S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992 - APRIL

# Parties now closer on vital constitution planning issue

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

He said yesterday he was confident an interim government could be formed "within a few months". ARG 1/4/92

A spokesman for Codesa's working group dealing with timeframes said earlier every attempt should be made to install an interim government by June 30.

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

He was responding to the most detailed ANC proposals yet on a constitution-making body, tabled earlier in the day at the World Trade Centre here. (304A)

"There are very clear differences, but there are also signs of a common perception of certain basic problems and needs that must be addressed," said Dr Viljoen.

"There have been slow, small, but important positive developments among the different parties. I believe a compromise can be found. — Sapa.

# Simple majority system denied

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

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

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

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

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

— Sapa

(304A) CT1/4/92

# Referendum on new constitution rejected

(3041) CT 8/4/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Races split over king's role

CT 1/4/92

**Political Staff** 304A

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

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

The poll, the results of which were released yesterday by Research Surveys, found that 18% of the 399 black men surveyed in door-to-door canvassing at the end of February thought it was very important and 13% quite important that the king attended Codesa.

In contrast, 18% of black men and 16% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not very important, and 48% of black men and 46% of Zulu-speaking men, thought it was not important at all.

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

The responses of the 68 men surveyed in the Durban area did not vary from the national figures.

# ANC: Set up body to plan new SA

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The system of proportional representation shall be used."

## Low threshold

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

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

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

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

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

# Codesa to have a 'gender' body

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

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

(3044)

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

ST 1/4/92

**The Gendere Advisory Committee would consist of one representative from each participating organisation at Codesa and would be composed "preferably of women". — Sapa**

# SA men want CP in Codesa

**Political Staff** (304A)

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

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

However, the results of the poll, released yesterday by Reseach Surveys, show that 27% of white men and 38% black men thought it was not very important or not important at all for the CP to attend Codesa. CT 11/4/92

The survey, which was conducted among 399 black and 451 white men in door-to-door canvassing at the end of February, showed a high level of awareness about Codesa, as 85% had heard of the organisation.

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

Whereas 71% of black men strongly agreed or agreed that Codesa could succeed, 10% disagreed or disagreed strongly. Only 39% of white men strongly agreed or agreed it could succeed, 30% disagreed or disagreed strongly, and a further 20% neither agreed nor disagreed.

Research Surveys concluded that South Africans generally have a good grasp of the task Codesa is designed to perform.

# MPs consider their options at changing of the guard

(3044) CT 1/4/92



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

**WITH the whites-only referendum now history, parliamentary parties are going through a rough patch as they are forced to address head-on the implications of the rapid transformation of the old political order.**

**Many MPs are having to confront the uncomfortable reality that their political careers may fairly soon come to an abrupt end.**

**With major adjustments and realignments looming on the political horizon, many of the tricameral parliamentarians are battling to establish whether they will have a role to play in the new dispensation.**

**This pervasive uncertainty is, quite understandably, serving to exacerbate the tensions which normally exist to a greater or lesser degree in the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and other such parties.**

**So the ferment which everyone was predicting for the Conservative Party following its resounding referendum defeat is by no means restricted to that party.**

## Wane in influence

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

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

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

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

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

## Rejuvenated CP

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

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

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

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

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

## Greener pastures

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

Even Nationalists — who are more isolated at Codesa these days than most could have predicted — are beginning to show signs of political nerves as he days of minority rule draw to a close.

# Clarity sought on unitary state issue

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

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

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

"In order to remove any doubts, the management committee has agreed to recommend to Codesa 2 that the addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa 1."

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

☐ Favouring, inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether it be unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;

☐ Preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions, during the proceedings of Codesa or any of its committees or working groups; and

☐ That the addendum shall be added to the declaration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The delegation will leave for the UK on April 5 and return to SA on April 13. — Sapa.

## ANC rejects voting on constitution

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC's comments were contained in its most detailed proposals yet on a body and procedures for drafting a new constitution, tabled at a meeting of Codesa's working group 2 at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg. — Sapa.

# Zulu king is subject of opinion poll

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The majority of Zulu-speaking men do not think it is important for King Goodwill Zwelithini to participate in Codesa, an opinion survey has found.

It found that 26% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not very important for King Goodwill to participate in Codesa, while 46% though it was not at all important.

The poll, the results of which were released yesterday by Research Surveys, found that 31% of the 399 black men surveyed in door-to-door canvassing at the end of February thought it was very important (18%) or quite important (13%) that King Goodwill attended Codesa.

In contrast, 18% of black men and 16% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not very important, and 48% of black men and 46% of Zulu-speaking men thought it was not important at all. Only 4% of the men said they did not know whether it was important for King Goodwill to attend.

The responses of the 68 men surveyed in Durban did not vary from the national figures: 31% thought it was very important or quite important for the king to participate, while 67% though it was not very important or not at all important.

White men, on the other hand, strongly supported the participation of the Zulu king in Codesa: 61% thought it was very important or quite important, while 35% thought it was not very important or not at all important. More English-speaking men (65%) than Afrikaans-speaking men (57%) thought it was important.

Research Surveys said the disparity "reflects the difference between white and black opinions of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with whites being more sympathetic".

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# Inkatha wants multi-party cabinet

HOT on the heels of the ANC and the government, the Inkatha Freedom Party has released its detailed proposals for transitional rule. SHAUN JOHNSON of The Argus Political Staff summarises the key points of the plan.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP. There are differences in emphasis and, in some crucial areas, principle, between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

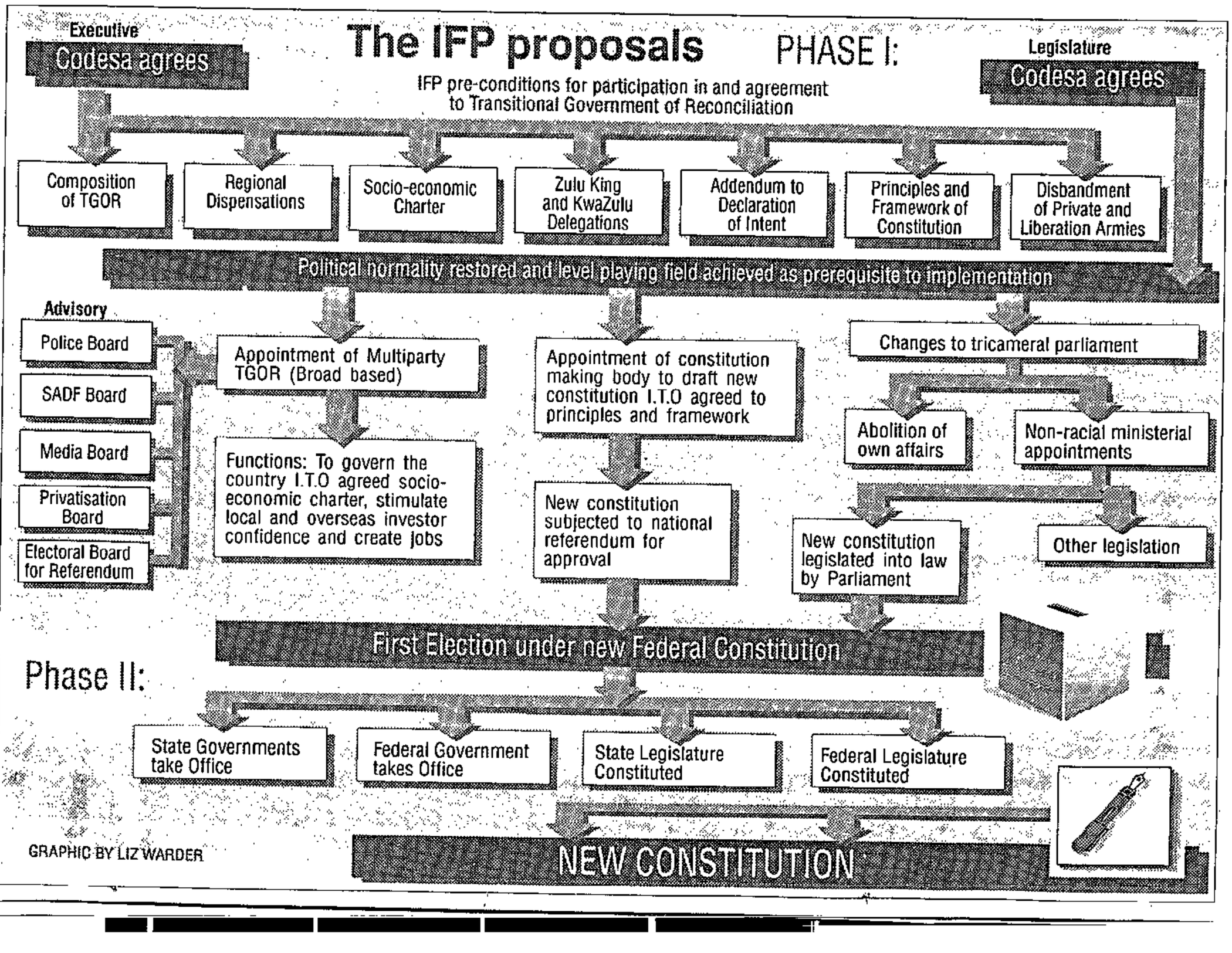
The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to become more inclusive — this is a clear reference to the controversy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu King and the Kwazulu government.

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

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

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

Working Group 3, which deals with the key matter of a "transitional package" is temporarily adjourned, while delegates consult their principals. When delegates reassemble next week, their task will be to extract from the three plans on the table those points that are reconcileable — and find ways of negotiating around those that are not.



CODESA

# Blueprints for a new SA

AS the government and the ANC get closer to general agreement on interim rule, the remaining points of detailed difference stand out more clearly — and appear more intractable. SHAUN JOHNSON of The Argus Political Staff puts the latest government proposals in context.

WALK up to a Codesa delegate at the World Trade Centre and ask him or her to summarise the key differences between the government and ANC plans for transitional structures in South Africa.

The chances are very good that — assuming you have not run fortuitously into Dr Gerrit Viljoen or the ANC's Professor Kader Asmal — the delegate's eyes will glaze over and a smile will be replaced by a look of frank panic.

The reason is that this state of negotiations, which President De Klerk correctly characterises as "urgent and historic", is also unprecedentedly complicated.

There was a time, at the beginning of the year, when delegates used to express concern that Codesa was losing the "public out there" — that ordinary people were suffocating under a mass of detail. Now it is the delegates themselves who are gasping for breath.

As the negotiation process proceeds, broad principle has necessarily to give way to narrow detail. Proposals and counter-proposals are submitted in innumerable sub-committees each and every week — and not only by the major negotiating partners, but by no less than 19 participating organisations of varying influence and clarity of thought.

If one is to retain any level of comprehension, it is necessary to select from the competing messages those that matter.

What matters most at the moment is the achievement of agreement on a "package" of proposals for how the country's administration will be structured in the vital period running up to the first all-in elections for a new parliament which will eventually draft a new constitution.

On the principle of "sufficient consensus" which has developed in Codesa, such agreement will therefore require — at the very least — a bargain struck between the government and the ANC, and preferably with the enthusiastic concurrence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the more substantial homelands.

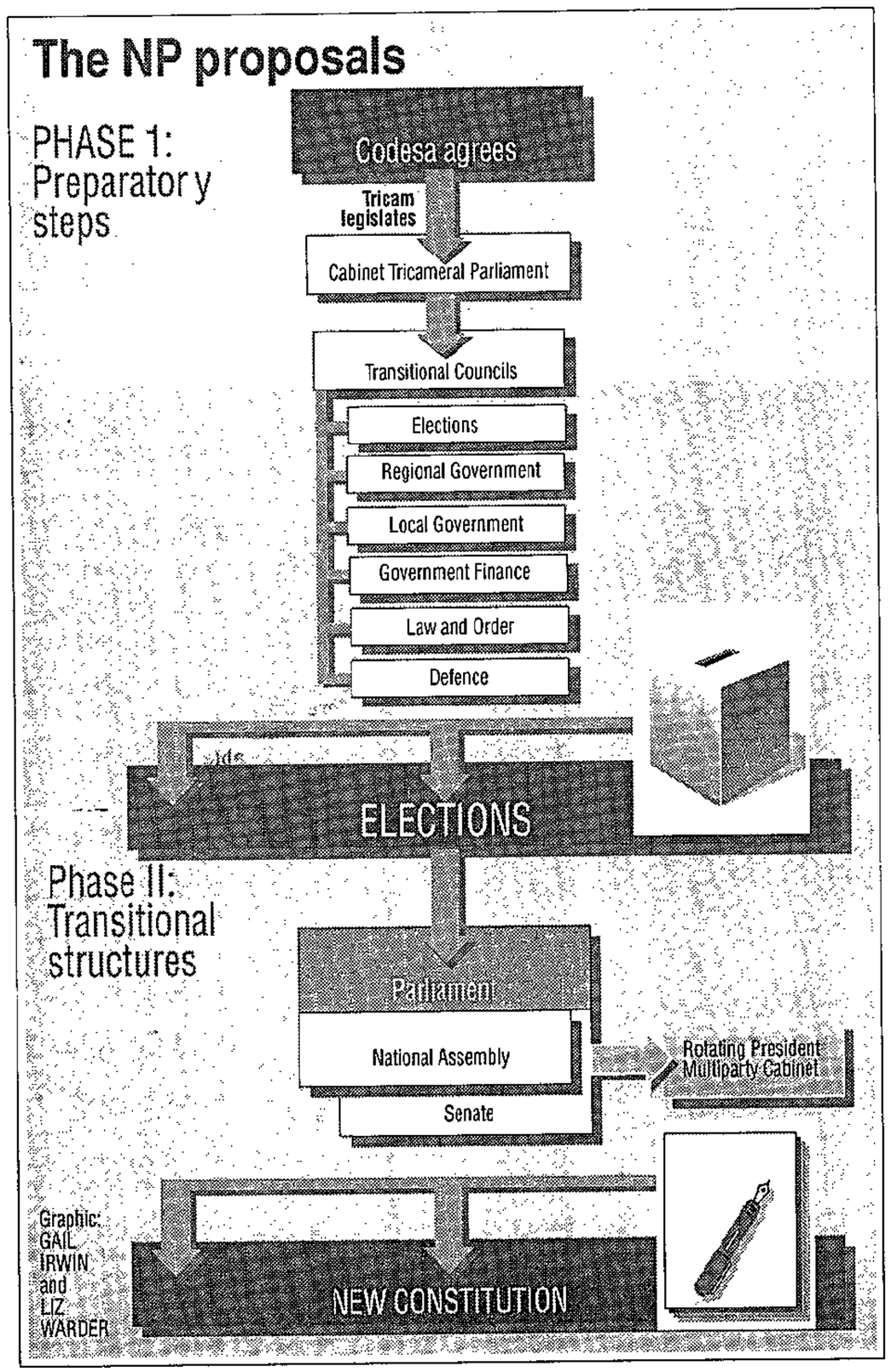
The Argus today publishes graphic illustrations of the latest state of play in terms of government proposals, left, and the ANC, right. Both, in their present forms, are products of considerable bargaining over the past few months.

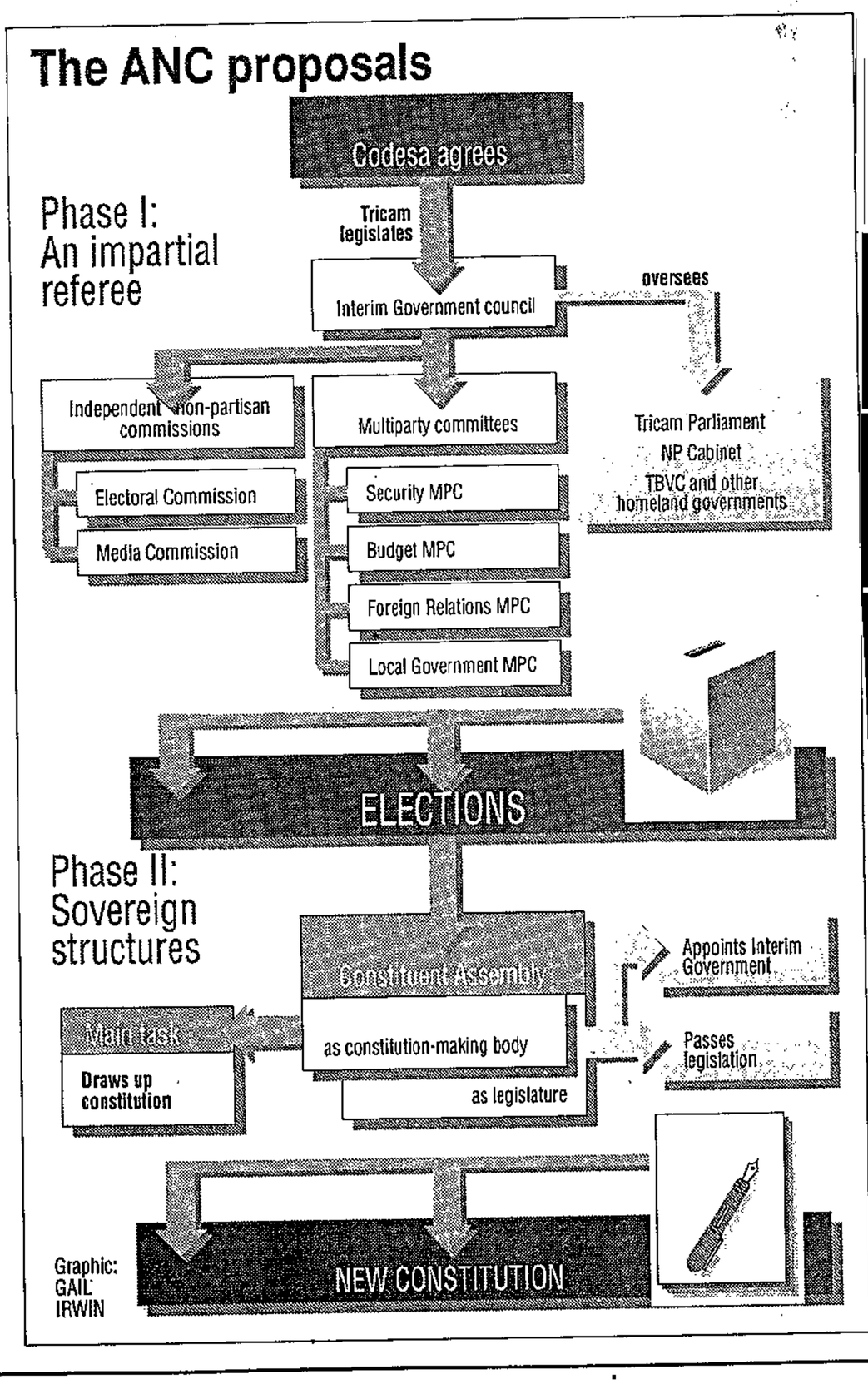
A key point of difference between the two should be clear from the diagrams, and it is on this terrain that much of the political battle in Codesa will be fought in coming weeks.

In Phase One of the ANC's proposal, an interim structure assumes supervisory powers over existing institutions including the cabinet, the tricameral parliament, and homeland administrations. The government plan inverts these lines of authority, leaving the existing cabinet with the final say, subject to advice from "transitional councils".

Debates over Phase Two — which will, when the time comes, be even more difficult than those under way now — can proceed only once the initial hurdles have already been negotiated.

If, as many hope, South Africa is to enter into the first phase of transitional, non-racial government within weeks or months, it seems a path will have to be cleared between a position that leaves all executive power in the hands of the government until elections are held, and one which takes most of it away, straight away.



# Canada minister to visit SA

OTTAWA - Canadian External Affairs Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall will visit South Africa this month and meet with participants in talks on a new multiracial constitution.

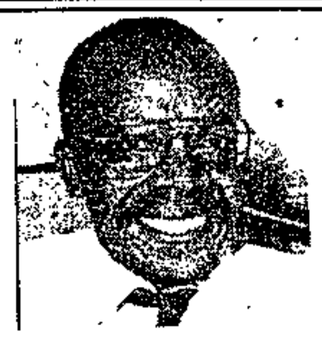
McDougall will visit South Africa from April 6 to 8, and will meet StatePresident FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, officials said.

Canada has expressed its support for the reforms being carried out in South Africa but is maintaining its economic sanctions against the country. - *Sapa-AFP*.

# PAC, Azapo must swell numbers at Codesa

(#B3)(304A) Sowetan 1/4/92

**Sowetan day editor THAMI MAZWAI looks at recent development in negotiations and advises the PAC and Azapo to jump into Codesa before it is too late.**



OPINION

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

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

This is what leadership is about.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He has succeeded.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Minister urges CP to help stop carnage

Sowetan 1/4/92

**Sowetan Correspondent**

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

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

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

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

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

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

# ANC rejects Govt's constitutional plan

STAR 11/4/92 (QD) 304M

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

The ANC yesterday proposed at Codesa that:

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

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

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

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

The ANC denied that elections would encourage further violence.

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

● New hope that IFP, Bop will sign declaration — Page 8

# 'There was blood on the floor'

STAR 1/4/92

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

"Many aspects of their proposals are ludicrous, I am sorry to say.

"If the cap fits, let them wear it," said Mr Sachs.

He said the Government proposals for a constitution-making body excluded 9 million people in the homelands from its proposed structures.

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

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

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

# Pietersburg seeks to counter bad image

304A 4/6

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal
Bureau STAR 1/4/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# New hope that IFP, Bop govt will sign declaration

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The group, led by Mr Gordhan, includes Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, N J Mahlangu of the Intando we Sizwe Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP, Professor Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement, the National Party's George Bartlett and Janet Love of the Codesa secretariat.

The management committee has also agreed to establish a gender advisory committee to advise on the gender implications of the terms of reference of each of the five working groups.

# Two more apartheid pillars go

Political Staff

THE Development Aid Department and the South Africa Development Trust cease operation today following a process of rationalisation and an attempt to rid South Africa of apartheid administration.

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

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

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

The department has worked flat-out since then to transfer 3 million hectares of land to the self-governing states and the final 1,2m hectares still left over are to be transferred to Public Works and Regional and Land Affairs, Mr De Villiers said.

The 11 proclamations and three government gazettes published yesterday affect one hundredth of South Africa's land that will now be administered without racial discrimination. (304A)

All the development and related functions rendered by the SA Development Trust will now rest with individual line function departments and administrations, Mr De Villiers said. CT 1/4/92

# Lopsided referendum campaign a cause for unease

STAR 1/4/92.

(304A)



Allister Sparks

ONE disturbing feature of the referendum was the lopsidedness of the publicity campaign.

I was one of those who exulted in the result, but I must confess to an unease at the way it was achieved and what this portends for the future democracy mandated by that result.

Never before has the entire press, as well as the broadcast media, been lined up in this way to give such a single chorus of support for one side in any national ballot. And never before has there been such an imbalance in the amount of money spent on other forms of electoral publicity.

Big Business was on the side of the "yes" vote and it poured funds into the parties campaigning for negotiations to continue. Not only that, business ran its own "yes" campaign. The head of a newspaper company raised a private sector fund of millions which was then spent on advertisements in his and other newspapers as well as M-Net in which they all have shares.

Against this the CP had its one little 20 000-a-week circulation newspaper, Die Patriot, and a handful of street posters. Some of the posters were quite clever, but the total imbalance was almost obscene.

While we may applaud the outcome we cannot ignore the implications of how it was achieved. It has to be admitted, this was not a free and fair election. If there had been objective outside monitors they would have had to report that it was distorted by the scale of the publicity imbalance.

This is something that will have to be addressed as we lay down the ground rules for a future democracy. Sometime soon, perhaps early next year, South Africa will have its first one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly and interim administration.

Once again we may see the democratic process being distorted, even as it is supposedly being instituted, by a lining up of the Establishment press, English and Afrikaans, and the SABC in monolithic support of the Establishment party — either the National Party or a new Christian Democratic Party resulting from an NP-DP merger — to defeat or at least contain the ANC.

Once again we may see Saatchi and Saatchi organising a high-tech campaign and the private sector raising another massive war chest to saturate ad space and TV time to fight off, this time, the "socialist *gevaar*". While on the ANC side there will be support from only a handful of "alternative" papers.

To suggest, as will be done, that this is all in accordance with liberal democracy and the free enterprise system is a travesty — and the kind of thing that gives both a bad name. It will be manifestly unfair and undemocratic and as far as practicable it should be prevented.

As far as the press is concerned, as this column has stated before, there should be an unbundling of the monopolistic control that has all the major Afrikaans newspapers in the hands of companies historically tied to the National Party, and nearly all the major English papers ultimately controlled by one giant business conglomerate.

That unbundling should ensure that at least some papers end up in the control of a Press Trust formed to ensure that there is a more varied expression of political viewpoints in our new democracy.

The ANC's interim government proposals, presented to Codesa on February 24, include a media commission together with an electoral commission to ensure that the elections are free and fair. The media commission is intended primarily to monitor the SABC, which as a State broadcasting service has a statutory obligation to be impartial.

The Government, in its proposals for interim arrangements, is silent on this. It proposes the establishment of five "transitional councils" which will serve as advisory bodies to the Cabinet, but none is concerned with the SABC.

A number of organisations, including the Campaign for Open Media, the ANC and the Democratic Party, have put proposals for restructuring the SABC to Codesa's working group one.

