mahobe and his clever girlfriend Snowy Moshoeshoe, who siphoned more than R10-million from the Standard Bank's computers, are folk heroes.

Every time the government succumbed to a rent boycott, and wrote off the arrears, a million law-abiding people who had faithfully paid their rent said, "Why me?" Now white ratepayers, looking resentfully at townships that pay neither rent nor service charges, are beginning to say, "Why me?"

So far, the centre has held. In the main, South Africa functions quite well, irrespective of its blundering government, and most people have paid their taxes cheerfully enough. Most conscripts have turned up for duty, and almost all of us instinctively obey a policeman.

**T**HAT is beginning to change. At Zevenfontein, north of Johannesburg, whites are threatening to move squatters by force unless the government moves them. Conscripts fail to report for call-ups, and even faithful officers answer the call-ups reluctantly, some saying "this is the last time".

All these things are the result of rotten government. To this very day the government is pouring our money down rat-holes, and the people know it.

The police are underpaid, the hospitals understaffed, the schools a total mess, the roads disintegrating, the people left to build shacks for themselves on stolen patches of land, yet there is no end to the Finance Minister's demands for more cash to spend.

Where does the money go? Who knows?

Parliament, year after year, swallows the improbable explanations of the Ministers and the bureaucrats, but it hardly does its work of supervising and controlling public expenditures. Harry Schwarz, who performed a Herculean task of tracking at least a little of the government's expenditures, has gone, and there is nobody to replace him. In Parliament the search for good government is no more enthusiastic than the search for truth.

So far, as I say, the centre has held, but warning lights are flashing, and President De Klerk must begin to husband his resources. His strongest card in the Codesa negotiations is that the ANC is incapable, as its more forthright leaders admit, of running this country without the co-operation of the civil service, the police and the army, but these instruments are in sorry shape.

**P**ARLIAMENT, as it awaits the pleasure of Codesa, has a rare opportunity to examine the condition and the effectiveness of the public administration — a chance to ask, for example, why the immense expenditures on education produce no learning, or why the government continues to give Chief Bantu Holomisa the money to train officers for a future ANC army, or why all public services decay as expenditure increases?

Parliament is enfeebled because, under the ferocious rule of Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha, it dared not use the main instrument of its power, which is control of the public purse. Year after year it has used the budget process as an occasion for MPs to make self-serving speeches to impress their constituents; it has not called the Ministers to account.

President Botha's "calamitous abortion" is doomed. It has, as Cromwell told the Long Parliament, sat too long for any good that it did. How wonderful if, in its dying days, it yanked for once at the strings of the public purse.

**KEN OWEN**



# Wan Parliament goes

5 Times 26/11/92

## THE VANISHING BREED ON CODESA'S COAT-TAILS

MIKE

ROBERTSON

reports on the yoke that binds Parliament and Codesa

(304/1)

THE ANC took to the streets in protest and the CP to its knees in prayer at the opening of Parliament this week. The institution, meanwhile, is a different and troubled place.

It is Codesa, of course, that has changed everything.

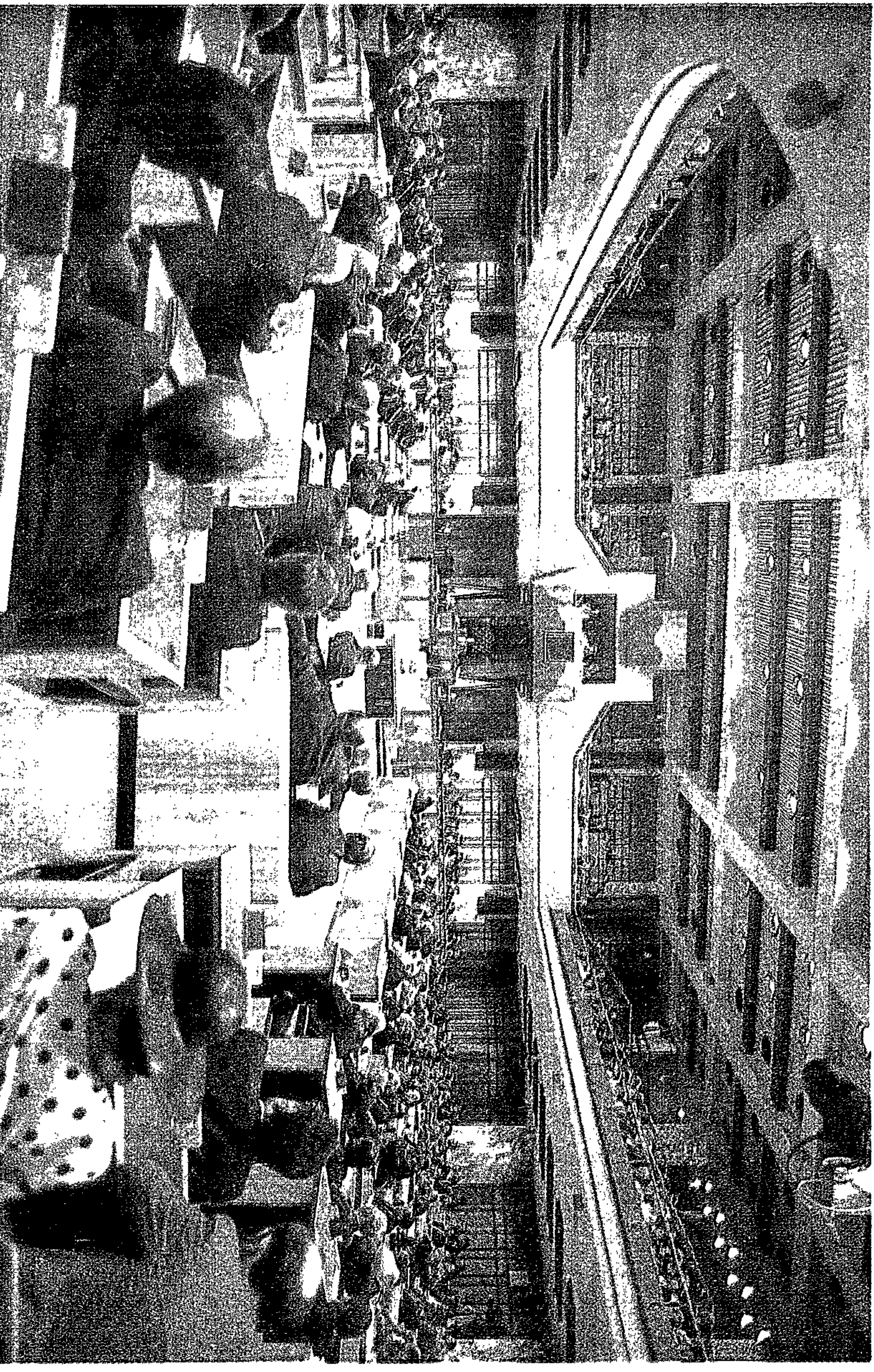
Agreements reached between the participating parties in December have resulted in Parliament being effectively stripped of the power to decide the most crucial constitutional issues facing South Africa.

National Party spokesmen vehemently deny it, but Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht is right: "Parliament in the long run is being regarded as a glorified rubber stamp for what has been agreed with the ANC and Codesa."

A case in point is the Referendum Bill, which is being altered to make it possible for blacks to participate in a referendum.

### Inertia

The Labour Party, the majority party in the coloured House of Representatives, has objected to the Bill because it allows votes cast by the different race groups to be tallied separately. It now seems likely that the Bill will



END OF AN ERA? The opening of Parliament on Friday in what could be the last session under the existing constitution

Picture: ANNE LAING



CODESA.

In other areas of government, negotiations have led to, or are being used as, an excuse for inertia.

It was therefore no surprise that by Thursday this week only 24 Bills were ready to go before Parliament. Because of Codesa, Parliament will sit for only three days a week. Unless more Bills are forthcoming, it might not have to sit at all until the Part Appropriation Budget on February 17.

The advent of Codesa — its very name hangs over Parliament like a shadow — also has far-reaching implications for the people in Parliament.

For the MPs the prospect that this might be the last session of Parliament under the existing constitution means that those who have served for under seven years will not get a pension. Those who do qualify have already begun to worry whether a new government would honour pension commitments.

Civil servants face an equally daunting future. With the exception of those who serve in the coloured and Indian houses, the civil service remains, in the top ranks of those who travel down to Parliament each year, virtually lily white.

Codesa's impact on the political parties in Parliament has been varied.

It has been the NP. It is the dominant party in Parliament and, together with the ANC, the most important player at Codesa. More than any other party, then, it straddles the divide between the two institutions. It is not a comfortable position.

Two years ago on February 2 the reaction of NP MPs to Mr De Klerk's historic speech was one of near euphoria. Last year the best among them revelled in making speeches that a Prolog of the 60s or Nelson Mandela in the 50s would have been proud of.

## Worried

This year the mood among the backbenchers is described by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe as "restless". He is not guilty of exaggeration.

For many NP MPs, Codesa has come as a culture shock. They realise, possibly for the first time, what Mr De Klerk's route actually entails. Several are concerned that the party has sacrificed too much in agreeing to implement Codesa consensus decisions.

It would be too strong to suggest that Mr De Klerk is in serious trouble with his caucus. But NP members are worried, and the party leader will have to devote much

more time than before to allaying their fears, which are in any case merely reflections of the unease in their constituencies.

Codesa poses an equally difficult challenge for the Conservative Party. Its support among the white electorate is increasing — some polls suggest markedly.

But, having excluded itself from Codesa, the CP is unable to bring that support to bear in the forum where it counts — Codesa, where real decisions are being made.

By the time Codesa's decisions reach Parliament for approval it will be too late for the CP to make any material impact on them.

For the moment those in the CP, like Koos van der Merwe, who believe the CP should participate in negotiations to argue for partition, are keeping a low profile.

Whether they will continue to do so should Codesa make real progress is another matter.

The CP, as it exists now under the leadership of Dr Treurnicht, would appear to have staked its future on whites rejecting in a referendum whatever has been agreed by Codesa.

Should that course fail and the majority of whites support the Codesa proposals, Dr Treurnicht, who disavows violence, will no doubt be

swept away, while the more militant members of his caucus link up with other extremist organisations — the portents of which are frightening.

The Democratic Party has fared well at Codesa so far. Zach de Beer was elected first chairman of the steering committee, while Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew made invaluable contributions in drawing up the working rules of the negotiating body.

## Elements

MPs cite this as a major reason for the normally fractious DP caucus being far more united than usual.

The DP is likely to continue to play an important role in Codesa. In the long term, however, it remains more likely that its disparate elements will go their own way — throwing in their lot with the NP on the one hand or the ANC alliance on the other.

The Labour Party, once pilloried by the ANC groups as "sellouts" for having taken part in the tricameral Parliament, has swung sharply to the left.

It can certainly be expected to force Mr De Klerk to use the President's Council to pass any legislation that is unacceptable to the ANC. For this reason the NP is

likely to be a key player in the negotiations. The cause of the negotiations is difficult. In the hour of



# 'Trigger-happy' Delport's hobby

By S'BU MNGADI

**ALLEGED** Ladysmith mass murderer Callie Delport's favourite hobbies were fishing and hunting down blacks who strayed onto his father's farm, according to local farmworkers.

Delport, 34, was not prosecuted for the previous shooting incidents, the farmworkers claimed. They all described him as "mean" and "trigger-happy".

Speaking on condition of anonymity, senior officers at Ladysmith police station confirmed it was common knowledge that Delport had previously shot blacks and their dogs for allegedly hunting on Aloe Farm.

Delport is alleged to have gunned down his father, Mariens Delport, 68, after an argument over the sale of cattle, before killing nine blacks and injuring 20 others - most of them at a busy, predominantly-black shopping complex.

One of those killed was the family's domestic servant, Maghikizana Al-zinah Mabaso, 31.



**VICTIM... Mahayeni Njoko was injured in the mass shooting.**

■ Pici DESANI MOODLIAR

On Friday, Ladysmith magistrate Herman Swarts ordered Delport to be sent to Town Hill Hospital for psychiatric evaluation "for a period not exceeding 30 days". The hearing was adjourned to March 4.

Back at Aloe Farm, labour tenants identified two of the people they allege were earlier shot by

the farmer's son.

Tractor driver Mampevu Amos Khumalo, 57, said Delport Jr reported both shooting incidents to Ladysmith police but did not recall him being prosecuted.

Senior officers at Ladysmith Police Station were adamant Delport had previously shot more than three people.

# ANC beckons to rightwing

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC has joined the government in appealing to the Conservative Party to join Codesa in order to debate the CP's proposals on self-determination.

The ANC has also extended its appeal to other rightwing groups such as the AWPB and Jaap Marais' Herstigte Nasionale Party. It also called on the PAC and Azapo to reconsider their non-participation stand.

In his opening address to parliament this week, State President FW de Klerk offered an olive branch to the CP when he undertook to place white self-determination on the Codesa agenda.

However, this offer was immediately shot down by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht who said: "The Codesa Declaration of Intent, including the acceptance of an undivided South Africa and one central government, is directly in conflict with the self-determination of the nations of South Africa."

At a press conference in Soweto on the day of the opening of parliament, ANC leader Nel-



**PROTESTS MOUNT... Lively protesters reclaim symbols outside parliament.**

son Mandela said the ANC agreed that the principle of self-determination and its application in the South African situation were "legitimate issues to be addressed at

However, Mandela lashed out at the De Klerk government for trying to vie for a system of power-sharing with a built-in white minority veto.



# A long queue to join Codesa

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

THE shrink wants in on Codesa. No, they haven't been sent by the Conservative Party or the Pan Africanist Congress, but have asked to be there themselves.

They want to observe how the "socio-political future of South Africa" influences behaviour.

The Psychological Association of SA is but one of 25 organisations which have applied to participate in or observe the Codesa proceedings.

They range from traditional organisations such as Contralesa through a myriad of minuscule political parties to interest groups as diverse as the Psychological Association and the Red Cross.

In a letter to Codesa, president Dr Louise Olivier said the "socio-political future" of South Africa had become an integral part of South African life and that this influenced behaviour.

## Homeland

Eleven obscure political parties have applied to join Codesa. They are the Afrikaner Party, Boervolk, Boerentia Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), the Freedom Party of SA, the Merit Peoples Party, the Mighty Peoples Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the People's Party of SA, the Progressive Party and the Reform Party of SA.

According to its correspondent, Mr PC Swane on December 20, the first group of friends who decided they wanted to participate to promote the idea of an Afrikaner homeland. The one thing most of the political parties which have applied to attend Codesa have in common is their claims of huge followings.

Fida, for instance, claims a following of 400 000, while the Freedom Party, which has a single MP in the House of Representatives, claims a vast membership.



Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius attempt to divine the Government's thinking

# No clear vision of road ahead

STAR 27/1/92

306A

**I**N HIS speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday, President de Klerk for the second time offered tantalising glimpses but no clear vision of his thinking on the transition ahead. Before the speech the headline writers were saying "FW keeps them guessing". And that's what they could have said afterwards too.

As at Codesa last December, Mr de Klerk essentially said no more than the NP envisaged a transitional government and a transitional Parliament. These should be effected in an orderly fashion through changes to the constitution enacted by the present Parliament — after testing the proposed changes through a universal referendum in which votes would be counted by racial group.

"Preferably the total population should take part in (the transitional Parliament) through their elected representatives in order to create the required confidence.

"Therefore, when negotiations on a transitional government take

place, we propose that Parliament be looked at simultaneously.

"What the Government envisages is a transitional government that will be subject to Parliamentary control and which will have to submit legislation to Parliament. Government by decree is not acceptable. Parliament has to be a fully-fledged part of every phase of constitutional change."

These remarks have raised perplexing questions about the relationship which the NP envisages between Parliament and the executive and how it intends allowing blacks to take part in the interim Parliament.

Some commentators believe Mr de Klerk's wording suggests something like the US system where the executive is elected separately from the legislature.

A clue for fathoming his intentions is the NP's 1991 guidelines for a permanent constitution. Government sources have said that their plan for an interim government is based on them.

In this plan the executive would



Taking the official salute . . . President de Klerk and Marike de Klerk at Friday's opening of Parliament.

consist of a revolving presidency of three to five people, representing the biggest parties in the first legislative house elected by proportional representation.

This suggests that the NP's idea of an interim executive would essentially follow the Westminster model where Parliament provides the executive.

Some find it hard to imagine that the NP — so habituated to power — would surrender it completely into the uncertain hands of a non-racial electorate for an interim Parliament.

Such doubts, and Mr de Klerk's especially vague wording on this subject, have inspired speculation that the NP is not contemplating a full democratic election at all.

This speculation, supported by some NP sources, suggests that what the NP intends instead is an election only of blacks (in this context, Africans) to bring them into Parliament somehow to merge with the white, coloured and Indian MPs already elected under the tricameral constitution.

It is hard to imagine how that

could be done if not through what would in effect be a fourth chamber of Parliament.

And that, Mr de Klerk has clearly stated, is not his intention.

NP sources close to Codesa concede that such a plan would have absolutely no chance of approval there. This suggests the Government does intend after all, to hazard its future on a democratic election.

If so it will pin its hopes on what are in effect hefty minority vetoes in its constitutional plan.

These vetoes reside in a second house of the legislature which has the same power as the first house and where all parties with a certain minimum percentage of support are equally represented.

There is a problem in that this is also the house where the nine federal regions envisaged by the Government are also represented.

It is highly unlikely that the Government would propose — or anyone else accept — an interim plan that entailed an immense restructuring of the country into

nine brand-new regions each with its own elected Parliament and executive.

But the federal elements could no doubt be ditched in the interim leaving only the weighted representation for minority parties. In the end, such attempts to divine the Government's thinking might prove to be purely academic.

Other parties at Codesa do not give the NP's plan a chance there.

They forecast that some form of ad-hoc transitional government will be in place this year, perhaps working in tandem with the present Government.

Meanwhile Codesa, and not the ANC's elected constituent assembly, will continue to negotiate a new constitution. Only when Codesa has agreed on the bulk of the new constitution, will a constituent assembly be elected to fill in the final touches.

If both sides intend to dig in on these positions, very fierce bargaining must be forecast when the Codesa working groups get down to real business on February 6. □

IN PARLIAMENT TODAY

# Battle lines drawn as MPs start debate

APC 27/1/92

3044

**TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff**

SHARP clashes on the issues of the sovereignty of parliament, the recognition of self-determination for groups and the implementation of transitional plans are expected in a four-day debate at the start of the new session of parliament.

The debate, which begins today and ends on Thursday, will concern the President's speech.

Government speakers will try to nail down the Conservative Party on the issue of self-determination. The rightwing group is determined to concentrate on other issues such as the effect the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is having on the sovereignty of parliament.

Nationalist politicians are hoping that a move by President De Klerk in his opening speech last week will cause serious divisions in the CP ranks. Mr De Klerk announced that the issue of self-determination would be put on the agenda of one of Codesa's working groups.

This was clearly aimed at enticing the rightwing into taking part.

CP Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux indicated today that the CP would "laugh off" Mr De Klerk's attempts.

The CP attitude is that Codesa has already decided on a unitary state. The rightwing group demands that the issue of self-determination and territory for a separate state for whites must be recognised.

Nationalist predictions of a rift in the CP are being denied by its MPs although there are indications of different approaches on the issue among them.

In the debate the CP is to concentrate largely on the question of violence and the state of the economy.

It will also attack the way in which, it maintains, parliament is being turned into a rubber stamp for Codesa. Mr De Klerk showed some sensitivity about this issue in his opening speech.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, indicated that his party would press for a transitional government to be formed by the National Party and the ANC. This could include other groups.

He said it was only this approach which would make possible the maintenance of order and inspire investor confidence.

The party would press for more details of Mr De Klerk's transitional government plans.



# Codesa could complete its work by April

## Political Staff

THE work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa could be completed by April, according to draft ANC proposals for a timeframe of the negotiation process.

According to ANC estimates, Codesa's five working groups could complete their tasks by April.

The start of the establishment of an interim government could be completed by May while such a transitional authority could be fully operational by September.

The ANC believes the election of a chairman for a constituent assembly, establishing its rule of procedures and the adoption of a constitution could be achieved by December.

The formation of a democratic government and parliament should be completed by May next year, according to the draft proposals.

The last phase involves two options: a constituent assembly converting itself into the first assembly of a new parliament or the constituent assembly dissolving itself followed by elections for a new government.

Meanwhile Codesa's daily management committee meets in Cape Town tomorrow.

The committee's first meeting outside Johannesburg is taking place in Cape Town as several of its members are parliamentarians and cannot leave the city during the no-confidence debate, which starts today.

# How to take care of the far right

Sowetan 27/11/92

(3041)

**IF the far-right wants to prevent the future from taking shape, then make them part of the making of the future.**

This was the overriding message in State President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech in Cape Town last Friday.

When he first came to power in 1989, De Klerk vowed he would create a social order in South Africa that guaranteed "justice for all".

Previous National Party leaders spoke, too, of justice for all, but of course they meant for whites only - so the white electorate waited to see what De Klerk actually meant when he said "justice for all".

In his opening-of-Parliament speech of February 2 1990, De Klerk unbanned and derestricted his extra-parliamentary opposition, and started a process of negotiation.

## Patience

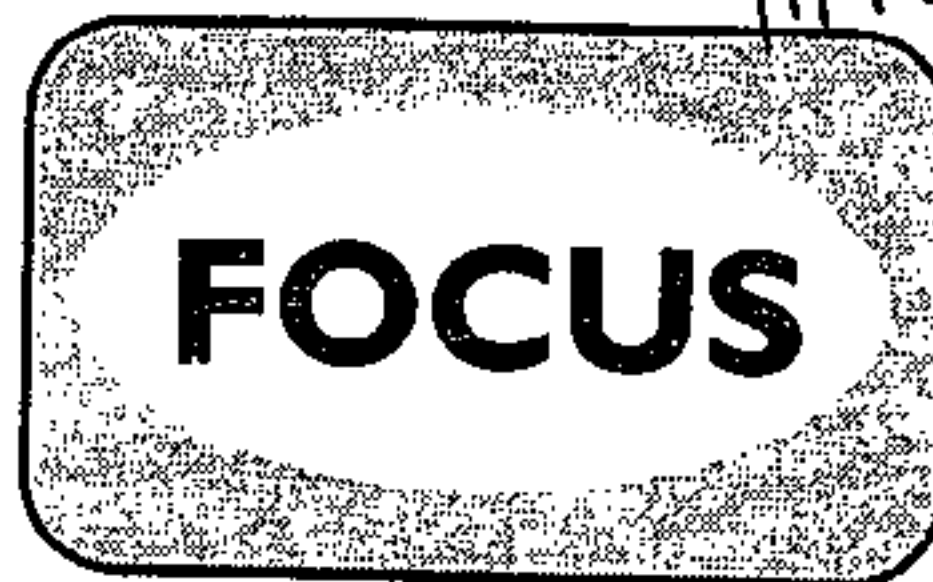
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But a great majority of white voters stayed with De Klerk, including the kind of liberals who liked and agreed with the policies of the liberal Democratic Party and its predecessors, but who had always silently supported the NP for it knew "how to keep the blacks out of the suburbs". Also, De Klerk had managed to get the ANC to "suspend" its armed campaign.

However the CP, bolstered by its new members, dug its heels in. It would have nothing to do with ne-



**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political Correspondent

gotiations. It accused De Klerk of going against the mandate he was given by the white electorate in the 1989 general election.

De Klerk then said he had promised whites the last say, by means of a referendum, in any new dispensation that came out of a negotiated settlement - a point which incidentally he repeated in his speech last Friday.

Then, last year, De Klerk opened Parliament on February 1 - and announced that the Government would in 1991 abolish the cornerstones of apartheid, including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the pernicious Land Acts of 1913 and 1937.

To the far-right, this meant the end of the Afrikaner stronghold on South Africa. De Klerk was called a traitor.

## New order

Worse still, one MP - the CP's Mr PJ Groenewald - on that fateful Friday in February last year, summed up the feeling among the Afrikaners in the far-right (and perhaps in the NP too) when he shouted: "Hangman of the Afrikaners!"

But the harm had been done and the country was irrevocably en route to De Klerk's new order.

All through the year, De Klerk

continued his process of negotiation, and all through the year, the CP threatened to force a general election (under the present constitution) to prove that the white votes did not agree with De Klerk's reforms.

In the meantime, the future was taking shape in the form of a multiparty forum to negotiate a new dispensation for the country - and to create De Klerk's new order.

Then the unthinkable happened: the CP gave the NP a solid beating in a by-election in the northern Free State town of Virginia.

While De Klerk was busy talking to blacks and "terrorists", the CP was going back to the white electorate with more than average success.

De Klerk put his head down and charged. Codesa came about in a whirlwind of democracy that stunned the far-right - and even certain more conservative NP members.

Never before had whites sat down with the indigenous people to map out a joint future.

## Apartheid

The CP, feeling hemmed in, wants self-determination for whites; but it primarily wants old-style apartheid. Codesa does not offer an opportunity for this.

However, in the meantime, the by-election for Potchefstroom looms.