All the Government seems prepared to do is to have an "Independent Broadcasting Authority" appointed by the State President (and therefore not independent) and a body to which complaints can be made. Such arm's-length grandfathering can make little difference to a large and complex institution whose corporate mindset has been formed over decades.

The SABC needs more fundamental restructuring. In the first instance, as the Campaign for Open Media has recommended, there should be a genuinely independent communications authority for the interim period when that crucial first election is held, and then a commission of independent specialists to examine the whole issue of how broadcasting should be structured.

Behind all this lies a disturbing factor. Tertius Delport, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, made it clear in a briefing that as far as the Government is concerned the transitional stage will begin only when elections are held.

That is why it is talking about interim arrangements coming into force only *after* the elections. It is an attempt to set the scene for a repeat performance of what we have just witnessed — a media avalanche to bury the ANC the way the CP was swamped.

It won't work, of course. As Bishop Abel Muzorewa discovered in Zimbabwe, the liberation imperative at that first full election is too powerful to be withstood by any propaganda campaign. But the attempt could create a lasting resentment that will not be good either for the country or for the future freedom of the media. □

# Interim rule 'must be quick'

STAR 2/4/92

30477

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

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

## Preconditions

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

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

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

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

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

Such a government could help to further stabilise the climate.

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

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

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

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

## Tested

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

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

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

# CP MP pleads for unity

STAR 2/4/92 (3044)

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

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

He said the Afrikaner had to accept that the new SA would differ fundamentally from the old.

The issue of two conflicting streams in Afrikaner thought — those who still wanted self-determination and those prepared to share power — would be resolved by a division of land.

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

— Sapa.

# Soares seeks pledge from ANC

3044

14/92

From CHRIS BATEMAN

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

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

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

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

## 'Little vague'

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

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

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

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

# US rules out white veto in SA

304A CT 2/1/92

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

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

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

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

## Drought

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

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

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

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

Mr Cohen predicted that Codesa negotiations would lead to a one-man, one-vote election of an interim government before the end of the year or early in 1993 at the latest. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

# Koos predicts Afrikaner state

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

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

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

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

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

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

# DP to thrash out differences

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

**Although Mr Tarr made it clear he was not necessarily including the DP and was expressing a personal opinion, his comments are understood to be in line with a group within the party and apparently precipitated the current crisis.** (304A) CT 2/4/92

**Yesterday, however, party sources said they did not expect a split although some are resigned to its happening "somewhere down the line".**

# Codesa D-Day for Azapo, PAC

Sowetan 2/4/92 (Gen 5) (304A)

By MATHATHA TSEDU

**THE coming weekend is bound to be a watershed for forces outside Codesa, especially for the PAC, Azapo and the exiled BCMA.**

As the Pan Africanist Congress meets in the Transkei capital of Umtata for its third congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, in the form of Azapo and the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, will meet in the Zimbabwean town of Kadoma for consultations.

And at the centre of the agenda of the two conferences, which take place thousands of kilometres apart, will be a common theme of Codesa, that apparatus of the Government and the ANC mainly, which both have rejected with equal force.

But in this age of crumbling international resistance against apartheid and dwindling support from, among others, even the Frontline states, vehement rejection is no longer enough.

Those opposed to Codesa must render it unworkable or provide a viable alternative that people can see, trust and follow.

This is despite the justified retort of these organisations that those who need to answer to the people are actually those who have abandoned the militant struggle and are now in Codesa.

Can they deliver through Codesa in terms of the aspirations of the oppressed?

While this is a valid question, the lack of feedback to the general population on Codesa and the total support that Codesa gets from the media creates an impression in the minds of many people that Codesa is the thing and will deliver, however unjustified that assumption.

So the pressure therefore is again on those outside to actually show, not only the wrong way but a viable right way. In the pre-De Klerk era, black opposition to Government policy did not have to render it unworkable, it simply had to be logical and in pursuance of the general struggle.

And so despite the inability of the revolutionary forces to stop the implementation of the bantustan policy, its forceful enactment and eventual attainment of its epoch in the independence of the TBVC quasi states did not entail a loss for the struggling forces.

## Demise

The international community refused to recognise the states as election after election drew progressively fewer and fewer voters to the poll, leading to their now imminent demise.

So it was that the introduction of Bantu Education, despite protests, went ahead but again this failed to get widespread approval in the world.

But this was then. Right now, it is quite clear that the international community, in the form of Europe, America and indeed African countries, are going to recognise the outcome of Codesa despite the protestations from the PAC and the BCM.

While the PAC and the BCM rightly point to the non-representivity of Codesa and question the presence of De Klerk's minions in the bantustans, they are being called to go beyond just condemnation and instead reach out and stop or disrupt the process.

The two organisations have called for the preliminary talks on elections for a Constituent Assembly to be held outside the country under a neutral chairman.

To all intents and purposes, these demands have been ignored by those inside Codesa, who are instead slowly but surely forging ahead to attain what those outside describe as a sellout and neo-colonial solution.

The PAC and the BCM, as well as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the New Unity Movement, have been calling for an alternative to Codesa but this has not materialised so far.

All of them, but the PAC and BCM in particular, have threatened to launch campaigns to frustrate and eventually destroy Codesa but this has hardly materialised.

As the two organisations meet at the weekend, these apparent inabilities will be on the minds of the delegates who must chart the revolutionary way forward for both.

In brief, some of the positions and questions that will tax the minds of the leadership and delegates are:

* Can the forces outside Codesa render it unworkable and thereby stop the implementation of what they call a neo-colonial solution designed to protect and enhance capitalism and white priviledge?

## Mass appeal

* What are their individual and combined capacities to accomplish their programmes, both in terms of mass appeal and military strength?

* Given the failure to bring even a mini front between the PAC and BCM into fruition after the much heralded agreement at Kadoma last year, what is the viable option to Codesa?

* Would they ever consider joining Codesa? If so, at what stage and under what conditions, if any?

* If they are to ever join Codesa, what do they hope to achieve given the loading of the conference with Government lackeys and the new found arrogance of De Klerk in the post referendum period?

* Should Codesa arrange for elections for a Constituent Assembly while they were not part thereof, would they take part in such an election? If not, what are the explanations for a refusal to test appeal in an election? If they are going into those elections, how do they explain their participation?

* For the BCM in particular, if they are to go into the elections, do they contest them as a Black only party or do they open up in line with the ultimate aim of the organisation for a non-racial democratic country?

* Given the pressure on the frontline African states by South Africa and the USA in particular for a ceasation of support to forces outside Codesa, and these states' dependence on South Africa even for relief of the raging drought, what support can they hope for there?

* Can the home front sustain an armed insurrection, with arms, training facilities, finance and other logistical support?

These are but some of the questions.

The answers to them will determine what outcome can be expected from these two conferences that may forever change the face of both negotiation and revolutionary politics in this country.

Which way will the pendulum swing? We will have to wait until at least Monday to know.



PAC president Clarence Makwetu.



BCMA chairman Mosibudi Mangena.



Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.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STAR 2/4/92

# Fight reform daily — mass killer Strydom

By Esther Waugh

Mass murderer Barend Strydom has called on members of the "Boerevolk" to actively resist the reform process "at least once a day".

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

Strydom was sentenced to death for shooting seven black people on Pretoria's Strijdom Square in 1988. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

In a letter from jail sent to the newsletter, Strydom said he would never beg "the enemy" for his release.

**Patrick Laurence** ponders opposite imperatives for ending the violence wracking SA

# 'Catch-22' trap stalls progress

STAR 2/4/92

304A

SOUTH Africa's negotiating process has entered a "catch-22" situation which tempers the underlying optiism that a transitional governnt can be established within ee months.

The De Klerk administration set major reduction of the vioce plaguing the black townps as a firm pre-condition to gress towards a transitional ernment.

t insists that the problem of poical violence must be "solved isively" before a transitional stitution — which will grant cks representation in parliant for the first time in South ican history — can be implented.

ut against that, as ANC kesman Saki Macozoma has ed, installation of an interim ernment of national unity in e of the present minority govment is necessary to bring the ence to an end.

is a situation calculated to ght Joseph Heller: there canbe a transitional government iout a marked reduction in ence but without a transitional ernment violence will not te significantly.

is unfair, however, to see the De Klerk administration's insistence on a reduction in violence as a cynical manoeuvre to delay the introduction of a more representative provisional government while pretending to be in favour of it.

As a preliminary report by a team of lawyers from the International Commission of Jurists notes: "It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one person, one vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we visited ... violence is the most pressing problem which South Africa faces."

It is clearly not enough for representatives of major political forces to reach agreements on a new political dispensation in the closeted atmosphere at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

There has to be a diminution of political violence on the ground from its horrifyingly high present level of more than 10 deaths a day before the agreements can be implemented.

That almost self-evident observation, however, raises a critically important question: by how much must the violence be reduced before free and fair elections become feasible?

There is no simple answer.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and one of President de Klerk's closest advisers, Gerrit Viljoen, has referred vaguely to the need to establish a "satisfactory situation of order and stability".

Another answer has been offered by Mr de Klerk's senior advisers: all political organisations should be free to organise politically — hold public meetings and canvass on a door-to-door basis for support — anywhere in South Africa without fear of violent opposition.

Translated into practical terms that means that the National Party should be free to hold a meeting in, say, Soweto, and the ANC free to hire the town hall in Ventersdorp, the stronghold of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

These criteria suggest that the "satisfactory situation of order and stability" is still a long way off and the prospect of a transitional government a distant speck on the horizon.

Government spokesmen have not helped by adopting a holier-than-thou attitude, implying that primary responsibility for the continuing violence rests with black leaders.

Typical of their attitude is a recent statement by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel: "It is time black leaders stopped using violence to position themselves politically." Mr Kriel's statement is repudiated by the ANC and its allies.

As the ANC's Gill Marcus notes, it conveniently forgets the sinister role of State agencies — notably the secret Civil Co-operation Bureau and the police "death squads" — against "enemies of the State" and the damning judgments against the security forces in judicial inquiries into the killing of civilians by police and soldiers in Sebokeng in 1990.

Nor does it take account, Ms Marcus adds, of the way in which violence intensifies every time there is a development that could augur well for a peaceful settlement.

Thus, to cite the most recent example, the run-up to the whites-only referendum on March 17 on whether to give Mr de Klerk a new mandate to negotiate a new constitution was characterised by a marked upsurge in township violence, suggesting that it was being orchestrated to stampede voters into the "no" camp.

The De Klerk administration seems to attach too much importance to securing the dissolution of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Judging from official statements, Umkhonto is seen in one-dimensional terms as a cause but not a symptom of the violence.

The ANC does not see Umkhonto as a "private army" and a generator of violence; it views Umkhonto as a shield to protect "the people" from violence which it believes the De Klerk administration is either unable or unwilling to stop.

Mr Mandela's angry response at the first plenary session of Codesa to Mr de Klerk's insistence that Umkhonto dissolve and surrender its arms caches is still pertinent.

"You are asking us to commit suicide ... the perception (in the townships) is that elements in the security forces are killing our people ... what political organisation would hand over its weapons to the same man who is regarded by (its followers) as killing innocent people?"

The dissolution of Umkhonto, along with rival political armies and, according to the International Commission of Jurists, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu Police, may be a necessary condition for the restoration of peace. It is, however, not a sufficient condition.

The causes of the violence are more complex and deep-rooted. In its latest meticulously researched annual survey of South Africa, the Institute of Race Relations highlights the manifold causes — and therefore remedies — of the violence.

It contrasts two reports on the violence:

- The Community Agency for Social Enquiry blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party for 51 percent and the ANC for only 4 percent of the acts of violence on the Reef over a 12-month period.
- Against that the police held the ANC responsible for a clear majority of attacks in the same area over an 18-month period (86 percent of the attacks where only aggressors were identified and 56 percent where both aggressors and victims were identified).

The survey records that the institute itself analysed nearly 1 240 incidents of violence over an eight-month period last year, concluding that the aggressors could not be clearly be identified in 85 percent of the cases.

All of which leads back to catch-22: South Africa's problems require swift and urgent action but they are so deep-rooted and complex that there is no quick-fix. □

# NP insists on power sharing

BIDay 2/4/92. (304A)

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

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

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

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

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

BILLY PADDOCK

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

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

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

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

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

the official police unrest re- mind, the tall, extremely much prominence in news- tures.

# Model C landslide saves teachers' jobs

STAR 31/4/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Teachers around the country could breathe a sigh of relief yesterday as schools in the Cape, Natal and Free State came out in overwhelming support of the Model C option.

The jobs of thousands of teachers who faced retrenchment if schools had chosen to retain the status quo were saved as more than 95 percent of schools voted to convert to the semi-private model on August 1.

The Transvaal Education Department reported that 1 073 of the 1 101 schools under its jurisdiction had chosen Model C.

All of the 174 schools in the Free State, 231 of the 233 schools in Natal and 638 of the 718 schools in the Cape chose Model C.

Transvaal teachers will hear on May 1 whether they will be retrenched, a TED spokesman said yesterday.

In February, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly Piet Marais announced that as many as 4 000 teachers would lose their jobs on August 1.

The State will pay only the teachers' salaries at Model C schools, leaving parent bodies to fund administration and running costs.

Status quo schools will be fully funded.

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

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

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

# CP split on cards following expulsion

STAR 31/4/92



MP Koos Botha . . . seeks scaled-down volkstaat.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

304A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said in a statement last night that Mr Botha had been expelled because he had refused to abide by party discipline or to await the outcome of an examination of party policy.

# 15 years of crests and troughs

STAR 3/4/92 (3044)

**Lashed by P W Botha, praised by the public, cast down by the collapse of the Nkomati Accord, shunned by fellow Nationalists, reprimanded by John Vorster, then appointed Foreign Minister to the "gnashing of teeth" — Pik Botha has experienced all this over the last 15 years. Political Correspondent ALAN DUNN reports from Cape Town.**

TOO OFTEN near hell and heaven at the same time, was Pik Botha's description of his political career on his 15th anniversary as South Africa's foreign minister.

He was answering the inevitable reporter's question on high and low points over the years which have made him the country's longest-serving foreign minister and the world's second-longest incumbent after Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The reply was Pikaresque. "I don't know, there are too many," he said, offering instead a quotable quote tinged with philosophy and poetry.

It is indeed so that one of South Africa's most popular politicians, a publicity conscious, reformist figure who has been in more scrapes than a toddler's knee, has bobbed about more than a Jeffreys Bay surf bum on the waves and troughs of political fortune.

## Longevity

He has survived well, now occupying the most senior chair next to President de Klerk's at the Cabinet table where his international experience, negotiating skills and plain political nous are widely regarded.

His political longevity itself is ample testimony to a highly developed sense of political craft and gut instinct.

Over a celebratory glass of champagne in his office — a surprise function organised by his staff — Mr Botha (59) illustrated the fickleness of the career he is in, and his own see-saw journey, with the SA-Mozambican Nkomati Accord.

That was a major achievement. Then it petered out, causing a low point and crisis. Now it is reviving.

Another low was the 1986 incident in Parliament when former President P W Botha publicly lashed him for raising the prospect of a black president for South Africa.

"I don't think our colleague can survive this," was how Mr Botha started a Cabinet meeting which discussed the issue, the foreign minister remembered. It still stings.

"In his mind (President Botha's) it was already over," Mr Botha said.

But bleakness and despair turned within a week as thousands of calls of support flooded into his office. "I was up again. That was pleasure, that was joy," he said.

Another low point was the reaction of fellow Nationalists after his maiden speech in Parliament in 1970 on human rights, where he urged South Africa to subscribe to the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"For about two years almost nobody would talk to me or my wife at Acacia Park (the parliamentary village for MPs and officials). Now a bill of rights is going to mean our protection," he said.

Perhaps the greatest event in his career so far has been the collapse of communism. It contained immense ramifications for South and southern Africa, including Namibian independence, the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and SA Communist Party.

Mr Botha recalled how former Prime Minister John Vorster appointed him, never actually telling him that he had the job.

He was ambassador to Washington, recalled to South Africa for talks on various looming crises: Rhodesia, South West Africa and Angola.

While home, he spoke at a womwn's club in Randburg on the coloured issue. He expressed full agreement with remarks by former US secretary of state dr Henry Kissinger who had said one of South Africa's worst historical mistakes was that coloureds had not been integrated in good time.

## Admitted

Mr Botha was confronted by Mr Vorster at the Union Buildings the next day. He admitted saying it, confirmed that he had spoken of full integration, and acknowledged that it was against Government policy.

After a reprimand, he returned to Washington to learn that Dr Connie Mulder was to become the next foreign minister.

He also learnt that Dr Mulder's appointee for the ambassadorship in Washington, who would unseat Mr Botha, was making preparations for his trip to the US.

Then came a telephone call. Mr Vorster told him that if a constituency became vacant within six months, and he was approached, he should stand.

That evening a South African reporter telephoned him in New York to congratulate him — Mr Vorster had announced in South Africa that he would be foreign minister.

He was sworn in on April 1 1977. "I took it that this was sufficient legal proof that I was minister of foreign affairs," he quipped.

Mr Vorster then told him that when others were overlooked for the appointment, there had been a "weeping and a gnashing of teeth".

Mr Botha at one stage thought South Africa's international relations would never normalise. He had become dejected, on the verge of resigning, because the break with the Conservative Party was taking so long.

One could not sit in the same Cabinet as Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg without violating one's own conscience, he said.

Now Mr Botha believes South Africa is in the strongest position yet internationally — stronger even than it was in Smuts's day.

"We are, for the first time, in step with that which is acceptable to the industrialised countries. We are in the broadstream of acceptability."

And Mr Botha is riding that stream for all he and South Africa are worth. □




**A survivor . . . Pik Botha celebrates his 15-year career as foreign minister at a surprise party arranged by his staff.**

# Unity preserved at 'long' DP caucus

(BOHA) CT 3/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party emerged from its extra-long caucus meeting yesterday without any MPs breaking ranks.

MPs generally felt the debate had helped to clear the air — but had not finally resolved the issue of the future role and direction of the party.

One said that if any defections took place these were unlikely to happen until Parliament resumes after the Easter recess next month.

A significant number of MPs have been comtemplating joining the ANC in recent weeks, while a smaller group has been considering their options in a reconstituted party which would include a sizable chunk of the National Party.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer commented afterwards: "We did not decide on anything in particular.

"Life goes on — there is nothing to report."

A number of MPs were tight-lipped about the lengthy caucus meeting but some said that a session to thrash out the problems and challenges facing the party had been useful. One complained of "viciously anti-DP" reports which have been appearing about the party.

Some MPs said yesterday that any possible moves from the party would depend on how the party leadership responded to fears and uncertainties about the future role and direction of the party in coming weeks.

A document prepared by Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon on options facing the party was raised at yesterday's meeting, but Mr Leon declined to say how it was received.

One MP said he did not see himself remaining a member of the same party as Mr Leon indefinitely.

A senior ANC source indicated this week that the movement would have no objection in principle to white MPs sitting in Parliament under an ANC banner.

# ANC warns against another white poll

CT 3/4/92 **Political Staff** (304ft)

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

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

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

# Crisis in CP

## Reformist rebel MP expelled

304A CT 3/4/92



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

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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

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

As the months of wrangling between reformists and hardliners finally burst into the open, the reformist camp was lying low.

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

But an unrepentant Mr Botha said in an interview that he refused to apologise for his speech in Parliament in which he said the party should negotiate "with all relevant organisations" — including the ANC — for a drastically smaller Afrikaner state.

Mr Botha was guarded when asked how much support his views enjoyed in the caucus but added: "There is a strong movement among grassroots CP supporters for this message."

He said he would not join any other party but sit in Parliament as an independent while trying to mobilise the many Afrikaner volkstaat groups outside Parliament into a powerful forum. "We are all Afrikaners and we need each other," he said.

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

When Dr Treurnicht protested that the ANC were "communists" and "the enemy" of the Afrikaners, Mr Botha responded that they remained a relevant political force.

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

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

"Right-wingers in favour of their own volkstaat must have someone to negotiate on their behalf and not be left out in the cold where nobody is taking their case to the negotiation table."

### Policy probe

Mr Botha said that he and many other Conservatives believed that Afrikaners of all races should be allowed a volkstaat where they would be able to exercise their political rights. He had "no problem" with like-minded English speakers joining in.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said after the CP's lively caucus meeting yesterday that Mr Botha's ejection from the party followed his refusal to bow to caucus discipline following his controversial speech.

In spite of the fact that seven caucus committees were probing policy and strategies, Mr Botha "was not prepared to wait for the results of the study", said Mr Le Roux.

He said the CP would welcome the rebel MP back into the fold if he declared himself willing to abide by party discipline.

# Would you buy a used car from these men?

*Accepting the National Party's constitutional proposals would be like buying a used car already advertised as being held together with chewing gum and sawdust, argues* **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

TERTIUS DELPORT, deputy minister of constitutional development, was asked this week to lay aside the maze of technical detail for a moment and define the fundamental constitutional point that divides the government and the African National Congress.

What it comes down to, he said without hesitation, is that the government wants the transition process to be open-ended whereas the ANC wants definite time frames to be laid down (say, nine months for the constituent assembly and two to three years for the "sunset" clauses).

This is not just another technical point.

In effect, the National Party is demanding a veto on the final constitution and the right to consent to when it should no longer be part of government.

That is a bad principle in itself and a totally rotten one on which to base agreement or disagreement on the country's future.

It should be repeated for those inclined since the referendum to start trusting in the NP's conversion to less cynical ideals that the NP's constitutional proposals envisage enforced power sharing, with a revolving presidency, into perpetuity.

As they stand, the proposals are not about a transition to democracy at all, but would set up an ANC-NP dictatorship, a permanent partnership of the political elites, and eliminate any meaningful parliamentary opposition.

The proposals would permanently ensure a place in government for the losing second and third political parties, and would remove any incentive for the opposition to fight to become the majority party.

This would mean there would be no political opposition outside government to keep it on its toes. The consensus principle in cabinet would leave the majority party with its hands tied, so its election manifestos would mean nothing.

Elections — the very foundation of parliamentary democracy — would not lead to a change of government or a change of policies.

The NP's constitutional proposals formed part of President FW de Klerk's "bottom line" during the referendum and are central to the mandate that he, of all the parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), has had the luxury of receiving from an electorate.

The extraordinary sleight of hand is that the NP, in asking for an open-ended transition, is asking to be trusted to do what De Klerk has told his own supporters he won't do — surrender power.

Accepting his word would be like buying a used car from a man who has already publicly bragged that it is held together with chewing gum and sawdust and will fall apart around the first bend.

A government of national unity might well be necessary to carry South Africa through the transition for the first few years of fledgling democracy. But to avoid dictatorship, there have to be very firm guarantees of a cut-off point for a return to free political association.

After that, political parties may feel they want to continue the coalition on a voluntary rather than compulsory basis, as is usual particularly in proportional-representation systems, but then they would have to live with the political consequences of their actions.

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

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

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

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

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

If the tricameral parties or the "homeland" parties cannot muster two percent of the overall vote, they have failed as political parties in the open marketplace. That would be the judgment placed on them in any other country in the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The debate around power sharing is not simply about political power, but about access to the resources of the state to redistribute, to start doing something about the horrific poverty and dispossession that is this government's legacy to South Africa. And the apologists of power sharing should start explaining why they feel they need to construct a constitution to protect the rich from the poor.

# More CP men to quit?

(304A)

## 'Volkstaters' aim to take a long, hard look into Codesa

ARG 3/4/92

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nationalists predicted further "infighting" in the CP.

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

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

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

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

# Dispute over new government grows

Sowetan 3/4/92

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

FOCUS

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC has proposed:

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

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

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

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

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

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

*A steering committee would handle the management of the constituent assembly.

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

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

The Government wants:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"There must be broad multiparty involvement in its acceptance.

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

Botha said the Government had a mandate to share power, and will not transfer power to the ANC.

This has angered the ANC and its allies who described the move as an attempt to weaken its position at the negotiating table.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Three factors could delay the establishment of the interim government.

They are:

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

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

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

The ANC regards this as a waste of time, but most important, as an attempt by the Government to be both player and referee in negotiations.

# Community service an option for many

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

SCORES of prisoners held in the Peninsula for lesser crimes could soon be back in the community, serving sentences under correctional supervision.

Such supervision, which amounts to community service under probation conditions, was introduced to certain areas of the Peninsula — including Cape Town, Bellville, Goodwood, Simon's Town, Mitchell's Plain and Wynberg — on March 20.

This option is open not only to people convicted since then, but to criminals already in prisons. Cases can be referred back to the court which initially imposed the sentence, the remaining portion of which can be converted to correctional supervision.

Where conditions are violated, the case is investigated and stricter supervision and control will be considered.

In a statement, Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adriaan Vlok announced this week that correctional supervision was to be extended to a number of districts throughout the country and that the government envisaged having the system operating nationally by the end of March next year.

Among the chief benefits of the system are that it will help relieve pressure on over-crowded prisons, cut costs — from R42 to R15 a day — and boost rehabilitation.

Criminals convicted of serious crimes will be excluded from the scheme.

The system was introduced experimentally in Pretoria in August last year. Of the 404 probationers dealt with under the correctional supervision scheme in the Pretoria and Wonderboom areas between August last year and February this year, only 51 (12 percent) had not complied with their conditions.

Probationers rendered more than 22 700 hours of community service during the experiment.

# Hunt for two 'Chinese Mafia' men

**Staff Reporter**

WARRANTS for the arrest of two men alleged to be part of the "Chinese Mafia" were issued in the Wynberg Regional Court when they jumped bail while facing extortion, kidnapping and robbery charges.

Mr Ko Chiang Chu, 40, and Mr Chen Chun Ting, 34, both of Johannesburg, are among nine men facing charges of

Mr Yu Chan Ti, his son Tony, and his chef, Mr Yang Hsien Peng, last May.

It is also alleged they assaulted Mr Chan and threatened him with death in an attempt to force him to pay them R600 000.

Mr Chu's bail of R20 000 and Mr Ting's of R5 000 was provisionally forfeited to the State.

The case was postponed to July 6.



# Cry no more for CP as Koos crosses the divide

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

MOMENTS after taking his seat in the cross benches at the start of yesterday's sitting, Mr Koos Botha, cast out of the Conservative Party and feeling the first pang of political isolation, was overcome by emotion, his eyes welling with tears.

Ten minutes later — after being guided to the lobby to recover by a man who probably ranks as his closest political brother in parliament, Overvaal MP Mr Koos van der Merwe — he was back at his new seat, located, somewhat ironically, on the boundary between the Democratic Party benches and those of the Indian MPs from the House of Delegates.

Mr Koos Botha had, in just one morning, crossed a fundamental divide — he had broken from the laager of Conservative Party dogma and struck out in the direction dictated by his political conviction.

It was hardly surprising he was briefly overcome.

Mr Koos Botha, an anthropologist, became a Conservative at the party's turbulent inception in 1982 and has represented the Pretoria seat of Wonderboom for just over two years.

But, like other Conservatives, he has, more recently, tested his



Mr Koos Botha

party's flexibility, its capacity to adapt, and found it wanting.

Events since 1990 have confronted CP strategists and policy-makers with countless and increasingly difficult challenges.

But a turning point was, undoubtedly, the March 18 referendum, a test of white political sentiment that cast a question mark over the very raison d'etre of the CP.

In its wake, Mr Koos Botha concluded that the CP had "no plan, no strategy and no vision".

The first public signal of his disaffection came when, getting to his feet to address parliament for the first time this session, Mr Botha made a speech on Tuesday that sought to offer a plan, and a vision — but one that was clearly inimical to CP doctrine.

"I will strive," Mr Botha told parliament, "for the creation of a drastically reduced, fair land area for the Afrikaner in which he can govern himself, where apartheid will be replaced by majority occupation and where violence will be minimised. I commit myself to this."

A day later, on Wednesday night, Mr Botha was summoned for a chat with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux.

They did not see eye to eye.

Mr Botha said: "I had made a speech which I could not repudiate."

He felt the democratic process within the CP for realising the ideal of a volkstaat had been largely closed and it was time to get out of the party.

Clearly, Mr Botha is not the only one who harbours dissenting views.

The question that remains is whether his like-minded peers will give practical effect to their dissent — or perhaps not whether, but when.

# Echoes from our

W/mail 3/4-9/4/92 304

By GAVIN EVANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Perhaps more importantly, the one pre-condition for its success — a piece of ground where the ethnic group desiring independence is in a significant numerical majority — does not exist. Not even the most modest of the Boere separatists can claim that "they" are in the majority in Orandia.

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

One of the many great lies of the Soviet imperialists was that the republics were equal partners whose cultures and traditions were respected. The truth is they were actively and viciously surpressed, and it was hardly any different in

# tribal past

**The ancient calls of blood with communism moribund and a new world order in the making, life in the last decade of the 20th century is rosy. Or is it? We look at the spectre of rising nationalism and ethnicity, both in Europe and at Home**

Yugoslavia.

Yet this did not have the effect of eliminating feelings of ethnic identity (and frequently ethnic prejudice). It simply kept them under the covers for a few decades.

In very stark contrast, such feelings and prejudices were actively promoted (and distorted) by the government in South Africa. This was the lifeblood of apartheid. You were defined first according to race, and second according to ethnicity.

Which is not to say, as some in anti-apartheid circles did until recently, that it was all a creation of apartheid (and even more absurdly that it would all melt away as soon as apartheid/racial capitalism/internal colonialism ended).

Among both black and white, tribal prejudice has a pedigree which is centuries old. Inkatha leaders may do their utmost to strengthen their party by fanning Zulu chauvinism and anti-Xhosa prejudice, but you can be sure they did not create such feelings any more than the Serbian and Croatian leaders created their hatred of each other.

The difference in South Africa is that there is no possibility of such prejudices being resolved through partition. People have no option but to live together.

This fact gives a future government at least a fighting chance of building a broader South African nationalism, while recognising ethnic realities and where necessary allowing for their expression through strong regional government as well as a permissive language and cultural policy (something which all the Convention for a Democratic South Africa parties now acknowledge).

For the rest of the world, the problem may be even harder to solve. No doubt there is a positive side in the fact that people all over the world are responding to the imposition of a world cultural and economic system by finding meaning in smaller units, older values and in their own communities. But this should not be overstated. There is no guarantee that the impulse to separate will dissipate, or that once the balkanisation is complete there will be a coming together.

Unless there is rapid economic growth (and in most of Eastern Europe and Africa the prospects are bleak), tribal and ethnic chauvinism may be here to stay as dominant features of the 1990s — along with religious fundamentalism, Aids, drought and famine, the depleted ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, and the rest.

# Now it's safe to be South African

w/ Mail 3/4-7/4/92

30(4)

*The referendum result has brought relief to those South Africans living in the United States — they can now own up to their origins.*

By **ANTON HARBER**

SOUTH AFRICANS who emigrated to America are coming out of the closet. After decades of lying low, often pretending to be Zimbabwean or Batswana, they are joining every other ethnic group in inventing an appropriate hyphenation — in this case, South African-Americans — and proclaiming a new-found pride in their heritage.

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

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

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

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

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

One of the more genuine groups is Osaac, originally standing for the Organisation of South African-Americans and Canadians. The name, however, has been clouded by heated debate over whether members see themselves as South Africans living in


SOUTH AFRICA NEWS
NORTH AMERICA
FREE TRIP
CODESA MILESTONE A QUALIFIED SUCCESS
United Nations Changing Its Mind

America, or Americans from South Africa, or one of a number of other variations on this theme.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quite separately, two publications have started up in the past few weeks. *Juluka* is a modest "newsletter for Southern Africans in America".

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

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

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

# Facing up to the demands of Afrikanerdom

W/Mail 3/4-9/4/92 (304A)

**A million whites — mainly Afrikaans-speaking — voted no in the referendum. Can they simply be dismissed as racists? And how is their 'ethnicity' to be accommodated in a new South Africa? By DREW FORREST**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

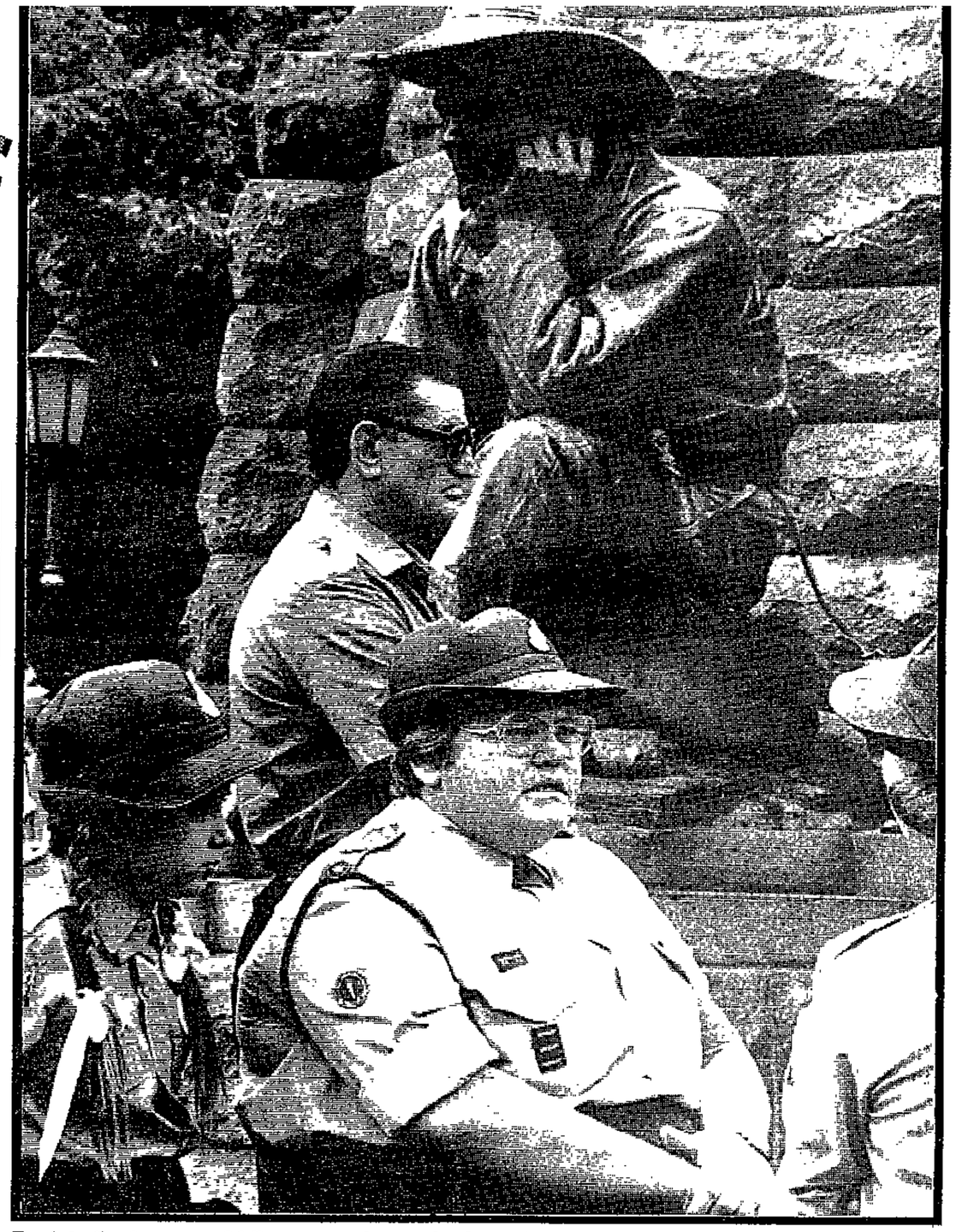
One implication of this is that the state would tolerate, but not support, Afrikaner-only schools. By the same token, householders in an area could agree by private contract only to let or sell their properties to members of their ethnic group.

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

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

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

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



**Back to the laager ... Afrikaners gather at the foot of Paul Kruger's statue in Church Square**
**Photograph: GUY ADAMS**

# Two foreign ministers to visit SA

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

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

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

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

An embassy spokesman said the delegation included about 40 top Danish businessmen who would "examine the possibilities for trade" with South Africa following Denmark's recent scrapping of all trade sanctions. — Sapa.

# Pik would keep job but wouldn't be sent to OAU, says Mbeki

304A STAR 3/4/92

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Mbeki . . . diplomatic corps with a "nonracial blend".

it has given legal effect to decisions reached at Codesa and ended the own-affairs arrangement."

He said the ANC was proposing the appointment of an interim government council on which all participants in Codesa would be represented.

This council would, through multiparty committees, control security, foreign affairs, local government and the Budget.

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

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

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

He imagined South Africa's diplomatic corps would be strengthened "so that it has a more nonracial blend".

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

"The places are secure at these schools. A batch of 20 people should leave for England at the beginning of May, but one of the key issues is funds. I don't know when they'll be leaving."

● 15 years of crests and troughs — Page 13

# Voortrekkers may remove 'white' from constitution

STAR 3/4/92

By Michael Sparks 304A

The Voortrekkers will consider removing the word "white" from their constitution at their four-yearly congress in July next year, the chief executive of the cultural organisation, the Rev Johan van der Walt, said yesterday.

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

The decision came in the wake of the expulsion of a black child, Leroy Mnguni (7), from the Voortrekker Commando at Jan Celliers School in Parkview where he is a Grade One pupil.

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

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

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

"This is a cultural organisation, not a sports club. People won't go there without wanting to be an Afrikaner. No one can say who is an Afrikaner. It is something in your heart."

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

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

He added there was a need for cultural organisations in the community so that people could know their own language and have their own identity — fulfilling a need to belong to a group.

THE PARALYSIS OF VAT

FM 3/4/92

# Could they run a whelk stall?

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

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

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

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

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

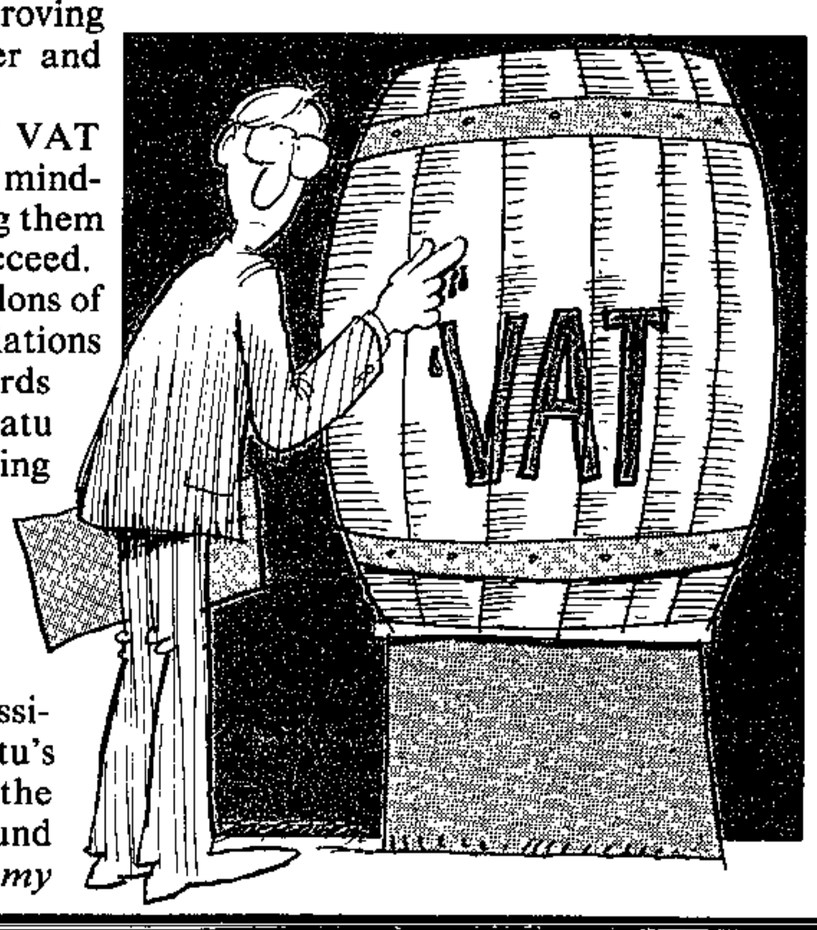
Whether that money is actually being spent in the most productive way is overlooked, but there are indications that it is not.

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

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

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

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




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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERIM GOVERNMENT FM 3/4/92 (304A)

# Remember the fear factor →cont.

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

C • O • D • E • S • A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two models are at war with each other. The NP wants four transitional councils — possibly six depending on an agreement over MK — which will divide between them certain major areas of government prior to elections to a constituent assembly. This assembly — elected by proportional representation, which averts the spectre of a winner-take-all outcome — would then write the new constitution. The essence of proportional representation is that coalitions are necessary — and coalitions arise out of compromise.

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

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

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

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

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



Mandela



Viljoen



Ramaphosa



De Beer



Mbeki



De Klerk

FM 3/4/92

FM BOARD OF ECONOMISTS

# Edging towards the new South Africa

**Regulars Aubrey Dickman (an honorary professor at Wits Graduate School of Business) and Rudolf Gouws (Rand Merchant Bank) are joined by guest Jos Gerson (of stockbroker Davis Borkum) in a post-Budget and post-referendum assessment. As always, Sacob's Raymond Parsons leads the debate.**

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

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

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

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

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

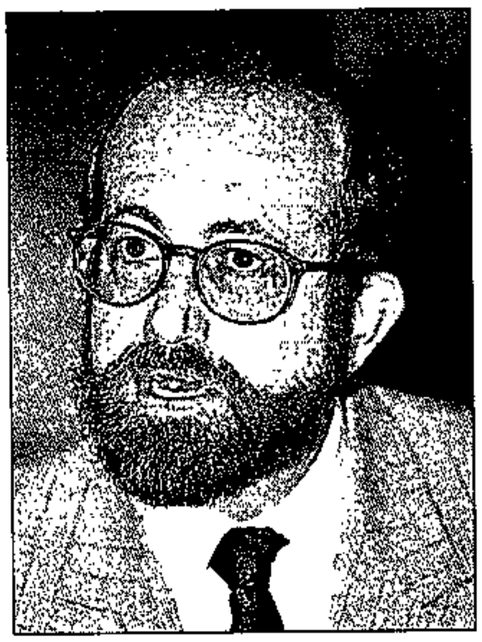
**Gouws:** Specific instances of foreign direct investment were simply waiting for a "yes" vote. We have already had confirmation of one such major deal.

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

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

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

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



> "The Reserve Bank's proposal to intervene in the finrand market seems to be incredibly ill-thought-out" GERSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Gouws:** I think the Minister took a calculated risk that while this Budget does not give the supply-side impetus fiscal conservatives would like, he hoped that the positive impact of the referendum, the abolition of sanctions, renewed access to the world economy and a new mood domestically and internationally would bring growth.



**The Board (L to R):** *Gouws, Dickman, Parsons, Gerson*

every step of the way legal, logical and sanctioned by the protagonists' constituencies. Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen — in an interview with the *FM* in February — was at pains to stress his awareness of the ANC's problems of credibility among its vast and probably politically naive following.

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

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

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

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

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

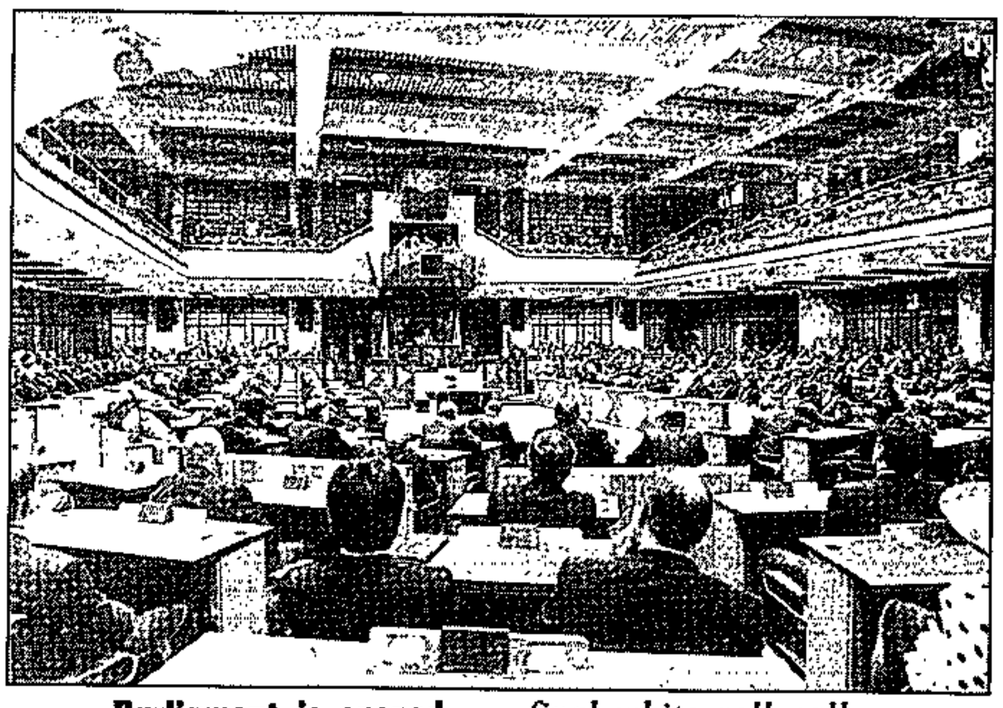
But it is also in blacks' interests to have these principles secured in a strong constitution and associated justiciable pledges such as a Bill of Rights.

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

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

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

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



**Parliament is opened** ... *final white roll call*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Swift progress will be further impeded by the practicalities of a general election.

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

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

OPPOSITION POLITICS

FM 3/4/92 (304A)

# The long shadow of Smuts

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

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

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

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

The leaders of the pro-Codesa faction are regarded as MPs Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal), Koos Botha (Wonderboom), Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Carel Schoeman (Nigel), President's Councillor and Natal leader Carl Werth and Free State secretary Gustaf Claasens. The anti-Codesa lobby is headed by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg).

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

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

MPs to the Left believe the party allowed itself to be totally absorbed into the NP's campaign, instead of maintaining its own identity in an alliance. Some believe the time has come either to quit the party and sit in parliament as independents, or get out of parliament and join the ANC. It's thought that leading proponents of this view include



Charlewood



Eglin

Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COSATU FM 3/4/92

## Forward to poverty

**Premier labour** federation Cosatu has committed itself to a full-blown collectivist State of the kind that has led to failure and destitu-



Cont--2

# CP's rebel MP is expelled from caucus

CAPE TOWN — The haemorrhaging in the CP claimed its first victim yesterday when Wonderboom MP Koos Botha was expelled from the party caucus. (304A) BDay 3/4/92

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

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

BILLY PADDOCK

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

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

☐ To Page 2

## MP expelled BDay 3/4/92.

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

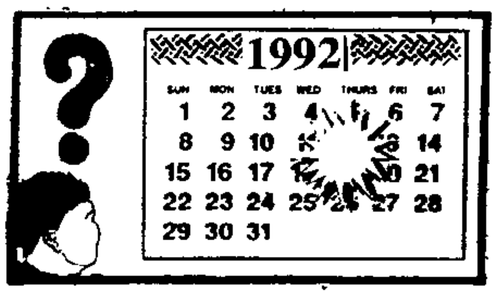
At yesterday's caucus CP leader Andries Treurnicht asked Botha to endorse official policy, apologise and submit to the party line. He refused, apparently saying if it was a choice between fighting and negotiating, he would choose negotiations.

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

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

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

CURRENT ISSUES




# CODESA and the Interim Government: Shifts and Manoeuvres

New Nation (Learning Nation) 3/4 - 9/4/92 (304A)

## The background to CODESA

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

## CODESA and the Constituent Assembly

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

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

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

## Different goals

ne goal of the liberation movement is the complete ansfer of power to the majority of South Africans so as ensure a unitary democratic non-sexist South Africa ith the emphasis of redressing all the economic balances of the past. For some in the liberation ovement the goal is identified with socialism; and with hers this can be achieved through a mixed economy.

The goal of the state and the ruling class is that of a South Africa which will develop through capitalist investment and which avoids the "chaos" of nationalisation, white exodus and civil war

Because old-style apartheid threatened to lead to this chaos a new more liberal form is required which does not emphasise race and which allows some kind of moderate black government which cannot mismanage the affairs of capital either because their are so many constitutional checks and balances on its capacity to act or because much of its economic authority will be taken away from it.

## Different views on how to get there

The key difference between the government and the liberatory with regard to process is that the government, realising that it is a minority regime with no hope of winning an open election, wants to minimise the democratic involvement in present and future decision-making. The liberatory movement, on the other hand wants to maximise the involvement of the people. Having no power in the existing state to enforce its will, the liberatory movement has to play to its strength of mass support to prevent the government from entrenching minority checks and balances.

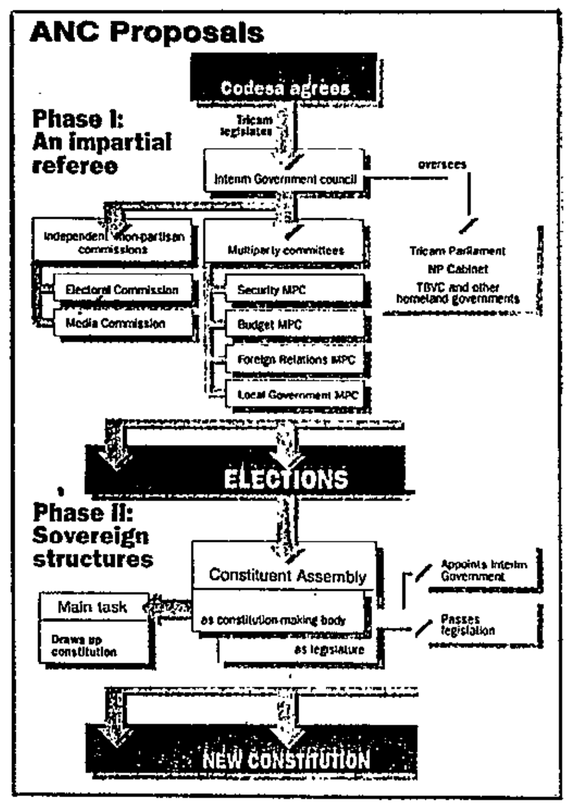
This difference can be seen in the fact that the government wants the committees of CODESA to draw up a new constitution through negotiations. The liberatory movement, on the other hand, insists that only a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly can draw up a new constitution on which the laws of the new South Africa can be based.