With the loss in Virginia still fresh in the NP's mind, and any possible major (unilateral) announcement by De Klerk at the opening of Parliament last week either completely out of the question or contingent on Codesa, De Klerk had only two things left to do when he opened Parliament last

Friday: praise the progress that has been made over the past two years (which he did) and create a sop for the white voters to either join him again or stay with him.

The CP had recruited a great deal of the more reactionary whites in the country on the question of self-determination for whites.

And on Friday, De Klerk swept the CP and its fellow-travellers of the far-right off their feet by placing self-determination on Codesa's agenda.

## Negotiations

With this De Klerk removed the last remaining obstacle to the CP's joining negotiations.

If the CP does not accept this, its supporters could swing back to the NP.

Political observers at the weekend speculated heavily of a split in the CP.

One academic specialist in rightist politics said last Friday: "I think the President has bent over backwards to accommodate the CP...."

De Klerk did just that. He made it clear in his speech last week that self-determination for whites was not entirely out of Codesa's framework, and that Government had never been against it.

Now the people focus has shifted and white voters are now looking towards the CP for its decision.

De Klerk has swung the situation around completely.

Whether he did it with an eye on the looming by-election in Potchefstroom or not is not the issue, the point is he made it impossible for the far-right to continue its objection of Codesa, and the making of the future.

And that took care of the far-right.



exposure to black consumers, political stability and an improvement in the world economy identified as important factors in stimulating investment in SA.

With no SA ties, almost half the fund managers surveyed rated their knowledge of SA as either non-existent or basic at best.

## Mandela defends policy for whites

ANC president Nelson Mandela, interviewed in the official ANC journal Mayibuye, has defended his plans to allow an entrenched bloc of white seats in a future parliament.

Interviewed by ANC staff members, Mandela was challenged on the idea and asked whether he was reconsidering his views in the light of the proposal's rejection "in both the conservative and liberal media".

Whites feared majority rule despite the ANC's progressive policies and as a

liberation movement the ANC had the responsibility to address these fears, he said.

"I am not just concerned with the question of bloc seats — that is one option. We must think of other options as well," he said.

In the wide-ranging interview Mandela shrugged off the threat of right-wing military action, saying he would not spend any sleepless nights over it.

Pressed on how a new government might deal with right-wing military action, Mandela said a democratic government would be in a better position than the current one to deal with such a threat.

The solution was not necessarily a military one, he said, adding that any group opposed to democracy would be easily sidelined.

Mandela said the ANC had the support of most of the political parties at Codesa and was "ahead of the regime, strategically".

The ANC was, in principle, against the creation of an interim constitution because, he said, it could serve no purpose. But he added: "There will, of course, be amendments to the existing constitution for the transition. But that is a different matter."

### Charles Schulz

YES, MA'AM, THAT WOULD MAKE A GOOD STORY, WOULDN'T IT?

IT'S SO OBVIOUS



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# Constituent assembly out says Gerrit Viljoen

Sowetan 27/1/92

304A

**THE Government was still against a constituent assembly as defined by black organisations, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen has said.**

He was commenting on State President FW de Klerk's speech on Friday in which he stressed the sovereignty of Parliament.

Viljoen stressed his Government's proposals for an interim government, which he said, would be "subject to parliamentary control".

Explaining the preference for approval of any

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

negotiated constitutional changes by means of a referendum as opposed to an elected constituent assembly for the country, Viljoen said at the weekend that the idea of such an assembly as proposed by the ANC and PAC remained unacceptable.

Viljoen said that the Government was "totally against it".

"It will result in a winner-takes-all situation (where the majority will overwhelm minorities)...

without any participation by minorities," Viljoen said.

The State President, in his opening speech, however dismissed suggestions that his government sought to entrench white domination in any emerging dispensation.

"The Government is not playing games with this important issue.

"Its proposal is motivated by the genuine conviction that the final negotiation of a comprehensive and all-embracing consti-

tution will be best achieved under circumstances in which no party will be able to be accused of (using) governmental power to further its own interests.

● Extra-parliamentary political opposition took to the streets of Cape Town by the thousands on Friday to protest the opening of Parliament.

More than 30 000 ANC supporters and at least 1 000 PAC loyalists marched on Parliament from separate directions - with the PAC and ANC at loggerheads over the involvement of the latter in Codesa.

But in the mid-day heat of Cape Town relatively few incidents of violence, or any other friction were reported.

Before the ANC march took off from Cape Town's Grand Parade, all its supporters voted in favour of the abolition of parliament.

Afterwards, the ANC deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, national executive members, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Chris Hani led the procession to the gates of Parliament where a memorandum demanding the dissolution of the institution.



Underground group surfaces

# Right-wings MP

STAC 27/11/92  
backs

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Codesa

## Right-wing MP backs Codesa

From Page 1 (3044)

Klerk's speech, the DP will support the State President on a number of issues.

Democratic Party MPs said they realised Mr de Klerk could not have delivered a speech as exciting as his addresses to the opening of Parliament during the previous two sessions.

Well-placed DP sources said Dr de Beer would stress that Mr de Klerk could not "sweep Parliament away" but, on the other hand, that urgency was needed in the negotiations process.

Dr de Beer is expected to support Mr de Klerk's references to crime in the speech, but to express cynicism about the State President's undertaking that State expenditure would be cut. He will likely reiterate the DP

view that Mr de Klerk did not clarify the NP's proposals for transitional arrangements.

Dr de Beer is set to question the implications of Mr de Klerk's announcement on a racially based referendum, but will support the Government's intention to include blacks in a transitional authority.

Dr de Beer is also certain to support Mr de Klerk's invitation to the CP to join Codesa.

Mr Ramaphosa is also certain to slate Mr de Klerk for insisting on a racially based referendum as well as on the NP constitutional proposals. He will likely support the placing of the right to self-determination on the agenda, but to reiterate the ANC view that this could be achieved only in an undivided South Africa.

CP sources described the proposal as "a trick", saying it fell short of the CP demand for a guarantee of the right to self-determination.

Other issues set to be raised by the CP during the debate are the escalating violence, the cost of the Government's reforms, the country's poor economy, and agricultural problems.

Although DP leader Dr Zach de Beer is likely to ask for more clarity on several points of Mr de

CAPE TOWN — The Afrikaner Volkstaatbeweging (AVB), which has decided to attend Codesa, is led by a Conservative Party MP, it was disclosed today by a spokesman for the organisation. The movement, which operated underground until recently, has urged other right-wing organisations to join Codesa.

Spokesman A S Kriel would not reveal the leader's identity but said the man would identify himself soon.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said he would not be surprised if this was a Government ploy. He also denied that the disclosure could lead to a split in the CP ranks.

The CP had "never heard of" either Mr Kriel or his organisation, he said.

AVB members have previously telephoned newspapers claiming responsibility for at least three explosions — at Cosatu House in Pretoria and at the post-offices in Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp.

### Forced

Mr Kriel said President de Klerk's announcement on Friday that the principle of self-determination would be placed on Codesa's agenda had "changed the situation" and had forced the movement to reconsider its option to Codesa.

"You cannot go into a war when you still have the option to talk," he said.

Mr Kriel said the movement could also come in for local and international criticism if it did not use the negotiation option.

Other right-wing organisations dismissed the AVP statement out of hand.

Meanwhile President de Klerk today faces a three-pronged attack — both inside and outside Parliament — on his speech delivered at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

The Conservative Party is set to hammer him, while Mr de Klerk will get a more sympathetic hearing from the Democratic Party, in the no-confidence debate.

Outside Parliament, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is due to address a foreign journalists' breakfast meeting where he is certain to strongly criticise Mr de Klerk's speech.

The CP's hostile attack is likely to focus on "transitional arrangements" and Mr de Klerk's surprise announcement on the placing of the principle of self-determination on the Codesa agenda.

Senior CP sources said yesterday that party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was likely to strongly reiterate the CP's well-known accusation that Mr de Klerk does not have a mandate for the Government's reforms.

CP MPs on Friday sniggered in Parliament as Mr de Klerk referred to transi

● To Page 2

# Codesa's work could be over by April

304A  
STAR  
27/1/92

By Esther Waugh  
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The start of the establishment of an interim government could be completed by May, while such a transitional authority could be fully operational by September.

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The formation of a democratic government and Parliament should be completed by May next year.

The last phase involves two options: a constituent assembly converting itself into the first assembly of a new Parliament, or the constituent assembly dissolving itself followed by elections for a new government.

Meanwhile Codesa's daily management committee meets in Cape Town tomorrow.

The committee's first meeting outside Johannesburg is taking place in Cape Town as several of its members are parliamentarians and cannot leave the city during the no-confidence debate which starts today.

The agenda will discuss guidelines for assessing applications from groups wanting to participate in Codesa, the handling of press statements and assessment of the working groups' progress.



# Codesa 'no answer'

3047



Soul Jan 27/1992

Mabasa said Codesa was intended to make blacks co-managers in the oppression of their own people. He was addressing about 200 people at the launch of an Azapo branch in Dennilton near KwaNdebele. "Bantustan leaders can never be our friends because they are unpatriotic," Mabasa said. He urged people to use "any means neces-

Mabasa urged black people to use "any means necessary" to free themselves. A slave did not die of natural causes. A slave dies trying to free himself," Mabasa said.

National media officer Mr Khangale Makhado earlier urged pupils to attend school and refrain from boycotts.

# How to take care of the far right

Sowetan 27/1/92.

(3041)

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## FOCUS

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All at Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Campaign against Codesa by PAC

30419

*Sowetan 27/1/92*

THE Pan Africanist Congress has embarked on what it calls a national campaign to make Codesa ineffective and meaningless.

The PAC intends holding a series of rallies and marches as part of this campaign.

At a meeting in Soweto yesterday the PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said the PAC demanded a transitional authority supervised by an international body that would supervise and monitor, rather than simply observe as was the status of international bodies present at Codesa.

Nemadzivhanani also said the PAC would not be stampeded and intimidated by the United States into joining Codesa. - Sapa.

## Paul Simon



# Our managers must adapt to change

27/1/92

304A

THE change taking place in South was not occurring in a vacuum, but was made possible by changing world events, Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of the Urban Foundation, said last week.

Addressing graduates at the Joint Management Development Programme graduation ceremony at the Wanderers Club in Johannesburg, Rosholt said the momentum of change could only be sustained if events in the country kept pace with international changes.

"It follows that managers, including those who graduate today, will face great and continuing challenges for many years to come.

"As managers, your task will be to ensure your organisations adapt to change because only then will they be successful and productive," Rosholt said.

He said it was imperative that people begin to learn to live together in harmony.

"The sheer number of people that has to be sustained, and who must learn to live together, is growing at a frightening rate.

"In 1950 there were about 2.5 billion people on earth.

By JOE MOHLELA

There are now over 5 billion, and it is expected that the figure will be close to 15 billion before it levels out.

"We in South Africa are only too well aware already of the consequence of such a growth," he said.

Rosholt said it was in this light that adequate development in the socio-economic sphere should even precede political solutions.

"We must rid ourselves of the notion that political solutions will be sufficient of themselves.

"Unless they are accompanied by adequate developments in the socio-economic sphere, no constitution, however skillfully crafted, can have any hope of success," he said.

Rosholt stressed that South Africa could not meet the needs of the growing population without a growing economy.

He warned, however, that without the equitable distribution of resources, society would not win the allegiance of the majority of South Africans.



## De Klerk to receive peace prize on his European tour

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk leaves on another overseas trip this week and will visit several Western and central European countries over a 10-day period.

De Klerk meets British Prime Minister John Major on Saturday.

He then travels to Davos in Switzerland to address the World Economic Forum on SA's role in a changing world.

After his speech, he will join a panel as NP leader with ANC president

BILLY PADDOCK

Nelson Mandela, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Barlow Rand director and chairman of the National Peace Secretariat John Hall and Venda leader Nelson Ramodike.

The panel will discuss SA's role in the future SA. (3041)

On Monday, February 3, he travels to Paris to receive the Unesco peace

prize of R364 000 jointly with Mandela. (May 27/11/92)

De Klerk and Mandela get the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize for their contribution in bringing about a democratic dispensation in SA during the past 18 months.

On Tuesday, De Klerk receives Newsmaker of the Year award from the French political magazine Apolitique Internationale. He then travels to a number of other European countries before returning home.



By JOHANN VAN ROOYEN

THE Conservative Party's refusal to join the first round of Codesa has resulted in some analysts suggesting that the CP is being marginalized and is drifting into obscurity.

Others urge caution, and refer to the increased militancy within the party and attempts to justify violence by drawing analogies between the "Afrikaner freedom struggle" and the conflict in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union.

However, between obscurity and civil war there are other possibilities/scenarios for the CP as the country moves towards an interim government. The party could win an electoral victory either at an enforced general election — which is unlikely at this point — or by defeating the NP at a referendum. Or an undivided CP could opt for participation at Codesa. Or there could be a split in the CP between its pragmatist and hardline factions with the former joining Codesa in alliance with other moderate right-wing groups.

The belief that the CP will drift into obscurity and end up as a marginalized anachronism in a new, non-racial society is void of realism.

## Growing strength

It implies a denial of the growing strength and potential threat of the white right in South Africa, and ignores the resurgence of ethno-nationalism worldwide.

Rather than bargaining on the CP becoming marginalized and isolated, a more realistic approach to the right wing problem would be to accommodate reasonable demands for self-determination from the right.

A brief analysis of the following scenarios explains why.

## An election/referendum

Under this scenario the present constitutional system would perpetuate itself, without alterations, for a further period of two

# CP at the crossroads: Losing or gaining?

cf 27/1/92 (3044)

to three years until the next general election due in early 1995. This would place the CP in its strongest position, as the Party is greatly benefiting from the swing to the right since the last general election in 1989.

The CP believes that it now represents the majority of Afrikaners, and possibly whites — a contention supported by analysts such as Mr Dirk Laurie. The average swing of about 14% in the seven parliamentary by-elections since September 1989 will probably be confirmed by the result of the crucial Potchefstroom by-election in February.

Already the unnerved NP candidate at Potchefstroom openly propagates the pre-1986 philosophy of the NP and that of the CP today, namely that the recognition of the "diversity of nations" is the key to South Africa's problems.

Ironically, the CP's growing strength within the sphere of white parliamentary politics is largely irrelevant, as the possibility that it will have a final opportunity to participate in a general election under the current constitution is remote. The stronger the CP support becomes, in fact, the smaller the chance that the NP would ever risk such an election.

However, any suggestion that the CP may possibly withdraw from parliamentary politics is premature, for the following reasons:

The government has promised a referendum to test white opinion on a new constitution, which will present the CP with one final constitutional opportunity to halt the transitional process. A "no-vote" would not only send

the government back to the drawing board, but could also place it under a moral obligation to resign and call an election irrespective of the destructive consequences of such a step.

While the CP is confident that it could win a general election, it is less confident about a referendum. South Africa's first-past-the-post electoral system allows a party to win an election with as little as 41% of the vote (as the NP did in 1948), while in a referendum 50.01% is needed.

There is also the disaffection within the NP caucus over the pace of reform and the security situation in the country. Even Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, the Chief Secretary of the NP, euphemistically admitted that "a degree of confusion" exists among certain members of the caucus. What the CP obviously hopes for is that this "confusion" will lead to a further split to the right — a total of 44 disaffected NP-MPs would have to walk over to the CP to enable it to become the government.

Finally, the CP hopes that negotiations at Codesa will take much longer than expected and that intractable positions would prevent an agreement from being reached before 1995, in which case a general election under the present constitution would have to be called.

## Negotiations

So far the CP has rejected all invitations to put forward its case for Afrikaner self-determination at Codesa. The party is adamant that this "right" to self-determination should be recognized beforehand, which would

leave only the borders of an Afrikaner/white state to be finalized at Codesa.

In addition Dr Treurnicht has demanded that Codesa be comprised only of the representatives of the various "nations" in South Africa.

Should the CP eventually decide to participate at Codesa, perhaps under pressure from its pragmatic wing and the right-wing think-tank, Toekomsgesprek, the party would have to adapt its traditional racist philosophy and its constitutional policies, if its proposals were to have any chance of receiving a sympathetic hearing.

This should not be a major obstacle, as the CP policy of partition has been in flux for some time now.

There has been as shift from the Verwoerdian grand apartheid origins of CP policy whereby 87% of the country was claimed for whites and the remaining 13% to be divided among the 13 black "nations". The CP now demands a smaller white state with borders as yet unspecified although indications are that it will comprise the Free State, western Transvaal and northern Cape.

Furthermore, Dr Treurnicht has publicly stated that he is no longer prescriptive on how blacks should organise themselves constitutionally.

To make its policy more negotiable the CP would also have to move away from racially-based to culturally-based nationalism. References to a white state will need to be dropped in favour of an Afrikaner state in which, as Mr Deon Geldenhuys recently said, culture, rather than race,



WHICH WAY? ...

Dr Andries Treurnicht

should be the determining factor.

To the CP a shift in this direction could be problematic, as it cannot afford to alienate thousands of English-speaking supporters.

## A split

If the CP cannot bring itself to join the negotiation process due to the greater influence of the hardliners in the party, a possible scenario is that the pragmatic wing under leadership of Mr Koos van der Merwe, Mr Cehill Pienaar and the Mulder brothers, would break away to join the negotiation process as independents or as part of a new centrerightwing party which could also include moderates like Professor Caryl Boshoff.

Such a new party could put forward the idea of an Afrikaner state without the racist baggage of the CP and its constitutional proposals would vary between Prof Boshoff's suggestion for an Afrikaner state in the northwestern Cape, the "sacrificial partition" of Mr Van der Merwe, and Mr Pienaar's suggestion of



BREAKAWAY? ...

Mr Koos van der Merwe

an Afrikaner region within a federally structured South Africa.

A combination of these proposals, if sufficiently modest and realistic in nature and goal, would be likely to receive a fair hearing at Codesa.

Of great importance under this scenario would be the considerable numbers of disgruntled NP supporters who would join such a new centre-right party.

## Violence

A split in the CP suggests a fourth scenario under which the remaining hardliners within the CP are left isolated, with a dwindling support base and with no option other than joining those organisations on the extreme right, such as the AWB, BWB and the rest of the estimated 80 militant rightwing organizations.

Such a rejuvenated militant right wing grouping could attempt to achieve an independent Boerestaat through violent secession.

□ Johann van Rooyen, a specialist student of right-wing politics, is a PhD candidate at the University of Cape Town.



# Govt 'plans to split CP, LP'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT plans to engineer a split in both the Conservative and Labour Parties will move into top gear this week during a series of fiery debates in Parliament.

The first four days of this week will be devoted to a joint debate in all three Houses of Parliament on President F W de Klerk's opening address on Friday.

Party strategists, however, expect the most acrimonious and divisive clashes to take place during the no-confidence debates in the separate Houses this Friday.

Mr De Klerk fuelled tensions in right-wing circles on Friday when he promised

— with backing from the ANC and Inkatha — that Codesa would welcome any negotiation on the practical application of "self-determination of peoples".

Polarisation within right-wing factions was already evident in the divergent comments Mr De Klerk's offer elicited from within the pro- and anti-negotiation camps within the CP at the weekend.

While CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, dismissed the concession as nonsensical and a political trick, CP pragmatists Mr Koos van der Merwe and Mr Cehil Pienaar labelled the move a significant development and a step in the right direction.

But while Nationalists are talking about

breaking up the CP, CP hardliners are increasingly talking about radicalising the party and transforming it into a "liberation movement" with one foot in Parliament and the other in resistance politics in the extra-parliamentary sphere.

Both the NP and CP camps agree that gloves-off clashes between the two parties during the coming parliamentary session will be the most bruising since the CP split from the NP 10 years ago.

The NP also has its sights set on the Labour Party in the House of Representatives where Mr Allan Hendrickse's party is clinging to a narrow majority after a wave of defections to the government last year.

# Mandela defends white bloc plan

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has defended his plans to allow an entrenched bloc of white seats in a future parliament.

Interviewed in the official ANC journal Mayibuye, Mr Mandela was challenged on the idea and asked whether he was reconsidering his views in the light of the proposal's rejection "in both the conservative and liberal media".

He said whites feared majority rule despite the ANC's progressive policies. As a liberation movement the ANC had the responsibility to address these fears.

"I am not just concerned with the question of bloc seats — that is one option. We must think of other options as well," he said.

Mr Mandela shrugged off the threat of right-wing military action, saying he would "not spend any sleepless nights over it".



# NP spells out steps to new govt

STAR 28/11/92 (30417)

By Peter Fabricius  
and Shaun Johnson

**CAPE TOWN** — The present Parliament and Cabinet — as well as Codesa — will disappear completely if the National Party proposals for a transitional government are accepted.

NP secretary general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe explained this yesterday, ending some speculation that the NP intended merely expanding the existing Parliament and Government to include blacks during the transition.

The Government has until now failed to clarify how a transitional government would relate to existing structures.

But Dr van der Merwe made it clear in a briefing that the present Cabinet and Parliament would become obsolete, to be replaced by a new transitional parliament and government elected from scratch.

However, he warned that the details of such an all-in election — and questions such as weighted voting in different Houses — had yet to be revealed.

Meanwhile Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament that the Government would like to see fundamental minority protection — including devolution of original power to regional and



Stoffel van der Merwe . . . makes it clear that the present Cabinet and Parliament will become obsolete.



Gerrit Viljoen . . . tells Parliament the Government would like to see fundamental minority protection.

local government — built into a transitional constitution.

He and Dr van der Merwe spelt out the basic steps which the Government would like to see taken on the road to a transitional government and beyond:

- Negotiations leading to agreement at Codesa on a transitional constitution.
- A referendum in which all adult South Africans participate but where votes will be counted

racially.

- Acceptance of the interim constitution by the present Parliament in the constitutionally-prescribed manner.
- Implementation of transitional Parliament through an election in terms of the amended constitution.

- A new Cabinet to be formed in which people will be represented according to the results of the election.

Transitional government agreeing on a permanent constitution.

- The new constitution possibly submitted to a referendum.
- Elections for a final government.

Dr van der Merwe said: "The whole idea of a transitional government is that the National Party would be a partner in that government but would not be that government . . . (We

want to) dispel the notion that the NP is trying to cling on to power at all costs."

Dr van der Merwe made it clear the NP would argue "very strongly" for a multiple presidency as envisaged in its constitutional proposals.

Dr Viljoen said that certain basic principles which were under discussion for a final constitution, would have to be accommodated in negotiations for the transitional phase.

Decision-making in the executive authority must be arrived at by consensus.

Even in the transitional government, guarantees must be built in against the abuse of power.

Entrenched clauses would have to ensure participation and co-determination for minorities.

Dr Viljoen said that the Government believed that it would be better to take a short step to a first-phase transitional government than one large leap to a final new constitution.

Negotiations leading directly to a final constitution would take a long time.

Fairly fast agreement on a first phase transitional government would establish political stability and investor confidence in the short term. Valuable experience in co-government could be gained and an opportunity to prepare for adapting to a final constitution.



# FW's wooing a ploy - CP

By Tos Wentzel  
Political Staff

STAR  
28/1/92

President de Klerk's attempts to draw the right wing into negotiations were shot down right at the start of a four-day debate of a joint session of Parliament yesterday.

In the debate, on Mr de Klerk's speech on Friday, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht dismissed the president's suggestion as "opportunistic" and a transparent ploy.

He was only paying lip service to the concept of self-determination while in the same breath saying that the idea of a sovereign state with its own territory was not practical.

A speech by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, showed that the Government was not going to abandon its efforts to draw in the right wing. He stressed that the discussion of issues such as self-determination in Codesa had not been excluded.

Dr Treurnicht maintained that Mr de Klerk's party had in fact become a party for all which had abandoned nationalism. Through its open membership it had abandoned its role as the front for the Afrikaner and the whites.

Political power sharing did



Andries Treurnicht . . . maintains the Nationalist Party has abandoned nationalism.

not rhyme with self-determination.

To place self-determination on the Codesa agenda was a transparent plan to get certain parties to Codesa.

According to Codesa's declaration of intent the Government had committed itself to an undivided South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said the success of the negotiation depended on the participation of all political parties with proven support.

Invitations to to right-wing parties including the CP, the HNP and the AWB stood.

The CP could therefore prepare itself for participation in Codesa for negotiations on the principle of self-determination as well as the practical application of this.

Dr Viljoen said he was certain that the majority of CP supporters expected it to have the courage to try and promote their policy in negotiations.

Referring to a transitional government, Dr Viljoen said the government was in favour of a phased approach to a new dispensation instead of one giant leap to a new system.

The ANC's interim government was unacceptable because it implied a total transfer of power to an undefined body.

A referendum for all would place the the legitimacy of a new constitution beyond doubt.

In an emotional speech Willie van der Merwe, CP MP for Meyerton, said Afrikaners could not go to Codesa to subject themselves to people who had already expressed themselves against white self-determination.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape Nationalist leader, said the pressure for full democratic rights for all regardless of race was a world-wide phenomenon which was irreversible.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that it had become apparent that only a government which included both the National Party as well as the ANC could succeed in at the same time maintaining law and order and creating investor confidence.



# Chalker wants to talk about Codesa 'with anyone'

304A

ARG 28/1/92

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker, has arrived in South Africa for a two-day visit.

Speaking to reporters during a brief stopover at Jan Smuts Airport, Mrs Chalker said she would meet President De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, ANC President Nelson Mandela, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and "anyone willing to talk to me about the process of Codesa and changes towards multi-party democracy".

She is scheduled to meet President De Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Mandela today. She hopes to be able to meet the PAC and Azapo as well.

"It is good to see more people because that way I get more dialogue," she said.

She was interested in how relations between South Africa and her neighbouring states were proceeding and will visit Lusaka and Angola.

She said Britain was keen to see the South African economy get moving and believed that all sanctions against the country should go. That way more foreign investment could be attracted to South Africa and help solve the high unemployment rate — especially among the black youth.

She will also visit the Alexandra Clinic and other British government-aided projects. Britain's development expenditure amounts to £12 million (R60 million) in 1991/1992.

## Labour Party wants an interim govt by year-end

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It was in the interest of the country as a whole that an "interim government of national unity" should be in place not later than the end of the year, Addo MP Peter Hendrickse said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on President F W de Klerk's opening address, he said the NP had been in power for 40 years with "disastrous results for the country's people".

The poverty, the state of the economy, the insufficient access to health care, lack of housing, high unemployment, unequal pensions and discriminatory expenditure on education were evidence of this.

"The NP has had ample opportunity to govern this country but has abused this power to further its own goals," he said.

"We do not believe the architects of apartheid can be the designers of the new SA."

### Compromises

Hendrickse said he did not agree with De Klerk that no fixed time should be laid down for the period of interim government. Work done at the preparatory meeting on November 29-30, and at Codesa 1 on December 1 and 2, showed what could be achieved.

Because limited time was available, people were willing to make compromises and to try to accommodate various standpoints.

The LP, he said, believed a constituent assembly should be elected as soon as possible and a voter registration drive started.

The sole purpose of a constituent assembly would be to draft the new constitution, and this should be completed within 12 months.

Hendrickse said the Labour Party wished to call on government once again to scrap the "own affairs" administrations — in preparation for the new SA and to facilitate the transition to an interim government. There was no reason to continue racist divisions of the past.



## ANC and govt can work together — De Beer

CAPE TOWN — Codesa had shown that the government and the ANC could work together and were prepared to do so in the interests of SA, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. ~~304A~~ (304A)

"We need each other. SA has been torn asunder for too long.

*B/Dcy 28/11/92*  
Political Staff

"This is the time to build the centre and to reject all extremism," De Beer said during the debate on President F W de Klerk's speech when he opened Parliament.

He also said De Klerk should explain what he

meant when he referred to the inclusion of black people in Parliament because he did not understand what the President had in mind.

"Is he going to propose a separate election for black parliamentarians? I can hardly believe it, but I ask for reassurance on this," said De Beer.

# FW's bid to woo rightwing fails

368A

ARG 28/1/92

TOS WENTZEL on the debate on the President's speech

PRESIDENT De Klerk's attempts to draw the rightwing into negotiations were shot down right at the start of a four-day debate of a joint session of parliament.

In the debate, on Mr De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament, Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, dismissed the president's suggestion as "opportunistic" and a transparent ploy.

He was only paying lip service to the concept of self-determination, while in the same breath saying that the idea of a sovereign state with its own territory was not practically possible.

A speech by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, showed that the government was not going to abandon its efforts to draw in the rightwing. He stressed that the discussion of issues such as self-determination in Codesa had not been excluded.

Dr Treurnicht maintained that Mr De Klerk's party had, in fact, become a party for all which had abandoned nationalism. Through its open membership it had abandoned its role as the front for the Afrikaner and the whites.

Political power sharing did not rhyme with self-determination.

To place self-determination on the Codesa agenda was misleading, cynical and a transparent plan to get certain parties to Codesa.

According to Codesa's declaration of intent the government had committed itself to an undivided South Africa with just one nation.

Principles such as the identity of nations with own territories and the right to govern themselves were being rejected.

Dr Viljoen said the success of the negotiations depended on the participation of all political parties with proven support.

Invitations to rightwing parties, including the CP, the HNP and the AWB, stood.

There was no dogmatic finality in Codesa's declaration of intent.

The CP could therefore prepare itself for participation in Codesa and for negotiations on the principle of self-determination as well as the practical application of this, especially within the reality of the South African situation.

Dr Viljoen said he was certain that the majority of CP supporters expected it to have the courage to try to promote their policy in negotiations.

Referring to a transitional government, Dr Viljoen said the government was in favour of a phased approach to a new constitutional dispensation instead of one giant leap to a new system.

Negotiations leading to a final new constitution would be a long and time-consuming process.

Reasonably speedy agreement on the first phase would in the short term aid political stability and investor confidence.

Valuable experience in joint government would be obtained in such a transitional period and additional urgent attention could be given to the handicaps of the less-privileged.

The ANC's interim government was unacceptable because it implied a total transfer of power to an undefined body, the suspension of the constitution and parliament and an executive government governing by decree.

A referendum for all would place the legitimacy of a new constitution beyond doubt. A positive climate and atmosphere regarding the new constitution would be created by such convincing proof of general acceptance.

In an emotional speech Mr Willie van der Merwe, CP MP for Meyerton, said Afrikaners could not go to Codesa to subject themselves to people who had already expressed themselves against white self-determination.

Negotiations about South Africa's future with terrorists and heathens could not contribute anything to the country's welfare.

Mr Van der Merwe pleaded with the government to make a move and to talk to the rightwing.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape Nationalist leader, said the pressure for full democratic rights for all, regardless of race, was a worldwide phenomenon which was irreversible, also in South Africa.

The CP could not turn back the clock in order to restore apartheid.

He warned the CP leadership that if it did not choose the responsible way of negotiations, it would enter the cul-de-sac of violence.

Giving his party's vision for the future, Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said it had become apparent a year ago that only a government which included both the National Party and the ANC could succeed to at the same time maintain law and order and create investor confidence.

At that stage this idea may have appeared to be far-fetched, but at meetings of Codesa there had been indications to the contrary.

The two movements, both aware of their responsibility to the people of South Africa, were also aware of the decisive role they would have to play.



# 'No quick fix for disparities'

Political Staff

(304A) ARG 28/1/92  
THERE was no quick fix to the disparities created by apartheid in the agricultural field and the restitution of land did not undo the tangle, said Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekirk.

Briefing journalists in Cape Town yesterday Dr van Niekirk said the matter should be solved by developing existing areas and enabling people to improve themselves.

The normalisation of agriculture in the "new environment" was one of the Department of Agriculture's top priorities and the training of all South Africans in the field would become important in the future, he said.

Dr Van Niekirk said equal opportunities could only be utilised if equal abilities existed.

Referring to the fact that 87 percent of the land was owned by whites, Dr van Niekirk said the 13 percent in the possession of blacks fell in higher rainfall areas. When one then considered the production potential of the land, the ratio became 75 percent to 25 percent, he said.

Redressing apartheid-created disparities by taking from some and giving to others only amounted to the redistribution of wealth. This process should be accompanied by upgraded training of all South Africans in the agricultural field, he said.

In addition to training, disparities were also being addressed by giving blacks access to credit extensions offered by financial institutions.

It was estimated that there were 1 700 black farmers in the country and 50 000 subsistence farmers in the homelands and trust areas.

Asked whether the government was assisting inefficient white farmers, Dr Van Niekirk said Land Bank loans were given on one strict basis: the debt must be serviced by the income of the farmer. If this was insufficient, he was not given further aid.

The department was restructuring and reorganising itself and the 14 departments of agriculture were trying to consolidate their activities to avoid duplication.

## 'Not clever enough?'

THE Leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said he was not sure he was clever enough to understand what President De Klerk was proposing with regard to a transitional government.

Speaking yesterday in the debate on the State President's address at the opening of parliament, he said the most interesting part of the speech was where he referred to the inclusion of blacks in parliament during the transition phase and therefore before the new constitution came into operation.

"Naturally we have no problem in principle: we have been calling for universal voting rights in this parliament for years.

"But we do not understand very well what he has in mind."

The English version of the State President's speech contained the fascinating idea that the whole population should be represented in parliament in "an equitable manner". — Sapa.

## Government 'playing games'

EVERY right-thinking person could see the government had a double agenda and was playing games, Mr C J Leander (LP, Daljosaphat) said in Parliament yesterday. The bitter truth and past sins of the NP were being re-wrapped and baked with nice words. — Sapa.



# Praise for Codesa

CODESA is a more representative, more legitimate and more credible body than Parliament and it will be determining the pace of events in the country for the immediate future.

With these words, Mr Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party set the tone of the debate for the next five months when Parliament will sit in Cape Town and where Codesa is expected to become routine debate.

He said Parliament would serve as the legislative body for Codesa, and it (Parliament) would not, for as long as Codesa was around, be making unilateral decisions.

He said Parliament was the place that had since 1910 "been the point of conception of evil and racist legislation" that had caused "despair, heartache, pain and disillusionment" among black people.

Codesa, he said, represented a better future for all South Africans.

De Klerk's immediate concern is to secure his support base, writes Patrick Lauren

# Balm for the wavering whites

STAR 28/1/92.

3044

**P**RESIDENT F W de Klerk, who has been accused by right-wing zealots of turning his back on his own Afrikaner folk in his quest for international approval, has turned round to confront his accusers.

His speech opening parliament last Friday addresses white fears and anxieties, largely ignores the international community and pays only minimal attention to South Africa's black majority.

Mr de Klerk's speech, characterised by his lieutenants in the ruling National Party as one of consolidation, has one primary objective: to prevent further erosion of his support base in the white community.

Unlike the riveting speeches of 1990 and 1991, which unfettered the prohibited "liberation movements" and foreshadowed the removal of the last of the hated apartheid laws, the present speech does not have a dramatic message of similar import.

But, taken as a whole, it does contain an overall theme: after suffering a series of by-election

setbacks at the hands of the Conservative Party (CP), Mr de Klerk has concluded that the time has come to secure his power base in the white community if he is to avoid the humiliating fate of reformers who are rejected by their own supporters because they move too far ahead of them.

A careful reading of Mr de Klerk's speech — a large proportion of which was delivered in Afrikaans — shows that he is concerned to reassure whites, whose approval he is honour-bound to secure before moving on to the next stage of his programme of political and constitutional reform.

Thus, while his administration has come to accept the need for a transitional government to bridge the gap between the old and new orders, Mr de Klerk told parliament: "The institution of any transitional government will have to take place constitutionally and be based on power-sharing."

His statement implicitly but clearly rejects calls by the African National Congress for the abolition of the present tri-

cameral constitution and "racist parliament" and the installation of an interim government of national unity to oversee the free and fair election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution.

Stressing that his administration is not yielding to pressure from the ANC by agreeing to a transitional government, President de Klerk stated: "We... remain opposed to a so-called interim government which is not composed according to the constitution or which governs by decree."

While reaffirming his commitment to a transitional government in which the excluded black majority will be given "equitable" role in governance of South Africa and representation in parliament, Mr de Klerk assured whites that these proposed measures will have to be adopted by the present parliament after they have been submitted for approval in a referendum.

Assent to the proposed measures will have to be obtained from a majority of white voters,

giving, as the ANC has acidly observed, a minority of less than 15 percent of the population, an effective veto.

Returning almost obsessively to the point about the need for the transitional government to be constitutionally based, Mr de Klerk said: "What the Government envisages is a transitional government that will be subject to parliamentary control... government by decree is not acceptable. Parliament has to be a fully fledged part of every phase of constitutional change."

Mr de Klerk's concern here may be more immediate than the white voters who will have a final say through a referendum.

Some observers reckon that he may be anxious about disaffection among rank and file National Party MPs. Already under strong pressure in their own constituencies, they are increasingly nervous that Parliament is being pushed aside by Codesa.

Mr de Klerk offered them assurances: "Codesa is neither a joint legislator nor a joint govern-

ment, and the Government's participation in it does not in any way entail any relinquishing of its powers or the authority of those in parliament."

That assurance was followed by another: "The government... is obliged only to implement those (measures) to which it has committed itself by way of agreement and which are within its powers."

Reading between the lines it seems that Mr de Klerk is signalling that the Government will not allow itself to be pressurised into action and that, under the doctrine of "sufficient consensus" agreed to at Codesa last year, the Government can veto any move with which it disagrees strongly.

Mr de Klerk was moved, too, to reassure white civil servants; nervous that an ANC government will mean "Africanisation" of the civil service, civil servants are being wooed assiduously by the Conservative Party.

"Constitutional government is possible only with a stable and professional public service," Mr de Klerk said. Hence, he deduced,

the need to guarantee the "security of all employees of the State".

Seeking to address white fear and anger at the rising crime rate, Mr de Klerk reminded his audience in and beyond parliament that the police force had been expanded by 18 000 members since 1990 and that the police budget had increased by R1 900 million since 1988/89.

In a special addendum to his speech he announced that the principle of self-determination, including the Conservative Party's demand that whites be accorded the right to self-determination, would be put on the table for discussion at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk then invited the CP, as a protagonist of self-determination, to join Codesa.

It was a calculated attempt to strengthen that faction in the CP which, fearful that the decision to boycott Codesa might see the CP marginalised at a critical junction in South African history, favours participation. Mr de Klerk was applying the old adage: the best method of defence is attack. □



# Anthem in Afrikaans

NKOSI Sikelel' iAfrika has been translated into Afrikaans and can be heard on a children's programme on television.

The translation, done by an Afrikaans culture organisation, die Afrikaans Taal en Kultuurvereniging, will be used for an educational children's literacy programme.

"The idea is to depoliticise and demythologise the controversy surrounding the song for people to understand what it is about," said Mr Fritz Kok, the organisation's executive director. *Sowetan 28/1/92*

He said if the anthem was sung in Afrikaans as well, it would establish the language among all people in the country.

Six professors - one of them black - were responsible for the translation.

The song can be heard on Saampraat on CCV-TV.

# Cast rejects the scrapping of talks

304A  
Soweto 28/11/92

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal yesterday rejected the Government's scrapping of all national negotiation forums in preference to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Cast president Mr Moses Mayekiso said they were opposed to housing, health, education, electricity and socio-economic negotiations being made a sub-committee of Codesa. This was because civic organisations, trade unions and other social organisations were not represented at Codesa.

"Codesa has nothing to do with socio-economic issues and must only focus on constitutional negotiations."

Mayekiso said Cast's general council over the weekend had resolved to embark on a mass action campaign to force the Government to reverse its decision on national negotiation forums.

A document which Cast claimed was circulated at a National Housing Forum meeting stated: "In terms of preference, the Government will first put its proposal on transitional government before the

## SA Press Association

Codesa working committee dealing with transitional measures and in the light of this, the Government does not see fit to negotiate forums at this stage".

"The Government's standpoint is that Codesa is the negotiating structure in South Africa for the new constitution and transitional arrangements."

The document proposed that the working committee of the National Housing Forum suspend its work, until Codesa took a decision on transitional government.

"It should be stressed though that this approach in no ways affects the Government's participation regarding the hostel initiative," the document states.

The document also referred to an apparent statement by the Minister of Local Government, National Housing and Public Works, Mr Leon Wessels, in November 1991, to the effect that the Government would not allow an interim government by stealth.



Garner Thomson reports on reaction to FW's speech

# UK papers see only a bleak future for SA

STAN 28/1/92

3044

~~STAN~~

~~STAN~~

TWO of Britain's most influential newspapers have cast serious doubt on President de Klerk's reassurances about South Africa's political way forward.

In the wake of his speech at the opening of Parliament, The Times and The Guardian are unanimously bleak about the future.

The Times comments on Mr de Klerk's assurance that all racial groups will have a place under the Republic's political sun as "easier said than done".

It adds: "Even his proposed referendum is afflicted by the apartheid disease, with vague assurances being given that white

voters can veto any constitutional plan."

Such a veto, the paper adds, "ignores the momentum of democracy in his country and may yet prove a mere tactic in the evolution of negotiations. He must still guard his rear, though this seems a risky hostage to fortune".

Mr de Klerk's interim government plays to the "unspoken white hope" that the moment of truth can be postponed, perhaps for many years, it warns.

It dismisses as absurd the concept of a white homeland, suggesting that the ethnic diversity of South Africa should instead be reflected in a constitution severely

decentralised to provinces, in which a distinct political activity could develop.

"This would need an exercise of self-abnegation quite alien to South African nationalists, black or white," The Times adds.

"South Africa's whites must lose their privileges. But they would retain their human and political rights better by insisting on a constitution that reduces Pretoria to relative impotence.

"Such a constitution is still far from being agreed, but it will be a fascinating final test of white power in a nation that has so much to offer the rest of the country."

The Guardian describes events as a "perilous end game of freedom", accusing President de Klerk of "underwhelming" those hoping for a clear way forward.

The two-fold barrier to real progress, it says, is the actual content of a constitution and the extent to which it would allow for the ring-fencing of a white political voice on the Zimbabwean model.

"It helps no one to pretend that South Africa is not trembling on the edge of a new overshadowing crisis. Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela probably have half a year at most in hand," it suggests. □

# NUM wants Cosatu out of Codesa

Staff Reporter

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) yesterday revealed that it would ask Cosatu to reconsider its decision to take part in Codesa.

Discussing the union's decision on Codesa, NUM president James Motlati said the union's view was that it was not a political organisation and could therefore not take part in that body.

Workers should put their case to Codesa through the delegations of Cosatu's alliance partners, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, he said, adding that the NUM would seek an urgent meeting of the Cosatu leadership to discuss the matter.

Also at yesterday's press conference, NUM introduced media to its new general secretary, Kgalema Mothlanthe.

304A



# Codesa a political Tower of Babel, Treurnicht declares

By Peter Davies

304A

STAR 29/1/92

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a packed Potchefstroom Town Hall last night that his party had refused to join Codesa because the talks were akin to "someone inviting you to dinner, then spitting on the food".

Sharing the stage with Andries Beyers, the CP candidate

in the Potchefstroom by-election, Dr Treurnicht told the boisterous crowd that the CP's policy of self-determination was "the only recipe for peace in this country".

Dr Treurnicht likened Codesa, which he referred to as "Condemnsa" throughout the evening, to a political Tower of Babel.

"We don't want to sit down

with these people. I don't want to make myself look stupid ... and negotiate my people's future with people like Nelson Mandela," he thundered to the 1 000-strong throng of supporters, who spilled into the aisles and perched from windows to get a better glimpse of their leader.

Dr Treurnicht said the goals of Codesa failed to acknowledge the diversity of culture, lan-

guage and religion in the country.

Earlier in the evening, Mr Beyers said he expected to win Potchefstroom's February 19 by-election "quite comfortably".

Mr Beyers said voters were leaving the National Party in their thousands because the NP had broken every promise it had made.

STAR 29/1/92  
**Our credibility  
(304A)  
at stake - CP**

The CP would act counter to its programme of principles and damage its credibility if it took part in Codesa, Cehill Pienaar (CP Heilbron) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the President's opening address, he said the CP could not simply erase three centuries of progress. His ancestors had been at Blood River and on the Great Trek.

Codesa's declaration of intent did not acknowledge the principle of self-determination for which so much blood had been spilled.

The NP reminded him of the spider that was eaten by its partner after mating.

"After the NP has mated politically with the ANC, that partner will bite its head off," he said. — Sapa.



## FW to visit <sup>304A</sup> Eastern bloc <sup>STAR 29/11/92</sup> for first time

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk is to visit former Eastern bloc countries for the first time next week with official visits to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

He is also to meet French President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister John Major on a 10-day tour that will include an address this weekend to the prestigious World Economic Forum conference in Davos, a resort in Switzerland.

After Davos, Mr de Klerk will travel to Paris where, with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, he will receive the Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize from Unesco.

He will also receive the award for political courage from the French journal "Politique Internationale".



# Gap on interim govt closes

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

STAR  
29/11/92

3047

#

Agreement on the key question of an interim government edged closer yesterday as an ANC spokesman cautiously welcomed the NP's new proposals for a "transitional government".

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa welcomed Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's revelation yesterday that the NP now believed an entirely new transitional government should be elected to replace Parliament and Codesa.

At a briefing in the parliamentary complex, Dr Viljoen said a referendum which could put the current Cabinet and Parliament out of business would "hopefully be held before the end of this year".

If the referendum received majority support, existing structures would be replaced as soon as possible by a "fully representative" transitional government.

The implementation of such a government would also render Codesa obsolete.

Although refusing to commit himself firmly to a time-frame for this "fundamental change" — Dr Viljoen said politicians who set deadlines "painted themselves into corners" — the Minister said he hoped the basis for the implementation of the new government could be in place by the end of next year.

## Superseded

Dr Viljoen confirmed that according to the NP's new plans for transitional — or interim — government, existing structures would be superseded.

This ended speculation that what the NP had in mind was merely the expansion of the existing tricameral Parliament to include blacks during the transition.

The NP has yet to reveal its detailed plans for how an election to a transitional parliament would work. But it is almost certain that a bicameral parliament would be

proposed, with a second House catering for minority and regional interests.

The NP would also fight hard for a "rotating" or multiple presidency in the transitional government, and beyond.

Mr Moosa said the Government's view was now closer to the ANC's own proposals.

Agreement on a proper form of interim government was one of the chief tasks facing Codesa's working groups.

Mr Moosa said it had always been the ANC's viewpoint that Codesa was to be dissolved as soon as agreement had been reached on an interim government.

The tricameral Parliament could not act as the legislative authority during the transition period, and the present Parliament and the white minority Government could not continue to operate during the period leading up to a new constitution.

Mr Moosa expressed reservations, however, about the possibility of there being a two-chamber parliament in which the NP would effec-

tively retain a veto.

Mr Moosa said the body drafting a new constitution should be democratically elected on a proportional basis — without "weighting", as envisaged by the NP.

"Those that carry the day are those who win the support from elections," Mr Moosa said. There was no place for an entrenched veto for any party, he added.

## Unsuitable

The NP shift was, however, a victory for the ANC.

The problem, Mr Moosa said, was that the Government wanted to establish an interim government only after elections had been held.

The question arose how those elections were to be conducted.

"This Government does not hold the confidence of the majority of South Africans and is not suitable to oversee the elections. An interim government is needed to conduct elections," he said.

● Near and yet so far apart in thinking — Page 21



President de Klerk and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi met yesterday at Tuynhuis in Cape Town. Mr de Klerk gave the assurance that South Africa would not interfere in the peace process in Angola by funding UNITA's September election campaign, but he said South Africa was "involved in negotiations on how we can help reconstruction in Angola in an affordable way".



# NEGOTIATIONS STEP-BY-STEP DRAFT PROPOSALS

30417

Sowetan  
29/1/92

STRUCTURE	TASKS	TIME FRAME
CODESA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Working Groups negotiate agreements on free political activity, Interim Government, Constituent Assembly, reincorporation of TBVC territories, role of international community, time frames and implementation.</li> <li>● Agreements adopted by full sittings of Codesa</li> <li>● Agreements drafted into Bills by Codesa sub-structures</li> <li>● Bills passed by tricameral parliament</li> </ul>	<b>February 1992</b> <b>3-4 months</b> <b>April/May 1992</b>
INTERIM GOVERNMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Interim Government set up to supervise transition</li> <li>● Starts with immediate implementation of control over security forces, public media, electoral process, budget and finance, socio-economic forums, etc</li> </ul>	<b>May 1992</b> <b>1 month</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Detailed negotiations over any other areas of government continue and implementation as agreement is reached</li> <li>● Campaign for elections</li> <li>● Registration of voters of any other mechanisms agreed on</li> <li>● Elections for Constituent Assembly</li> </ul>	<b>June 1992</b> <b>4 months</b> <b>September 1992</b>
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Elects chair and establishes rules of procedure</li> <li>● Negotiates new constitution on the basis of constitutional principles agreed on at Codesa</li> <li>● Adopts new Constitution</li> </ul>	<b>October 1992</b> <b>3 months</b> <b>December 1992</b>
FORMATION OF A DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT	<div> <div> <b>Option 1</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Constituent Assembly converts itself into the first National Assembly</li> <li>● Election of any other house of parliament</li> <li>● Formation of democratic government</li> <li>● Interim Government dissolves</li> <li>● Election of regional governments</li> </ul> </div> <div> <b>Option 2</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Constituent Assembly dissolves</li> <li>● Election of new parliament</li> <li>● Formation of democratic government</li> <li>● Interim Government dissolves</li> <li>● Election of regional governments</li> </ul> </div> </div>	<div> <div> <b>Jan/Feb 1993</b>  <b>2-3 months</b> </div> <div> <b>2-3 months</b>  <b>April/May 1993</b> </div> </div>
	<b>Formal end of apartheid rule</b>	<b>FREEDOM DAY</b>

Above is a chart of how the ANC, if it had its way, would like to see events unfold from now. It leads to "Freedom Day" - the formal end of apartheid rule - some time after May next year.