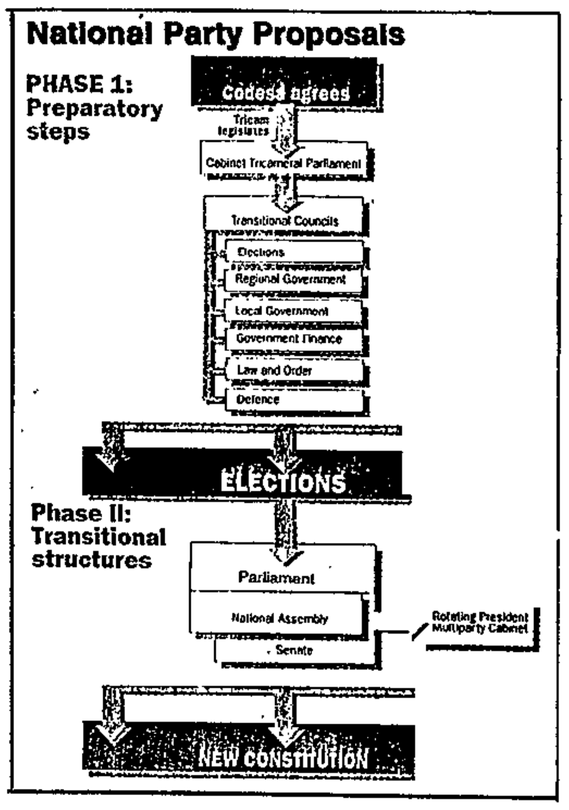
## Who will be the Referee?

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

## New Proposals by the Government

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



# GROUPS



# Responsibility and Commitment

New Nation (learning Nation]
3/4 - 9/4/92

30419

**In last week's article we looked at how study groups function. From the letters we receive, many groups also expressed concern about motivation and commitment in study groups. Today, we will focus on these issues.**



## Motivation and aims

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

**Group One:**
"To study together, share books, ideas and skills to improve our marks at school"
**Group Two:**
"To debate and discuss topics which affect our lives and which we don't usually learn about at school"

**Has your group established for itself a set of aims and is each group member clear about these aims?**

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

## Commitment and Responsibility

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

**Discuss these problems OPENLY with the group as a whole.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

★ Everyone in the group must take responsibility for offering help when they can and for asking for help when they need it.

★ Working with other people is not always easy. Everyone in the group must take responsibility for making things work.

**The Editor**

**I am hereby applying for registration of our study group into Learning Nation, we further ask information on how to strengthen our study group and to make progress with it.**

**We want to study the Current political situation, so we will like the Learning Nation to provide us with these following resources:**
**a) Subject study guides and any other materials related to this.**
**b) Booklets of : workers struggles; student struggles; women struggles, current political situation.**

**Yours in struggle**
**Cde Elvis Nyapele**

**Dear Sir**

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

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

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

**Yours faithfully**
**The secretary of the group**
**KweSethu Senior Secondary School**
**KwaMashu**

# Now Nats are wooing the DP

## CP sinking along with ship of apartheid, predicts Barend

STAR 4/4/92.

**PETER FABRICIUS**
**Political Correspondent**

304A

CAPE TOWN — An unstoppable movement towards a realignment of politics was under way, Finance Minister and Transvaal National Party leader Barend du Plessis told Parliament yesterday.

Predicting further splits and breakaways of parties in Parliament, Mr du Plessis extended a veiled invitation to the Democratic Party to join the NP in some form of association.

Warning that it was only a matter of time before ANC-sympathisers in the DP declared themselves, he said that the DP's public support was becoming too small for a party which aspired to play a national role.

It would only be responsible for the DP to find a proper vehicle to propagate the values "which many of us share enthusiastically with them" and to place its proper stamp on South African politics.

After the expulsion from the CP on Thursday of Wonderboom MP Koos Botha, Mr du Plessis also forecast splits in the Conservative Party which was "sinking with the ship of apartheid".

Referring to Mr Botha, Mr du Plessis said that in the CP it could be a deadly sin to respond constructively to the realities of the political world. He said it was a riddle why only Mr Botha had been kicked out of the party when other MPs, including the CP's leader Adries Treurnicht and Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, had advocated the views for which he had been expelled — negotiations for an Afrikaner Volkstaat smaller than the present "white" South Africa.

Mr du Plessis congratulated Mr Botha for his intention of uniting Volkstaters to negotiate for their ideal of an Afrikaans Volkstaat without apartheid and wished him success.

Even if he failed and the idea proved impractica ble, at least Mr Botha would have put it to the test of negotiation and given it a fair chance.

Mr du Plessis said only last week the CP had appointed seven committees to determine policy which should have been determined when the party was founded 10 years ago.

This meant that for 10 years the party had asked its supporters for a blank cheque on a policy which it was only now about to fill in.

In a highly combative speech at the end of the first reading speech on the Budget, Mr du Plessis lashed out at a variety of political opponents.

These opponents included Labour Party leader Alan Hendrickse, National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi and DP Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle.

Attacking Mr Rajbansi for his criticism of VAT, Mr du Plessis accused him of putting opportunism before political and fiscal principles.

He also disclosed that he had had legal affidavits drawn up to "chase" Mr Carlisle for his accusation that successive National Party governments had been guilty of tax corruption to benefit Afrikaners.

Mr du Plessis said that like the CP, the Labour Party was disappearing with apartheid and the "Hendrickse dynasty had collapsed like a house of cards".

# FW roadshow to woo black vote

## Jazzy campaign will reach out to the townships

STAR 4/4/92 (304A)

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

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

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

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

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

### Wider audience

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

● TO PAGE 2.





STAR 4/4/92 (304A)

## Road show

● FROM PAGE 1.

Van der Merwe acknowledged security was a cardinal factor, but confirmed plans to reach out to black, coloured and Indian communities. Details are still being worked out.

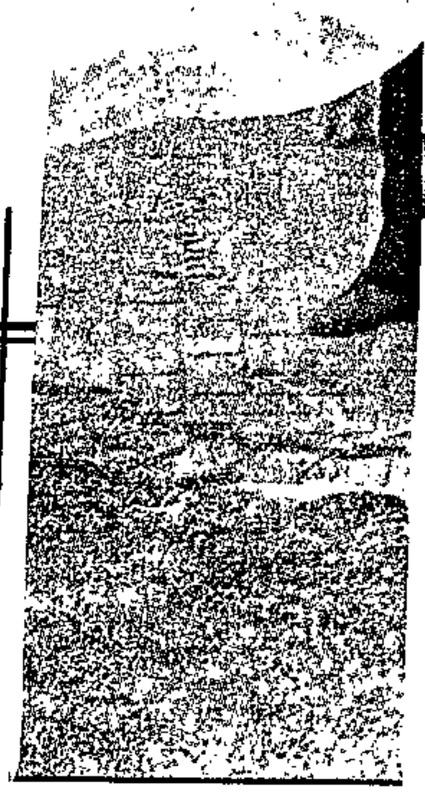
"During the referendum, we reached out to whites. Now we want to reach out to all South Africans. Broadly, the message will be that the NP cares for all South Africans.

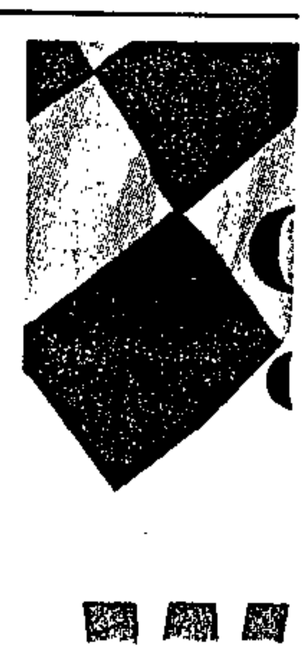
"We will spell out our commitment to democracy, to adequate protection for individuals and minorities.

"Our initial motto will be 'Build a Nation', but there will be others."

Van der Merwe said that while the rallies were not necessarily intended as a membership drive, "we hope to pick up new members. It is an inevitable bonus".

Questioned on the likely response to the NP's commitment to minority protection, Van der Merwe said: "We still firmly believe South Africa is a country of minorities, and even though we are creating an open political system, one of the main concerns of millions of South Africans of all shades and colours is that they do not want their group to be subjected to harassment."





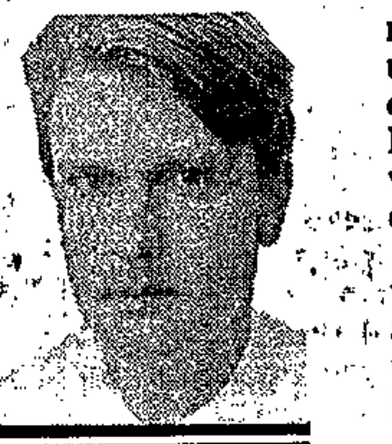
# A place in the sun for this political columnist

STAR 4/4/92

(304A)

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

**SHAUN** *Johnson*



**While the rest of us rush back to our TV screens to catch the W Indies cricket, guess who will be on his way to Jamaica?**

POLITICALLY speaking, what caught my attention in South Africa this week was JamaicaTrinidadBarbadoscalypsocricketCaribbeanCurtlyAmb ..., Whoops, sorry. We have a problem, and it's not the computer that's overloading. It's the columnist.

Undercurrent Affairs is being written in the full knowledge that it is about to shift its geographical base from the familiar areas of Codesa and Parliament to the (sorry about this, here I go again, can't help it) exotic isles of the West Indies where the sun shines down on the mountain top and that sort of thing. The prospect, and its eminent imminence, is playing havoc with the ability to focus on the home political front.

Let's just get the other thing out of the way: the idea is that while the expert cricket writers have their hands full describing leading edges and dot balls, this political writer will be wandering around the islands looking at everything else the historic West Indies tour produces, and means for South Africans. How will a mostly-white team be received in a former bastion of anti-apartheid sentiment? How will a non-racial junior squad, also on tour, handle the unexpected limelight? What does real Jamaican rum taste like? You get the general idea.

But let us talk about Codesa. There is definite progress in the negotiating forum on the crucial issue of agreeing a mutually acceptable package for transitional government, leading up to the first all-in, genuinely non-racial and democratic elections. There is room for compromise between the Government's insistence that it retain the final word on matters of state up until those elections, and the ANC's demand that power be shared pre-emptively in order to "level the playing field".

(Speaking of playing fields, it strikes me that it is Codesa itself which is making possible our sensational re-entry into the world of sport.)

But regarding Codesa, there is a very distressing level of public cynicism about the whole procedure. I have argued before that it is the urgent task of the participants to make all South Africans feel a part of what is our first real national convention — even to take pride in it. World history will place the Convention for a Democratic South Africa right up there alongside, say, the coming together of the Founding Fathers of the United States — that is how critical, and magnificent, a moment it is in a nascent nation's life.

For those who pooh-pooh this suggestion, it is as well to remember that prototype US-citizens at that time were probably not overly enamoured with the process either. Historians tell us that the Founding Fathers' meeting was not exactly devoid of acrimony and pettifoggery. Nor was it a quick and easy fix: there were walkouts, adjournments, threats, bluster and everything else that we are experiencing.

But it worked then, because it had to. It works now because for the first time a diverse and representative group of leaders have to sit with each other, day after day, rather than firing fusillades from afar. The "getting to know you" process might sound folksy, but you only need spend a day at Codesa to see how erstwhile sworn enemies have learned to work together.

An important point about Codesa is that the flare-ups — and downright ding-dong battles — which are reported, are in fact the exception rather than the rule.

In this regard there is about to be another flare-up, I suspect, and it is directly related to the white referendum result. The irrepressible Pik Botha has taken to saying that the white electorate gave the NP a mandate for power-sharing (for which, read the NP's brand of power-sharing), and nothing else. If the NP doesn't get its way, therefore, it threatens it will hold another referendum.

Well, the NP is forgetting its campaign statements that a "yes" vote was for reform — not the NP's policies. Helen Joseph won't take Pik's interepretation well, and nor will many other whites who voted for democracy.

Whew, we've reached the end of the column with no more inadvertent mentions of the other matter that's on my mind. Let's finish off on a local noteKingstonpacebowlersTrenchtownJontyRhodesfivedayte ... Damn. Undercurrent Affairs promises to be in proper control of itself again by next week.

# PAC reiterates rejection of Codesa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# CP to go to court

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

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

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

Home Affairs Minister, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday he would recommend a by-election be held on June 17.

# 'Indians, think twice'

(304fl)
ET 4/4/92

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The African National Congress has called on Indians in South Africa to "think twice" before supporting the National Party.

The organisation was commenting on an NP Indian recruitment drive spearheaded by former House of Delegates MP Mr Sathie "AGV" Naidoo, who this week placed full-page advertisements and questionnaires in Chatsworth newspapers informing the community of the drive.

Mr Naidoo, who crossed the floor to the National Party recently, claimed a survey found that more than 70% of the Indian community supported President F W de Klerk.

But the ANC information and publicity head in Southern Natal, Mr Dumisani Makhaya, disputed this claim.

"I don't know where they got that figure from ... the Indian community must not forget how they were barred from living in Orange Free State and the mass removals of the past," he said, adding that Mr Naidoo "shows his contempt of the intellectual capacity of Indians".

Mr Makhaya said the Indian community knew better when they rejected the Nat-designed tricameral parliament in 1984.

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

# NP taking a leaf out of UDF's book

CT 4/4/92 (304A)

**Political Correspondent**

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will launch the National Party campaign for interim government elections by addressing a UDF-style mass rally in Mitchells Plain next weekend.

The rally will be the first of several campaigning forays into black and coloured areas aimed at broadening the party's predominantly white support base ahead of South Africa's first non-racial election.

The Mitchells Plain rally will include a public meeting, a motor cavalcade, bands, drum-majorettes, balloons, flags, lapel buttons and posters.

NP "marshals" sporting F W de Klerk T-shirts will be on hand to control crowds which party organisers hope will exceed 500 000 around lunchtime on Saturday.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday that an election for all South Africans would come up "sooner or later and what we do now will have a bearing on the future".

He said the NP wanted to build up an organisation which was geared to dealing with a wider audience than had been the case up till now.

Dr Van der Merwe said he did not want to estimate the level of support the NP currently enjoyed among coloured, Indian and black communities but the party had received a number of indications of goodwill from these groups during the referendum.

He said the message of the new-look, meet-the-people campaign which was intended to reach everyone in South Africa was: "The NP cares."

A team of top Nationalists led by Mr De Klerk would tell communities throughout South Africa — including black townships — that "the NP stands for democracy with adequate protection for minorities".

Dr Van der Merwe did not wish to reveal further details of the nationwide campaign.

From page 1

# DP crisis

proposal to the Leon document, which will propose the formation of a new Liberal or Social Democratic party with a new leader — the names of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Oscar Dhlomo have already been mentioned.

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

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

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

Rebel plans to stage a "slow bleeding" of the party by a series of staged walkouts were wrong-footed this week by the surprise expulsion of Wonderboom MP Mr Koos Botha.

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

Most of the reports are expected to be tabled in time for the April 23 caucus meeting. (3049)

The pro-negotiation CP faction hoped to progressively step up the pressure on the party leadership and force it into a change of direction. CT 4/4/92

# Zach faces new party crisis

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WHITE politics in South Africa is set for an unprecedented shake-up.

The realignment in coming weeks is likely to break the mould of long-standing party political allegiances and put the jobs of both Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Andries Treurnicht on the line.

The Conservative and Democratic parties — already thrown into turmoil by internal strife since the referendum — face the real prospect of defections.

The trigger for a major realignment could well be President F W de Klerk's Budget vote starting on April 21 — where the Nationalists' plans to change the course of white politics by forming a new party could be unveiled.

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

**FW TO SPEAK AT RALLY IN M PLAIN**
PAGE 4

"We are going into the washing machine," was how the disgruntled opposition MP described what lay ahead in the next three weeks.

Two days later both the CP and DP hold their first post-recess caucus meetings — with frustrated MPs spoiling for a showdown with their respective hierarchies.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer already angered some of his caucus this week with what was described as "a totally inept" performance at their crisis meeting to thrash out the future direction of the party.

Tabled at the meeting was the "Leon document" drafted by Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon, which roundly criticised the leader and the direction of the party and suggested a closer working relationship between the DP and NP.

Significantly, Mr Leon was yesterday singled out for lavish praise by the Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen in Parliament.

In the next few weeks, another faction in the DP will be feverishly working on a counter-

To page 2

# Rejoin Codesa, PAC told

304A

ARG 4/4/92

**ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**
Weekend Argus Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a similarly firm message to the PAC, Transkei military council leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, in whose jurisdiction the congress was held, told delegates to give their leaders a mandate to re-enter talks with the government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Razzmatazz for FW's roadshow

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is set to launch a jazzed-up meet-the-people campaign to win the hearts, minds and votes of blacks, coloureds and Indians with a road-show-style rally in Mitchell's Plain next Saturday.

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

It will be history in the making ... the first time a National Party leader has campaigned directly for support from those it discriminated against throughout its tenure in government.

Bands, balloons and drummies will bring some glitz to the National Party's roadshow launch in Mitchell's Plain next weekend in what the NP intends as confirmation that the apartheid book is closed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Just after 1 pm, he will retire to lunch with Mitchell's Plain business people and invited MPs, and then leave, at 2 pm.

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

National Party secretary general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged security was a cardinal factor, but confirmed party plans to reach out to black, coloured and Indian communities. Detials are still being worked out.

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

"We will spell out our commitment to democracy, to adequate protection for individuals and minorities.

"Our initial motto will be 'Build a Nation', but there will be others."

Dr van der Merwe said that while the rallies were not necessarily intended as a membership drive, "we hope to pick up new members. It is an inevitable bonus".

Questioned on the likely response to the NP's commitment to minority protection, Dr van der Merwe said: "We still firmly believe South Africa is a country of minorities and even though we are creating an open political system, one of the main concerns of millions of South Africans of all shades and colours is that they do not want their group to be subjected to harassment."

# R2-million plan to feed SA's elderly

**DI CAELERS**
Weekend Argus Reporter

PLANS are well advanced for the introduction in South Africa of a R2-million feeding scheme set to ease the "desperate" plight of the country's elderly.

At the helm is the Association of Retired Persons and Pensioners (ARP & P). Its national chairman, Mr Vic Broad, said the aim was to feed "everyone we possibly can, provided they're pensioners and genuinely in need".

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

"The ARP & P branch in Guguletu has built shelters and installed cookers at the civic centre. Menus are all arranged and we aim to provide a substantial meal twice a week for between 400 and 500 people," Mr Broad told Weekend Argus.

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

Mr Broad said his association was still pinpointing areas in the white and "coloured" communities where "feeding stations" would be established.

# De Klerk to visit Nigeria

(3044)

Political Staff

ARGUS 4/4/92

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to visit Nigeria next week.

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

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

Nigerian president Major-General Ibrahim Babangida is



**President De Klerk**

the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. The 1991 OAU summit was in Abuja, Nigeria's capital.

General Babangida would be the most high-powered African head of state President De Klerk has visited.

# LP unveils proposals for interim rule

Political Staff and Sapa

THE Labour Party wants an interim government comprising all signatories to the Codesa Declaration of Intent to oversee the existing Cabinet, parliament, the homeland governments and provincial administrations.

This emerges from the party's proposals for interim arrangements and a new constitution to be tabled at Codesa on Monday.

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

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

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

The party says the constitution-making body should function as a democratically elected upper house of the interim legislature.

It should complete its task within a year.

The LP believes negotiations should begin immediately for a system of proportional representation. This would then be used for general elections to set up a constituent assembly and interim government.

# Action stations for election battle

South 4/4 - 9/4/92 304A

By Quentin Wilson

WHISPERS from Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) hint that some form of democratic elections will take place before the end of the year.

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

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

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

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

In the meantime, however, no time is being wasted in getting voter education programmes off the ground.

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

By June the ANC plans to have 40 seminars where people will be shown how to train others to vote.

Participants at six workshops already held, expressed concern about holding elections in the present climate of violence, said Stuart. They stressed the need to act now to ensure elections are fair.

They supported the call for an interim government and said free elections required impartial control over the security forces and state media. They recommended that the Electoral Act and other relevant legislation be reviewed and a code of political conduct drawn up.

Dr Seshi Chonco, from the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, insists that the government should help fund voter education schemes.

"The government must put money aside. It is the taxpayer's money which must be used. Teaching 17 million people how to vote is a terrific task, I mean we still don't understand what a ballot is or what a voter's roll is. These are just a few basic concepts which everybody must learn," Chonco says.

Mr Barney Desai, publicity secretary for the PAC, suggests that a "united front" of liberation movements pool their resources and launch a single education programme.

According to Stuart there would be "no problem for the ANC to discuss this matter with the PAC".

# Visit to Nigeria a coup for De Klerk

STAR 4/4/92

MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Correspondent

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

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

Tuynhuys has not yet issued any comment.

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

This is an extremely important visit for De Klerk.

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

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

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

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

# Plotting the brave

STAR 4/4/92

ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL
REPORTER

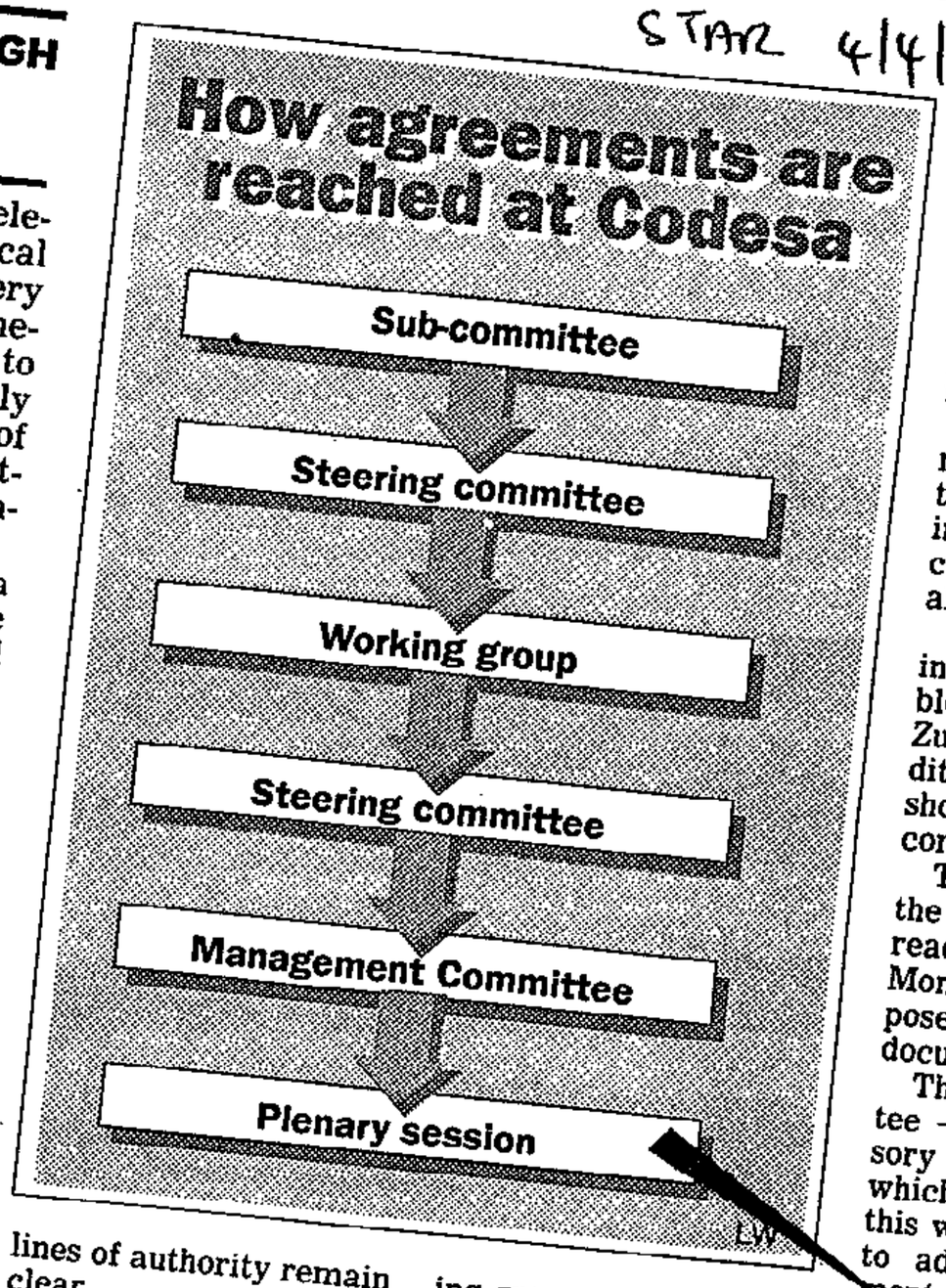
ALMOST 400 delegates from 19 political groups meet every Monday, and sometimes on Tuesdays, to negotiate mutually acceptable ways of moving from apartheid to something entirely different.

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

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

The easiest way to think of it — with the aid of the accompanying diagrams — is as an organism that has grown, and is still growing, from a small seed. That seed was Codesa 1, the historic first plenary session of the multi-party forum in December last year.