Readers are reminded that this is the ANC's view of how events should unfold and that the details still have to be negotiated through organisations such as Codesa. These details were first published in *Mayibuye*, the official journal of the ANC.

# Why Codesa needs chiefs

3041A  
29/1/92

THE executive committee of the Congress of Traditional Leaders yesterday spelt out reasons why it should take part in the Convention for a Democratic Convention.

A memorandum to Codesa released after its meeting in Johannesburg said Contralesa national president Chief Phathekile Holomisa would also suggest the format to elect a delegation of traditional leaders.

"We suggest proportional representation is the only fair and appropriate way of accommodating the interests of traditional leaders," Chief Holomisa said.

He said Contralesa was anxious that the participation of traditional leaders be decided before the Codesa groups begin work on February 6.

He said the meeting unanimously resolved to demand nothing less than full participation because items on Codesa's agenda needed the full participation of traditional leaders.

Sapa.



# It's an 'America first' election

STAR 29/1/92

**HUGH ROBERTON** Interviews Harry Schwarz in Washington about US-South African affairs.

**S**OUTH Africa is not expected to be a major issue in this year's presidential and congressional elections in the US and the Bush administration is likely to pursue a low-key policy towards the country for the duration of the campaign, says the South African ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz.

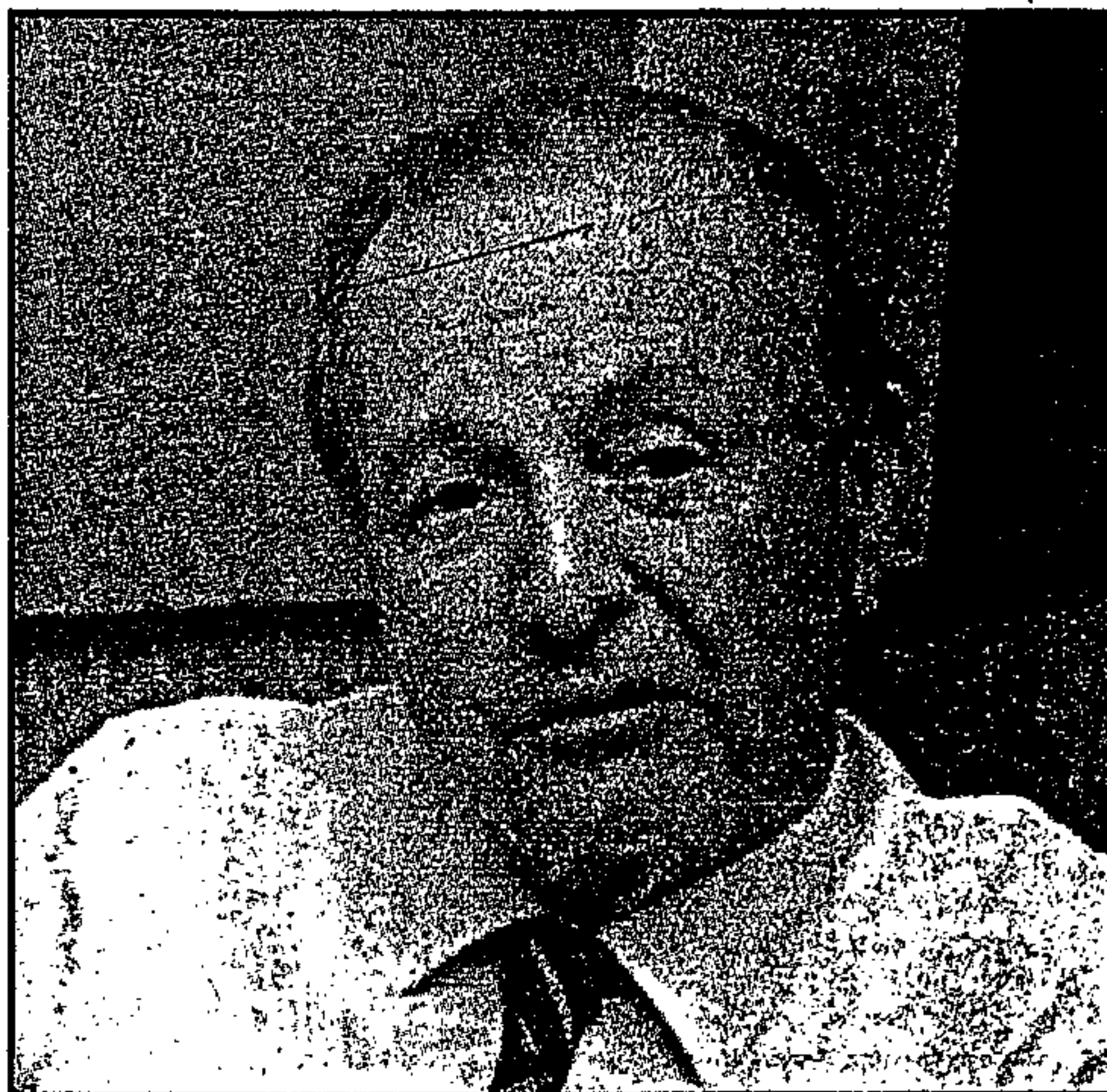
In a broad-ranging interview on relations between the two countries as the US gears up for what is expected to be one of the most fiercely contested elections in many years, Mr Schwarz predicted that economic factors in the US and changed world circumstances would make it an "America first" campaign with little room for issues such as South Africa.

"The only basis for South Africa being involved is if in some way the country were linked to a race relations issue in the US, if there were a minority issue to which South Africa could be hooked.

"The country could become a factor when people debate the issue of foreign aid. But my guess is that initiatives in regard to aid, such as the Solarz initiative, will make slow progress in the election period."

Mr Schwarz said he did not anticipate any significant increase in US aid to South Africa in the coming year. "I think it will only come once another major step occurs. That might be when there is a transitional government."

One of the difficulties facing the Bush administration in increasing aid to South Africa was that the \$80 million (about R224 million) already available had not been spent, largely because such assistance could not go to government institutions or institutions which received gov-



No major increase in aid expected ... Harry Schwarz.

ernment financing — a situation which the Kennedy amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill was seeking to ameliorate.

"An essential task for us is to get the Kennedy amendment passed by Congress."

Mr Schwarz disputed suggestions that South Africa might obtain a loan from the International Monetary Fund by the middle of the year. "For one thing, the Gramm amendment (which prohibits IMF loans to South Africa until certain conditions have been met) is still in place. For another, no move has come from the Government to obtain such a loan."

He said that sooner or later the Government would have to gain access to IMF and other international loan facilities. "Eventually we have got to do something about it because when we get the economy going there is no doubt that insofar as the current account of the balance of payments is concerned, which is in surplus at the mo-

ment, we would run into a deficit.

"Any cautious central banker would want to have standby facilities when we run into a current account deficit. And the ability to get money from private banking institutions is also facilitated since in the normal course of events private banking institutions would want to know if IMF facilities were available. So I think that when the economy gets into an upswing — and there is talk of getting us to a 4 percent annual growth rate in a fairly short time — we simply cannot reach that sort of growth unless we get foreign capital. And foreign capital and IMF facilities are related," he said.

Mr Schwarz stressed that in the developing relationship with the US it was crucial to look at certain long-term objectives, one of the most important being to ensure that the democracy which so many South African were working hard to bring into

being was not short-lived.

He said there had been a misconception that once sanctions were lifted funds would flow back into South Africa. Potential US investors were looking for an end to violence and political uncertainty, and once an interim government was in power many of the obstacles which now obstruct investment would begin to be resolved.

"Perhaps the biggest sanction there is on South Africa is the sanction which South Africa imposes on itself — by projecting an image of a degree of violence and a degree of political uncertainty."

Mr Schwarz argued that in the fierce world of competition for foreign aid and investment, South Africa had more to offer than was generally appreciated.

"Here I think we have an advantage which we are not marketing adequately, an advantage over, for instance, the former Soviet Union and the former communist states of Eastern Europe, in that we have financial systems that are tried and tested in accordance with Western concepts, and which function. We also have an industrial base which functions, and a distribution base which is effective — a good rail system, a good power system, very sophisticated laws on banking, the stock exchange, insurance.

"On the other hand we have a disadvantage in that the West ranks the need for political stability in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe as very important, and the consequences for the US of chaos in those areas are very grave indeed."

What South Africa had to do, therefore, was to concentrate on attracting private investment based on business criteria and the fact that the country was a very fertile area for investment, rather than to try to compete for government aid with the argument that this was needed for stability, Mr Schwarz said. — Star Bureau. □



# Government changes tack on ANC demands for transitional rule

CAPE TOWN — Government has changed its attitude and effectively succumbed to the ANC's demand for an elected constituent assembly in its plan for a transitional government.

But Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a briefing yesterday government had come up with a more realistic and workable option than the ANC's.

He said he hoped the referendum called to accept the transitional constitution would be held before the end of the year. If the interim constitution negotiated at Codesa was of such a nature that all parties agreed it was a "good one" for a new SA, it could become the final constitution with the transitional government leaders agreeing to extend its life and adopt it as a permanent constitution.

It was up to Codesa to decide whether it would include provisions in the transitional constitution to implement a new constitution. These would not necessarily imply the need for another referendum.

Government's plan was an "alternative answer to the need for an elected constituent assembly and the ANC's interim government", and is a more acceptable vehicle", he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

He said government's elected interim/transitional government under a new transitional constitution, initially announced by President F W de Klerk at Codesa in December, made provision for a government with dual responsibility.

"Our aim is that the transitional government and the transitional constitution would make it possible for the transitional government to succeed Parliament and continue the work of Codesa and a constituent assembly."

The transitional government was different in definition from an interim government in that it did not contain the ANC's loaded connotation — that of suspending the constitution and Parliament, and rule by decree.

"The transitional government would have two essential functions: drafting the new constitution for SA, while governing the country at the same time," Viljoen said. This thus met the ANC's demand for an elected and representative body to draw up the new constitution.

He said the whole process envisaged by government would be constitutional and legal and would have the greatest possible

chance of broad legitimacy. The steps envisaged are that: 304/1 Government table its plan at Codesa and negotiate an interim constitution; 304/2 Once agreed at Codesa, the constitution be publicly circulated and debated and a yes/no question be formulated for a referendum; 304/3 A referendum be held globally with built-in checks to gauge the vote under the tricameral constitution; 304/4 After a majority "yes" vote the new interim constitution be taken to the present

To Page 2.

## Transition

31 Dec 1992

304/1

From Page 1

Parliament and passed into law, and 29/11/92 Elections be held in terms of the interim constitution and the current Cabinet and Parliament dissolved and the new, fully representative executive and legislature be appointed and elected.

This new government and parliament would then constitutionally run the country while continuing to negotiate for a new, permanent constitution.

Viljoen said government plans would closely follow the NP's constitutional proposals, which made provision for an upper and a lower house with the necessary checks and balances to give minority parties an effective say in government.

The plans were designed to bring meaningful change to both the executive and the legislature, with the existing constitution effective only in implementing the transitional government.

He said that having noted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's comments on regional government, he was confident a speedy solution could be found as the major parties were converging in their ideas of the way forward.

He said ANC president Nelson Mandela had stated in December that De Klerk was morally bound to call a white referendum, and government would hold the ANC to this understanding.

See Page 5  
Comment Page 12



CYRIL Ramaphosa and Ger-  
crit Viljoen agree that there  
is increasing convergence be-  
tween the views of the ANC and  
the governing National Party  
on the way forward to a new,  
non-racial constitutional order.

But they disagree sharply on  
what the narrowing of differ-  
ences in their thinking means.

Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC sec-  
retary general, perceives a  
"fundamental shift" in the NP's  
approach; he interprets it as  
evidence that the NP is moving  
closer to the ANC's position.

Dr Viljoen, the Minister of  
Constitutional Affairs, does not  
dispute that there has been a  
change in the NP's approach; he  
describes it as an "important  
initiative" and an alternative to  
rather than a duplication of the  
ANC's approach.

The differences have nar-  
rowed further since Dr Viljoen's  
announcement that a referen-  
dum on the Government's pro-  
posal to establish a new transi-  
tional constitution, as the basis  
for a transitional government,  
could be held before year-end.

Dr Viljoen's statement, made  
at news briefing in Cape Town  
yesterday, re-emphasises an-  
other common point: the ANC  
and the NP are both in hurry.

The ANC has already set it-  
self two deadlines: the end of  
July for the installation of an  
interim government and the  
end of the year for the holding  
of free and fair elections for a  
constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen's statement put-  
ting a date to the referendum —  
as a vital step to a transitional  
constitution and a transitional  
parliament, in which the black  
majority will be given "equita-  
ble" representation — repre-  
sents a significant development;  
it gives concrete expression to  
his emphasis that establishment  
of a transitional government is  
a matter which must be urgent-  
ly negotiated at Codesa.

Stressing that the formation  
of a transitional government is  
a vital pre-condition for the es-  
tablishment of stability and in-  
vestor confidence, Dr Viljoen  
says: "The way to success is  
going to be urgency and speed."  
Mr Ramaphosa observes that

# Near and yet so far apart in thinking

STAR 29/1/92

304A

**PATRICK LAURENCE** looks at similarities and differ-  
ences between ANC and NP approaches to constitu-  
tional change.

President de Klerk talked last  
year about "transitional ar-  
rangements" to accommodate  
the black majority until the  
drafting of a new constitution.

Now Mr de Klerk is talking  
about a democratically elected  
"transitional government".

Noting that Mr de Klerk is  
speaking of a transitional but  
popularly elected parliament  
drafting a new constitution, Mr  
Ramaphosa reckons he has ef-  
fectively conceded another key  
ANC demand: that the task of  
drafting a new constitution  
should be assigned to a demo-  
cratically elected constituent  
assembly.

Dr Viljoen, however, dis-  
agrees that the NP and the ANC  
proposals are fast becoming in-  
distinguishable, except for se-  
mantic differences.

The NP talks of a transitional  
government rather than an in-  
terim government but these  
terms are not different phrases  
for the same concept, he says.

"The word interim govern-  
ment is the buzz word that is  
being used by the ANC for a

system where the present con-  
stitution is suspended, the gov-  
ernment is an undefined entity,  
to which there is a total trans-  
fer of power, and parliament is  
no longer functional.

"You have an uncontrolled  
executive, the governmental  
system is no longer in terms of  
a constitution because the con-  
stitution is suspended. There is  
a constitutional and political  
vacuum and that, of course, is  
entirely unacceptable.

Dr Viljoen neither denies that  
there is a new dimension to  
NP/Government thinking nor  
does he shy away from defining  
what the NP means by transi-  
tional government.

"Firstly, the Government ac-  
cepts it will imply a meaningful  
change bringing about a change  
in (rather than suspension or  
abolition of) the constitution.

"Secondly, the shift would in-  
volve not only the executive,  
the government, but also the  
legislature, namely parliament.

"Thirdly, the existing consti-  
tution would apply the method  
of introducing such a transition-

al government with a transi-  
tional constitution: that means  
it will have to be brought about by  
a decision made by (the present)  
parliament.

"The Government is provid-  
ing an alternative ... to the con-  
cepts of constituent assembly  
and an interim government, as  
defined by the ANC.

"We believe that a transition-  
al government ... would be an  
acceptable (forum) to argue and  
negotiate a better alternative to  
a constituent assembly.

"While a constituent assem-  
bly as generally defined is sup-  
posed to be elected on a one  
man, one vote majoritarian  
basis — where the majority,  
once elected, will simply final-  
ise the constitution — the ap-  
proach of the Government is to  
ensure proper representation of  
minorities in decision-making."

To achieve its end the NP  
proposes that the principles un-  
derlying its draft constitutional  
plan — with its elaborate sys-  
tem of checks and balances, in-  
cluding a regionally based  
upper chamber with represen-  
tation weighted in favour of  
smaller parties — should be  
considered at Codesa as basis  
for the transitional government.

Mr Ramaphosa, however, is  
unperturbed by NP plan and  
does not fear that it will entan-  
gle and constrain the ANC.

"Of course De Klerk has to  
say he wants to base (the transi-  
tional government) on his con-  
stitutional proposals, but those  
proposals have not found accep-  
tance from a broad spectrum of  
political parties.

"The key issue is the funda-  
mental shift that the (ruling  
NP) has effected. The funda-  
mental shift in their thinking  
now is that the constitution  
must be drafted by people who  
have been elected."

Mr Ramaphosa is confident  
that the ANC's view that the  
process must be kept as simple  
as possible will prevail and that  
Codesa will reject the NP com-  
plicated proposals. Underlying  
his thinking is a calculation that  
the balance of power at Codesa  
lies with ANC-aligned forces  
rather than De Klerk adminis-  
tration and its allies. □



Viljoen ... an  
alternative to  
the ANC's  
approach.



Ramaphosa  
... finds shift  
in NP's  
approach.



# CP leaders 'choosing a path of armed struggle'

CAPE TOWN — CP leaders gave the impression that they were deliberately choosing the path of armed struggle rather than negotiation, Piet Swanepoel (NP Nominated) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the President's address, he said the best thing the CP could do would be to come to Codesa to participate and put their case.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said the reasons given by the CP for not participating in Codesa were not valid. He said the principle of self-determination was recognised by the NP and would be by Codesa. The CP should not hide behind the Codesa's declaration of intent as a reason not to take part.

The CP had still not made it clear what it meant when it spoke of self-determination for the *volk*. Some members of the CP referred to whites, others referred exclusively to Afrikaners. The CP was also not prepared to map out a territory or area in which it wanted self determination.

But Cehill Pienaar (CP Heilbron) said the CP would act counter to its pro-

gramme of principles and would damage its credibility if it took part in Codesa.

He said the CP could not simply erase three centuries of progress. Codesa's declaration of intent did not acknowledge the principle of self-determination for which so much blood had been spilled.

The NP reminded him of the spider that was eaten by its partner after mating. "After the NP has mated politically with the ANC, that partner will bite your head off," he said.

Pienaar also challenged President F W de Klerk to make one less trip overseas and visit the drought-stricken highveld farmers instead to see how their financial situation was deteriorating daily.

De Klerk had said SA could not become a food importing country, but with the drought it would in all probability have to do so.

"Inflation is still the farmer's biggest enemy, and if government does not take drastic action to protect the farmer one way or another we will indeed become a food importing country."

## Reduce the tax burden, says chamber

PRETORIA — The business community would believe government commitment to cutting state spending when they actually saw it happening, Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mike Cato said in a statement yesterday.

Stressing the urgent need for action, Cato said President F W de Klerk had made it clear he excluded from the definition of effective action cosmetic conversion of state revenue sources from direct to indirect taxation.

Political rhetoric had been the background to continued inflation, increasing state spending, rising budget deficits and an accelerating sluggish economy.

Increasing the tax burden as a quick fix directly or indirectly would be economically and politically foolish and would drive

GERALD REILLY

big and small business to the wall, he warned.

Cato said there was a desperate need for stimulating business growth.

Never before had the timing been so right for an economic recovery. "The coming Budget must reduce the tax burden. This can only be done by reducing the demands of the state on the fiscus."

Any increase in the VAT rate, in particular, was absolutely unacceptable to business in Johannesburg in particular and SA in general.

SA could lead the whole southern African trading area into an era of growth and development if given the opportunity.

## Development Aid to be dismantled

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet had decided to dismantle the Development Aid Department by March 31 in a move towards more equitable government services, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers said yesterday.

The Cabinet also had decided on January 22 to dismantle the SA Development Trust with effect from April 1, he said.

The Act which established the trust had been repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1991.

The Act provided for the trust to be phased out, as well as providing that the President could repeal the remaining sections of the 1936 Trust and Land Act, which were retained for transitional purposes.

"Government is committed to rationalisation of the civil service with the view to the improved rendering of services and savings, where possible. Apart from this, the implementation of new policies since September 6 1989 also brought about the need for existing institutions to be investigated with the view to adaption, restructuring and reform to allow equitable government services, without discrimination on the basis of race or colour."

Against this background, the role and place of the Development Aid Department in the government system was again thoroughly reviewed.

Investigations and recommendations by the commission of administration since 1984 had also been taken into account.

Staff would be transferred to other departments. — Sapa.

## Rugby to round off talks

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — President F W de Klerk and Prime Minister John Major are expected to round off talks in London on Saturday by watching England play Ireland in the Five Nations rugby match at Twickenham.

Political sources said that subject to time, security matters and protocol being satisfied — meaning no note of disapproval from the Dublin government — the afternoon at Twickenham is on.



# Govt hints at non-racial local elections next year

CAPE TOWN — It was unlikely that the 1993 municipal elections would be like those of 1988, which were racially based, Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

The final negotiations for future structures of local government would be conducted nationally, though government still encouraged local talks, he told a news briefing.

"We are negotiating structures for central government at national level, but at the same time putting together structures for local government at national level," Wessels said.

"The final negotiations on future structures of local government will be national."

There had been more negotiations on local level than anywhere else.

"That set of negotiations will continue without undermining the spirit of negotiations at a national level."

"We are in favour of these negotiations, and are encouraging people to set up joint structures with mutual consent."

Negotiations at Codesa, however, would ultimately decide the law of the land and whether there ought to be one city, one tax base.

Wessels said the dynamics of urbanisation in SA had simply overtaken the ideology of apartheid.

The country needed a vision on how to provide space and shelter for all South Africans, but government, faced by budgetary constraints, could

not do this alone.

Government was waiting for two reports to be released shortly which would deal with the formation of a comprehensive housing policy for the whole country.

These were the President's Council report on urbanisation, and the SA Housing Commission investigation into all aspects of housing in this country.

Wessels reiterated government's commitment to working in tandem with the public and private sectors, as well as with local communities.

A task group of the SA Housing Commission had set out to establish the facts about housing needs, and these were awesome. — Sapa.

## Black schools back to normal

PRETORIA — Normal "pass one, pass all" campaigning is proceeding in most black schools in the country despite isolated incidents in the Transvaal and Free State since the reopening of schools under the Department of Education and Training, according to a DET spokesman.

DET national spokesman Geoff Mkawakwa yesterday said some Transvaal and Free State schools were disrupted when pupils demanded full pass rates.

National enrolment figures were not yet known. Schools affected by the

However, disruptions still affected other schools.

Meanwhile, the Duduza Education Co-ordinating Committee yesterday slammed the DET for allegedly failing to address problems at schools in the East Rand township. — Sapa.

## Probe into cost of medicine

KARIN FRANKEN

THE high cost of medicine is being addressed by the introduction of a five-year SA National Drugs Action Programme (Sandap).

Commissioned by the Health and Population Development Department, Sandap was formed to stabilise drug prices and ensure that essential medicines were made affordable. Cape Town University's pharmacology department headed the project.

Prof Peter Folb, of UCT's Medical School, said Sandap was started last August, but during the prior period numerous groups concerned with health care had offered their support and input for the programme.

A Health Department spokesman said five basic principles — affordability, accessibility, equitability, cost effectiveness and acceptability — would be essential for better health care services. Asked if the issue of cost effectiveness of medicines received enough attention from Sandap, the spokesman said: "There are no simplistic solutions to the high cost of medicines in SA, and all possible solutions have been investigated."

Another issue the UCT team intends resolving is that of traditional and herbal medicines.

# CP lashes 'Condemnsa' (304A) Feb 29/1992

Treurnicht: 'It's like inviting someone to dinner then spitting on the food'

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**POTCHESFSTROOM.** — 'The government's invitation to the Conservative Party to join the Codesa talks was like "someone inviting you to dinner, then spitting on the food", said Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht here.

Sharing the stage last night with Andries Beyers, the CP candidate in the Potchefstroom by-election, he told a packed city hall why his party had refused to join the talks.

The CP's policy of self-determination was "the only recipe for peace in this country", he said.

Dr Treurnicht likened Codesa — which he called "Condemnsa" throughout the evening — to a "political Tower of Babel".

"We don't want to sit down

with these people. I don't want to make myself look stupid ... and negotiate my people's future with people like Nelson Mandela," he said to the often boisterous 1 000-strong crowd.

The goals of Codesa failed to acknowledge the diversity of culture, language and religion in the country.

Earlier in the evening, Mr Beyers said he expected to win Potchefstroom's February 19 by-election "quite comfortably."

He said that after last night's special votes the CP was "at least 1 000" votes ahead.

He thanked English speaking CP members for their "tremendous support".

Dr Treurnicht reminded the crowd that English speakers had co-founded the Conservative Party.





# Codesa 'bait': CP scorns Nat move

APR 29/1/92 (364A)

NATIONALIST hopes that at least some rightwingers might nibble at the self-determination bait put out by President De Klerk were again dashed in the joint session of parliament.

One of the key figures in the Conservative Party who has been presented by Nationalist commentators as being one of the rightwingers who have a more positive approach to negotiations stood by his leader's rejection of attempts to get the rightwing to go to Codesa.

He was Mr Cehill Pienaar, MP for Heilbron and Free State leader of the CP.

After Mr De Klerk's opening speech on Friday he was said to have described Mr De Klerk's proposal to put the concept of self-determination on the Codesa agenda as a step in the right direction. In the debate on the president's speech he complained that he was being quoted selectively.

He stood firmly by the official CP line — that it was irrevocably in favour of the right of the "volk" to self-determination in its own fatherland with its own government.

Mr Pienaar said the CP would act counter to its principles and damage its credibility if it took part in Codesa. Much blood had been spilled for the concept of self-determination in the past three centuries.

Codesa's declaration of intent spoke only of an undivided South Africa.

Mr Pienaar said he was on record as saying that he would work within the CP for talks on

**TOS  
WENTZEL**  
on the debate  
on the  
President's  
speech



the "concretisation" of the principle of self-determination of matters such as borders, but only if this principle was recognised beforehand.

It was regrettable that his statements on this important matter had been quoted selectively in an attempt to drive a wedge into the CP. This was an indication of trouble in the National Party.

The CP was not against negotiations as such or against negotiating for a smaller South Africa for the "volk".

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, MP for Helderkruid and secretary-general of the National Party, said acceptance of Codesa's declaration of intent was not essential to participation in negotiations. There was also provision for the declaration to be amended if necessary.

There was no content to the CP's ideas because it had not given any indication of the territory of the state it stood for. Instead of one clear plan a whole number of concepts were floating around.

While the concept was recognised in international law the concept of lesser self-determination would be more realistic in South Africa.

The National Party would work for the maximum devolution of power to local regions. In this way the maximum degree of self-determination could be achieved through local autonomy where the cultural rights of groups could be recognised.

In South Africa total self-determination in an independent State could become a nightmare.

# NP's proposals (364A) 'victory' for ANC

## Political Staff

ARG 29/1/92  
AGREEMENT on the key question of interim government has edged closer as an ANC spokesman cautiously welcomed the National Party's new proposals for a "transitional government".

Senior ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa told The Argus it was "a victory" for the ANC that the government had conceded it was not qualified to oversee the transition to free elections.

He was responding to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen's revelation that the NP now believed an entirely new transitional government should be elected to replace parliament and Codesa.

Welcoming Dr Viljoen's statement, Mr Moosa said it brought the government view closer to the ANC's own proposals.

Agreement on a proper form of interim government is one of the chief tasks facing Codesa's working groups, now in session.

Mr Moosa said it had always been the ANC's viewpoint that Codesa was to be dissolved as soon as agreement had been reached on an interim government.

The tricameral parliament could not act as the legislative authority during the transition period, and the present parliament and the white minority government could not continue to operate during the period leading up to a new constitution.

Mr Moosa expressed reservations, however, about government proposals for a two-chamber parliament in which the NP would effectively retain a veto.

Mr Moosa said the body drafting a new constitution should be democratically elected on a proportional basis — without "weighting", as envisaged by the NP.

The NP shift was however a victory for the ANC.



# DP plan for new constitution

THE Democratic Party has proposed a separate constitutional-making machinery that would function alongside a transitional government, said Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point).

Speaking in debate yesterday on the State President's opening address, he said his party eagerly awaited the government's detailed proposals, especially how it intended rolling the concept of transitional government and the process of constitution-making into one.

"We doubt whether this piggy-back concept will succeed. For this reason the DP has proposed a constitutional-making machinery in the form of an elected Constitutional Conference that will function alongside, but separately from a transitional government.

The DP believed that the Constitutional Con-

ference should be bound by the principles and the decision-making procedures already agreed to through the negotiating process and:

- That its powers should be limited to those negotiated and conferred by the constitutional authority at that time; and

- That its constitutional proposals should be subject to ratification by a referendum of the voters of South Africa as a whole.

"And yet the State President's speech taken together with his speech at Codesa on December 20 ... is not unimportant."

It said the government was prepared to amend the constitution to provide for a transitional government and parliament that was representative of the total population. — Sapa.

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## Busy tour ahead for De Klerk

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to visit former Eastern Bloc countries for the first time next week with state visits to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

He will also meet French President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister John Major on a 10-day tour that will include an address this weekend to the prestigious World Economic Forum conference in Davos, a resort in Switzerland.

This trip by Mr De Klerk will be characterised by encounters with an extremely

wide range of international political and economic leaders.

He will meet Polish president Lech Walesa, Hungarian president Arpad Goncz and Czech president Vaclav Havel in an intense programme of back-to-back visits lasting three days, his office announced.

After Davos, Mr De Klerk will travel to Paris, where, along with Mr Mandela, he will accept the Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize from Unesco.

He will also be presented with an award for political courage from the French journal Politique Internationale.



# Louw makes bid to woo blacks to referendum

STAR 29/11/92  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Department of Home Affairs is to launch an intensive publicity campaign to issue between three and four million black voters with identity documents before a referendum.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw told journalists in Cape Town yesterday that 72 percent of all black voters were in possession of identity documents and almost 100 percent of voters in the tricameral Parliament had documents.

Voters in a referendum would have to comply with three conditions: South African citizenship, be over 18 and have an identity document.

Voters rolls would not be used in a referendum, he said.

Citizens of the TBVC states would not be allowed to vote in the referendum. But many also held South African citizenship and would therefore be entitled to cast a vote, Mr Louw said.

He had written to political leaders, including



Gene Louw ... wants millions more black voters to have ID documents.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, requesting them to appeal to their supporters to apply for identity documents.

He said the Government had not ditched the Referendums Amendment Bill, although it had ran into "unexpected" criticism in the joint parliamentary standing committee.

Mr Louw would discuss the Bill in the Cabinet within the next two weeks and the Cabinet would then decide whether to refer it back to the joint standing committee.

A Referendum Bill would have to be tabled in Parliament this year.

STAR 29/1/92  
**Dutch govt  
postpones  
visit to SA**

THE HAGUE — The Dutch government yesterday announced the postponement of an official visit to South Africa by Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek that was to have taken place next month.

It would have been the first such high-level Dutch visit to Pretoria since the 1950s.

However, late last year after word of the impending visit leaked out, the ANC voiced its objections, claiming it was politically premature.

A Dutch government source said the primary reason for the cancellation was a split in the ruling coalition in The Netherlands. While the senior partner Christian Democrats wanted to go ahead with the trip, their junior partners, the Socialists, were adamantly opposed.

"There was an obvious problem which we had to solve before a visit could take place", said the source.

The source said the government hoped to reschedule the visit in the near future and added that "the only precondition is that all parties in South Africa want to talk with us."



# Concepts of interim government take root

Southen 29/1/92.

(3041)

A PICTURE was emerging this week in Cape Town on the concept and form of a likely interim government for South Africa during the present redevelopment process.

Both the Government and the ANC, in somewhat vague and still very tentative terms, elucidated the developing vision of an interim government.

There is near total confluence on the idea of an interim government being legally instituted by the present parliament. So it will be more than just a government of national unity - it should be a government whose legitimacy cannot be overruled by the highest court in South Africa.

Before the interim government actually sits down, the National Party believes the public should be consulted by means of a referendum on the proposals and the constitutional changes which will come into effect.

Here the basic difference is perhaps the biggest stumbling block to the inception of an interim government. The Government, by its own admission believes it is "honour-bound" to go to the white electorate for its approval of any changes to the constitution.

The ANC, besides finding the idea of a white referendum distinctly unacceptable, feels the Government is duty bound to the people of South Africa as a whole and not just to whites.

The ruling National Party responds to this by saying it received a conditional mandate to embark on the present process of reform.

In terms of this conditional mandate they are morally obliged to return to the electorate that gave them this mandate for approval of

## FOCUS

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

any changes that are to be made to the constitution, the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, explains.

He says also that a second referendum - it is envisaged that this would be for everybody - should be held at the end of the lifespan of the interim government, to accept the final constitution for the country.

The ANC does not differ in principle on this, but both agree that these details will have to be discussed at Codesa, where the actual deliberations on South Africa's constitutional future will start in earnest on February 6.

It is also here, at Codesa, where the two will lock horns on the issue of an interim government.

The ANC still, albeit in a somewhat watered-down way, seeks a constituent assembly elected on the

basis of one-person-one-vote, and the government believes that an interim government will mutate into an actual constitution-making body simply by means of its composition.

Van der Merwe says that after Codesa's working group that deals with the question of an interim government submits its proposals to Parliament to be expedited, and the whites have given the go-ahead for the changes in the constitution that will facilitate such an authority, elections will be held for an interim government.

He believes that the necessity for a constituent assembly would then fall away - the interim government would then work on a constitution.

The Government believes this "phased" approach is preferable to the demand by the PAC, for example, whose central issue is elections to a constituent assembly - with nothing before and very little after.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and a key person in the Government's negotiations team, believes that an interim government empowered by an interim constitution could "lead or conduct" negotiations in phases towards a final constitution.

If this phased process is accepted, and Viljoen sees no reason why it shouldn't be, the present "unsatisfactory" tri-cameral constitution can be replaced swiftly, he says.

"Speedy agreement on a first-phase interim government will in the short term create political stability and encourage investment.

"At the same time, valuable experience in coalition government (saamreger) can also be

built up.

"An interim government also provides an opportunity for preparation and adaptation to the final constitution.

"A speedily established interim government could also elevate the importance of the backlogs in underprivileged societies on the Government's agenda," Viljoen told Parliament this week.

However, while the picture of an interim government was taking shape this week, the idea of a democratically elected constituent assembly got support from an unusual source this week.

During Monday's debate on State President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech last Friday, the Labour Party's Mr Peter Hendrickse lodged his party's support for a constituent assembly.

Hendrickse said that the ruling National Party had over the past 40 years led the country down the dark and dangerous road of economic decline unemployment and depression.

The Government, he said, was unfit to rule the country during the interim period.

"We believe that Codesa should determine certain basic constitutional principles to be written by a constituent assembly.

"We further believe that the powers and functions of such an assembly must also be determined by Codesa.

"The Labour Party believes that it is essential and in the interest of the country as a whole and its people that we have an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

"We do not believe that the architects of apartheid can be designers of the new South Africa," Hendrickse said.

# Nats congratulate new NUM boss

*Sowetan 29/1/92*

IN a startling display of détente the National Party this week sent a message of congratulations to the National Union Mineworkers' newly elected secretary-general, Mr Kgalema Mothlanthe.

The NP's manpower study group chairman, Mr Tjaart Kruger yesterday also said it was "regrettable" that NUM had decided to renege on a deal it struck last year with the mining industry bosses to link

wage increases in the industry to profits and productivity.

"The National Party appeals to NUM not to sacrifice their solid achievements in the wage negotiation field to posturing for political ends and appeals to both NUM, the Chamber of Mines and other employer bodies to get together and employ creative means to resolve the problem for the benefit of the industry as a whole," Kruger said.



## Right wing and Codesa

6 (12) Aug 29 11 1972  
A "PROGRESSIVE" right-wing party formed on January 10 has asked to join Codesa.

Boerentia Party chairman Barry Nilsson said his organisation's policy was one of self-determination, with all races equal before the law. It had applied to register as a political party. Non-whites would be able to vote for white nominees in the government.

Although schools would be set up for each cultural group, parents could decide where to send their children. (304A)

His party intended representing Boers and "those in agreement", which was what the T-I-A in Boerentia stood for. Canvassers had received nearly 800 signatures in support of the movement, he said.

The Afrikaner Party and Boervolk have also applied to join Codesa. — Sapa.

8/10 Aug 29/11/92  
Govt bid to  
slow talks,  
claims SACP

THE SA Communist Party yesterday accused the government of trying to submerge the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) in a range of issues not related to its tasks.

It was an attempt to slow down the negotiation process, the SACP said after a two-day central committee meeting at the weekend in Johannesburg to re-assess Codesa and the party's role.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to Codesa, and said it would participate fully in Codesa's five working groups.

Central committee member Jeremy Cronin said there were serious concerns that government was trying to submerge Codesa in a range of outside issues relating to the socio-economic crisis.

"We see this as an attempt to remove the question of housing, education, health and the economy away from the terrain of mass involvement," Cronin said. (304A)

"Codesa has its own crucial tasks, but it cannot and must not supplement other crucial forums like the housing forum and the macro-economic negotiating forum in which mass democratic organisations are playing a crucial role."

Cronin said government was trying to make Codesa co-responsible for its past mistakes. — Sapa.



# Pik defers challenge to ban on IMF loans

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The time was not right to risk a congressional debate in Washington on the Gramm Amendment, which blocked SA's access to IMF loans, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news briefing yesterday.

"I would be hesitant to risk a debate now as I am not yet convinced that the majority in the House of Representatives would vote in favour. But there might be other means to achieve the same purpose," Botha said.

He said that in order to compile a Budget that would stimulate economic growth in SA it was necessary for government to have the reassurance that SA would be able

to draw on IMF facilities if it ran into balance of payments problems in 18 to 24 months' time.

Botha said that SA had complied with all the political conditions of the Gramm Amendment but did not presently have balance of payments problems for it to qualify for an IMF loan.

Our political staff reports Botha yesterday acknowledged that he was thinking of retirement.

The second-longest serving foreign minister in the world after Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Botha will have held his post for 15 years on April 1.

Questioned at a news conference yesterday about whether he hoped to serve in a soon-to-be established interim government, Botha smilingly allowed that he was "getting on in years".

Talking about the time when he would finally step down, he said: "I can feel it in my bones — it's approaching." (304A)

But he added that whether he served in an interim government had little to do with his personal preference.

Foreign Affairs insiders said last night dismissed speculation that the 59-year-old Botha might soon call it a day.

# Call on white workers to unite or 'be buried'

8/10 cy 29/11/92  
IF WHITE workers and farmers don't form a united front to reject the government, "We might as well get a grave for the white working class in Westpark cemetery," CP MP and Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said yesterday.

Bruwer was speaking at the official opening of the annual congress of the white Mine Workers' Union (MWU) in Johannesburg.

Under banners proclaiming "Unite for One White Union" and "White Worker Wake Up," Bruwer said white workers had to unite to form one white "super" union.

He called on white union leaders, on the 70th anniversary of the white miners' strike on the PWV, to put aside their differences and unite this year.

Bruwer said the whites' feeling of national pride was being battered because the country's humanists wanted to prove there is no difference between white and non-white workers.

MWU's general secretary Peet Ungerer said the union started a campaign last year to form one union for all white workers. He said the union now had 40 000 members in

DIRK HARTFORD

key positions in the economy, including the mining, steel, chemical, electrical, municipal, postal and retail sectors. "Talks with the leaders of other white unions are currently under way and we hope to make an announcement soon," said Ungerer.

Although MWU president Cor de Jager said the MWU was not affiliated to any political organisation, Bruwer said it was no longer possible to avoid political choices.

He said white workers were "productive" while black workers went on strike whenever their "poor productivity was exposed".

He cited high unemployment, discrimination against white workers through US affirmative action programmes, scandalous workmens' compensation, intimidation of whites, mixed schools and Codesa as the biggest threats facing white workers.

De Jager said the MWU wanted ANC president Nelson Mandela, as the de facto president of SA, to note that white workers would fight for self-determination.



# Codesa wants details

Political Staff

QUESTIONNAIRES are to be sent to all organisations applying for membership of Codesa, requesting copies of their constitutions and information about when they were established and the support they enjoy.

This was decided yesterday at a meeting of the eight-man executive of the management committee of Codesa, which met for more than three hours at D.F. Malan Airport.

The only absentee was Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdalose, who is ill.

Twenty-five organisations have applied to join Codesa, including the

Afrikaner Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA), the Freedom Party of South Africa and the Peoples' Progressive party.

It is understood the issue of the rotating chairmanship of committees was not dealt with due to a lack of time and has been deferred to a full meeting of the management committee on February 10.

It is understood the World Trade Centre will be the permanent venue of Codesa, with all working groups meeting there as well as Codesa II, the second plenary session scheduled for the end of March or early April.

# Transition poll by year end?

304ft  
RCT 29/1/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government hoped a referendum on a negotiated transitional constitution could be held before the end of the year, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

The National Party was confident of winning the one person, one vote elections for a transitional government which it proposed should follow the referendum, he told a media briefing of foreign and local journalists.

Dr Viljoen refused to disclose what contingency plans the government had drawn up in the event of whites rejecting the outcome of negotiations in a referendum.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the government would be "in trouble" if whites said "no" in a referendum but added that he did not believe that whites had "a death wish".

But other senior Nationalists said that the government would be duty-bound to hold a general election among whites if it lost a referendum.

Dr Viljoen said the government believed it was "certainly possible" that both the interim government and the interim constitution during the transition period could be converted into a permanent government and constitution.

He said he foresaw the whole of the current cabinet falling away under a transitional government and a transitional constitution, particularly if fun-

## Non-racial council elections foreseen

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was "highly unlikely" to have racially based municipal elections as scheduled next year, the Minister of Local Government, National Housing and Public Works, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

Mr Wessels stressed that negotiation on local government level was essential in the transition to a new South Africa and future models could not be decided unilaterally.

At a press briefing, he also played down speculation that the creation of single cities with one tax base would lead to increased rates and Regional Services Council levies.

For example, more effective administration could lead to more efficient collection of rentals.

Where councils such as those dominated by the Conservative Party were reluctant to negotiate joint administrations, "we will have to look at ways and means to make it more attractive for them".

His department awaited two important reports.

damental changes were made to the current constitution.

He was confident that the government's proposal for an elected transitional government with executive and legislative powers would serve as an acceptable alternative to the ANC's call for a constituent assembly.

Between three and four million Africans eligible to vote have yet to be issued with the necessary identity documents, Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday.

This represents 28% of all eligible African voters, most of whom are in remote areas.

Mr Louw told a press briefing that his department would be launching an "intensive publicity campaign" within the next few days to encourage people to apply for identity documents.



# Six-nation tour for FW

30411  
CT 29/1/92

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk leaves on Friday for a six-nation tour of Western and Eastern Europe incorporating official state visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Mr De Klerk will be catching up on the invitations he accepted last year from these three Eastern Bloc countries and postponed in favour of going to Moscow, which subsequently had to also be postponed with the demise of the Soviet Union.

Mr De Klerk's first stop will be when he meets British Prime Minister Mr John Major on Saturday. He will then travel to Davos, Switzerland, to address the World Economic Forum on South Africa's role in a changing world.

After his speech he will join a panel to discuss the route for South Africa's economic recovery. With him on the panel will be Mr Nelson Mandela, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Barlow Rand director and chairman of the National Peace Secretariat Mr John Hall and Venda leader Mr Nelson Ramodike.

On Monday, February 3, he travels to Paris to be awarded the Unesco peace prize. He will also lunch with President Francois Mitterrand.

From there he will travel to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, meeting those countries' leaders.

He is due back in South Africa on February 10.

## Govt prepares for referendum

*13/005 29/11/92*  
 CAPE TOWN — The Department of Home Affairs was gearing itself for a referendum on SA's constitutional future, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Addressing an international news conference, he said it had to be noted, however, that not all black SA citizens of 18 years or older who qualified as voters had applied for the required identity documents. (304A)

The Department of Home Affairs would within days launch an intensive publicity campaign to encourage blacks without IDs to apply.

The Referendum Bill, which had met opposition from various parties, had "certainly not been ditched", but had been referred back to the relevant standing committee.

If necessary, he would go to the Cabinet about the matter, as the Bill had to be passed during this session of Parliament to enable a referendum to be held.

Louw said it would not be right for government to force TBVC citizens to take part in a referendum as those states were "independent". — Sapa.



# Tight schedule for De Klerk's European tour

B/day 29/1/92

304A

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk leaves on Friday for a six-nation tour of western and eastern Europe, incorporating three official state visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Catching up on invitations he accepted last year from these three east European countries and postponed in favour of going to Moscow, subsequently also postponed with the demise of the Soviet Union, De Klerk has combined the trip with a visit to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland and to Paris to receive a Unesco prize.

De Klerk's first stop will be a meeting with British Prime Minister John Major on Saturday.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday confirmed De Klerk will then travel to Davos to address the World Economic Forum on SA's role in a changing world.

After his speech he will join a panel as NP leader with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, In-

BILLY PADDOCK

katha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Barlow Rand director and chairman of the National Peace Secretariat John Hall and Venda leader Nelson Ramodike. The panel will discuss the route for SA's economic recovery.

The high-powered world forum was established 20 years ago. Its membership is primarily composed of senior MD's of top companies throughout the world.

The forum invites world leaders and business figures each year to address them, taking the form of a network conference to accommodate informal meetings.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Netherlands' Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and the prime ministers of India, France and mainland China are expected to be there.

Among the 30 SA business leaders at the forum will be Eskom CE Johan Maree, Standard Bank's Conrad Strauss, Peter Wrighton, Robin Plumtree and Eu-

gene van As.

On Monday De Klerk travels to Paris to receive the Unesco peace prize of R364 000, awarded jointly with Mandela.

He has also been invited to lunch with French President Francois Mitterand. On Tuesday, De Klerk also accepts a newsmaker of the year award from a French political magazine.

From there he travels to Hungary for an official state visit to meet President Gyorgy Szabad. Then he leaves for Czechoslovakia to meet President Vaclav Havel. He is also to meet Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

His last official visit is to Poland to meet President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and to visit the statue of the unknown soldier.

During his official visits he will attend several ceremonial and official state functions before the final leg of the journey back to London.

He will arrive in SA on Monday February 10.

## I feel betrayed

304A

STN

- Hendrickse

30/1/92

CAPE TOWN - More Labour Party MPs might defect to the National Party, but his party was prepared for it, LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

However, if there were an election in the House of Representatives, the LP would win, he said.

He felt betrayed by the NP and would not consider being part of Mr de Klerk's Cabinet.

He also admitted that his party would look to future co-operation with the ANC and other organisations, but he would not consider an alliance - especially one that involved the NP.

"There is a possibility that there will be further defections. If it does develop, then we will be ready for whatever happens. The LP still has remarkable support. Support for Mr de Klerk among the so-called coloured community is support for the person and cannot be interpreted as support for the NP."

He had proof that 60 percent of coloureds supported Mr de Klerk and not the NP. - Sapa.



# Parliament recedes as Codesa to fore



**ANC Viewpoint**  
by ALLAN  
BOESAK

IF LAST week's People's Parliament on the Parade proved anything, it was that the focus of political attention is no longer on the meanderings of an institution that has, in its present form, played itself out.

The evidence lies not only in the vote of the variously estimated 50 or 60 000 people who gathered on the Parade to vote for an interim government and constituent assembly in 1992, but also in the essential flabbiness of De Klerk's speech to Parliament. Not one of the burning issues on the South African agenda was adequately addressed.

The regime, it appears, has no strategy on major questions such as unemployment and continues to react with an alarming lack of seriousness to the increasing evidence of third force involvement in the violence. There can be no doubt now that the government's own security forces play a key role in fomenting and instigating this conflict.

This failure to address the central issues of the day has serious implications for the process of negotiations which demand, at the very least, some tangible evidence that the government is committed to working both in the spirit and within the agreed principles of Codesa. These state, simply, that all proposals must be tabled, discussed and, where sufficient consensus is reached, referred to Parliament for legal sanction.

The issues raised in De Klerk's speech are not only obscure but also, as in the case of the proposed referendum, actually contradict the principles which form the base of the Codesa initiative.

## Minority decision

If the decisions of Codesa are to be given legal effect by Parliament, a proposal that these same decisions be referred to a tricameral minority for veto indicates a refusal to honour a solemn commitment.

The basis for the referendum would appear to be a pro-

mise made to whites during the 1989 election that they would be consulted before major constitutional changes took place. It is the view of the ANC that South Africa should not be held hostage to a promise made in the context of racist elections and that we cannot allow the democratic process to be subject to a minority decision. In any case, how is De Klerk to fulfil this so-called promise? Are we to have a separate white count, a return to racial categories? And what kind of precedent would such a referendum set?

It is time that De Klerk and those who support him on this issue learnt that they are accountable not to any particular constituency but to the democratic process itself and that that process has rules that must be obeyed.

In the months to come it is Codesa, and not Parliament, that will take the initiative. It is to Codesa that all proposals must be presented. This is why the ANC has called on all groups to participate in this process. To date the question of the referendum has been neither tabled nor debated at Codesa, a prerequisite for its consideration as a serious submission to the process of moving forward.

De Klerk's proposals with regard to the shape of the Interim government are similarly shrouded. It would appear

that the regime's plan is for an amendment to the present constitution followed by the co-opting of other parties to the existing Parliament to draw up a new constitution. It would appear, too, that the government wishes to prolong the life of this unelected body by seeking to give it an undetermined timeframe.

The ANC has clearly spelt out its position with regard to this process. Codesa will deal only with the provision of a framework or climate from which to advance the process of transition. Crucial here, of course, is the status of the TBVC states and their reincorporation into the body politic. As an unelected body, Codesa clearly has no mandate to draw up a constitution on behalf of the people of South Africa.

## Fair elections

The interim government, in its turn, will deal with the country during the period of transition. Its prime function will be the creation of a climate in which free, fair and just elections can be held so that we may, as soon as possible, move on to the process of consulting the people of South Africa about their future. It is clear that no such election can take place while the present government is in power.

Finally, the elected constituent assembly will be charged

with the responsibility of drawing up the constitution.