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




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

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

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

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

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

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

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

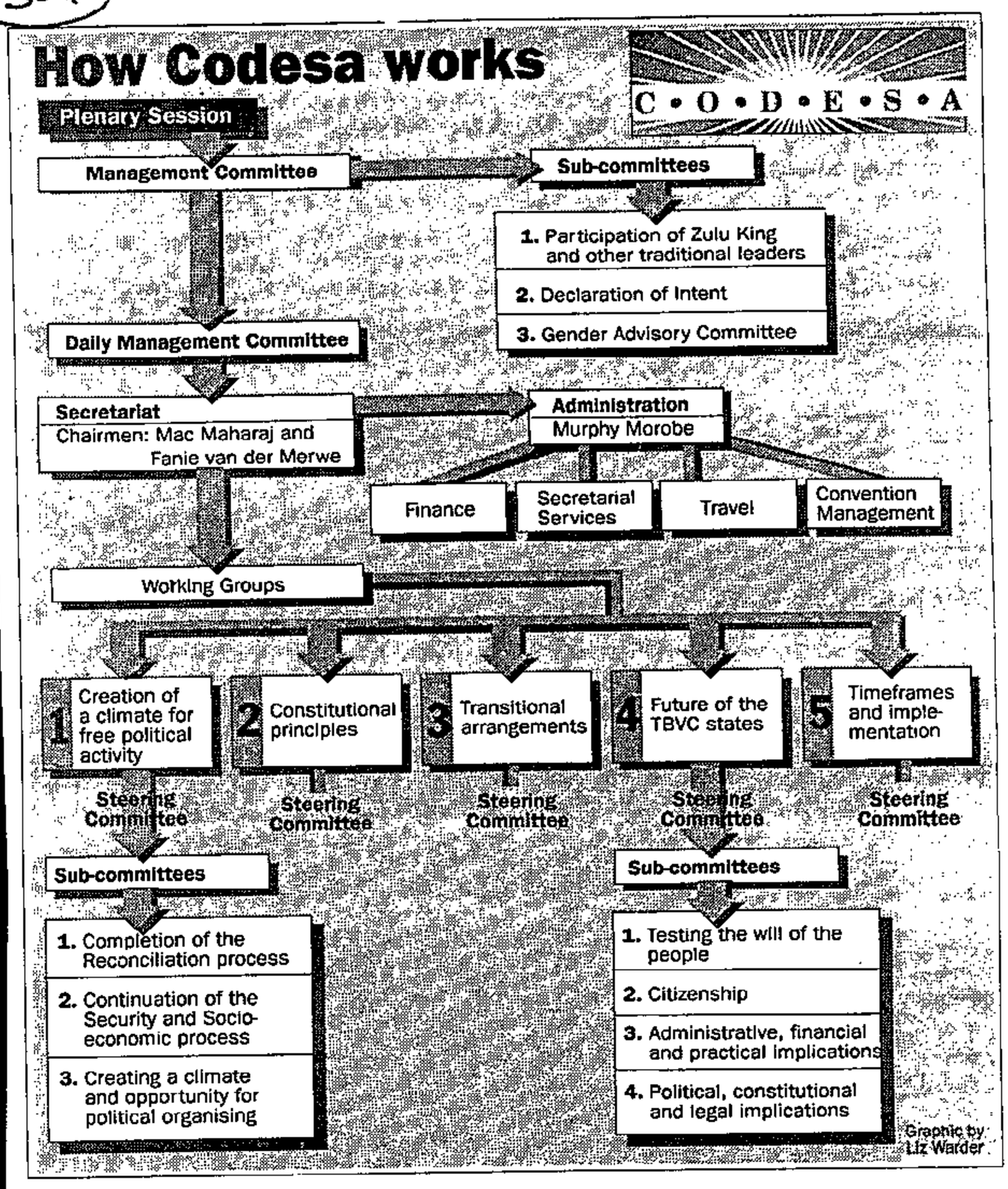
The sub-committee on the Declaration of Intent reached agreement on Monday about a proposed addendum to this document.

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

Not all the parties are represented on the daily management committee. Seven delegates have been appointed on an individual basis to this committee, which attends to the work of the management committee

# new South Africa

304A




on a more regular basis.

The seven members have been agreed to by the 19 parties.

The Codesa Secretariat, chaired by the ANC's Mac Maharaj and Fanie van der Merwe of the Department of Constitutional Development, implements the decisions of both the management committee and the daily management committee.

The Codesa Administration is headed by Murphy Morobe of the ANC and handles the convention's finances, secretarial services, travel arrangements, catering and logistics.

Each of the five working groups have appointed a steering committee which meets on a weekly basis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The group dealing with transitional arrangements is looking at structures which will move the country from the present dispensation to a new South Africa.

Shortly before the referendum, this group agreed on the need for a "transitional executive structure" to be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

# FW roadshow hits townships

(3049)

THE National Party is to hold a series of rallies and meetings in black and coloured areas, the first being a "FW de Klerk mass rally" in Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town next Saturday. *E|Pres 5/4/92*

De Klerk's message is expected to be heard by about 500 000 people. T-shirts bearing the State President's photograph will be worn by marshalls and will be distributed at random together with similar lapel badges and balloons.



# Watch Codesa! It serves those who serve Codesa

ST Times 5/4/92.

304A

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

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

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

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

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

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

To make the government more stable, it is usual to eliminate any party that gets less than five percent of the vote. This would eliminate the SA Communist Party, which would have to sneak into Parliament as a hidden part of the ANC, with its own hidden agenda.

It would also eliminate the DP, unless the elitist English whites who dominate the DP were to seek and win support from other groups. Hence the powerful instinct among DP members to attach themselves either to the ANC or to the Nationalists, depending on where they see the best chance of winning office. Those famous liberal principles inherited from the Progs are protected for the time being by the DP leaders, to their credit, but the lure of office exerts a strong pull on some of their followers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**KEN OWEN**

# DP caucus divided over plan to merge with Nats

ST Times 5/4/92. (304A)

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party caucus this week discussed a proposal to disband and form a new centrist party with the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk.

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

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

## Caucus

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

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

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

In the document, Mr Leon said the DP faced a bleak future. Support for the party had shrunk alarmingly in the white community and there was no growth of support in the "non-white" community. Its fundraising ability was limited.

The caucus meeting ended inconclusively, leaving the Democrats more divided than ever before.

The party hierarchy — including leader Zach de Beer, chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin — want the DP to remain independent. But Mr Leon has prominent backers in the form of senior MPs like Roger Hulley (Constantia), Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) and Robin Carlisle (Wynberg).

Mr Andrew said he believed Mr Leon's view was shared by a minority in the caucus. He said the DP's strategy review committee, of which Mr Leon was a member, would compile a document on the dominant view within the caucus before the end of April.

After discussions on the DP's future, Dr De Beer said the party always ended up playing an independent hand. He was sure the DP would continue to do this.

He said Mr Leon's proposal for a new party was slightly better than a proposal to go into an alliance with the NP. "If I am going to be forced into any party with the NP, I would sooner it was a new party than their own party," he said.

Mr Leon's document stated that the differences and attitudes within the DP made it impossible to enter into an alliance with another political party.

"The one section of the party regards practically any initiative or policy proposal of the National Party as 'contaminated at source'. Another grouping within the caucus views the ANC with deep suspicion and considerable discomfort."

He said it was now impossible, in practical terms, for the DP to consider engaging in any alliance at a national level without tearing the party apart.

## Option

"Our inability or unwillingness to create an alliance-merger with other actors means we look to a bleak and uncertain future," he said.

Instead, the DP should consider the option of creating a new party, he said.

"Absent the past discredited symbolism of the NP, but with powerful leadership (Mr De Klerk) and a political commitment to fundamental liberal democracy, a new entity becomes an attractive and practical alternative," he stated in the document.

□ To Page 2

**PICK 6**

**GOSFORTH PARK**
There were 14 winners with each collecting R106 943,30. Numbers: 6; 6; 1; 6; 2, 3; 7.

**CLAIRWOOD**
Only 7 punters each received a payout of R50 692,10. Selections: 4; 1, 4; 13; 3; 5; 2.

**KENILWORTH**
9 winners collected a dividend of R19 762,70 each. Combinations: 6; 7, 11; 2; 4; 4; 4.

# DP in merger bombshell

ST Times 5/4/92 (304A)

□ From Page 1

He said the DP's driving force in the creation of a new party, would give the NP a powerful incentive to disband.

Confirming that his party too was reassessing its future, a top NP member said four possibilities were under discussion:

They were:

- To form a new party to replace the NP with President De Klerk as the leader;
- Begin a new black-orientated party which would form an alliance with the NP;
- Form alliances with existing parties;
- Retain the NP.

"What is certainly true is there are a number of black people who would like to support what the State President is doing. But whether the NP as such would be the best vehicle to mobilise this support is the question," he said.

A think-tank of middle level NP leaders met last week to take stock of the situation and to explore the various directions the party could take, the official said. This was one of many meetings that had taken place in past months.

He said the NP's reassessment came in the light of possible non-racial elections in a year's time.

"It's going to be an entirely different ball game. We will be holding elections among 20-million voters, not just 3,2-million."

One cabinet member told the Sunday Times the NP had no choice but to form a new centre party. Its inability to gain substantial black support and the stigma of the NP's past made this the only option for survival.

But Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said he felt that a co-operative alliance seemed to him more viable than the formation of a new entity.

However, he could not categorically exclude this option.

# SA ally is facing a tough fight

S1 Times 5/4/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"When Labour left office in 1979, the proportion of our national wealth devoted to aid was 0,52 percent and rising. Now it is down to 0,27 percent," he said.

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

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

## Training

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

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

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

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

# Groundswell for centrist party as the DP reassesses its image

S/Times 5/4/92 · 304A

**Houghton MP Tony Leon's proposal this week for the formation of a new centrist political movement has sharpened tensions in the DP. EDYTH BULBRING reports**

ESS than an hour before resident FW de Klerk announced a whites-only referendum asking for an endorsement of negotiations at odesa, Finance Minister arend du Plessis rushed up a senior DP MP.

"Where's Zach, you've got tell me where Zach is," he aid feverishly. When the MP xpressed his ignorance at P leader Zach de Beer's hereabouts, the abrasive Mr Du Plessis exclaimed: The president is going to announce a referendum and you eople have to support us — here's Zach?"

Despite some DP MPs' gut lesire to tell the NP to eat awdust, the DP swung its upport behind the "yes" ote. But it hasn't been without cost. Tensions in the party ave resurfaced in a sharpned form.

DP chief whip Dave Dalng summed up the view of nany in the caucus when he aid: "Clearly the DP has to eassess its position and role. iven its close relationship to he NP during the referendum, a new situation has developed."

But it is not just the DP that is reconsidering its position. The NP is also doing some serious thinking.

"While the DP is pondering the future, my understanding is that the NP is in a state of considerable ferment over its own future," DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon told a caucus meeting this week.

Like other DP brainstorming caucus meetings in the past two years, this one ended inconclusively. However, Mr Leon proposed a radical alteration of strategy for survival.

The NP appeared to be considering two strategies to maximise its future appeal — forming an alliance with other parties or creating a new party, Mr Leon added.

While the DP had last year agreed to the strategy of developing a broad-based centrist alliance embracing the DP and elements of the NP and ANC, this had not happened and was unlikely to materialise.

Meanwhile, support for the DP in the white community had shrunk alarmingly. There was no growth of support for the party in the "non-white" community.

Certain reasons for the decline in levels of support and activity in the DP were self-evident.

"A broad band of erstwhile DP supporters regard the differences between the NP and the DP as microscopic ... and our primary platfrom, Parliament, has receded in importance," said Mr Leon.

He added that without a radical alteration of strategy, he was convinced the DP would either fail to reach the threshold required for participation in a constituent assembly or would have minuscule impact in a constituent assembly.

While it had been suggested that the DP's fortunes would best be served in an alliance, differences in attitude existing in the party made this impossible.

"It is now almost impossible, in practical terms, for the party to consider engaging in alliance formations at a national level without tearing the DP apart." There was one alternative.

He proposed a new party, led by President FW de Klerk, comprising other powerful leaders in SA committed to a centrist party with the following objectives: freedom under the rule of law; the creation of a new SA founded on the principles of individual liberty and social responsibility and the establishment of an enterprise-driven economy.

Constantia MP Roger Hulley put it in a nutshell.

"The socialists have got themselves well organised. It seems to me a matter of national importance to establish a non-socialist centre party without delay."

Mr Hulley identified the NP as one of the natural choices for a centrist partner.

"The NP has moved from being a party of apartheid and, for a time, one of race federation towards liberal democracy."

The time was right, he said, to plan a strong new force which would compete for the support of 20 million voters, rather than 3,2 million whites.

Mr Hulley foresees a response to a new centre party similar to the response received during the referendum.

"For a short while we were not the DP and the NP. We were the 'yes' vote party."

But there are a few DP MPs who are in no hurry to form part of a power bloc. DP chairman Ken Andrew is one of them.

"I think it is far too early to be anything but independent at this stage. It is too early to judge whether the NP or the ANC should be trusted with liberal democratic values and interests.

"Simply because the NP has moved away from apartheid does not mean that in other areas of policy, it is efficient and clear-headed."

He believes the DP should fight a constituent assembly election independently. During this election, the ANC and NP's rhetoric could be assessed.

For Mr Andrew, the key areas for judging whether a party was a desirable mate were political tolerance, human rights, non-racialism and economic sense.

"I want the DP to be able to influence the course of events and would like it to become part of a power structure. But not at the expense of jeopardising the values and principles we stand for."

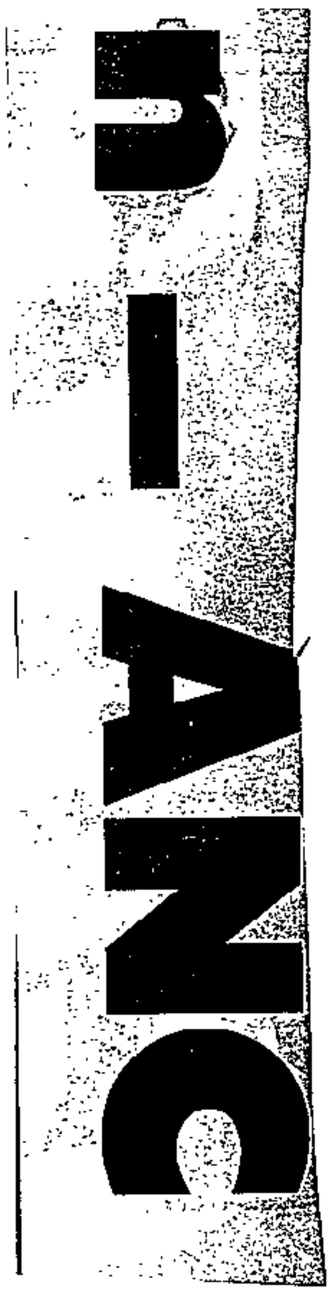
A third group of DP MPs, while not finding fault with Mr Leon's analysis of the problems confronting the party, believes that — rather than forming a new centrist party with the NP — the answer lies in linking with the ANC.

While the DP grapples with its identity and strategies for survival, a senior cabinet minister had no doubts where the NP's best chances lie.

He said: "A centrist party is the only way to go. But what do we call it? Christian Democrat? That rules out Muslim and Jewish support. National Democrat? Sounds too much like a merger between the NP and the DP. And can you suggest a credible moderate black leader?"

# Here's our pla-

304A
CP news 5/4/92



By SEKOLA SELLO

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

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

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

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

## But NP shoots down forum proposal

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

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

He said in terms of these proposals, the majority (say 60 percent) of members could refuse to consider the minority's (say 40 percent) preference of power sharing.

According to Delport, "the government cannot but conclude that the ANC proposals lay the foundation for an absolute usurpation of power and authoritarian government".

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

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

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

### Votes for all

The ANC's proposals include:

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

and is being kept in ... R90 from the Whipsnade Zoo in England ... hile he recovers. ... After Angus's recent operation, Mrs Lor- ... ...ly-old female companion ... him, our black and white portable ... until he has made a full recovery," ...led Miss De Beer.

# Growing pressure on PAC to join Codesa

ST Times [Cape Metro] 5/4/92 (30A)

NORMAN WEST reports from Umtata

YESTERDAY, two days into its three-day 3rd national congress since being unbanned on February 2, 1990, the PAC came under growing pressure to change it's hard-line anti-Codesa stance.

The uncompromising attitude expressed in speeches at the special presidential reception for the PAC leadership held by Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holamisa on Thursday night and again on Friday and yesterday was, however, well-received by the militant youth core in the audience.

But in cautiously worded speeches by other dignatories and in messages delivered through envoys from well-wishing nations in Africa and Europe, the message to the PAC was clear — get into the negotiating scrum.

The most direct message to the PAC to stop its posturing and start making its voice heard where it matters, came from the leader of the Organisation for African Unity, Nigeria's President Ebrahim Babangida.

In a special letter addressed to his "brother" — PAC national President Mr Clarence Makwetu — the Nigerian leader told the PAC "the eyes of Africa are upon you".

Part of the contents — read to the congress by the Nigerian envoy Ambassador Olu Adeniji, Director General of External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, — drew murmurs of surprise from observers.

He referred to the letter as "advice" to Mr Makwetu and the PAC.

President Babangida said the PAC congress was taking place at a momentous time in South Africa's history.

The international community was therefore anxiously awaiting the emergence of a non-racial democratic South Africa "as the product of the collective wisdom of all the South African people".

He said the OAU was looking forward to the day when South Africa returned to its rightful place in the OAU "but only once it guarantees the right to all its citizens of unfettered freedom to participate fully in the political process that determines the governors of your country".

"In the present circumstances it is the hope of the OAU that this congress will decide to work fully with other democratic forces to build a new South Africa," said President Babangida.

The OAU leader said it was his belief that all hands should be on deck to work out the modalities of that new South Africa.



# Banquet launches craft fair

...more than 200 people ... solved to continue ... by the outer-space ... were ...

# Pik for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is understood Mr Botha will fly to Nigeria a day before Mr De Klerk to meet the PAC.

# Negotiate now says Piet Skiet

PRETORIA. — Former senior AWB official Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said at the weekend that the outcome of the referendum had initiated rethinking among right-wingers. (304A)

In a statement as founder and spokesman for the Orde Boerevolk, he said freedom could only be realised through negotiations or, "as an absolute last resort", war. ET 6/4/92

Failure to come to terms with the government would mean having to negotiate with an interim or majority government.

Negotiations with the government to demand the freedom of the Boer people should be stepped up, but were "only possible on the precondition that the freedom of the Boer republics must be recognised". — Sapa

# PAC, govt to meet in Nigeria

ET 6/4/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The people of Nigeria have been working for this change. We have come to the point where the change is almost irreversible."

# No more cheese, wine canvassing

**JOHANNESBURG. — Reports that black support is minimal for the Democratic Party have been denied by two members of the DP's National Council, who also slated calls for the DP to merge with the National Party.** (304A) CT 6/4/92

**In a statement yesterday, Mr Etienne Phoofolo, representing Katlehong on the East Rand, and Dr Rhett Kahn for the Free State, said DP MP Mr Tony Leon "must come to terms with the fact that the 'cheese and wine canvassing' days are over".**

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

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

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

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

**"DP members of Parliament must stop their damaging positioning debates and get on with door-to-door canvassing in the townships."**

# FW will give clue to Nats' future

ANC 6/4/92
3014A

**TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Staff**

PRESIDENT De Klerk will signal major political alignments in a debate on his budget vote in parliament after the Easter recess.

He is expected to indicate the National Party attitude to alignments with other like-minded political parties and the possibility of a new centrist party.

This major debate will start in parliament on April 21.

Meanwhile, the secretary general of the National Party, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said today there was no possibility of the party disbanding at present to form a new political party.

He was reacting to speculation that a group in the party was considering the possibility of a new centrist party under a new name.

Dr Van der Merwe said a new political game had started and that the party would in the nature of things consider all options. Disbanding was lowest on the list.

There were, however, people who had spoken about the possibility of a new name for the party but disbanding would not be realistic.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus is to continue considering its future after the recess.

A long caucus meeting before the Easter recess did not come to any conclusion.

Three schools of thought have emerged.

These are that the party should move nearer to the National Party, that it should seek links with the ANC or that it should continue as an independent liberal party.

The DP vote played an important part in the Yes victory in the referendum but there are misgivings in some DP circles that, in the process, the party got too near to the National Party.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the DP, said today the last mandate from a party congress was that the party's independence, integrity and identity must be retained.

● See Page 4

# Govt in MK row

304ff
CT 6/4/92.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE government yesterday warned that negotiations could be jeopardised by the continuing involvement of umKhonto weSizwe (MK) members in violence.**

With ongoing strife claiming dozens of lives at the weekend, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee yesterday also gave notice that he would recommend to the government that it "take further drastic steps to contain the violence".

The warnings came on the eve of the resumption of Codesa negotiations today on the critical issues of power-sharing arrangements during the interim government phase and how the body which writes the constitution should be made up.

The government's "get tough" stance follows the arrest of an alleged member of the ANC's military wing in connection with the killing of one policeman and the wounding of another in an AK-47 attack in the Free State last week.

In a sharply-worded statement, Mr Coetsee, who is also a member of the government's negotiating team at Codesa, said the attack could have "serious consequences" for the whole negotiation process.

"This matter cannot be left to rest," he said, adding that it reflected on "the veracity of Codesa itself".

Mr Coetsee said: "As leader of the National Party in the Free State, I wish to leave no doubt as to the serious light in which I view this matter."

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said last night the ANC would urgently look into whether one of its MK members had been involved in the attack.

She emphasised that it was not ANC policy for its members to be involved in this type of activity.

To page 3

From page 1

## MK row

(304ff)

"But some members do whatever they want," she noted.

In his statement, Mr Coetsee said he had "also noted that AK-47 rifles were used in the attack and have noticed the possible linkage of the criminals with the military wing of a political organisation".

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman General Leon Mellet said that use of AK-47s in such attacks did not necessarily mean that the culprits were members of the ANC.

And recent cases where MK members were involved in violence were generally not politically motivated, he said. CT 6/4/92

The actions of PAC's military wing, APLA, are "the worst at the moment", General Mellet said.

Free State police said at the weekend that six men had been arrested in the Ficksburg area in connection with last Thursday's attack on the police.

Constable Lourens Oosthuizen was killed and Constable Hermanus Joubert was seriously wounded in the incident near Bethlehem.

Two unidentified men were later killed during confrontations with police and two others are still missing.

Apart from the arrest of an MK member in connection with the attack on Constables Oosthuizen and Joubert near Bethlehem last week, MK members have been arrested in connection with a number of other incidents since the beginning of last year:

- A 30-year-old MK cadre was arrested in February last year for minibus theft, planting a car-bomb at a parkade and the July 1990 murder of Mr David Shongwe, whose body was found near the Pelindaba-Hartebeespoort Road.
- In November last year, two MK members and a policeman, Sergeant C J van Molendorff, were wounded in a shootout at a Nyanga shebeen. The ANC said at the time that the MK cadres were not acting on instructions from the organisation.
- On February 4 this year, the Wynberg Regional Court was told by a policeman in the illegal arms possession trial of returned exile Mr Fumanyekile "Feti" Booi, 32, that a warrant for Mr Booi's arrest had been issued in connection with the murder of Sergeant Kulu Els in Nyanga East in July 1990.

# PAC-Govt meeting may yet founder

STAR 6/4/92

The first official bilateral talks between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government, set to take place in Nigeria, could still run aground over the issue of chairmanship.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night stressed in a statement that in preliminary talks with the Nigerians there was never any suggestion that the meeting with the PAC would be chaired by the Organisation of African Unity or that it would occur on foreign soil.

The original announcement of bilateral talks between the Government and the PAC was made by the liberation organisation's president, Clarence Makwetu, at the PAC congress in Umtata at the weekend. Mr Makwetu referred specifically to the fact that "the PAC and the regime will meet shortly at the neutral venue in Abuja, Nigeria, under the neutral chairmanship of President Ebrahim Babangida who is the current chairman of the OAU".

Mr Botha said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC — which has remained steadfastly outside Codesa — foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary". He added that the Government would prefer the meeting to take place in South Africa and that "since the 'playing field' has been levelled for all parties pursuing a peaceful process, there is no impediment to the PAC joining the negotiations in South Africa".

Mr Botha said that as a gesture of goodwill, the Nigerian government had inquired about possible talks with the PAC — although it had never proposed the meeting as formal negotiations or as a summit, to be held on neutral territory under the chairmanship of the OAU.

There is speculation that, if the question of chairmanship is satisfactorily resolved, Mr Botha will meet a PAC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week, before the start of the official visit to Nigeria by President de Klerk.

But PAC publicity chief Barney Desai has cautioned: "It will be difficult logistically to meet the Government this week, but we'll make every effort to meet as soon as possible."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed hopes that this bilateral contact would be a prelude to the PAC becoming a full participant in the process of constitutional negotiations. She made it clear that it would be "ridiculous" to regard such one-on-one organisational contact as a substitute for Codesa.

Mr Desai said that the PAC was anxious to convene a meeting of the Patriotic Front — a broad alliance of more than 90 anti-apartheid groupings brought into being in October — and was taking "active steps" with the ANC in this regard.

Mr Desai explained that the PAC had taken note of calls from the OAU and African leaders to work for unity and to engage the Government in negotiations.