There can be no compromise on these essential goals, though there may necessarily be compromise about how they are reached. The ANC is not going to Codesa with a blueprint on process. If we were, we would ignore the very function of negotiations.

We are determined we will not be co-opted or persuaded from the task of achieving a constituent assembly at which all the people of South Africa are represented.

Speed is of the essence. As demonstrated by the people's parliament and echoed all over South Africa, people want to see a legitimate and representative constituent assembly — and they want to see it soon. This is not an impossible dream. It is an entirely manageable and attainable goal. The ANC is prepared to negotiate on the processes of reaching that goal but we can never agree to an abandonment of the principles for which we have struggled so long.

The people's parliament made this clear. The people demand an urgent and speedy end to apartheid and the dissolution of the parliament of their oppressors. And the people will continue with a programme of mass action until these demands are met. They are determined now that, by July 1992, there will be an interim government of national unity and that, by December this year, South Africa will hold its first democratic elections.

□ Allan Boesak is chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape and a member of the organisation's national executive committee.



## POLITICS

# NP can't be player and ref, says ANC

Business Day Reporter

30/11/92  
B10ay  
THE ANC yesterday rejected NP proposals for an elected interim government which would also act as a constituent assembly in drafting a new constitution.

In a statement, the organisation said the NP's proposals for elections before interim mechanisms were in place "confirm the suspicion that it (the NP) wants to be both player and referee in elections".

The ANC said it recognised the NP government had come round to acknowledge in principle the need for an interim government to supervise the transition, and for an elected body to draw up a new constitution.

However, the NP also sought to base these elections on its constitutional proposals with checks and balances which would give veto powers to whites. What would emerge from this, the ANC said, was "an undemocratic institution charged with the task of drawing up a democratic constitution".

"The ANC believes that agreements reached at Codesa, including amendments to the present constitution, should be given the force of law by the tricameral parliament. The overwhelming majority of parties in this parliament are in Codesa, and they will therefore be duty-bound to facilitate the implementation of decisions to

which they will have agreed.

"In order to ensure fairness in the transition, it will be necessary to set up an interim government controlling at least the security forces, the electoral process, state media, budget and finance. Elections for a constituent assembly should be carried out on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll," it said.

The organisation repeated its objections to a racially based referendum on the constitutional changes necessary for the establishment of an interim government.

"Government leaders arrogantly assert that if the interim constitutional proposals are not accepted by the whites, then parties would have to go back to the drawing board ... whites could as well consult among themselves about changes to the present order, if any, and foist them on the rest of society," the statement added.

The ANC said it recognised the NP's right to put forward its proposals for the transition.

However, it believed at the very core of these proposals was the principle of a white veto over Codesa decisions and a desire to prolong the transition. This was unacceptable.



# FW's 'interim' plan will not fly <sup>304A</sup> Zach

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's interim government plan "will not fly" and he would have to settle for something very different during negotiations with the ANC, DP leader Zach de Beer said at a news briefing yesterday.

He said that despite "the enormous level of convergence" between the proposals and ideas of the ANC and government/NP, there were still serious differences that could bog down the process and result in something very different from what the NP was proposing.

The ANC and government/NP were the key players that ensured the

Billy Paddock

process went ahead. In reality, the rest were not in such key positions. Once agreement was reached between the ANC and government, sufficient consensus had been achieved.

Codesa would not be derailed as long as these two stayed in the process and talked to each other.

"As we saw at Codesa, even when the Inkatha Freedom Party refused to sign the declaration of intent, the process went ahead without a hitch."

He believed this was good and that the ANC and government should work together closely for the good of SA.

Of the NP's interim government plan, he said: "I must confess that my head is full of cotton wool with the NP proposals. I am still bewildered with what it means in practice. It is an extraordinary departure from what they said in the past."

The package might have all the checks and balances with the collegiate presidency the NP constitutional proposals contained, but "it is a confusing way to go about it. It just sounds mad after what has gone before," De Beer said.

It was more probable that the end product would be a very changed executive in the form of a transitional government, but with the same legislature (Parliament) kept in place until a final constitution had been negotiated.

The fact that De Klerk had, in effect, shifted his position to acceptance of an elected body that would draft the new constitution was a large shift towards closing the gap between government and the ANC.

De Beer believed major sticking points would come over an interim government, the constituent as-

sembly, economic policy and some elements of the bill of human rights, especially the second generation rights and, in particular, the issues surrounding property rights.

"In the areas of interim government and an elected constituent assembly, government has moved much closer to the ANC than before, while the ANC has moved closer to government on regionalism and, in some ways, economic policy," De Beer said.

De Klerk's promise to hold a white referendum was not a constitutional provision but merely a political promise to his own supporters.

"We could just say to him 'that is your problem' and go on, but it seems that the ANC has softened on this a bit and said De Klerk should take the problem to Codesa for discussion."

He believed that Codesa should work to help De Klerk with the holding of the referendum and ensure that he won it.

## WHO IS

Whether you know  
to know him better



(011)

After Hours: (011)



"OUR decision to participate independently in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) stems from our insistence on being recognised and accepted as an important player, and not because we have no faith in the ANC to guard our ideas and positions," said Cosatu vice-president Mr Sam Shilowa.

He said Cosatu had faced the brunt of repression before the change in the political climate and played a crucial role in directing the struggle when political organisations were restricted or banned.

"At the height of protest politics the government considered us a force to be reckoned with, but now they're doing their utmost to trivialise our role," said Shilowa.

"Although we're not a political organisation, issues affecting workers will be tabled at Codesa and our input in this regard is pivotal.

"Besides, there are non-political organisations participating in Codesa. It would be unjustifiable for Cosatu and Nactu to be excluded.

"Apart from Cosatu and Nactu, no other trade union grouping can genuinely claim to have a track record of fighting for democracy."

Shilowa said Cosatu had hoped Nactu would also apply to Codesa for membership but realised they would probably support the anti-Codesa stance of the PAC.

He said affiliates had agreed at Cosatu's last executive committee meeting that the federation apply for Codesa membership.

However, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was absent from the meeting and this week threw a spanner in the works when it came out against the application for Codesa membership.

"Cosatu is a labour movement and participating in a political forum, such as Codesa, can create complications.

"If the application is successful, other organisations will have a stronger case to argue for acceptance to Codesa," said Mr Kgalema Molanthe, national acting secretary of NUM.

He said the NUM has called on Cosatu to convene an urgent meeting to reverse the decision.

Shilowa said the issues the federa-

# Cosatu wants a voice in shaping the new SA

South 30/11 - 5/2/92.

Cosatu's decision to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is an attempt to assert its role and position in shaping the new South Africa. The vice-president of the federation, Mr Sam Shilowa, spoke to THORAYA PANDY:

tion would raise at Codesa had been discussed at its last congress.

"In a recent survey, our members supported the proposal that their views and aspirations be independently represented."

He acknowledged that their late entry into Codesa would mean officials putting in extra hours to familiarise themselves with the working groups but said weekly meetings with the ANC and SACP kept them on par with the events in Codesa.

"We agree with the ANC on major political issues and strategise together.

"But the issues addressed by the five Codesa working groups affect workers in some way or another and our participation in this regard is important," he said.

Shilowa said the task of Codesa should be limited to speedily setting up an interim government which would pave the way for an elected constituent assembly. Cosatu supported the reintegration of the TBVC states into South Africa and would push for the right to organise freely there, specially in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

The federation also planned to feed into discussions around unemployment, housing and education.

Shilowa said Cosatu's bid for Codesa membership should not be seen as a move away from the ANC, but rather a positive step to ensuring worker independence in a future government.

Asked whether Cosatu would hold mass demonstrations if the "new and democratic government" did not sup-

port worker demands, he responded: "Of course we will.

"Workers, or any other group for that matter, have the right to protest, that is if we are genuine about building a democratic society. We won't always agree with the government and will certainly voice our opinions, the best way we know how."

He said the "fundamental right" of workers to strike was not negotiable and should be a new government not grant workers that right, it would invoke "anger and disgust."

Expressing his personal view, Shilowa said Cosatu would not contest elections and would call on its members to vote for the ANC.

However, Cosatu would be "in a real predicament" should the SACP decide

to contest elections.

"The only thing we could do then is ask our members to study the programmes of both the ANC and SACP and decide for themselves who they will vote for.

Shilowa, a member of the central committee of the SACP and an ANC member, declined to say which way his vote would go.

He said Cosatu was his priority and he would not even consider running for parliament. "I'm staying in Cosatu until my term of office expires in 1994 and will remain in the unions."

Shilowa, one of the ANC's representatives at Codesa, said he would "probably withdraw" and join the federation's team if Cosatu's application succeeded.



COSATU VICE-PRESIDENT: Mr Sam Shilowa



# We'll accept shotgun marriage, says DP

STAR 30/1/92 304A

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party should help President de Klerk to win a white referendum, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

"We'd better get on with it and help him (Mr de Klerk)," Dr de Beer said.

Speaking at a press briefing, Dr de Beer stressed his party would not have called a white referendum but would rather have asked South Africans to vote after a new constitution had been drawn up.

He said the Government was not honour-bound to have a white referendum because the present constitution did not demand it.

Mr de Klerk was, however, bound by his promise to white voters in 1989.

Dr de Beer said there had been an "enormous" convergence between the NP and ANC on constitutional proposals.

While the Government's latest statements

on a transitional government and a constitution-writing body were closer to those of the ANC, the ANC had also moved closer to the Government with the softening of its line on regionalism.

Difficulties between the NP and ANC were the Government's determination to avoid a constituent assembly and the shape of the economy.

Dr de Beer said his greatest fear for the future was that the country may end up with a government which printed money to satisfy South Africans' aspirations.

He was in favour of a marriage between the ANC and the Government whether it was "early, holy or a shotgun marriage".

Although the Government has since the opening of Parliament considerably clarified Mr de Klerk's statements about transitional arrangements, Dr de Beer said he was still "bewildered" about what the proposals meant in practice.

## FW must 'confess apartheid's hurt'

If the Minister of Finance said there was no money in the forthcoming Budget for removing the disparity in pensions between coloured and white people he should ask to be relieved of his duties, the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives, Mr Chris April, said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on President de Klerk's opening-of-Parliament speech, he called on Mr de Klerk to make

a confession of guilt in Parliament about the hurt caused by apartheid.

He thanked the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, for expressing his regret, and that of the National Party, to Codesa at this hurt.

"But this is not enough. Millions of wronged South Africans expect the State President to make such a confession on South African soil, in this Parliament." — Sapa.

30/1/92

STAL

(304A)



# Jaap has them in a frenzy

STAR 30/11/72

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais whipped a Pretoria City Hall audience into a foot-stomping frenzy last night with a call for unity among right-wing leaders.

Speaking to about 500 people below a giant banner proclaiming "Away with De Klerk", Mr Marais said: "We won't enter a negotiating room at Codesa to deliberate about peace, we'll continue the war outside."

Mr de Klerk was bound to call a referendum for whites to approve his constitutional proposals.

Right-wing groupings would win this referendum, putting them in a position to demand an election under the present constitution.

"Should he (Mr de Klerk) deny us this right, we have to be sufficiently consolidated to sweep him off the stage in one mighty blow as the Romanians did with their president." — Sapa-Political Staff.

# CP to sell partition to homelands

30417

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Scwefun 30/11/92

**THE Conservative Party will soon meet more homeland leaders in an effort to gain acceptance for its policy of partition.**

This was revealed yesterday by Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, who said further contact would be made in the "near future".

He said delegations led by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had already seen Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda and Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

"At these meetings obviously our viewpoints are discussed, that we're set against a unitary state. And obviously we must

**Political Correspondent**

present an alternative to that," Langley said.

The CP's outreach strategy was apparently designed to counter President FW de Klerk's initiatives by enlisting support for a confederation or commonwealth of independent states.

The CP believes events in Eastern Europe, the fragmentation of the Soviet Union and formation of a commonwealth, support its case for a partitioned South Africa.

Treurnicht told Parliament this week that the clear message from Eastern Europe was being explained by some newspapers as an exercise in hate and bloodshed.



# Racist attacks are a sign of fear

Sowetan 30/1/92

304A

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A BLACK man kills a white family to "cut off the hand of apartheid"; a white gang beats a black man to death because his dog mated with theirs.

While political leaders are forging a new dispensation for the country, ordinary South Africans are committing fresh outrages in their centuries-old race war.

In the bloodiest attack of late, white farmer Mr Kallie Delpont shot dead eight blacks and Indians in the Natal town of Ladysmith this month. He set out on the shooting spree after killing his father in a row over a cattle sale.

The killings caused outrage among the town's blacks, and four days later a black gardener wounded his white employer's two young sons with an axe.

In the conservative Transvaal coal mining town of Kriel, a white man roamed the streets last Saturday shooting at blacks with a shotgun. He killed a man and a woman.

Researchers say an important factor in such crimes is the rapid transition from white supremacy to the dawning of non-racial democracy.

Whites feel increasingly scared as they see their privileges slipping away, while some blacks see the political opening as an invitation for retribution, they add.

The Human Sciences Research Council, a state-sponsored institute, says white-on-black violence has increased since February 1990, when President FW de Klerk began scrapping apartheid.

The council said the repeal of laws which prevented blacks taking white jobs played a significant part in the rise.

Three days before Christmas, Mr Gabriel Mahakoe (42) broke

## FOCUS

into the empty home of a white farmer named Engelbrecht in the Verkeerdevlei district of the Orange Free State.

He told a magistrate what happened.

"I wanted to kill the kaffir, dog, baboon, as we are called.

"I went to sit in the holy (front) room, where a kaffir is not allowed to sit, and waited for (the Engelbrechts). The devil helped me, and they came."

Mahakoe, who pleaded guilty to four counts of murder, said that, as he shot the family, he told them: "Africa must return. You will forgive me because I don't kill you, I

apartheid," Mahakoe said. "Unfortunately I only cut off the fingers. That day I wanted to kill 20 to 50 people."

Following the murders, white farmers in the district set up a neighbourhood watch. Two weeks later they caught three black suspects in another robbery, and beat one of them to death.

On Christmas Day, a white couple living on a smallholding south of Johannesburg accosted black labourer Mr Molatu Lebeta, (60) on a neighbour's plot.

Lebeta's wife Maria said there was an argument, after which the white couple returned with about six other whites. They beat Lebeta and the next day he died in hospital.

What was the argument about?

"The white woman said she didn't want her dog coming together with a kaffir's dog," said Maria.

***'Africa must return.  
You will forgive me  
because I don't kill  
you, I kill that thing  
we are called -  
kaffir, dog, baboon.'***

kill that thing we are called - kaffir, dog, baboon."

He told the magistrate he did not know the Engelbrechts personally but knew they represented apartheid.

"I wanted to cut off the hand of

Psychologist Mr Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the centre for the study of political violence at Witwatersrand University, said the crimes were an extension of the violence in which nearly 5 000 blacks have died in two years.



FW DE KLERK

"There is a belief that violence is effective, that it's a quick and easy way to get what you want. It's a belief that has been substantiated in recent history."

Violence in South Africa has many varieties, including hit-squad attacks, wars between competing taxi operators, tribal clan feuds and battles over political turf.

On a personal level, the armed burglaries which have become common in affluent white suburbs are increasingly accompanied by rape - often seen as a crime of hate.

Vogelman said some of the crimes against whites committed by blacks were expressions of outrage or retribution at symbolic figures.

Crimes by whites against blacks were often sparked by a sense of powerlessness to halt the erosion of their position of dominance.

"Violence restores the sense of power, the sense of feeling in control," he said. - Sapa-Reuter

# Chiefs want a say at Codesa

3044

30/11/92

**THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa wants chiefs to be represented at Codesa on the basis of proportionate representation.**

A memorandum on the subject is to be sent to the Codesa management committee, Contralesa's national president, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said this week.

This was decided at a special meeting of Contralesa's national executive at the weekend.

The memorandum will spell out why traditional leaders should participate in Codesa and suggest a format for electing a single delegation.

Proportional representation was "the only fair and appropriate" method, Holomisa said.

He said the number of traditional leaders in each homeland should be calculated, and each homeland would then be allocated a proportionate number of seats in the chiefs' delegation.

In Transkei, where the more conservative Transkei Traditional Leaders Association exists alongside Contralesa, each group would send an equal number of representatives, he said.

Contralesa called for a decision on traditional leaders by Codesa before the working groups begin their work.

Holomisa said Contralesa has had positive feedback recently by people beginning to understand the importance of the inclusion of traditional leaders. - *Elnews*.



Declaration wording in conflict with IFP manifesto, writes Suzanne Vos

# Codesa decision 'democratic'

STAR

30/11/92

3044

3044



No dictator... Dr Buthelezi believes in democratic decisions.

ALLISTER Sparks, in his article in *The Star* (January 17), rightly refers to IFP president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as "the man who, more than anyone else, stymied the Nationalists' Bantustan policy" and frustrated their "schismatic schemes". Much of the rest of the article is, however, simply incorrect.

Mr Sparks speculates that the IFP decision to object to the phrasing of the "Declaration of Intent", signed by other participants at the first plenary session of Codesa, must have been taken "at the behest of Chief Buthelezi".

In view of the persistent attempts to portray Dr Buthelezi as some sort of scheming and implacable autocrat, it may surprise readers to learn that the IFP is a genuinely democratic organisation and that its committee decisions are not dictated by Dr Buthelezi or by any other individual.

The decision not to sign the declaration was taken by a near-unanimous vote of the IFP's delegation. We did not act at the "behest" of Dr Buthelezi but in response to fears expressed by the team, including legal advisers. Our views were only then communicated to Dr Buthelezi who, quite independently, had drawn similar conclusions and had similar reservations.

As Dr Buthelezi was not at Codesa the delegation had the full authority of the leadership of the party to act by majority decision with dissenting views (one) noted.

Mr Sparks claims that our "conservative" American constitutional adviser, Professor Albert Blaustein, "apparently had a hand in the decision to object to the Declaration's phrasing".

Professor Blaustein was one of many eminent legal experts, here and abroad, consulted by the IFP delegation on the issue.

They all confirmed that our reservations were well founded.

Mr Sparks writes that "Federalism will not be enough — but a

KwaZulu/Natal break-away is enticing."

We hadn't given this any thought at the time but now that he has planted this option in our minds, looking at South Africa as a whole, we now believe the concept of the right to secede deserves further consideration.

The reasons for our decision not to sign the Declaration were stated on December 20:

1: The wording of the final provisions of the Declaration (under the heading "We agree") seems to commit the signatories to the proposition that decisions taken at Codesa must necessarily thereafter be given force of law even though they may never have been democratically validated by referendum. If other parties are prepared to connive at the democratic deficit inherent in the coming into effect of binding legislation in this manner, the IFP most certainly is not.

2: The Declaration is reasonably capable of being interpreted in a manner which is in direct conflict with the IFP's position, in that references to "an undivided South Africa" ... "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory" seem to

point in the direction of a unitary rather than a federal state (and to exclude the possibility of a confederation of states).

Mr Sparks attempts to show that the IFP's reasons for objecting to this phraseology are disingenuous by pointing out that "when Americans take the oath of allegiance to their country, the quintessential federation, they swear loyalty 'to one nation, indivisible ...' and by stating that 'there is nothing incompatible between the concepts of federalism and an undivided nation'."

Whether or not federalism is compatible with the idea of an undivided nation depends, however, upon which of several possible interpretations is given to the word "undivided".

The United States is in one sense most certainly not an undivided nation: it is a nation divided into states, each having a constitutional right to regulate its own affairs and pass its own laws (subject only in respect of certain limited matters to the laws of the national legislature).

It is definitely not a nation in which "sovereign authority" (if by that phrase is meant the authority of the central government in rela-

tion to all possible areas of legislation and executive action) is "exercised over the whole of its territory".

Mr Sparks's recital of words uttered by Americans when taking their oath of allegiance is not in point, because those words are uttered within the context of established constitutional arrangements which are of such a nature that they can only mean one thing.

It is quite understandable, and in the best interests of South Africa we believe, that the IFP should refuse to commit itself in terms of such ambiguous language when one reasonable interpretation — reinforced by the reference to "sovereign authority exercised over the whole territory" — is completely at odds with its known manifesto position.

Others at Codesa may have been prepared to gamble with the integrity of their principles for the avoidance of momentary embarrassment in an institution of one day's standing, but the IFP was not. It is quite as simple as that.

It is our opinion that the idea of a confederation of states, each having a constitutional right to secede is one which should be examined on its merits and which may have much to commend it.

We hope that the new South Africa will prove to be a paradise on Earth, but in the event of it turning out to be a bankrupt totalitarian hell through no fault of the residents of State or province X or Y, is it far from obvious why State or province X or Y should not be permitted to separate themselves if the majority of their residents so decide? Indeed, it seems wholly in keeping with democratic principles and quite in keeping with the trend in other parts of the world that they should have the right to do so.

● Suzanne Vos is an executive member of the central committee of the IFP, and writes on behalf of the IFP delegation and staff at Codesa.

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# CP'S doors 'open to (3048) other Houses

Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE PARTY front-bencher Mr Tom Langley said yesterday his party's doors were open to members of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

"We maintain that we have meaningful, viable, acceptable alternatives to the NP-ANC-SACP alliance's power-sharing model of one horse equals one rabbit."

Mr Langley's overture followed the lone Freedom Party MP in the HoR, Mrs Soheir Hoozen's expression of concern about freedom of religion under an ANC-SACP alliance.

It is understood informal talks have been held between CP MPs and members of the other two Houses.



# 'ANC, NP hold key to future of SA' 304A

ONLY a walkout by either the ANC or the National Party could wreck the Codesa negotiations, Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party leader and the first Codesa steering committee chairman, said yesterday.

"That is the bottom line and that is why so much depends on them," he told a briefing for local and foreign journalists yesterday.

Asked about the "balance of power" in Codesa, Dr De Beer said: "Codesa works when the NP and the ANC agree and not when they don't."

While there were clearly elements on the far right eager to use violence to protest reforms, he did not believe this would happen "on a sufficient scale to derail the train — they might throw stones through the window but the train will go on".

It was important to include as many parties as possible in negotiations, including the PAC — "but they seem too busy declaring war on the United

States at the moment" CF 30/1/92  
However, the main aim was to have the National Party and the ANC working together in Codesa.

Dr De Beer said he was "all for" an alliance between the Nationalists and the ANC to run an interim government.

"I don't care if it is early or late, shotgun or holy," he said.

## Problems

Dr De Beer said he had seen "an enormous convergence" in strategy and policy between the NP and the ANC since President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament address in February 1990.

He said the issues most likely to cause problems at Codesa were the thorny question of transitional government and constitution-writing, the latter being the most difficult in the end. The issue of property rights could be controversial. — Sapa

# Neutral spot for Dutch, NP, ANC?

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers told his parliament yesterday that he and two senior colleagues would be meeting President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela in Davos, Switzerland, on Sunday.

Mr Hans van den Voet, spokesman for Mr Lubbers, said Mr Lubbers would be accompanied by his deputy, Mr Hans van den Broek, and Dutch Labour Party leader Mr Wim Kok.

The meeting was at the invitation of Mr De Klerk and they were expecting Mr Mandela to be there, Mr Van den Voet said last night. (304A)

Asked about reports which last week quoted Mr Mandela as telling Mr Lubbers that his proposed February visit to South Africa would "not be opportune," Mr Van den Voet said the ANC was "not inflexible". "They were talking about February, not about from here to eternity," he said.



# FW's defensive political housekeeping

304A ARG 31/1/92



Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk has for the present chosen to try to allay fears and uncertainties rather than to make further bold moves.

As Mr Colin Eglin put it this week in the debate on Mr De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament, he had some defensive political housekeeping to do.

In these uncertain times he felt it necessary to repudiate what he described as erroneous deductions and to allay suspicion, to deny that the government was yielding to pressure or that it was abandoning important principles or committing a breach of confidence.

This was understandable. Mr De Klerk could not expect to pull a big one out of his political hat every year. As it is, with parliament working in tandem with Codesa, he can hardly at this stage make big unilateral moves. He indicated as much in his speech.

All the same he made three important statements which clarified some of what he said when Codesa was launched last month.

The government is prepared, subject to agreement at Codesa and approval in a referendum, to amend the constitution to provide for a transitional government and parliament that is representative of the whole population.

It believes the constitution-making process should be taken further through the elected representatives of all the people.

Mr De Klerk said that the sooner South Africa got a comprehensive all-embrac-

ing constitution the better.

With other senior Nationalist leaders Mr De Klerk clearly feels that the present uncertainty could be alleviated if a concrete start could be made on a new system through a transitional administration. If the whites saw that the heavens were not falling under such a transitional system the rightwing's efforts to exploit the present uncertain situation could be countered.

While the country flounders in the discredited tricameral system the rightwing can continue with scare stories. There are no firm outline or practical results of a new system with which to counter this propaganda.

Mr De Klerk has now gone much further than some of the options the government was considering at one stage. One of these was that elected black representatives could be added to the present white, coloured and Indian MPs and that this could be turned into one new parliament with the scrapping of the "own affairs" concept.