The PAC congress maintained it would "intensify" its armed struggle despite the planned talks. — Political Staff and Sapa.

# Codesa delegation to observe UK poll

STAR 6/4/92

**Political Staff** 3064

Nine South African political figures left Jan Smuts Airport last night to observe Thursday's British general election, as guests of the British government.

Pravin Gordhan, Peter Hendrickse, N Mahlangu, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Professor Simeon Rapinga, George Bartlett and Janet Love will rerpesent Codesa, travelling on an initiatve of the British Embassy in South Africa.

The British also invited Matthews Phosa and Peter Soal to join the delegation.

In a statement last night, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Anthony Reeve, said the British hoped to make a modest contribution to the work of Codesa by enabling the delgation to observe at first hand the British elections process "at a time when they are preparing for democratic elections in their own country".

The delegation will hold discussions in London with senior government officials on the role of the civil service during an election campaign.

Sir Anthony said the delegation would then visit three marginal constituencies in Bolton. The South Africans would meet the candidates, visit the party's headquaters and go out with candidates on canvassing rounds.

"They will hold discussions with journalists on the question of media objectivity during an election campaign,' Sir Anthony said.

# Canadian Minister on tour of SA

STAR 6/4/92

304A

In what is being billed as the "first official visit by a Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister to South Africa for more than 30 years", Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall touched down at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Ms McDougall, who was welcomed on her arrival by Neil van Heerden, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, is to hold talks with political leaders.

Shortly after her arrival, Ms McDougall told journalists that hers was the first official visit by a Canadian foreign minister for 30 years.

On being asked about Joe Clark's visit in 1987, the press was told the then minister of external affairs had been on an unofficial visit.

Ms McDougall said her country was encouraged by political changes in South Africa; the positive outcome of the referendum and by negotiations through Codesa.

"I'm in South Africa to hold discussions at first hand with political leaders."

Asked about the possibility of her country lifting economic sanctions, Ms McDougall said economic sanctions would only be raised after acceptable transitional arrangement were in place, adding that people-to-people sanctions had already ended in accordance with a decision by the Commonwealth.

Mr van Heerden said he looked forward to a positive outcome of Ms McDougall's visit. He said the time for sanctions was long passed and that South Africa needed economic growth.

Ms McDougall visited the Takalani Home for the Mentally Handicapped in Soweto yesterday afternoon.

She hugged, kissed and tried to speak to some children, bewildered by flashing cameras.

Takalani is the only facility of its kind for blacks in the country and was partly funded by the Canadian Embassy.

Ms McDougall said she was happy to have visited the facility and gain first-hand experience of the state of health facilities in South Africa.

Health is clearly an area which needs assistance, she said, adding that the difficulty was not only insufficient funding, but also a misallocation of resources.

She said Canada was prepared to assist in South African education. — Sapa.

A pall of political mortality is hanging heavily in Parliament, writes **Alan Dunn**

# Are there more Koos Bothas

STAR 6/4/92 (304)

THIS is the question now being asked among MPs who are all grappling with the harsh new realities cast overnight by the referendum two weeks ago.

There is a palpable pall of political mortality in Parliament these days, of MPs planning alternative careers because they know they will not be sitting on the legislature's leather upholstery for much longer.

Several may escape the axe, but why risk it and endure the heartburn of Russian roulette while there are still some months left to secure lifeboats for their abrupt retirements?

MPs fully expect more Koos Bothas to emerge, disgruntled Conservative MPs who have lost faith in their leadership and the party's stolidity, its failure to adapt to the negotiated revolution whirling about it.

Nobody knows how many there are.

Nationalist MPs have their candidates, the more pragmatic ones whose impatience is showing. Naturally they are, as opponents, impatient to see exactly whom they will be dealing with in negotiations ahead.

So they are prodding and goading. "Stand up, you Koos Bothas, and be counted!"

Everybody in Parliament knows that Koos van der Merwe, the ebullient MP for Overvaal, is not far behind his friend and ally.

But he is more the politician than the newly independent MP for Wonderboom. He is a seasoned strategist. He has been through this type of mangle before, 10 years ago, and is no stranger to political brawls.

Mr van der Merwe, presently bobbing and weaving reporters' questions like a prizefighter, was probably dismayed at his friend's precipitous behaviour in Parliament this week in calling for a "drastically reduced" Afrikaner *volkstaat*.

He would favour a wilier, more gradual, systematic approach. He will have confirmed and reconnoitred his destination before taking off.

It was the more artful Mr van der Merwe, however, who walked across Parliament's Joint Chamber after the opening prayer yesterday afternoon to offer a crying Mr Botha a word of comfort.

For the MP of 2½ years suddenly found himself seated across the aisle from his old comrades, shunned, alone, next to Democratic Party backbencher Wessel Nel (Mooi River).

The whole confrontation and jolt of this was too much. Messengers were simultaneously cleaning out his office in the CP's wing of Parliament, packing his documents for another place in a corridor of political strangers. Banishment had been swift.

Mr van der Merwe took him by the arm and led him to the lobby.

When he made the contentious speech on Tuesday, one Conservative colleague likened him to Albert Nothnagel, the likeable South African ambassador to the Netherlands who, as the Nationalist MP for Innesdal, regularly found himself in hot water for speaking his mind.

He, and Mr Botha this week, broke a cardinal rule in politics: honesty is often not the best policy.

Mr Nothnagel was a refreshing character, a touch naive perhaps, or too forthright or uncaring of the sometimes brutal rules of politics. Mr Botha is no different.

That was the way he felt and he said so. In fact, he said nothing in Parliament this session until Tuesday's address: "This was my first speech this year. I felt the party had no plan, no strategy, no vision.

"I felt that being a reactionary to all the laws being scrapped and so on, didn't suit me. I want to be more positive," he said in an interview.

A head council meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, on Saturday was the final straw: "I said to myself 'The CP is not going to change'."

He decided then to go public with his campaign for a smaller Afrikaner state. It cost him his party membership.

The essence of the official reason for his firing yesterday was discipline — he spoke on such a delicate subject, aired the party washing outside congress and the parliamentary caucus.

Mr Botha's hope that the party would be able to accommodate his views was snuffed at 7.30 pm on Wednesday when he faced CP chief Dr Andries Treurnicht, his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and Chief Whip Frank le Roux.

It was a friendly discussion. Dr Treurnicht told him point-by-point what bothered them about the speech and Mr Botha explained his position.

Dr Treurnicht had problems with a "drastically reduced" Afrikaner state, which was contrary to CP policy.

The leader also apparently thought Mr Botha too exclusive. Why an Afrikaner state, he asked. Why not a white state?

That, Mr Botha said he replied, would be racist.

And so the objections continued and Mr Botha explained what he had meant. The listening trio knew outspokeness when they heard it, however. So Mr Botha faced a choice. He made it. "I made a speech which I could not repudiate."

Mr Botha will start preparations today for a public meeting in Wonderboom within a week or two to tell his voters what he did and why. He has sent CP constituency officials and organisers copies of his speech.

"I will explain what happened here and ask them to support me in future," he said.

He will also seek meetings with Professor Carel Boshoff and other prominent Volkstaaters to help build a bloc wanting a smaller Afrikaner homeland. "I want to be the voice of the Volkstaaters in Parliament, if they want it."

Will other jaundiced Conservatives follow?

"Maybe we'll unite at a later stage," he said. "They don't have to follow, we will grow together.

"It's not only CP members and Volkstaaters who will come together, but Afrikaners in general, including those of the National Party," he said. That is his dream. □

# Chances of merger with Nats 'minimal', says DP

STAR 6/4/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge (304A)

The chance of the Democratic Party merging with the Nationalists to form a new party was "absolutely minimal" at this point, said DP chairman Ken Andrew.

"I don't think it's what the majority of people in our caucus would want, or what the majority in the party would want to do," he said yesterday.

Mr Andrew dismissed as "enormously inflated" a Sunday newspaper report that the DP caucus was divided over a planned DP/NP merger put forward by MP for Houghton Tony Leon.

But Mr Leon's proposals for the formation of a new DP/NP-based party have already drawn a heated response from two DP council members, and it is clear that division exists within the party about its future constituency and alliances.

National council members Etienne Phoofolo of Katlehong and Rhett Kahn of the Free State Goldfields have hit out at Mr Leon's reference to the minimal growth of DP membership in the black community, challenging him to "come to terms with the fact that 'cheese and wine canvassing' are over and that the new South African electorate has a third world lifestyle, needs and expectations."

Dr Kahn and Mr Phoofolo argue: "If the DP were to form a new party with the NP this will re-racialise South African politics and strengthen the PAC/Azapo argument that Codesa is merely a vehicle whereby a white minority is trying to protect its vested interests."

Mr Andrew said the DP's strategy review committee, which he chaired, had been considering a wide variety of options since February. Due to the referendum campaign it had fallen behind schedule.

It was hoped the caucus would consider a proposal this month.

# Codesa in danger of losing its way, becoming a ritual

STAR 7/4/92 (304A) (301)

**The Pattern of Politics**

HERMANN GILIOMEE



THREE requirements must be met to find a constitutional solution for South Africa. Firstly, the major parties must agree to a common definition of the problem they are addressing. Secondly, they must commit themselves to negotiate rather than to fight, thirdly, they must agree on procedures for negotiating a solution which all will accept.

The only genuine progress which has been made in our process is that the great majority of people and parties have committed themselves to negotiations. It is commonly accepted that it is futile to fight or prolong the conflict. Both the NP and ANC have much more to lose than to gain by walking away from negotiations.

But then again our negotiations are in danger of becoming a ritual: something to engage in to avoid losing support from external allies. There are signs that Codesa has begun to reach this stage.

It is in the search for a common definition of the problem that our negotiating process still falls far short.

Over the past two weeks Codesa has dramatically shown that there are still two starkly different definitions of the fundamental political problem.

The NP, along with the IFP, believes that the problem has been that the Government is lacking in representativeness.

From this perspective, the solution lies in getting a broad-based governing coalition which would address the security and identity fears of minorities by giving them an effective power base.

The ANC, on the other hand, is driven by the conviction that the heart of the problem is that the majority has not ruled. As the ANC's constitutional proposals to Codesa show, it has a strong tendency to equate unqualified majority rule with democracy, and government by the majority with government by the "people".

From here it is only a short step to believing that only majority rule can harness the energies of the great mass of the people and overcome the profound humiliation of the colonial conquest of Africans and of apartheid.

This conflict over definitions underpins the other major failing: the inability of the main parties to agree about procedures for drawing up a constitution and establishing a new government.

In terms of actual power, the majority party under the NP proposals will not win much more power than the minority parties.

In this sense the NP plan still falls short of the decisive feature of democracy.

In a study of transitions to democracy elsewhere Adam Przeworski has made the telling point: "Democracy means that all groups must subject their interests to uncertainty ... (to) alienation of control ...".

But if the NP still has to accept democratic uncertainty, the ANC has still to face the fact that democracy, even if based on majority rules, cannot ensure stability in South Africa, and that formal government power is worthless in the face of spreading anarchy and civil war.

The document that the ANC has just tabled at Codesa's working group 2 is deeply disturbing, even if viewed dispassionately. It assumes that those fearful of majority rule are either racists or colonists. Minorities are simply equated with losers.

Moreover, there is the breathtaking illusion that, once ballots are introduced, the tendency to resort to bullets will disappear.

The ANC document assumes that violence in Namibia stopped because elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of universal franchise were held, and that the same process will naturally occur in South Africa.

There is simply no recognition of the fact that the South African State willed the process in Namibia to succeed, and the same State with its security forces and a white population armed to the teeth can create major havoc if a constituent assembly or future government comes about against their general will.

To compound matters, the ANC and its allies constantly talk about nationalisation and redistribution of income away from whites.

Przeworski makes a further point the ANC can well take to heart: "We cannot avoid the possibility that a transition to democracy can be made only at the cost of leaving economic relations intact, not only the structure of production — but even the distribution of income."

A fundamental rethink about the negotiating process is required. The NP will have to allow the outcome of elections rather than the constitution to shape the process. The ANC will have to accept that South Africa simply lacks the social fabric for fully fledged elections which will sweep the majority to power and allow it to transform all levels of government and the constitution.

But what kind of elections can be held that can facilitate the peace process? The one possibility is elections for the collegial presidency of three to five leaders. I fear that may simply exacerbate the situation if the collegial presidency becomes deadlocked and the majority's president resorts to emotive and populist appeals.

There is another more viable strategy. This is to hold elections for the 10 regions. While these regions are important building blocks for the future South African federation, the powers which will be entrusted to them are not so great that the NP or IFP need to fear democratic uncertainty. There will still be the central government as a kind of safety net.

At the same time the ANC will be able to offer an office and a steady income to 200 or so of its leadership echelon.

The time for some agonising decisions for all the major parties has arrived. □

● *Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.*

# 'Dead' man died without his pension

CAPE TOWN — A Guguletu pensioner whose pension was stopped by the Cape Provincial Administration last year because officials decided he had died, did in fact die before it was restored six months later, Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Cape's Budget, he said this graphically illustrated the tragic effects of the CPA's bureaucratic maladministration of black pensions.

Yeye Mbane received his pension from 1979 to April 1991 when it stopped.

"He went to CPA and was told he had been categorised as 'dead' and must now obtain a 'survival certificate' from the nearest police station.

"Mr Mbane did so and handed the certificate to CPA Community Service, Guguletu, on April 19 1991.

"When nothing happened, he sought the assistance of the Black Sash and the Legal Resources Centre. In November he was advised (by letter) that outstanding pensions amounting to R1 770 would be paid.

"Unfortunately it was too late for Mr Mbane. He had died in October, having been denied his pension — his means of survival — for six months."

Mr Andrew said the callous way in which black pensioners had been treated over the years was disgraceful.

"No government calling itself Christian or civilised should have tolerated such a state of affairs." — Sapa.

# NO DP, NP merger

Sowetan 9/4/92

**Sowetan Correspondent**

9/4/92

THE chance of the Democratic Party merging with the Nationalists to form a new party was "absolutely minimal" at this point, DP chairman Mr Ken Andrew has said.

"I don't think it's what the majority of people in our caucus would want or what the majority in the party would want to do," he said yesterday.

Andrew dismissed as "enormously inflated" a Sunday newspaper report that the DP caucus was divided over a planned DP/NP merger put forward by the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

But Leon's proposals for the formation of a new DP/NP based party have already drawn a heated response from two DP council members and it is clear that division exists within the party about its future constituency, links and alliances.

National council members Mr Etienne Phoofolo of Katlehong and Mr Rhett Kahn of the Free State Goldfields have hit out at Leon's reference to the minimal growth of DP membership in the black community, challenging him to "come to terms with the fact that 'cheese and wine canvassing' are over and that the new South African electorate has a Third World lifestyle, needs and expectations.

"Has Leon ever done the same shack-to-shack canvassing in the townships as he did in Johannesburg as an aspirant city councillor and MP? It is now time for the DP members of Parliament to stop their damaging positioning debates and get on with the business of door-to-door canvassing?"

# De Klerk off to Nigeria this week

LAGOS (Nigeria). — President De Klerk arrives in Nigeria for a two-day official visit on Thursday, his office announced yesterday.

Mr De Klerk will hold talks with President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja and address a news conference, an official in the president's office said.

In Cape Town, Mr De Klerk said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as particularly important.

"It is important because President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity."

Mr De Klerk will be accompanied by his wife Marike, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, and other top government officials.

Mr Botha is expected to hold talks with PAC leaders.

The visit, the first by a South African head of state, would be aimed at "encouraging" Mr De Klerk's reform efforts which Nigeria fully supports, Foreign Minister Mr Ike Nwachukwu told journalists in Lagos.

After the March 17 all-white referendum it became clear that the process of change was "almost irreversible", he said.

"Change is going on and we must support it," he added.

Nigeria did not consult anybody about the visit, he said.

"We have our policies and they will not be dictated by anyone's interest but our own."

● Meanwhile the ANC and PAC have condemned the visit, the official News Agency of Nigeria reported.

"We are not happy about the way the matter has been handled," said Mr George Nene, ANC representative in Nigeria.

The ANC had not been invited to Abuja, did not know what would be discussed, and would not attend, Mr Nene added.

PAC representative in Nigeria, Mr Reggie Kumalo, said the decision to invite Mr De Klerk "is regrettable, and we feel it is premature".

"What African leaders should do at this stage is to send their men to South Africa to monitor the so-called reforms embarked upon by Mr De Klerk," he said. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

# 'No progress' on transition

3044A

CT 7/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC yesterday presented to Codesa starkly differing proposals on the powers an executive body would have during the initial stages of an interim government.

Delegates said there were serious differences of opinion during discussions in working group three (on transitional arrangements) and no progress had been achieved.

The ANC proposed that the present tricameral Parliament be consolidated into one chamber, which would be overseen by an interim government council.

The TBVC states and homelands would continue to exist but also under the auspices of the IGC.

"This means that apart from the consolidation of the tricameral Parliament and its department the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC."

The document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

"Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President."

A government source said they totally rejected the ANC's proposals.

"You can't have two governments governing a country, which is what their proposals amount to," he said.

Government delegate Dr Dawie de Villiers said the ANC wanted to form an interim government before it was constitutionally or legally able to.

An interim government could be set up only after an election.

However, he said the differences between the government's and the ANC's position on interim arrangements were not insurmountable.

Delegates said much of yesterday was spent discussing the government's framework legislation to set up five preparatory councils which would advise present government ministers in an interm period.

The councils were originally called transitional councils but were renamed preparatory councils in the document submitted to Codesa yesterday.

Some said these discussions had deadlocked because of the lack of power vested in the interim councils.

While the ANC wants power to be vested in the IGC, the government wants power to remain in the hands of the present cabinet which would be advised by the preparatory councils.

The government proposal said the councils would plan and prepare for the implementation of a transitional constitution.

However, negotiations on transitional arrangements were being hampered by lack of progress in bilateral discussion with the ANC on suspending the armed struggle and in a working group dealing with political violence. — Sapa

# ANC slams Nigeria trip

LAGOS. — The ANC hit out yesterday at a planned visit to Nigeria by President F W de Klerk for talks with President Ibrahim Babangida, head of the Organisation of African Unity.

At a press conference at Tuynhuys last night, Mr De Klerk said he regarded his visit to Nigeria on Thursday and Friday as "extremely important".

He said the trip would focus on "improved co-operation and better communication" with Nigeria, and South Africa's role in the rest of Africa.

Mr George Nene, ANC chief representative in Nigeria, said the ANC is "not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before Codesa sets up an interim government".

Asked whether Mr Mandela was consulted on Mr De Klerk's visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Mr Ike Nwachukwu said: "Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will not be dictated by anyone else's interests but our own."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will accompany Mr De Klerk on his visit but will be leaving a day early to hold preparatory discussions with a PAC delegation about the organisation's stand on negotiations.

# Create single chamber- ANC

Sowetan 7/4/92

THE tricameral parliament should be merged into one chamber during the first stages of interim government, the ANC said yesterday.

"This will begin a process of restructuring government that all participants at Codesa agree is necessary," the ANC said in proposals to Codesa on the first stage of interim government.

## Consolidation

TBVC, homeland, provincial and other departments would remain in place unless and until an interim government council (IGC) - which would be established during the initial interim stage - decided that further change or consolidation was necessary.

"This means that, apart from the consolidation of the tricameral parliament and its departments, the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC."

To qualify to sit on the IGC, the ANC said each of the Codesa participants who committed themselves to the decisions taken at Codesa 2 would have one seat on the IGC.

To enable the IGC to include political organisations who had refused to take part in Codesa or to accept decisions taken at the second plenary session of Codesa next month, the IGC should be given the power to admit representatives who subsequently change their minds.

The ANC document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

## Formulate

"Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President."

Besides having the power to formulate and submit legislation for consideration, the IGC's approval would also be required for the declaration of a state of emergency and the exercise of powers under the Public Safety Act.

"Otherwise, the State President will have the power to declare a state of emergency and override legislation enacted at the instance of Codesa. He will then be able to rule by decree under the provisions of the Public Safety Act."

Executive authority remained vested in the State President, but his actions would be subject to the approval of the IGC.

## Precedence

"The executive authority of the TBVC states and the Homelands should also be exercised subject to the approval of the IGC."

"Proclamations issued by the IGC should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament."

Multiparty committees would assume overall responsibility for particular departments, including foreign affairs and the Budget.

Decisions on the IGC would be taken by substantial consensus. The ANC suggested support by two-thirds of the IGC would constitute substantial consensus.- *Sapa*

# FW a guest of Nigeria

(304A)

Sowetan 7/4/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk confirmed yesterday he would visit Nigeria as the guest of President Ibrahim Babangida.

He confirmed the visit while addressing the media after talks with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at his Tuynhuys office in the afternoon.

De Klerk joked that he was always asked to confirm such visits announced by host countries before the media seemed satisfied with their validity.

He said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as a particularly important extension of contact with African states.

"In the case of Nigeria it is important that President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity and in that context discussions will focus on multi-lateral co-operation in Africa."

De Klerk will arrive in Nigeria on Thursday for a two-day official visit. He is the first South African head of state to visit the West African nation. - *Sapa*

# PAC dismisses Codesa as option

(304A) Sowetan 7/4/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress has shown confidence in its leadership by re-electing the top four office-bearers to the movement's national executive council in Umtata yesterday.

The congress also mandated its leaders to enter into preliminary talks with the Government on the issue of a constituent assembly but has unequivocally dismissed Codesa as an option through which a negotiated settlement can be reached.

Mr Clarence Makwetu was re-elected president, Mr Johnson Mlambo first deputy-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke second deputy-president and Mr Benny Alexander was retained as secretary-general.

Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani was also nominated for the post of secretary-general but was re-elected unopposed as national organiser.

Mr Barney Desai has been retained as the PAC's secretary for information, a move which, along with the retention of Makwetu and Moseneke, suggests a greater emergence of pragmatism within the PAC.

Desai, Moseneke and Makwetu have been dubbed the pragmatists within the leadership of the PAC.

They will almost certainly be among the leadership that will meet President FW de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and a team of Government negotiators in Abuja, Nigeria, this week.

The Nigerian meeting was announced at the Umtata congress on Saturday and will be the first of its kind between the Government and PAC. The two have never met to discuss the future political settlement in South Africa.

The PAC regards the meeting as a breakthrough for the organisation, but it has been dubbed by political and diplomatic observers at the congress as a "face-saving" for the Africanists.

This week's meeting was brokered by Nigerian leader Mr Ebrahim Babangida, who has been involved in setting up the meeting for the past two to three weeks.

In a statement released in Umtata on Saturday, Makwetu said the PAC had received a mandate to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly provided the talks were held at a neutral venue and under a neutral convener.

## Party

The statement said "in pursuance of this resolution" the meeting has been sanctioned by the party.

"The first meeting will be preparatory in nature and will lay the ground for a summit between the president of the PAC and his delegation and De Klerk and his negotiation team.

"We understand that Mr Pik Botha will lead the regime's delegation to the preparatory meeting," the PAC statement said.

The new leaders of the PAC yesterday, however, confirmed that the movement would not take part in Codesa.

In his opening remarks, Makwetu said: "Codesa was not a constituent assembly and it would not deliver liberation. It was never intended to," he said.

Last night, during his closing remarks, two days after the announced meeting in Nigeria, and just when it appeared as if the movement was moving towards a more conciliatory position, Makwetu swung relentlessly back to the hardline position in South African politics as personified by the PAC.

He said the fundamental issue at stake in South Africa was that of land.

"What we are saying is that the land was taken from our forefathers by the sword and its kept by the sword.

"Before resolving this issue we cannot even dream of self-determination," Makwetu said.

Turning to Codesa, Makwetu said the convention had been identified by the congress as undemocratic and that it could not ensure "the transfer of power".

The remainder of the NEC positions are: Mr Thobile Gola, from the movement's Zimbabwean office ousted Mr Carter Seleke for the post of assistant secretary-general.

Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim remains the secretary for foreign affairs; finance goes to newcomer to the NEC, Mr Thompson Gazo; political Affairs secretary is Mr Jackie Seroke; legal and constitutional secretary is Mr Willies Seriti; Mr Mogole Mphahlele is the new secretary for education and human resources; Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana retains his portfolio of sport and culture; Dr Selva Saman was re-elected health secretary and labour was retained by Mr Leshoana Makhanda.

Ms Patricia de Lille was elected as secretary for relief and aid.

# Plans for new rule

(304A)

Sowetan 7/4/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

CODESA went into serious business yesterday as the Government, the African National Congress, Labour and Solidarity parties made further proposals for the establishment of an interim government.

While the Government still favours a two-chamber transitional parliament, the ANC yesterday called for the abolition of the present tricameral parliament to be replaced by a nonracial, democratically elected single-chamber parliament.

The ANC also called for the consolidation of the various own-affairs departments into a single structure to serve the people of South Africa on nonracial lines.

The ANC also said the TBVC territories, self-governing homelands, provincial, regional and district governments should be under the control of an interim government council until a new government was in place.

The Solidarity Party called for the creation of what it called an interim executive structure.

The party said membership of this structure need not necessarily be confined to Codesa participants but may include parties or organisations not represented at this stage.

"This gesture will demonstrate Codesa's commitment of the principle of inclusivity. Those parties that reject the offer will have excluded themselves from the process.




Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev ective moment in St George's Cathedral, d praying for a week for basic human nts for farmworkers.

# Interim rule: 'No progress'

(304H) ARG 7/4/92

**Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG. — Compromise was possible on the ANC's and government's proposals for the transitional phase leading to elections for an interim government, said government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers.

But the two sides yesterday differed at Codesa on which body should exercise effective power during the run-up to elections for an interim government.

"None or little" progress was made in a meeting of the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, delegates said.

The government yesterday reiterated its view that progress in negotiations on transitional arrangements was dependent on progress in creating a climate for free political participation, including the disbandment of private armies and an end to political violence.

Although Codesa 2 had been scheduled for May 15 and 16, "very little if any" progress had been made in attaining the goals of the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, it said.

Progress in solving problems regarding bilateral agreements, such as the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord between the ANC and government had been "most disappointing", the government said.

The ANC yesterday tabled its proposals for the functions of an Interim Government Council (IGC) while the government tabled a framework of draft legislation for the first phase of the transition.

Both sides agreed that the transition should take place in two phases — first the levelling of the political playing field and the elections for an interim government, and the second to begin with an interim government which acted as a legislature as well as the body which drew up a new constitution.

The ANC and the government also agreed that an interim government should be elected, Dr De Villiers said.

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...Mangosuthu Buthelezi on political violence and the negotiation process.

# Buthelezi and FW clear the air

ARG 7/4/92

**Political Staff**

PRESIDENT De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent nearly four hours in talks at Tuynhuys and said afterwards that they had cleared up misunderstandings.

Also at yesterday's talks were Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, and the National Party's general secretary, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by members of his Cabinet.

They discussed the IFP demand that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini be included in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Chief Buthelezi said at an impromtu Press conference at Tuynhuys afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up recently between the president and himsef in the face of differences and misunderstandings.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time", Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr De Klerk said the talks had clarified some misunderstands and would hopefully have a constructive effect on Codesa.

In recent weeks the government has had meetings with the other five national states on the question of King Goodwill's participation in Codesa.

At the talks yesterday, Mr De Klerk emphasised the need for all people to be involved in combating the political violence and to create an atmosphere conducive to democracy and free elections.

Chief Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage".

# W Cape teachers set to down chalk

ARG 7/4/92

**JOHN VILJOEN**
**Education Reporter**

ABOUT 1 500 teachers at black schools in the Western Cape are set to strike tomorrow over salary issues, in spite of claims by authorities that the dispute has been settled.

Dr Johan Brand, director of the area's office of the Department of Education and Training, said last week there was little point in teachers striking.

The only effect of a strike would be to deprive children of their teachers' professional expertise, Dr Brand said.

But Mr Shepherd Mdladlana, national chairman of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), said teachers would decide at a meeting tomorrow whether to continue with a planned strike.

He welcomed the fact that Dr Brand appreciated the seriousness of the problem, but was worried that Sadtu had not had a report from Dr Brand himself.

It was up to Dr Brand to report to Sadtu that all outstanding salaries would be paid to teachers by 1 pm on Wednesday — otherwise teachers would down chalk.

Sadtu had the power to stop the strike but would only do so if Dr Brand's report was before the teachers by the time they held their report-back meeting.

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# New party mooted to oppose ANC

Sowetan 7/4/92

304A

**A NEW centrist political party is emerging in South Africa of which the ruling National Party and the Democratic Party could form the nucleus.**

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The aim of the party, according to informed sources, would be to "bring together like-minded people" in a centrist party to challenge the ANC in non-racial elections to a constitution making assembly later this year.

Speculation has been spreading over the past year of such a development, and the suggested name for such a party was at one stage the Christian Democratic Party.

It is understood that the National Party - or at least persons in the party - have been toying with the idea of changing the party's name in order to once and for all dump the social and political stigma of apartheid.

The new centrist party also came under the Democratic Party's caucus microscope last week when Mr Tony Leon, the Member of Parliament for Houghton, proposed that the DP disbands and merges with the NP under the "powerful leadership" of President FW de Klerk".

## Merger

Leon last week drew up a confidential document wherein he proposed the merger on the grounds that the DP faced a bleak political future as its support base (white liberals) had shrunk, and because there was no substantial membership growth among black people.

The DP is however split three ways about a merger with the NP under any name.

There is a small faction, led by the DP leader, which prefers that the party remains independent; another grouping (the rightwing) led by Leon and Mr Robin Carlisle, which is in favour of the merger and a third which rejects outright any association with the NP whatsoever - this third faction leans more towards the ANC . . .

Those persons in the DP who support the views espoused in the Leon document are in the minority, Mr Pierre Cronje, the party's MP for Greytown yesterday said.

Cronje is among the more progressive persons in the DP who recognise the possibility of convergence with "the liberation movement camp".

He said yesterday that there were people within the party who wanted to associate themselves with "the privileged class, those who benefited from the system and who stand for preservation of these privileges".

These people missed the point, he said.

## Justice

Cronje believes that the ideals of "justice and equality" cannot be delivered only through constitutional liberation, and that there would have to be greater movement away from the legacy of apartheid to improve the physical conditions of the people who suffered under the system.

A senior member of the ANC's national executive committee yesterday reacted cynically to the news of the mooted new centrist party.

He said that there were indeed many people in the DP who were "closet Nats".

"It comes as no surprise," he said.

The NP has been trying to move away from the memory of apartheid by suggesting a change of name.

But, he said, whatever name the NP ever went under it will be important for black people to the remember that the NP by any other name is still the NP.

A DP caucus source yesterday confirmed that the Tony Leon proposals were one of many things discussed in last week's caucus.

He suggested that the only significance of it was that it coincided with the NP's suggestions of a new party under a new name.

# ANC hits out at De Klerk's Nigerian visit

LAGOS — The ANC hit out yesterday at President F W de Klerk's planned visit to Nigeria.

A Foreign Affairs Department official confirmed yesterday that the President, his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would visit Nigeria on Thursday and Friday, at the invitation of President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also the head of the OAU.

George Nene, chief ANC representative in Nigeria, said: "We are not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before Codesa sets up an interim government."

Nene said the ANC was not consulted on the visit. "It is too early to invite De Klerk, even if it is for a good cause. It is worse in a sense that the opinion has not been sought of major players."

Asked whether ANC president Nelson Mandela had been consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeria's interests. "Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will not be dictated by anyone else's interests but our own."

He said the visit, the first by an SA head of state, was aimed at encouraging De Klerk's reform efforts, which Nigeria fully supported.

The PAC has suggested meetings with the SA government on neutral territory and under neutral chairmanship. But on Sunday Botha dismissed as "entirely unnecessary" any prospect that the OAU might chair such talks. Government was prepared and would prefer to meet the PAC leadership in SA. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

# No consensus on transitional authority

BIDay 7/4/92 (Title) (364A)

TIM COHEN

CODESA reached a critical point yesterday as parties failed for the third successive week to reach any sort of accommodation on the first stage of political transition.

Both the ANC and government yesterday put forward contradictory and hardline proposals for the first stage.

The parties have agreed that this stage will end with the election of an interim authority, but after debating the issue for three weeks, consensus has not been approached on the actual powers of the executive until such time.

ANC delegates argued yesterday that government's proposals still reflected its desire to be both referee and player in the transition process. Government delegates argued that the ANC's proposals — which seek the establishment of an interim government council to oversee government's activities — would effectively result in two governments.

Chief government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said after the meeting of working group 3 yesterday other parties were seeking the establishment of an interim government before it could be properly, democratically and constitutionally established.

Government also insisted that the institution of the first phase of transitional arrangements could not take place until progress had been made toward resolving outstanding security questions.

"Very little progress, if any, has been made towards attaining the goals ... in regard to the level of political violence and a climate for free political participation ...," government's submission says.

"It is very difficult to foresee successful negotiations ... while participating parties are still committed to armed action."

The ANC's proposals for what it terms "the first phase of interim government" are that an eight-person interim govern-

☐ To Page 2

## No consensus

BIDay 7/4/92 (Title) (304A)

☐ From Page 1

ment council should be appointed by Codesa. Draft legislation should be approved by the council before being submitted to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the council before being signed by the President. TBVC legislation should also be subject to council approval.

While executive authority should remain vested in the President, he should be required to exercise such authority subject to approval of the council.

The council would assume overall responsibility for all departments.

The council would, in the case of deadlocks, take decisions with at least a two-thirds majority. Proclamations of the council should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force of an Act of Parliament.

Government's submission, on the other hand, does not deal with the issue of executive power at all, proposing only what it terms "preparatory councils". Five preparatory councils are suggested: for elections, regional government, local government, government finances and housing and urbanisation.

Councils should have seven members each, six designated by Codesa's management committee and the remaining member appointed by the President.

Except for the council for regional government, the powers of the councils to affect government decisions are not mentioned, but delegates suggested that the councils would have only advisory powers.

In the case of the council for regional government, the submission says "the consent of existing government institutions is a prerequisite for the implementation of resolutions applicable to them".

Preparatory councils for law and order and for defence were also mentioned in government's original proposals.

"These are vital areas to be dealt with but the institution of such councils can only be negotiated in tandem with progress made in working group 1 (dealing with the climate of negotiations) and bilaterally."

The working group will continue its discussions today.

# FW backs Buthelezi over king at Codesa

STAR 7/4/92

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has assured Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Government's support for an accommodation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the IFP leader addressed the media after nearly four hours of talks yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said he had held discussions with various parties and representatives of homeland governments at Codesa regarding what Chief Buthelezi described as "the thorny issue of the Zulu king".

He had impressed upon them the need for the matter to be brought urgently to a head, "reiterating the Government's support for accommodation of KwaZulu in an agreed-upon form, including the king, if KwaZulu so wishes."

Both men said some misunderstandings had been cleared up, and that further meetings would follow.

One issue raised was the Government position on transitional arrangements.

Chief Buthelezi said misunderstandings had arisen by things being read into certain concepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

"I return home much happier ..."

He said he was in Codesa through the IFP presence there, but "I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesa".

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

"The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted," he said. — Sapa.

# Govt, Inkatha narrow 'chasm'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE mounting acrimony and mistrust between Inkatha and the government was largely defused during a marathon meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The healing of the growing rift between two of the "big three" players in South African politics is expected to boost the negotiation process and could help ease the violence sweeping the country.

Chief Buthelezi frankly admitted after their 3½-hour meeting that "a chasm" had been building in recent months between him and Mr De Klerk as a result of differences and misunderstandings on a number of issues.

However, the lengthy meeting between delegations led by the two leaders had served to clear the air "and I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time".

Mr De Klerk said the meeting had helped to clarify some misunderstandings "and hopefully will have a constructive effect within Codesa".

The wide-ranging meeting covered a variety of thorny issues, including the role of the Zulu king at Codesa, the ongoing violence sweeping the country, the Codesa negotiations and the two parties' proposals for transitional arrangements.

Top of the agenda was Inkatha's insistence that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini be accommodated at the Codesa negotiations.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that he had discussed the issue with the other five non-independent homelands and all the parliamentary parties involved in Codesa and impressed on them that the matter needed to be "brought to a head".

In a hint at a compromise, he said: "The (South African) government supports the accommodation in an agreed-upon form for the KwaZulu government and the king if the (KwaZulu) government so wishes." This appeared to pave the way for the king to be part of a broad delegation representing both the Zulu people and the KwaZulu government.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said earlier that the "drastic measures" he would soon announce to curb violence "could entail legislation".

# Stoffel shrugs off 'new party'

STAR 7/4/92.

Political Staff 304A

**President de Klerk is strongly expected to signal major political alignments in a debate on his Budget vote in Parliament after the Easter recess.**

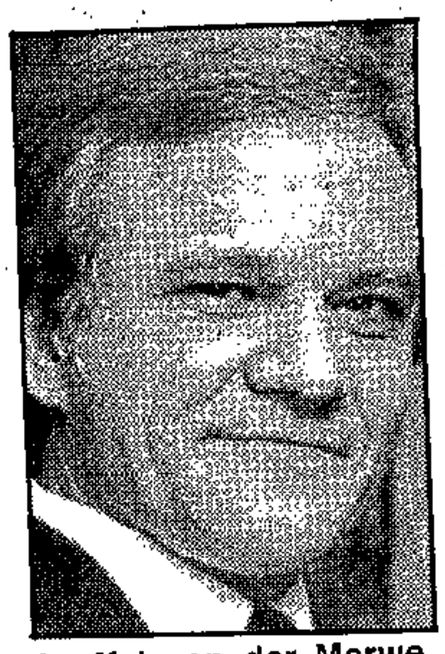
It is suspected he will indicate the National Party's attitude to alignments with other like-minded political parties, and to the possibility of a new centrist party.

Meanwhile, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday that there was no possibility of the party disbanding at present to form a new political party.

He was reacting to speculation that a group in the NP was considering the possibility of a new centrist party under a new name.

Dr van der Merwe said that a new political game had started and that the party would, in the nature of things, consider all options. Disbanding was lowest on the list, he said.

There were, however, people who had spoken about the possibility of a new name for the party, but disbanding would not be realistic.



Stoffel van der Merwe . . . disbanding lowest option on NP's list.



Zac de Beer . . . possibilities for a broad-based centrist coalition.

The Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus is to continue considering its future after the recess.

A long caucus meeting last week did not come to any conclusion — but three schools of thought did emerge: that the party should move nearer to the NP, that it should seek links with the ANC or that it should continue as an independent liberal party.

The DP vote played an important part in the "yes" victory in the referendum, but there are misgivings in some DP circles that in the process the party got too close to the National Party.

There are also misgivings that, in a system of proportional representation — with the NP and the ANC the main players in an election — the party could not draw enough votes to have any significant number of MPs.

The caucus is to receive a report of a strategy review commmitee at some stage that will spell out various options.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said yesterday that the last mandate from a party congress was that the DP's independence, integrity and identity had to be retained — but this did not mean that the party need not respond to changes in the political arena, including possibilities for a broad-based centrist coalition.

# Codesa talks on transition bogged down

STAR 7/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (3041)

Compromise was possible on the ANC and Government proposals for the transitional phase leading to elections for an interim government, Government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

The two sides, however, differed at Codesa yesterday on which body should exercise effective power during the run-up to interim government elections. "None or little" progress was made in a meeting of the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, delegates told The Star.

The Government yesterday reiterated its view that progress in negotiations on transitional arrangements was dependent on progress in creating a climate for free political participation, including the disbandment of private armies and an end to political violence.

Although Codesa 2 had been scheduled for May 15 and 16, "very little if any" progress had been made in attaining the goals of the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, it said.

Progress in solving problems regarding bilateral agreements, had been "most disappointing", the Government said.

The ANC yesterday tabled its proposals for the functions of an Interim Government Council (IGC) while the Government tabled a framework of draft legislation for the first phase of the transition.

Both sides agreed the transition should take place in two phases: first the levelling of the political playing field and the elections for an interim government, and the second to begin with an interim government which acted as a legislature as well as the body which drew up a new constitution.

The ANC and the Government also agreed that an interim government should be elected, Dr de Villiers said.

But, a "misunderstanding existed as some parties were looking for an interim government in the preparatory stage".

The ANC has proposed an IGC to run the country in the first phase of the transition, but the Government says two governments cannot rule simultaneously.

The Government has proposed five Preparatory Councils with advisory and co-ordinating powers. The main difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants the ultimate power to be vested in the existing Parliament and Cabinet until an interim government is elected, while the ANC wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President, but that he should exercise such authority subject to the IGC's approval.

In terms of the ANC proposals for the functions and powers of the IGC:

- All Codesa participants who commit themselves to decisions taken at Codesa 2 will have a seat on the IGC.
- An eight-man administrative secretariat will be appointed to deal with day-to-day tasks.
- The tricameral Parliament should be consolidated into one chamber and own affairs departments should be consolidated into single departments.
- Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before submission to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the President.
- The executive authority should remain vested in the State President, but he should exercise such authority subject to the approval of the IGC.

# FW confirms Nigerian visit

(304A) STAR 7/4/92

LAGOS — President de Klerk yesterday confirmed that he would be visiting Nigeria as the guest of President Ibrahim Babangida.

He said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as an important extension of contacts with African states.

"In the case of Nigeria, it is important that President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity and in that context discussions will focus on multilateral co-operation in Africa," he added.

Mr de Klerk will arrive in Nigeria on Thursday for a two-day official visit. He is the first South African head of state to visit the west African nation.

He will be accompanied by his wife, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and other top Government officials.

During the visit it is also expected that Mr Botha will hold talks with exiled PAC leaders.

The ANC yesterday criticised the visit but Nigerian officials say Mr de Klerk's overwhelming victory in last month's referendum paved the way for a positive response to his request to visit the country.

Two previous requests were turned down.

Asked whether Nelson Mandela was consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeria's interests. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Multiparty prayers at Codesa in doubt

B/Day 7/14/92

ALAN FINE

CODESA II, scheduled to start in mid-May, is unlikely to be opened with prayers by representatives of a variety of religions, as was the first plenary session in December.

A Codesa source disclosed that this arose after objections from conservative churchmen. The source said government representatives had raised the issue in planning discussions last week.

Government, it appears, has come under pressure from certain unnamed sources — assumed to be from the Afrikaner church establishment — who have expressed misgivings about sharing the platform with representatives of non-Protestant religious groups.

(3044)

They believe it inappropriate to participate in opening prayers at Codesa with representatives of the Catholic, Jewish, Muslim and other faiths.

B ID 7/14/92

It is understood that government has proposed that the chairman of the opening session instead call for a minute or two of silence for each delegate to devote to prayers in accordance with his own faith.

# Major parties in deadlock

(304ft)

Sowetan — By IKE MOTSAPI 8/4/92

THE Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are deadlocked at Codesa over the type of interim government for the transition period.

The Government yesterday proposed that the present tricameral Parliament should have the power to veto some of Codesa's decisions it did not agree with.

The ANC on the other hand made it clear that it would not budge from its demand for the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly that will also draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

The IFP rejected the establishment of an interim government because it felt it would not be feasible to have such a government while the constitution has not been drafted as yet.

ANC lawyer Mr Mahommed Valli-Moosa said it was clear from the Government's proposal that "it was not ready for a real democracy".

# Govt keen on early 'interim'

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government would like to see a "transitional structure or government" installed in South Africa as soon as possible, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Such a development would end uncertainty, ease conflict, boost economic and social stability and attract investment, which was so badly needed, to the country, he said.

But Mr Botha, speaking at a government press briefing on Codesa, declined to be drawn on how long it it would take to install an interim government.

He would not say if he believed predictions by ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki that such a target could be reached by June this year was "reasonable".

But Mr Botha cautioned that there were two issues which could delay the installation of an interim government.

The first, he warned bluntly, was that if power-sharing was not accepted at Codesa the government would "have to go back to our voters for a mandate".

A central theme in the government's referendum campaign was the obtaining of a mandate to negotiate a new constitution that contained certain non-negotiable principles — including the demand that it be based on power-sharing.

Mr Botha said he had repeatedly been told in his international travels that "economic growth and investment are possible only when we form a government based on power-sharing".

The second issue was a clear signal that the government felt the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa would have to be decided on before an election to a constitution-making body could take place.

## Government flexible

Asked if the required "testing the people's will" in the homelands — probably in a referendum — and the citizenship issue had to be resolved before an interim government could take place, Mr Botha said: "Yes."

However, he later said the government was flexible about the issue and that considerable negotiating lay ahead.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said a problem with the ANC's proposal for an elected constituent assembly was that it was "not logical" for people in the TBVC states to be able to vote in the election and yet retain the "option of keeping out".

# Broaden base of government — DP plea

AHG 8/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — It was a matter of utmost urgency that the representation of the government be broadened, said the Democratic Party at Codesa, meeting here.

"The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made — otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process," the party said in a statement yesterday.

It listed a number of key transitional objectives to:

- Promote impartial stewardship of functions;
- Broaden the base of government;
- Preserve constitutional and legal continuity;
- Ensure stability and commitment in public service;
- Promote shared responsibility among participating groups. — Sapa.

ARCT 8/4/92

# 'Advance' on interim rule

3G4A

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa has made what was descibed as an important breakthrough on the issue of interim government arrangements.

Working group three "broadly agreed" there was a need for a transitional executive authority, or joint interim council, with executive powers.

The exact name of the interim body has still to be agreed upon, the present chairman of the working group, Mr Patrick Maduna of the Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane, told a news conference yesterday.

Working group three had spent most of the day meeting at Codesa's head office at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure must have some executive powers," said Mr Maduna.

"But we haven't been specific as to exactly what powers it should have.

"It certainly will not be an advisory structure only. It will have powers over and above advisory functions." — Sapa.

# Boshoff reports to Codesa over move for Afrikaner state

**The Argus Correspondent** (3047)

PRETORIA. — The Afrikanervryheidstigting (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa's Working Group 2, calling for an independent Afrikaner "volkstaat".

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a "volkstaat" was the only way Afrikaners could ensure their survival and would take part in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike previous apartheid policy, Professor Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout SA.

"The creation of a volkstaat had to come about through negotiation and it had to be economically viable," Professor Boshoff said.

He said the process of "nation-building" in a unitary state was outdated and people had to accept that secession based on ethnicity was "modern and scientific". ARG 8/4/92

He warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause "disruption and destablisation".

Professor Boshoff said he had spoken over the phone to Mr Koos Botha, rebel MP for Wonderboom, to discuss Avstig proposals and would probably meet him soon.

# Call an election — Treurnicht

3044 ARG 8/4/92

PRETORIA. — The government was morally obliged to call a whites-only general election if it continued to dishonour its referendum promises of guaranteed minority rights in a new constitution, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said.

The government had built up a reputation at Codesa of capitulating and yielding on almost all its referendum promises, so much so that "the ANC had smelt blood and was chasing the government around at will", said Dr Treurnicht in a statement.

"The stalemate now reached at Codesa regarding the powers of an interim government and the ANC's adamant refusal to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, resides in the government's inability to fulfil its guarantees which it promised to the white voters in the referendum."

The ANC would not accept checks and balances because it wanted a conventional majority government.

In another statement Dr Treurnicht said a Yes vote had brought tens of thousands of misled workers unemployment and financial ruin.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had compiled a long list of big companies that had threatened employees verbally or in writing with retrenchment before the referendum. — Sapa.

# It is testing time for all parties in SA politics

304ft
ET 8/4/92



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE uncertainties thrown up by the rapid changes taking place in South African politics have plunged all parties — not least those in the tricameral system — into a state of ferment.

How the various parties come through the test, or fall by the wayside, will depend to a large extent on the style, imagination, political ingenuity and survival instincts of their leadership corps.

The transition period, with its accompanying political shake-up, is not likely to reflect well on politicians wedded to traditional ways of thinking and doing.

## Flexibility

Political leaders who hope to carve a niche for themselves and their followers in the new politics will have to be blessed with flexibility, lateral thinking, a vision of the future and boundless energy.

Perhaps equally important, they should be consumed by a determination to secure a role for themselves and their supporters in the new political dispensation.

Leaders who by their actions or statements let on that they are growing weary of their awesome responsibilities, or considering retirement as even a remote option in the next few years, will inevitably come under suspicion and pressure from their middle-level and rank-and-file supporters.

Sticking unwaveringly to tried-and-trusted principles and policies also has its place when political leaders endeavour to create a sense of permanence and stability during a time of upheaval and crisis.

But this is clearly not enough, as was shown by, for example, the demise of the Liberal Party, the United Party and the New Republic Party.

Many of the ideas cherished by these parties are enjoying something of a revival in South African politics — but the parties have long since disappeared, outmanoeuvred by their more adaptable rivals.

The National Party is, like others parties in the tricameral system, burdened with its fair share of problems and uncertainties.

But apart from having the obvious advantage of being the ruling party, it is also fortunate enough to have jettisoned Mr P W Botha when he ran out of reformist momentum and ideas about how to usher in a new political order.

Mr Botha, to grant him his due, did scrap some symbolically important petty apartheid measures and the influx control system.

## Adaptable

But when he ran out of steam and became more concerned with consolidating white power instead of, to use a favourite government term of his era, "broadening democracy", a relatively young and imaginative leader stepped into the breach.

Mr De Klerk, for all his blind spots on security and human rights issues, has shown himself to be a highly adaptable politician with all the well-honed instincts of a survivor.

Indeed, when he saw the political writing on the wall for the old NP, he led his party through an audacious metamorphosis that bewildered his traditional rivals and forced them to spend much of their time and energy playing political catch-up.

After using his innovative referendum drive to get a head start on other white political parties in campaigning for South Africa's first non-racial general election, Mr De Klerk is about to embark on a series of mass rallies in black areas — complete with NP marshals sporting "F W" T-shirts and lapel buttons.

The latest initiative might still backfire but its novelty is bound to ensure — as was the case during the referendum campaign — a huge amount of free publicity.

It's enough to make Mr De Klerk's tricameral opponents and their leaders weep with frustration and envy.