Now Mr De Klerk's proposals entail the complete replacement of the present parliament and cabinet with the proposed interim system. Black representation will no longer be sown on to the existing system. This would at best have been a political patchwork which could never have satisfied the other parties at Codesa.

The government is taking such an urgent view of these proposed changes that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit

Viljoen, expressed the hope that a referendum on constitutional changes entailing an interim constitution and a transitional government could be held before the end of the year.

The government attitude is that the changes must take place as soon as possible so that people can get used to them.

Mr De Klerk hopes that a first interim constitution will allay these fears while other important issues such as a Bill of Rights and provisions for devolution of power to regional governments are thrashed out.

While the changes will first have to be negotiated at Codesa, there are hopeful signs of a convergence of opinions between the government and the ANC on issues such as regional government, nationalisation and the protection of minority rights.

The ANC is opposed to the idea of a referendum which will make it possible to ascertain how the different race groups voted, thus in a way giving the whites a veto. ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has, however, indicated that the movement might eventually be willing to let Mr De Klerk have his referen-

dum if this will help him out of the spot he is in. The prerequisite is that this should be negotiated at Codesa. Mr Ramaphosa has also indicated that the ANC will not under any circumstances leave Codesa.

Even senior Nationalists feel now that Mr De Klerk's commitment to a referendum which he made two years ago was not a very clever political move but that it was thought to be the right one when given under different circumstances before the major reform moves started.

If the changes are passed in a referendum the present parliament will have to give effect to them and there will then have to be an election to choose a new transitional government.

Mr De Klerk has firmly rejected the suspicion that the government's proposals are designed to ensure continued domination by whites or at least a drawn-out withholding of full participation by black South Africans. He said the government was not playing games on this important issue.

In all this Mr De Klerk still sticks to one of the cornerstones of his party's ap-

proach as embodied in its constitutional proposals: There should be power-sharing without domination.

This will be one of the big issues to be addressed by Codesa. Although the ANC started out by being opposed to special measures to protect minority rights, Mr Nelson Mandela has since indicated that he accepts that white fears must be addressed.

One of the ideas the Nationalists are toying with is to have one House of parliament chosen on a one man, one vote basis and another "House of minorities" in which the various groups would have more equal treatment, with this latter chamber being able to put a brake on the first one.

Mr De Klerk and his followers are also in favour of a national government concept at least in the transitional period in which the National Party and the ANC would be the main role players.

Mr De Klerk is not prepared to bind himself to a rigid timetable as he is in favour of a phased development towards the new South Africa. Dr Viljoen has, however, indicated that the planned transitional government could decide to change itself into a permanent government. The present government would accept this but would not prescribe it.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk's attempt to get the rightwing to take part in Codesa failed, at least judging from the Conservative Party's in-

transigent attitude in the four-day parliamentary debate on his opening speech.

The CP MPs stubbornly presented a united front in their rejection of his proposal although there are indications of divisions in the rightwing on the question of negotiating a pure-white state.

Some rightwingers are prepared to talk about a much smaller, white South Africa, while Dr A P Treurnicht and company talk about the "remainder" of South Africa, after the areas traditionally occupied by blacks, coloureds and Indians have been taken away.

Nationalist politicians have not given up hope of increasing the divisions in the rightwing and of at least getting some of these groups away from Dr Treurnicht. They feel that the coming by-election in Potchefstroom had something to do with the way in which the CP MPs closed ranks.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpot, tried the subtle approach when he said that "honest thinkers" in the rightwing ranks must not allow themselves to be silenced by the CP.

He called on them to join the government to create a forum for honest dialogue.

It seems therefore that Mr De Klerk may try to get rightwingers at least to come and talk to the government, perhaps as a first step to putting their self-determination proposals to Codesa.



# Ring-a-ring a rosies. But will they all fall down?

By Mervyn Dymally

31/1-6/2/92

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk's latest leap in lateral thinking amounts to the acceptance — in principle at least — of the two fundamental African National Congress demands of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

If the proposals that have emerged over the past few days were accepted at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the ANC could within 18 months be the dominant partner in an elected transitional government of national unity.

In return, the National Party will keep some hand on the levers of power by remaining in government as a coalition partner.

Much of De Klerk's rhetoric at the opening of parliament last Friday was aimed at a white population that has grown restless at the changes that are sweeping the country and the prospects of an ignominious NP defeat in the by-election in the Potchefstroom constituency next month.

More important is what he has introduced through the backdoor — both at the opening of parliament and at Codesa last month.

Going hand in hand with that is an alternative vision of how to get from here to democracy.

De Klerk is proposing a phased movement towards that goal: agreement at Codesa on an interim constitution; a referendum; and an election for a new parliament upon which the interim government would be based and which would negotiate the final constitution.

In coming up with what many observers are realising is a fundamental, if convoluted, new shift in NP thinking, De Klerk is proposing a plan that at least in some aspects appears more democratic than the ANC's. Where the ANC's interim government is an appointed body, De Klerk's transitional government is elected.

There are, however, two major areas where the NP will have to compromise on before the plan could become in any way acceptable to the ANC's membership — there has to be a time limit placed on the life of the interim constitution, and the upper house of parliament has to be composed in such a way that it cannot be a brake on further changes to the constitution.

The form of De Klerk's interim parliament, based on the NP's proposals, will be a bicameral legislature. The lower house is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation — one man, one vote. On that there is unlikely to be disagreement.

The problem, however, is likely to be with the upper house. The NP proposal is that this be elected on the basis of regions with each region getting an

*There may be public*

*discontent but the African*

*National Congress and*

*National Party are slowly*

*starting to sing the same*

*song. PHILLIP VAN*

*NIKKERK reports*

equal number of seats no matter how many voters it has, in much the same way as the United States senate.

Thus, the Northern Cape with a few hundred thousand votes will have equal representation to the Witwatersrand with some six million votes.

The NP proposals go further. They want every party that wins above a certain percentage of the votes in a region to get an equal number of seats in that region.

Thus, in the NP's conception, the parliament that will draw up the final constitution will not be based on one man, one vote, as the constituent assembly in Namibia was.

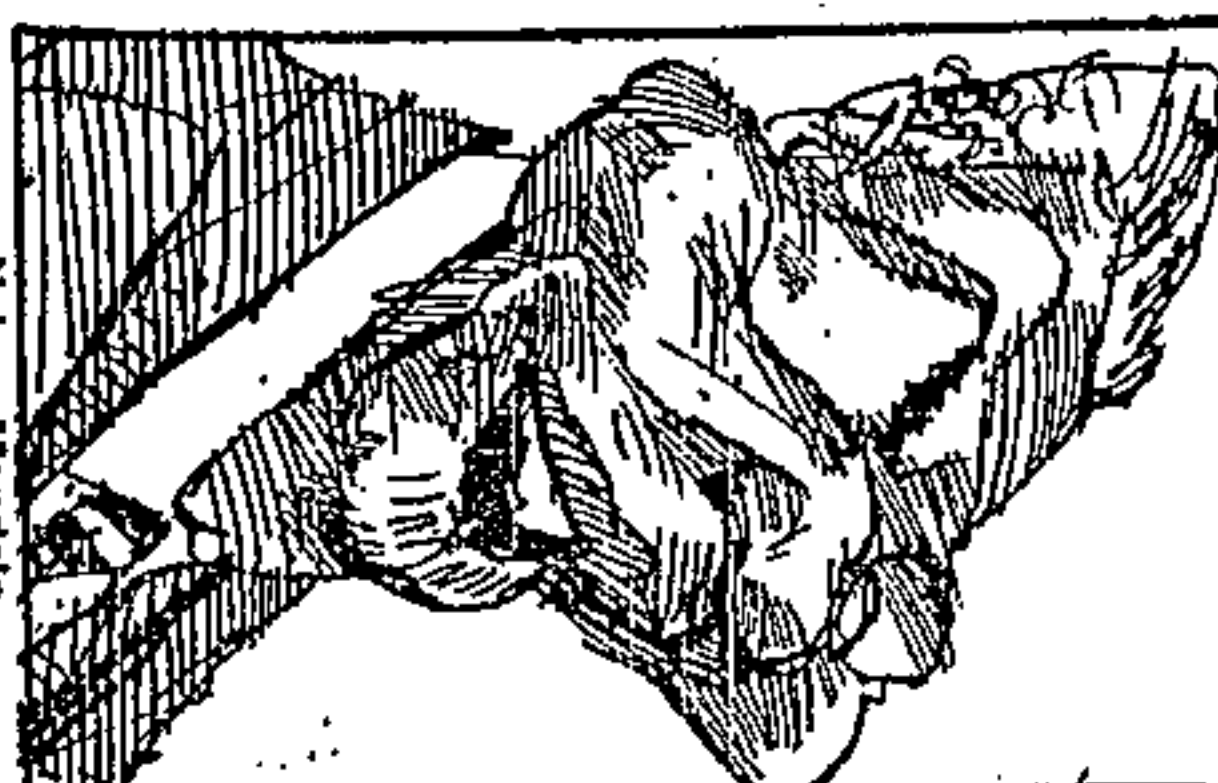
The upper house is skewed towards those such as the NP which have a broad sweep of support around the country, even if it is nowhere in the majority.

Thus the NP could end up with as many — or more — seats in the upper house than the ANC, with only a fraction of the votes, and be able to block further constitutional amendments.

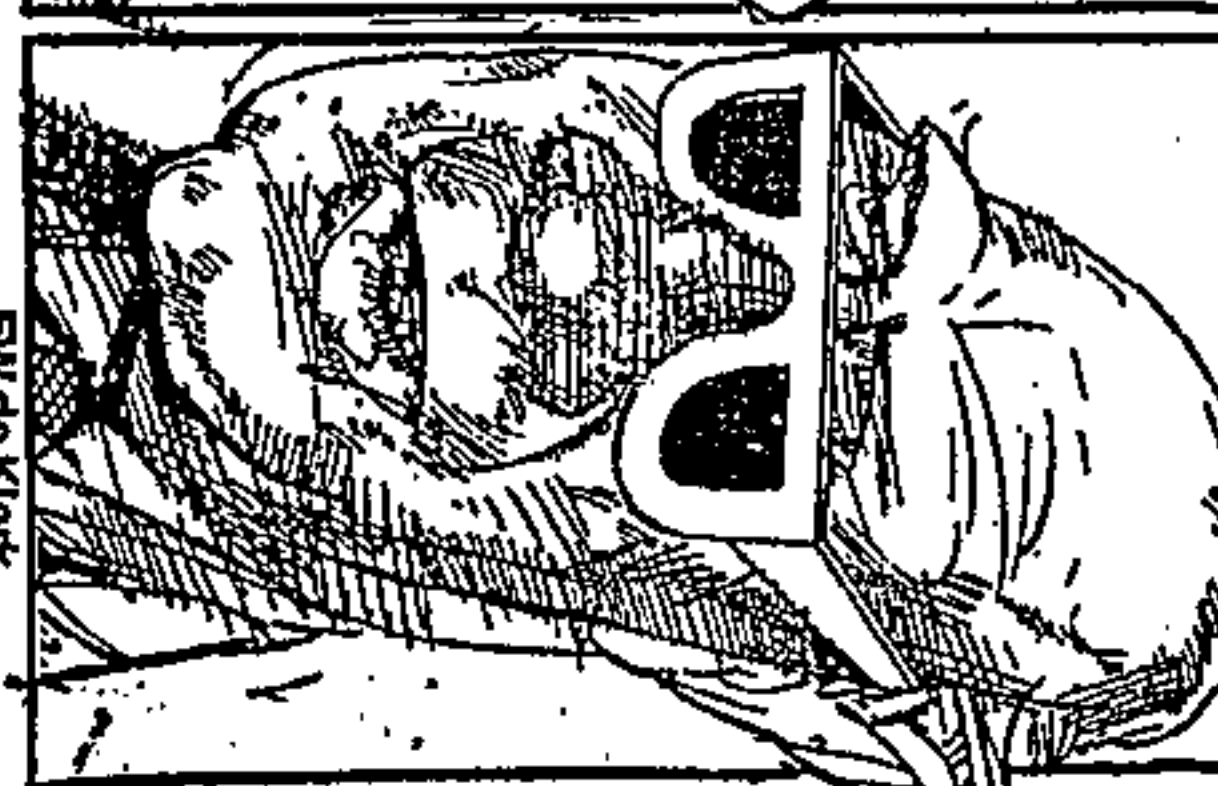
This could be what Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen has in mind when he says, somewhat puzzlingly, that using the interim parliament to draw up the new constitution will ensure the proper representation of minorities in negotiations for a future constitution.

The ANC wants the constituent assembly to be based, like the lower house, on one man, one vote proportional representation — though ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa finds it encouraging that the NP have accepted the idea of an elected body to draft the constitution of the country.

He adds, however: "We are confident that we will turn De Klerk around completely to accept the constituent assembly as demanded by the ANC." But the NP is keeping in mind the constant assurances of ANC president Nelson Mandela that the fears of whites



Nelson Mandela



FW de Klerk

would have to be addressed in some way — and is looking to the ANC for some sort of compromise as well.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has raised the further question of how the country can go to elections without the other checks and balances — such as a Bill of Rights — being in place. However, De Klerk addressed this point too on Friday, proposing a first phase of a Bill of Fundamental Rights as part of the transitional constitutional arrangements.

A further question to be addressed is who will govern the country while the first elections for the new parliament are to be held.

Mandela has said the government's proposals for a referendum and an election before an interim government is in place begs the question because "there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is in place".

However, the room for compromise is large with ANC demanding only that there be joint authority over the security forces, state-owned media, electoral processes, budget and finance in the run-up to an election.

A major impasse also seems to have emerged over the question of a white referendum and the NP's proposal that this would imply a veto of the new constitution. De Klerk insists on a referendum and through out the week cabinet ministers have been digging themselves further and further into the

to turn the rightwing into a local equivalent of the Irish Republican Army, sustained down the years by the assertion, mythical or not, that most whites rejected the constitution, even though it was accepted by the leaders of the National Party.

A victory for the NP among whites in the referendum would neutralise the right. With the SABC and virtually the entire press supporting the changes, and with the prospects of more international sports teams coming to South Africa, the NP should be in a position to sway the white vote.

At the same time, the NP is working away assiduously at splitting the moderates and radicals in the Conservative Party, and at politically breaking the rightwing before an election.

A defeat in the referendum would be a serious blow for the NP. "Then we'll be in trouble," concedes Foreign Minister P.W. Botha.

But even here the NP appear to have contingency plans that they're not revealing. "It will be a political blow but not a constitutional crisis," said Deputy Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Tertius Delpont.

On the question of timing, De Klerk's speech has helped close the gap between the NP and the ANC. As recently as January 8, Mandela rejected a long drawn-out transitional government, accusing the NP of attempting to "legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by 10 years and more".

However, De Klerk said last Friday that he was flexible on the issue of the timing of the transition. He believed it would be unwise to commit to a rigorous timetable, but that the parties in the government should themselves judge the length of the transition on the basis of the level of violence and intimidation, as well as the degree of consensus on specific changes to the constitution.

"At the same time, we are not opposed to any reasonable measures taken to obviate unnecessary or wilful delays," said De Klerk. "The sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better."

By Monday Ramaphosa too was singing a very different tune. "If he means he has shifted from the notion of an interim government over five to 10 years, then we're prepared to talk to De Klerk about his interim government."

In the ANC's view the interim government should not govern for longer than 18 months or two years.

Despite the public runbbling, the unimaginable is unfolding in South Africa. Both the ANC and the NP are feeling their way towards a coalition government in which the ANC will be the dominant partner.



WHILE the country moves forward steadily to a political settlement, sections of the white community, the bureaucracy and the security forces are lagging behind.

The State President, Mr De Klerk, would do well to launch a huge drive to inform and reassure nervous whites in particular and to improve morale generally. Whether further presidential travels abroad are a good idea at this point is questionable. Mr De Klerk has a job to do at home.

It is plain that that some elements in the security forces are not at all happy about the De Klerk reform. Some are taking early retirement. Others are poorly motivated. A further group seems intent on actively thwarting the negotiation process, using every dirty trick in the book.

How else can we explain the renewed outbreak of seemingly motiveless violence on commuter trains on the Reef, with hapless workers being butchered at random or hurled bodily to their deaths?

It will be for the Goldstone Commission to determine whether elements in military intelligence are indeed stirring up violence and setting rival black groups at each other's throats. Evidence to this effect will be presented next week. Meanwhile, we may hope, the activities of the Commission will serve to restrain any elements intent on wrecking the negotiations.

The renewed speculation in the weekly Press about the possibility of a right-wing coup is unwarranted, most informed observers agree, although there are clearly problems of morale and motivation in the security forces. The abrupt switch from fighting the ANC/communist menace to a finish has not been easy to make. The prospect of power-sharing with the same ANC before the end of the year is a lot for some to swallow in one gulp. It is hardly surprising that there should be disorientation and uncertainty.

#### Intelligent use

The same appears to be true to some extent of the bureaucracy and the white community as a whole. There is apprehension about the prospect of radical political change, and also acute uneasiness about the rising incidence of crimes of vio-

# Some are lagging behind as NP, ANC do a deal



Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

lence. The climate is ripe for exploitation by right-wing elements, who believe they can rally whites behind them on a scale to block the De Klerk reform.

Intelligent use of TV and other information media to counter scare propaganda and keep people informed will be essential. The public should be told the truth — that the prospects for a reasonable compromise between the ANC and the NP on the way ahead have never been better. There are solid grounds for optimism. A political settlement could be in place sooner than most people expect.

The new De Klerk scheme for an elected interim government on a basis of power-sharing is a brilliant tactical stroke, pre-empting the ANC demand for a constituent assembly. There are problems, of course, because the NP's proposed parliamentary election, following a referendum to approve the way ahead, would be held under the supervision and authority of the existing tri-cameral parliament, which the ANC does not see as an acceptable arbiter of a fair and free election. And what about the SABC, whose role would be critical?

The ANC view is that Codesa should first set up a nominated interim government representing all parties which would rule by decree

and supervise the election of a constituent assembly, moving rapidly to get a new constitution in place.

The two schemes look irreconcilable at first glance. They are not. There is already a committee of Codesa charged with negotiating a restructuring of control of the SABC to ensure fairness during an election campaign. The same committee is also discussing ways and means of impartial monitoring of the election, possibly by involvement of the international community as observers and arbiters. There is every reason to believe that agreement can be reached on these points pretty quickly.

A compromise arrangement which meets the NP's requirement of constitutional legality throughout the process is certainly within reach, at the same time meeting the ANC's requirements for a fair and impartial electoral process. But the ANC will want cast-iron guarantees that Mr De Klerk is not intent on prolonging the transition and spinning out the life of the transitional government.

The ANC's objections to a racially-based referendum will not be pursued to the point of a breakdown in negotiations. As Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has indicated, the ANC takes the right-wing threat seriously and is anxious to do what it can to help Mr De Klerk deal with the problem. So the way is clear for rapid movement ahead to multi-party democracy, a return to stability and a revival of confidence in South Africa at home and abroad.

But the jumpiness in the white community is a real problem, as seen in the outbursts of murderous violence against blacks at random in platterland towns. Mr De Klerk would do better to stay at home.



# Battling Beyers puts his people first

By LINDA RULASHIE

14 March 3411-612/92

"I WILL never leave my people in the lurch," Conservative Party chief secretary Andries Beyers promises voters as he prepares for next month's parliamentary by-election in Potchefstroom. To the town's traditionally nationalist constituency who will be going to the polls on February 19, that promise may sound suspect.

However, his decision to be jailed last year rather than commit "a treasonous act against his brothers in arms" by exposing a source who implicated national intelligence in a key witness' kidnapping during the Winnie Mandela trial, may swing the vote in his favour.

The controversy emanated from a report published in the CP mouthpiece, *Die Patriot*, last February, which claimed Gabriel Mekgwe had been abducted by the National Intelligence

Fourteen days in jail have made the CP's Potchefstroom candidate a local hero. A profile by LINDA RULASHIE

Service because the timing of Mandela's trial was an embarrassment for the government. His refusal to reveal who the informant was put Beyers behind bars for 14 days in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act but "the experience left me stronger and more determined than ever to stand by my people and my principles".

The respect emanating from this loyalty for his people is probably one reason Beyers is confident his party will win the by-election. Another reason is his belief that the

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15



Andries Beyers... My loyalty will lead to my election  
Photo: GUY ADAMS

CP has been more honest than the NP said. "They know we are not ones to leave out friends in the lurch."

Beyers grew up in Lichtenberg in the Western Transvaal. The son of a maize farmer, he matriculated at the local high school in 1964 and then completed a BA at the University of Pretoria.

At 24, Beyers was elected provincial councillor for Lichtenberg but he left the Transvaal Provincial Council six years later. He moved to Natal "for business reasons" and later went into farming before he was asked by the CP to join their ranks, becoming national council secretary in 1987. "I had always been a nationalist up until 1981 when I realised the NP was moving in a direction which I couldn't associate with."

Talk of his political beliefs is dotted with right wing rhetoric of "self-determination" and "our vaterland".

However, he said the CP is but one of a growing number of organisations demanding that these principles be recognised and upheld. "As far as broad politics are concerned, there is a fresh wind blowing through South Africa. The principle of self-determination is being acknowledged by more and more people — both black and white."

Proof of this among blacks, Beyers claims, are discussions he has held with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope — whose heavy-handedness and refusal to allow Bophuthatswana's re-incorporation into South Africa is well known. Another ally Beyers mentions is Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He maintains support from the black community is so great that "several black church and community leaders have flocked to the conservative offices in Potchefstroom" because they feared there would be more unrest and less law and order if there was an African

National Congress take-over.

Ironically, while Beyers boasts certain groups of the black population are his ally, they are not compatible enough to live with. "We say that the present mode of thought is a recipe for disaster in the form of prevailing unrest and violence in this country. As long as you stick to such a policy, there is bound to be a power struggle among the Zulus, Xhosas and Afrikaners."

Beyers said the only solution would be "co-operation among the different sovereign nations". The conservatives envisaged a confederation in which there could be economic co-operation and political independence.

"We will always regard ourselves as an oppressed nation if we are not allowed to democratically decide for ourselves the things that are important for our future. We want our own government, territory and fatherland in which we can govern ourselves."

The party has declined an offer by President FW De Klerk made in his opening speech of parliament last Friday that they form part of Codesa. This, De Klerk said, could be done by the CP after he had proposed to Group 2 that the principle of self-determination of nations in its varied manifestations in a society be discussed.

The CP has declined the offer saying Codesa's declaration of intent, acceptance of an undivided South Africa and one central government is in direct conflict with the self-determination of the country's nations.

"My message to De Klerk is simply this: 'You know the resilience of the Afrikaner people. They will never accept being oppressed and therefore you must reconsider the handing over of power to the ANC. If not, this will result in a bloodbath'."

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# The private sector needs a partner in the state

8/Decy 31/1192.

THE fixed investment decisions of businesses are not taken in Parliament. They are also not taken in the offices of Ministers and government officials. These growth-determining decisions are taken in large and small businesses throughout the country, in the light of their projections and expectations and their views of the opportunities the future offers them.

Their record is not a bad one. There are examples of where the private sector invested in the wrong direction and received no return. On average, however, our entrepreneurs have shown healthy judgment and have read the future investment climate well.

But we need more investment. We need more investment in productive capacity. How do we get the private sector firms to decide, to a greater extent, to venture in the fixed investment area? This is the crucial question. It is the main question I am interested in. If you like, it is the

question I am prepared to become obsessed by. It could not unfairly be described as the question that brought me to this place. In terms of instruments to promote investment, there is a veritable arsenal available in the shape of government actions of one kind or another. In this my first speech I would prefer to try to reach the root of the problem rather than tinker with remedies for symptoms.

The root of the problem of an inadequate level of investment is uncertainty. Before an entrepreneur takes a growth decision, he must reach a particular level of certainty. In times of strong growth in the world economy, it is relatively easy to reach this level, and also when the decision is in essence simply the extension of an existing undertaking.

As a country we have, however, reached the point where, against the background of a lukewarm world economy, we must enter two important new investment fields where the risk-reward relationship for the pri-

## DEREK KEYS

ivate sector seems less promising than that to which it is accustomed.

The first of these is the export market for manufactured goods and their intermediate products. The second is the whole domestic socio-economic field.

Compared to the internal market, the export market is a jungle. This jungle is not neutral. Every man's hand is against one, and he is backed by his home government at every turn. The governments of the largest countries jump left and right in trade matters to protect and advance the interests of their nation's firms. There is still plenty for South Africans to learn in this area.

As regards the socio-economic area, a crucial one for us to get right, we have still not developed a satisfactory mechanism for fully enlisting private sector participation. If we want to win, we shall have to do

so. Clearly, the underlying basis of this challenge will not change quickly. How then, against this background, can we increase entrepreneurs' level of certainty?

The answer is simply confidence. Firstly, the state must demonstrate its own confidence by calmly and systematically striving towards the highest long-term economic goals.

Secondly, we must let entrepreneurs develop confidence in the state as a reliable partner in the successful extension of business. I am not talking about money. I am referring to co-operation, flexibility, and the willingness to undertake any transactions that will advance the general welfare. The motto must be that the entrepreneur can depend on the state.

This does not happen overnight: we are talking attitudes, we are talking transactions, we are talking deals, we are talking about a process which begins with a trickle and ends in a flood of confidence.

I have been talking about investment decisions which centre on the entrepreneurial factor. However, I should not like anyone to think that I underrate the role to be played by labour or the critical importance of its contribution to accelerated economic growth.

In all the international examples of superior economic growth — Sweden in the '30s, postwar Germany and Japan, Korea in the '60s and so on — there is one common factor, the golden triangle of business, labour and the state joined in a consensus carefully and consciously aimed at economic growth.

This is very much in my mind, and I am watching every attempt being made to develop areas of business-labour consensus with the keenest interest.

□ This is an edited extract of Trade and Industry and Economic Coordination Minister Keys's maiden speech in Parliament on Wednesday.

# Cheers as Indian MP joins Nats

Political Staff

Wednesday.

304A

CAPE TOWN — Members of the National Party parliamentary caucus burst into applause yesterday when Sathie Naidoo (Durban Bay) walked in proudly as the first NP House of Delegates member.

Mr Naidoo (35) applied to join the NP more than a year ago. The Cabinet finally decided to admit him to the party on

Mr Naidoo polled the least votes of all the winning HoD candidates in the 1989 election — 488. By May 1990 he was sitting as an independent.

He yesterday said the NP had the honesty to take stock of its weaknesses and deficiencies, and the failures of its past policies and ideological errors, in pursuing a new political order that it was confident would enjoy the mandate of the

broader electorate.

Dr Johan Steenkamp, the NP MP for Umhlatuzana, said Mr Naidoo was the tip "of a lot of grassroots support for our policies within the Asian community".

This did not mean the NP had declared war on Solidarity or the National People's Party, but the NP could not close its ranks "to those who have been waiting quite a while to come closer to us", Dr Steenkamp said.



## CP says FW had plan to destabilise homelands <sup>(304A)</sup>

CAPE TOWN — Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the CP.

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa in December last year, he had been threatened that his government would be replaced by another.

NP MPs shouted denials at both allegations.

Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in SA.

Despite the ANC being involved in negotiations, it was still speaking about seizing power.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, who were the country's only true nationalists. <sup>81 day 31/1/92</sup>

Codesa, said the CP deputy leader, would do for SA what the revolution did for Russia.

"The revolution destroyed the Soviet Union and Codesa will destroy SA."

The NP could not win an election based on one man, one vote, said Hartzenberg. — Sapa.

# Rush for ID documents expected

STAR 31/1/92  
304

Pretoria Bureau

The Department of Home Affairs may have to hire temporary staff to help with a flood of applications for identity documents from black people wishing to vote in a referendum expected this year.

A Home Affairs spokesman said that although an estimated three to four million black voters needed identity documents, he was sure the department could cope with the workload and issue the documents in time.

There had been a backlog in issuing of identity documents until the end of last year, but it had been overcome.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said in Cape Town on Tuesday that an intensive publicity campaign would be undertaken to ensure black voters applied for their identity documents.

He said 72 percent of all black voters were already in possession of identity documents and that almost all voters in the tricameral Parliament had documents.



Major shift in policy as the African National Congress says...

# Parliament must stay

(3044) 1229 311192

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political staff

THE ANC has made a major compromise on the role of the tri-cameral parliament in the political settlement process, conceding that in spite of its "illegitimacy" it is the only body that can legally pass a new constitution.

The concession was made at a Press briefing yesterday by regional ANC head Dr Allan Boesak — a week after the movement's "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade which called for the abolition of parliament and the constitution.

In his address on the Parade, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu described parliament as "discredited, immoral and illegitimate".

Dr Boesak said the "compromise" about parliament had caused a dilemma for the ANC.

But the movement recognised that it was facing an "historical dilemma" because only parliament, which the ANC regarded as illegitimate, had the "legality" to pass a new constitution.

This had been explained to ANC members and supporters who were only now beginning to understand the position.

He said: "In order to give legal authority for the process we are involved in, we have to go back to parliament. We think it is a compromise for the good of the process."

## Warning on referendum

The ANC believed that parliament had only two functions — to give legality to agreements reached at Codesa and to end its own life.

In his opening of parliament speech last week, President De Klerk made it clear that there would be no concession on the role of parliament which had to be "a fully-fledged part of every phase of constitutional change".

He said the government was not prepared to consider the circumvention or suspension of the present constitution.

He emphasised that only parliament, as constituted at present, had the power to amend the constitution.

Dr Boesak warned President De Klerk not to go ahead with plans for a white referendum, adding that the ANC was committed to an interim government in office by June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

Referring to President De Klerk's plan to honour his referendum commitment to white voters in 1989, he said that promise had been made during a racist election.

"If (President) De Klerk goes ahead with the referendum, it would be seen as breaking the undertaking he gave at Codesa... holding a referendum would seem like riding roughshod over Codesa."

A white referendum would invite a reaction from blacks. He did not know what type of action would be taken, but he had little doubt it would be on par with strategies and tactics used in the past.

(3044)  
ARCT 31/1/92

# Hendrickse faces crucial Nat challenge

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

**LABOUR** leader Rev Allan Hendrickse faces a crucial political test today in a no-confidence debate challenge from the National Party.

Labour is expected to lose at least one more MP in a defection to the NP, possibly today.

The margin is paper thin — 43-35 to Labour, with the bulk of the seven Independents thought to be likely to vote NP.

With the expected loss of another Labour MP and the predicted alignment of Independents, it is thought the margin stands at 43-42.

The role of the Independents is critical.

But LP public relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said he expected the LP to win.



**Rev Allan Hendrickse**



# President de Klerk begins six-nation European tour

By Peter Fabricius <sup>STAR</sup>  
Political Correspondent 31/1/92

President de Klerk leaves for London today and will meet British Prime Minister John Major at 10 Downing Street tomorrow at the start of a six-nation, 10-day tour of Europe.

Last night Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and a party of officials and journalists flew out of Jan Smuts Airport to accompany Mr de Klerk for part of his trip.

This party will go to the Swiss Alpine resort of Davos for the high-powered World Economic Forum Conference. Mr de Klerk will meet them there on Sunday when he will address the conference and then take part in a panel discussion on the future of the South African economy with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

The Davos conference will be attended by top political and industrial leaders from around the world.

The guest list includes Rus-

sian President Boris Yeltsin, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng and Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

About 30 major South African industrialists and businessmen will also participate.

On Monday, Mr de Klerk and his party will travel to Paris where he will lunch with President Francois Mitterrand and then receive Unesco's Felix Houphouët-Boigny peace prize jointly with Mr Mandela.

On Tuesday, Mr de Klerk will receive the award for political courage from the French journal, "Politique Internationale".

For the next three days, Mr de Klerk conducts an intense programme of back-to-back state visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the first by a South African head of government to former East bloc countries.

He will be the guest of honour at state banquets given by the presidents in each country.

Next Saturday he will commemorate a South African connection with Poland when he lays a wreath at a monument in honour of the South African Air Force pilots who airlifted supplies into Warsaw during World War 2.

Mr de Klerk's party returns on February 10.

# CP shifts from 'grand apartheid'

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter **3044**

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party would definitely take part in a white referendum on constitutional change — in spite of its refusal to participate in negotiations — and the party was confident of winning.

This emerged in a briefing by CP MP Dr Piet Gouws in the parliamentary complex yesterday.

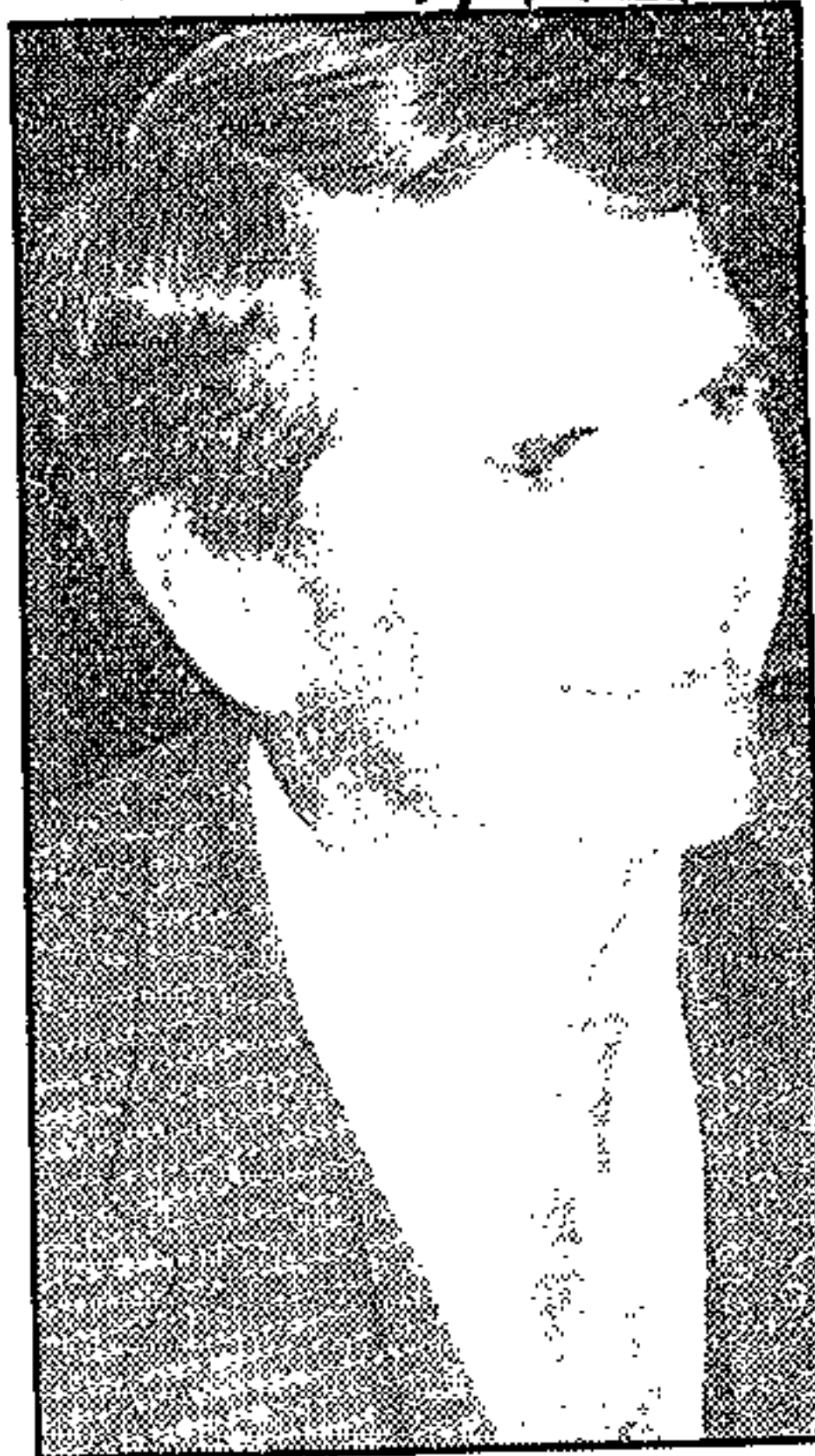
Asked what the CP's action would be should it lose such a referendum, Dr Gouws said the existence of a people could not be destroyed by a referendum — but conceded that defeat in such a referendum would be a setback.

Dr Gouws confirmed the CP's gradual policy shift away from "grand apartheid", saying the party would not seek to implement Verwoerdian ideals if it found itself in Government.

A CP Government would also not act in a "high-handed manner", he said. That was something of the past.

"We will have to sit down and discuss what the future of South Africa is," Dr Gouws said.

He added that the main item on the agenda of such discus-



Dr Piet Gouws . . . the existence of a people could not be destroyed by a referendum.

sions would be the right of self-determination.

Boundaries for a white homeland would be discussed only once the CP was in power.

Dr Gouws distanced the CP from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, saying the movement had no links with the CP.

The CP would also not enter into bilateral talks with the



FW de Klerk . . . principle of self-determination would be placed on Codesa agenda.

ANC as it had nothing to gain from such a step and there was no compelling reason for the party to do so, Dr Gouws said.

Asked about speculation of an alliance between the CP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government, he said the CP was "open-minded when dealing with people with the same beliefs" and

there was "a lot of common ground" between them.

There was no split looming in CP ranks and the speculation of such a development was National Party propaganda.

The most pressing problem facing the country was the production of enough food this year. The situation in the rural areas was "desperate", and people might have to start queueing for food as is the case in Eastern Europe.

This dire situation had been caused by financial and economic mismanagement by the country and a drought, which was probably the worst to hit the country since 1932, he said.

Dr Gouws reiterated the CP view that the right of self-determination was not negotiable. "Gentle pressure" applied since Monday by speakers in the parliamentary debate on the State President's opening speech would not persuade the CP to join Codesa.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that the principle of self-determination would be placed on Codesa's agenda, Dr Gouws said: "No, we will not participate on that basis. It is not good enough."

Until this principle was recognised, no carrot would be enough to tempt the CP to join Codesa, he said.



THE CONSTITUTION

FM 31/1/92

304A

# More rabbits from Viljoen's hat

The National Party is prepared to buy ANC agreement to a white referendum on a new dispensation. The trade-off will be Nat acceptance of a transitional government in a proportionally representative parliament. This parliament will be both an interim legislature and a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen believes the referendum, followed by elections for an interim parliament, could be held before the end of the year.

The NP is totally committed to a referendum, which it promised to white voters during the 1989 election campaign. It is sure it can win majority backing for a transitional plan that will see the scrapping of the current government and parliament.

The NP's latest thinking on transition is regarded as a fundamental shift from the "transitional arrangements" on offer until very recently. The previous plan was widely rejected on the basis that it would simply co-opt black leaders into government and expand the existing tricameral parliament to provide seats for blacks.

In terms of the new plan outlined this week by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, Codesa will formulate a package including: a transitional constitution, a democratically elected transitional parliament, a multiparty transitional Cabinet and a revolving presidency.

The plan would be put to a white referendum to allow President F W de Klerk to meet his moral obligation to voters.

Senior Nats are reluctant to speculate on the implications of a referendum going against the party, but Viljoen's deputy, Tertius Delpot, says it would result in a political dilemma rather than a constitutional crisis.

The Cabinet is positive that a deal acceptable to whites can be negotiated at Codesa and that it will then be approved in a referendum. Viljoen says a referendum is necessary "in terms of political realism. The argument that it implies a white veto is not valid."

But even if he loses a referendum, De Klerk could reject rightwing demands that he should quit and call a whites-only election. He could claim that his mandate in 1989 was to negotiate a constitution acceptable to whites, and that he would try again.

Of course, the political ramifications of such a move both domestically and abroad would be disastrous and could plunge the country into chaos. It's this knowledge that reinforces the NP's determination not to leave Codesa until it has achieved a constitutional arrangement that will be accepted by most whites.

The party argues that majority white support for the transition would also undermine

rightwing opposition to change and increase the new constitution's long-term chances of success.

The NP's change of tack this week was not lost on the ANC. The organisation is apparently softening its stand on a whites-only referendum in view of what it regards as De Klerk's "fundamental shift" in position from "transitional arrangements" to an elected transitional parliament. It also welcomes De Klerk's shift from a fixed transitional period of five to 10 years to a flexible period to be negotiated.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says government's new attitude means the ANC can continue talking to De Klerk. "The shifts in his position show a flexibility consistent with the negotiations that are going to take place at Codesa."

He says the ANC is also prepared to debate the white referendum issue at Codesa and to help De Klerk deal with it "within the negotiating process," but warns against unilateral action. Ramaphosa says De Klerk would be foolhardy to push ahead with it unless Codesa agreed.

Significantly, Ramaphosa doesn't see the white referendum as an issue that could wreck Codesa. "We can't pull out of Codesa, we partly own it. The ANC won't abandon Codesa no matter how frustrated we become. We see it as a forum for presenting different views and the issue of the referendum should be discussed at Codesa."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha says the governments of most industrialised countries and many in Africa acknowledge and accept De Klerk's obligation to test white opinion, and that privately a number of senior ANC leaders have done so too. It seems that ANC opposition to the referendum could simply be posturing, and the need to dispel the perception that it will allow a white veto of Codesa



Minister Viljoen ... white referendum politically necessary



ANC's Ramaphosa ... important shifts in De Klerk's stance

decisions.

Last month, *Beeld* newspaper quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela as acknowledging De Klerk's commitment to a referendum. It's clear that Mandela is not opposed in principle to making special provision for whites. He recently offered a reserved block of seats in the new parliament for whites, but this has been rejected by government and the NP (as well as some in the ANC) as racially orientated.

Botha also argues that De Klerk's 1989 mandate triggered the whole reform process, but would not have been won without the promise of a referendum. He says government doesn't see the referendum in terms of a white veto, but rather as white endorsement of further change.

According to Viljoen, political leaders involved in the process may decide to convert the proposed transitional Cabinet and parliament into permanent bodies to serve fixed terms, or they could call a new election based on the new constitution that will be negotiated by the transitional parliament. The decision would probably depend on how successfully they were operating.

Viljoen says the difference between the ANC's demand for an interim government and the NP's proposed transitional administration is more than merely semantic.

An interim government implies the suspension of the constitution and the exercise of power by an unrepresentative Cabinet. A transitional Cabinet, on the other hand, would be responsible to the transitional parliament.

By the same token Viljoen says a constituent assembly as demanded by the ANC would focus only on drawing up a new constitution, whereas a transitional parliament would have the added responsibility of legislation.

## Budget not Codesa's business, says Barend

Political Reporter



306A

STAR

31/1/92

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday rejected a call by the Democratic Party for the Budget to be negotiated at Codesa and the newly established multiparty Economic Forum.

DP spokesman on finance Ken Andrew called in Parliament on Wednesday for the Budget to be "removed from the centre of divisive controversy".

Speaking in the debate on the State President's opening speech yesterday, Mr du Plessis said:

"I believe there is no way any forum will be able to improve on the success, or lack of success, this Parliament has had in all its history with solving the Budget."

Mr du Plessis, however, added that discussions could take place about macro policies.



## Outcry over CP's

### dirty tricks claim

Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the Conservative Party (CP).

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in December last year he had been threatened that his would be replaced by another government.

National Party MPs shouted denials to both allegations.

Dr Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in South Africa.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, which were true nationalists.

The National Party had consigned itself to a coffin with its support of Codesa as it could not win an election based on one man, one vote. — Sapa.

They're in.  
No, they  
aren't.  
Yes they...

W/mailed 31/11-6/2/92

By DREW FORREST

INTENSE debate continues in the Congress of South African Trade Unions over its proper relationship with Codesa.

The uncertainty on the issue was highlighted this week when the National Union of Mineworkers' central committee decided against direct participation in constitutional talks — a week after Cosatu applied to Codesa for a seat.

Defending the decision at a press conference, NUM president James Motlatsi stressed that Cosatu and the NUM were labour, not political organisations and should feed into Codesa through their political allies, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. The NUM would canvass this position within the federation, he said.

Motlatsi's view was described as "idiosyncratic" by one unionist this week. "The dominant view in Cosatu is that labour must play an independent political role. The debate is about the form of participation in Codesa."

Pointing to the NUM's traditionally strong sympathies for the ANC and SACP, other sources say its rank and file may be concerned about any Cosatu move suggesting a lack of confidence in its allies.

The NUM's Codesa decision might also reflect a feeling in the regions that the union was paying insufficient attention to workaday shop-floor issues, they said.

Cosatu's application for a seat at Codesa is line with a central committee decision last November that the federation should be independently represented, rather than working through the ANC and SACP teams.

A possible confusion over mandates was one reason for this. But sources say some Cosatu leaders are concerned about being tarred with the brush of any compromises the ANC might have to reach.



# IFP, CP, Bop govt to form forum?

## Political Staff

THE Conservative Party mouthpiece, Die Patriot, has raised speculation that the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government could be in the process of forming a "forum".

However, CP MP for Parys, Dr Piet Gous, said he thought the report was "a guess".

He added that the CP was "open-minded" on the issue and there was a lot of common ground between the organisations "on which we can operate".

Die Patriot, which faithfully reports the CP line, said in a front page article that the recent meeting between party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dealt Codesa a serious blow.

It said Chief Buthelezi had told Dr Treurnicht that Codesa would not work without the CP's presence.

Dr Treurnicht told Die Patriot there was common ground between the CP and the IFP.

# MIPs clamber on Codesa's gravy train

31/1 - 6/2/92

3044

HERE'S a story doing the rounds in national negotiating circles about why two House of Representatives parliamentary parties are fighting tooth and nail to prevent a third from getting representation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

It is causing a bit of a snigger among the major parties, familiar with the back-scratching, back-stabbing politics of the House of Delegates, but it also brings home the kind of dilemma faced by Codesa in deciding which of the outsider applicants to accept among their hallowed ranks.

The would-be insider is a tiny outfit calling itself the Merit People's Party, whose main claim to national influence is it has a single MP in the House of Delegates. And it is this fact which is causing so much fear and loathing among the frac-

tious MPs of the Indian ruling party, Solidarity, and its official opposition, the National People's Party.

Representation in Codesa provides a lot of things for the 12 delegates and 12 advisers from each party: free travel, perks and, most of all, status. These may all be transitory for the MPs of the soon-to-be-demolished House of Delegates, but they are worth taking while they are still up for grabs.

If the MPP, with its lone MP, is accepted it will be looking around for delegates, and there will be several from the NPP and Solidarity who will be happy to oblige. While most of the 17 other Codesa insiders have little concern about the havoc a bit more poaching would cause in the Indian House, so far they have not come up with any further criteria for deciding which of the 29 other applicant organisations, parties, and interest groups to accept. All that is certain is that for

*There's more than a peaceful solution to be gained from joining Codesa. Participants also get travel money, perks and status.*

By **GAVIN EVANS**

reasons of expedience the Zulu royal family, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and at least one right wing party will get the thumbs up. For the rest, no one knows.

The Codesa Daily Management Committee has drawn up a series of questions for applicants. From there, says Janet Love of the Codesa Political Secretariat, the issue will go the

full 38-member management committee to decide on guidelines for representation, and the issue may only be decided at the next Codesa plenary session in two months time.

Meanwhile, the five Codesa working groups concluded their work on procedures and agendas this week, and will begin tackling the issues of substance on February 10.

Because of the enormity of the issues they need to negotiate, and the pressure to reach "sufficient consensus" in the shortest time possible, the working groups have opted to form sub-committees to speed things up.

Each of them have elected steering committees — with the African National Congress, National Party/government, Inkatha and the Labour Party being the only parties to have representation on all of these structures. The Democratic Party and Transkei government are represented on four steering committees, and the South African Communist Party on three. The Bophuthatswana government, which is resisting pressure for re-incorporation, has chosen to have steering committee representation on Working Group 4, dealing with the future of the TVBC states.





## Boesak slams 'white veto'

A WHITE minority veto in a referendum would give whites the "right to keep South Africans hostage", ANC regional president Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday. ET 3/11/92

A white veto would also go against the spirit of Codesa, Dr Boesak said at a press conference called to clarify the ANC's position on issues rising out of the parliamentary week.

The ANC had no objections to testing public opinion, but the way to do it

was through an election for a constituent assembly, followed by a referendum to test opinion on the constitutional package, said Dr Boesak.

The broadly-representative Codesa and its working groups — which are to meet twice a week — should be used to discuss ideas for any development.

President F W De Klerk would be acting irresponsibly if he bypassed Codesa to insist upon a white-minority referendum, he said. (30/11/92)

# CP 'may return Mandela to jail'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE CP might ban the ANC and the PAC and return Mr. Nelson Mandela to jail if it came to power, CP-spokesman Dr. Piet Gouws disclosed yesterday.

However, Dr. Gouws would not commit the party to a firm course of action as "the situation may be completely different by then".

For example, the 73-year-old Mr.

Mandela might have died by the time the CP ruled the country, he told a briefing for local and foreign journalists.

Dr. Gouws said there was "no compelling reason" for the CP to talk to the ANC at the moment as there was "nothing for us to gain".

However, he did not rule out that such a need might arise in the future. "We will have to evaluate the position from year to year."

Dr. Gouws said that if the CP won an

election the days of "high-handedness" in government would be over.

The CP would sit down with other groups to discuss the future of the country "but the precondition will be that white and Afrikaner self-determination must be the main item on the agenda".

He said the CP would give an indication of its boundaries for a white homeland only once the party was in power but the current boundaries of white South Africa — the entire coun-

try excluding the homelands — would serve as the starting point for negotiations.

Dr. Gouws did not rule out the possibility that coloured people who identified with Afrikaners might be included in a homeland, but noted that both groups would have to have a desire to accommodate each other.

He added: "I hope and pray that there could be a good working relationship in all fields with the coloured community and conservative people."