# Plain protest planned for FW

(304A) CT 8/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**BOTH the ANC and the Labour Party are considering protest action in a bid to turn President F W de Klerk's planned mass rally at Mitchells Plain this weekend into a damp squib.**

**The National Party hopes that more than 500 000 people will hear Mr De Klerk when he addresses a midday rally in the town centre.**

**ANC spokesman Mr Neville van den Rheede said the ANC office in the Western Cape had been receiving calls from "very upset" supporters from all over the region demanding that Mr De Klerk's first foray into a black area should be met with protest action.**

**He said members of the business, religious and parent communities were also concerned about the way the rally had been arranged without proper consultation.**

**Mr Van den Rheede said the ANC would protest at Mr De Klerk's visit but that no final decision had been taken on what form this would take.**

**Labour Party sources said yesterday that the party was also planning protest action but declined to spell out at this stage what they had in store for Mr De Klerk.**

# Codesa wins broad accord

CT 8/4/92 (3044)

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa achieved "broad agreement" yesterday on the need for a transitional executive and created a technical committee to discuss its powers.

The committee was created to overcome problems in Working Group No 3 on powers the interim executive should have, after the presentation of different proposals by the ANC and government on Monday.

Working group chairman Mr Patrick Maduna, a member of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, said the 11-member technical committee would discuss the powers and composition of the transitional executive authority and its relationship to the present governing structures.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure (the transitional executive authority) must have some executive powers. It will not be an advisory structure only."

Questioned about reports that goverment opposed such a structure, he said: "Government did not object and indicated that it was open to suggestions."

Government and NP members are due to hold the first of their four annual retreats at a secret venue from today.

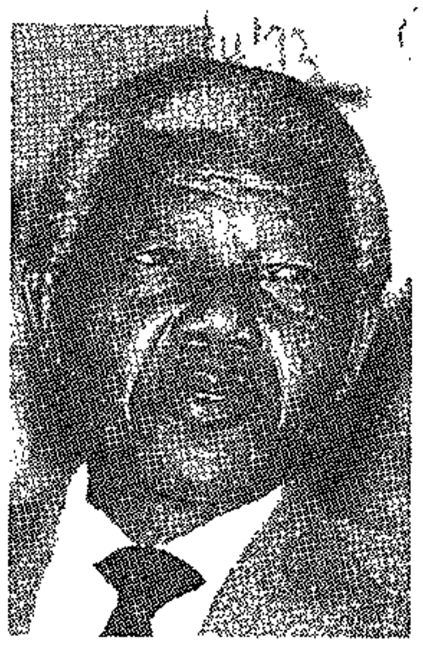
The DP yesterday indicated its support for both the need for government to relinquish some of its power, and the need to ensure legal and consitutional continuity.

DP representative Mr Ken Andrew said in a statement after the meetings that key objectives of transitional councils should be to promote impartial stewardship of key government functions. The bodies should also ensure stability and the continued loyalty of public servants and should build trust between political groups.

It was of the "utmost urgency" that the government's representativeness broadened and the momentum built up at Codesa be sustained to avoid despondency.

While Working Group No 3 took a small step forward yesterday, Working Group No 2 — currently considering the constitution-making forum — faced tough proposals from Inkatha.

Inkatha tabled a document stating that the body responsible for drafting a new constitution could not be determined without first making a choice between federal and unitary systems of government.



**'FANCY PROPOSALS'**
Mr Nelson Mandela

## Mandela in call for 'ordinary democracy'

**JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC could never accept the government's "fancy proposals" for democracy, Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.**

**Speaking at a press conference with Canadian Foreign Minister Ms Barbara McDougall, Mr Mandela said he would like the international community to ensure that "ordinary democracy" was imposed in South Africa. "We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," he said.**

**Asked for his comment on Canada's suggestion that the ANC relinquish its links with the SACP, Mr Mandela said the alliance had to be seen in the South African context in that the organisations shared a common goal to destroy racial oppression. — Sapa**

# Pik to meet PAC

A PAC delegation leaves for Nigeria today to meet with senior members of the South African Government.

The PAC's former secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the delegation would be led by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Vaughn Dewing, a spokesman for the Deparment of Foreign Affairs, said Mr Pik Botha would talk to the PAC in Abuja.

While Botha said it was not necessary to go abroad to hold talks, he had agreed to talk to the PAC after the Nigerians requested a bilateral meeting.

The meeting would prepare a "summit" between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and and State President FW de Klerk.- *Ecna.*

# Buthelezi meets de Klerk

(4B) 304A

So welcome 8/4/92

CAPE TOWN - President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent three-and-a-half hours in talks in Tuynhuys yesterday, and emerged to say they had cleared up misunderstandings between them.

De Klerk and Buthelezi discussed the IFP demand that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be included in discussions at Codesa. They also discussed the IFP and NP proposals on an interim government.

Buthelezi said at an impromptu Press conference at Tuynhuys afterwards that "a chasm" had been building up recently between De Klerk and himself.

The discussions had cleared the air and "I now feel reassured and much happier than I have for some time," Buthelezi said.

In recent weeks the Government had meetings with the other five national states on the question of Zwelithini's participation in Codesa.

Buthelezi said all political leaders should stop pointing fingers at each other as they were all culpable and "should bow our heads in shame because we failed to stop the carnage".

C

# ANC not impressed by 'fancy footwork'

Sowetan 8/4/92

THE African National Congress would not accept the Government's "fancy proposals" for democracy, its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at joint Press conference with Canadian Foreign Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall at ANC headquarters, Mandela said he would like the international community to ensure what he called ordinary democracy was implemented in South Africa.

"We can never accept these two Houses (of Parliament) ... these fancy proposals from the Government.

"We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," Mandela said.

Asked for his comment on Canada's suggestion that the ANC should relinquish its links with the South African Communist Party, Mandela said the alliance had to be seen in the South African context.

## Common goal

"We have a common goal to destroy racial oppression. If they (overseas governments) want the alliance to come to an end, they must support the end of racial oppression," he said.

McDougall said her government recognised the positive role played by Mandela in the South African political process.

Addressing the issue of violence, Mandela said the ANC's main difficulty was getting co-operation from the security forces.

Endorsing McDougall's words on the strong ties between her government and the ANC, Mandela noted that when he went to Canada in June 1990, he had not even had to ask for funds.

"Before I could say anything, he (Prime Minister Brian Mulroney) said 'we have decided to give you this much...'" - *Sapa.*

# PAC launches big recruiting drive

Sowetan 8/4/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch a full-scale recruiting campaign which includes establishing branches in the neighbouring Frontline states.

This was revealed yesterday in a resolution calling for the increased formation of external branches.

The campaign was also strengthened in the organisation's election of the national executive committee where a Zimbabwe-based member of the organisation, Mr Thobile Gola, was elected as the deputy secretary-general.

## Observers

The move was seen by observers as the PAC's way to strengthen itself by bringing South Africans who were still in exile into its fold.

Meanwhile, most members of the PAC central committee have been re-elected into the positions they held since the last elections.

Govt and ANC are not that far apart on the constitution, reports **Esther Waug**

# More that unites than divid

# e

STAR 8/4/92

304A

THE ANC and Government last week tabled their proposals for the body which will draw up a new constitution, and surprisingly, there is great scope for compromise. However, both sides reacted vehemently to one another's plans and called each other's proposals "insulting".

The discussion which followed the tabling of the proposals was the most acrimonous since the Codesa began meeting in February. Yet, there are more points of similarity than differences.

The Government has proposed a two-House parliament — a National Assembly and a Senate comprising regional representatives. The ANC, on the other hand, wants one body — a constituent assembly — to fulfill both tasks.

But the ANC and Government agree on the need for an elected body to compile the constitution and to act as a legislature during the transitional phase. The differences appear to be about the electoral system.

Both have said a constitution-making body should be elected acoding to a system of proportional representation. The Government, however, accused the ANC of wanting a system of "simple majoritarianism".

This concept has been rejected by the ANC, which said that it declared its support for the principle of proportional representation 15 months ago based on the fact that it accommodated the diversity of South African society without reference to groups, and it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.

The ANC and Government also agree that such a body should be elected. But, the Government has said it is not married to the concept of an elected body and it was debatable whether an election was the only manner in which the legitimacy of a constitution-making body could be established.

"Especially if the basis of a body such as Codesa could be broadened further, agreements arrived at by consensus would be quite legitimate," the Government said in its proposals.

On the other hand, the ANC insists that there can be no democracy without elections. It points out that Codesa has a limited function: to create conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, and not to draft one itself.

"The fact that it (Codesa) is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of transition from apartheid to democracy," the ANC says.

The ANC proposals said: "It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at last have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box."

Both sides want the general constitutional principles, agreed upon in Codesa, enshrined in a new constitution, and also agree that the constitution-making body should be sovereign. A glaring difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants decisions taken in the constitution-making body by consensus, while the ANC has proposed a two thirds majority.

A fundamental difference is also on the principle of minority groups being given the right to veto a constitution.

Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen conceded that the proposed Senate would give whites a veto but added that all parties at Codesa also had a right to veto, but have thus far not used it.

The ANC, in turn, has labelled the Senate a "House of Losers".

On the ratifying of a new constitution, the ANC has proposed an independent constitutional panel.

Elections for a democratic government are then held.

The Government appears to propose that elections be held after a constitution-making body agreed to the constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals have been rejected by the ANC and Government.

The IFP proposed that Codesa drafts a document which specifies the principles of the new constitution which is then ratified by a referendum.

The Government said it had initially favoured a multi-party conference as the constitution-making body and the principle had "much merit" but an elected body would be more representative and enjoy greater legitimacy. The ANC, on the other hand, said an "after-the-event ratification" could never be considered as a serious alternative to elections for a constitution-making body.

The Government correctly pointed out that there were three visions on the table: the ANC's constituent assembly, the Government's two-chamber Parliament and the IFP's Constitution Drafting Convention.

Except, it appears, that the ANC and Government are a great deal closer in their proposals.□




Talks . . . Nelson Mandela and Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall after their meeting at the ANC head office in Johannesburg yesterday.
Picture: George Mashinini

# ANC won't heed 'fancy' demands

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that the ANC would not accept the South African Government's "fancy" demands for democracy as contained in the National Party proposals for a two-chamber Parliament.

Mr Mandela was speaking at a joint press conference with visiting Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall at the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

He said the Government's envisaged two-chamber Parliament — with separate houses for the majority and minorities — was unacceptable.

The ANC leader urged the international community — and specificaly the Canadian government — to force President F W de Klerk's Government into accepting the establishment of "ordinary democracy" in South Africa.

Mrs McDougall said she was honoured to meet the ANC lead er "at this critical stage".

● More that unites than divides — Page 16.

# 'Who shall rule' snag sidestepped

By Esther Waugh STAR 8/4/92
Political Reporter

A technical committee has been formed as a way out of the impasse between Codesa participants on which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The committee will report to the working group on transitional arrangements on April 21, when Codesa resumes after a recess.

The working group's chairman, Dr Patrick Maduna of the Inyandza National Movement, said yesterday delegates had agreed on the need for an executive structure and multiparty committees, but details of their functions and powers were to be discussed by the 11-man technical committee.

Although the Government has indicated strong opposition to such a top structure having executive powers, Dr Maduna said the Government did not object and indicated "an openness".

Delegates expressed concern about the slow pace of progress since Codesa 1 and, particularly, about the Government's seemingly unyielding position on its proposals.

The Cabinet and political functionaries began a "bosberaad" on the Cape coast last night which will continue today.

Delegates expected the Government to revise its strategies after the meeting.

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said it was extremely urgent that the "representivity" of government was broadened. 304A

"The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made — otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday told the working group on transitional arrangements that it would not agree to or participate in transitional arrangements except on certain conditions.

The ultimatum included the participation of the Zulu king and an amendment to the Declaration of Intent signed by all participants, except the IFP and the Bophuthatswana government, at Codesa 1.

"Until this key issue of the constitutional model for the future definitive constitution — confederal, federal or unitary — has been resolved here at Codesa, our delegation in this working group has difficulty in agreeing to matters of transitional arrangments," the IFP said.

It further urged delegates to resist "short-term political advanatage at the expense of long-term enduring solutions".

The IFP yesterday reiterated its proposal in the working group on constitutional principles for a constitution-drafting convention to draft a new constitution which would first be ratified by a referendum before general elections were held.

● More reports — Pages 6 and 16.

# Progress on interim executive

B1Dcus 8/4/92 (304A)

TIM COHEN

CODESA achieved "broad agreement" yesterday on the need for a transitional executive and created a technical committee to discuss its powers.

The committee was created to overcome problems in working group 3 on powers the interim executive should have, after the ANC and government presented their different proposals on Monday.

Working group chairman Patrick Maduna, a member of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, said the 11-member technical committee would discuss the transitional executive authority's powers and composition and its relationship to the present governing structures.

"We have broadly agreed that the top structure (the transitional executive authority) must have some executive powers. It will not be an advisory structure only."

Questioned about reports that government opposed such a structure, he said: "Government did not object and indicated that it was open to suggestions."

Government and NP members are due to hold the first of their four annual retreats at a secret venue from today.

The DP yesterday indicated its support for both the need for government to relinquish some of its power, and the need to ensure legal and constitutional continuity.

DP representative Ken Andrew said in a statement after the meetings that key ob-

☐ To Page 2

## Interim

B1Dcus 8/4/90 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

jectives of transitional councils should be to promote impartial stewardship of key government functions. The bodies should also ensure stability and the continued loyalty of public servants and should build trust between political groups.

It was of the "utmost urgency" that government's representativeness be broadened and the momentum built up at Codesa be sustained to avoid despondency.

While working group 3 took a small step forward yesterday, working group 2 — currently considering the constitution-making forum — faced tough proposals from Inkatha.

Inkatha tabled a document stating that the body responsible for drafting a new constitution could not be determined without first making a choice between federal and unitary systems of government.

Inkatha is seeking to reopen the discussion on federalism in an effort to determine more exactly the implications of such a system, even though the group has already achieved consensus on the issue.

The Inkatha document argues that if a federal system was decided on, then the constitution-making body would consist of representatives from the different states.

Because these representatives could not be elected until after a constitution was in place and for other reasons, Inkatha opposed the creation of an elected constitution-making forum.

Instead, it has proposed that a properly constituted constitutional conference prepare a constitution agreed to by consensus. Alternatively, agreement should be reached on boundaries and constitutional powers of states, and these states should constitute the constitution-making forum.

# MP wants 'Israel' for Afrikaner volk

STAR 9/4/92 (304A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — The MP for Wonderboom, Koos Botha, who was expelled from the CP, said yesterday he wanted an "Israel" for the Afrikaner "volk" in which there would be no racism or apartheid.

Speaking in the debate on the Free State Provincial Budget, for first time from the cross-benches, he said he had had the most positive conversations yet with a wide spectrum of Afrikaner leaders in Bloemfontein over the past few days.

The question dear to everyone was "what is going to happen to our children".

The referendum had shown there were voters who believed in power-sharing, but other peoples' views also had to be respected.

"At the end of time, no one will be able to deny there were Afrikaners," Mr Botha said.

Following him, Piet Steyn (NP Winburg) said Mr Botha's speech had been "deeply thought out".

The NP did not find pleasure in the strife between Afrikaners, but after 10 years the CP was experiencing its moment of truth.

Kobus Beyers (CP Virginia) said the NP was trying to drive a wedge between CP members.

"But there are individual thinkers in the CP. We are busy thrashing out different points of view in depth." — Sapa.



Koos Botha . . . positive conversations with a wide spectrum of Afrikaner leaders.

# Boshoff warns Codesa of possible 'destabilisation'

(2044) ANC 9/4/92

**Political Staff**

PRETORIA. — The Afrikanervryheidstigting (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa's Working Group 2 calling for an independent Afrikaner Volkstaat.

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a Volkstaat was the only way Afrikaners could ensure their survival and pledged to participate in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike previous apartheid policy, Professor Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout South Africa.

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However, he warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause "disruption and destablisation" and this would not be to South Africa's advantage.

# Election run-up: Committee formed

**Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG. — A technical committee has been formed as a way out of the impasse between Codesa participants about which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

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"The momentum built up at Codesa must be sustained in a responsible way if progress is to be made — otherwise despondency, disillusionment and despair will engulf the whole process," he said.

# The prospects for democracy in SA

(3041) CT 9/4/92

By DR DENIS WORRALL

*"IF ROUSSEAU were approached today by some liberal-minded South African and asked for advice of the kind he gave to Poland and Corsica, he would be at a loss where to begin, for he would not be facing one nation trying to modify its institutions, but several peoples, with diverse traditions, each trying to keep or gain its freedom by power."* — Jacques Barzun.

FOR the Democratic Party, the party of liberal democracy, the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was a most exciting development. But our excitement is tempered by the sober realisation that achieving democracy in the South African situation will be difficult. Democracy elsewhere works because of what Tocqueville called the "habits of the heart"; good intentions are not enough.

Codesa, the clearest expression of the process of reform and constitutional negotiations, has three important tasks: first, to agree on the fundamental principles on which the constitution should be based; secondly, to agree on a method of formulating the constitution which ensures maximum popular support; and thirdly, to agree on some neutral supervisory authority during the transitional period when the constitution is negotiated and written.

Regarding the constitutional principles, there is a remarkable degree of consensus between all the major political parties. Thus there is agreement that the constitution should be supreme (rather than parliament as applies in the Westminster system); acceptance of a Bill of Rights, universal franchise (one person, one vote) and proportional representation; and there is also agreement on the need for strong local and regional government and, therefore, for decentralisation.

There is also wide consensus on a transitional authority. It seems likely there will be agreement in the next few weeks that, during the transition period, policy commissions will be appointed to address such areas as education, health and security.

## Redistribution

All major political parties recognise that a constitution alone — however brilliantly formulated — is no guarantee of democracy. A multi-party political system, which assumes a high level of tolerance, is essential.

Equally important to the satisfactory working of a democratic constitution in South Africa will be the economy. And here there is growing consensus between all the major parties concerned (the business community, the government and the extra-parliamentary movement) that growth without redistribution is meaningless; but equally, redistribution without growth is not a sustainable policy. The economy of the future South Africa will therefore be a mixed economy of the social market kind.

There is also growing acceptance among the 19 political organisations at Codesa that the actual formulation of the new constitution should be the task of an elected constitutional assembly. This body would be elected on the basis of proportional representation so as to ensure a composition that reflects all major points of view. The assembly would be elected for a fixed period, and would immediately dissolve once it had fulfilled its task.

Elections of such a body will probably occur towards the middle of 1993, the constitutional assembly is likely to complete its work within a six-month period and a new government will be elected in terms of the new constitution in 1994.

## 'Divided society'

So much for the timescale. To get back to the substantive issues and specifically to the commitment to democracy. While intentions in these matters are one thing, the reality is something else. In a superb essay that speaks to democrats and would-be democrats everywhere, Jacques Barzun reminds us just how demanding democracy can be: "It is easy enough to copy a piece of actual machinery, such as a computer or even a nuclear weapon. It takes only a few bright, well-trained people with a model in front of them. But to copy a government is not something that a whole population can achieve by merely deciding to do it." These are wise words, as the many failed post-World War II experiments in democracy show, so let us look at some of the problems that South Africa faces.

In the first place, South Africa lacks virtually all the proven preconditions for liberal democracy — a high rate of industrialisation, highly developed voluntary organisations, overlapping and cross-cutting social affiliations, widespread literacy, adequate and equitably distributed personal income and, perhaps most important, a widely shared sense of national identity.

Second, South Africa is a "divided society" and, like divided societies elsewhere, poses particular difficulties for democracy. As political scientist Arend Lijphart puts it, "in the extreme cases of plural societies, such as South Africa, the outlook for democracy of any kind is poor". The reasons are not hard to understand. Democracy depends on alternating or shifting majorities, which are the product of individual votes. In divided societies, however, individual political preferences are determined mainly by group affiliation. As a result, majorities do not alternate, the minority tend to become a *permanent* minority, and political competition, far from being the healthy give-and-take of orthodox democracy, leads to frustration, intense conflict, and — at times — violence, repression and the breakdown of democratic order.

A third difficulty for South Africa is the extent of the transformation that we are contemplating and its impact on particular interests.

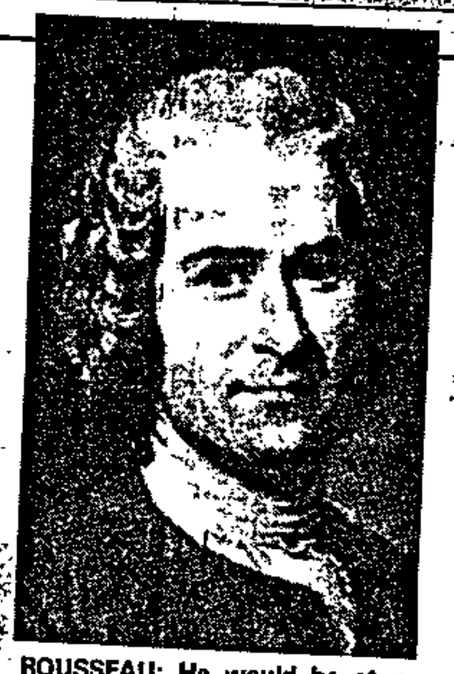
An important feature of the modern political history of South Africa is the rise to ascendancy of Afrikaner nationalism and the imprint it has left on South Africa. Faced not simply with the loss of power but the transformation of South African society, Afrikaner nationalists can be expected to resist.

## Political theory

With the negotiation process barely begun, there is already a tendency towards polarisation, as ordinary South Africans are asked to choose between an Afrikaner (or white) nationalism and the ANC's majoritarian nationalism. Such demands posit a false choice. "The real choice," as South African writers Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer have put it, "is between the accommodation of the main streams in South African political life and unending strife; it is between building a transcendent South African nation and endemic conflict between Afrikaner and African nationalism".

And fourth, South Africans are weak on political theory. The father of American democracy, for example, understood their John Locke and Montesquieu. Even in the course of writing their constitution they actively developed new political theory. By contrast the democratic culture in South Africa is only skin deep. This is where outsiders can have a role in the unfolding South African drama. South Africans themselves will shape their political future but outside private organisations and individuals could contribute to strengthening the country's democratic culture and raising the level of constitutional debate.

Helping South Africans to spell out their options, and enabling ordinary people to overcome their fear and revise their perceptions of self-interest, is fundamental to a peaceful transition to a post-apartheid democratic South Africa.



ROUSSEAU: He would be at a loss to begin if asked for advice for South Africa of the kind he gave Poland and Corsica.



GILIOMEE: "The real choice is between the accommodation of the main streams in South African political life and unending strife."

LETTERS Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

# Has the 'gold bed' syndrome hit SA?

From LADY MARY CLERKE (Silvermine Village):

IT IS heartwarming to know that pragmatism and sheer humanity have at last prevailed through the 'yes' mandate given by an overwhelming majority saying: "We've had independence now. Let's go back to the Smith government when we could live reasonably well and find the foodstuffs we needed in the shops."

This "gold bed" syndrome is one of

# Gender body meets

**JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa's Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) kicked off yesterday under the chairmanship of Mr Zam Titus of the Transkei government.**

**About 20 women and two men gathered for their first meeting to decide on an agenda and who will be official chairperson of the GAC.**

# Meetin of the

ARG (304A) 9/4/92

ABUJA (Nigeria). — The leaders of Africa's giants, South Africa and Nigeria, meet here today after 30 years of hostility to discuss how they can help each other and the continent.

President De Klerk flew in today for talks tomorrow with President Ibrahim Babangida, leader of the oil-rich West African state which has for decades been at the forefront of Africa's anti-apartheid drive and South Africa's isolation.

"I believe that with the influence Nigeria has on the African continent this visit will go down in history as the most important we have undertaken in the post-apartheid era," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a Press briefing last night.

He described the meeting as "momentous" and spoke of the vast trade potential between South Africa and Nigeria. Mr Botha said he would like South Africa to become a member this year of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), of which General Babangida was chairman.

"I don't think there will be any objection (from other African states), particurlarly if Nigeria supports such an application."

He said South Africa was on the way to becoming an OAU member. There would certainly be consensus in a transitional government on this important issue. If he was still foreign minister in such a government he would urgently apply for membership.

He said there was an urgent need in Africa for countries to speak with one voice on matters of common interest.

South Africa and Nigeria had much in common. So with the removal of apartheid, there is now nothing that divides South Africa and Nigeria.

## 'Open doors'

"We must help our continent to survive against tremendous odds," he said.

He believed that President De Klerk's visit would open the doors to South Africa and Nigeria forging a joint strategy to prevent the continent from being marginalised as the rest of the world focussed on its own problems.

Mr Botha said today's visit by Mr De Klerk would possibly accellerate a normalisation of relations between South Africa and other African states.

"We are here to celebrate the death of apartheid and at the same time to plan, together, a new future for the African continent."

● A Pan Africanist Congress delegation, led by deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, is due to leave London for Nigeria today for a meeting with a South African government team led by Mr Botha.

The PAC team left Johannesburg on a British Airways flight for the British capital last night.

Spokesman Mr Barney Desai said the PAC team would catch a flight to Nigeria today for its first official meeting with a South African government team tomorrow or Saturday.

"We'll have a preparatory meeting to set the scene for talks between our president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and Mr De Klerk."

**CLIVE SAWYER, Staff Reporter**

URGENT efforts to raise R1,2 million are ing made by the National Botanical Instit to build an ecological laboratory and libr on the contested Kirstenbosch Heights sit

Developers offered R6 million to the State year to buy the land to build 105 townhouses.

The site, which adjoins Kirstenbosch, has b the focus of concern for years over attempt build houses on it.

Appeals by the institute, backed by a 14 000 nature petition, led the State to offer the lan Kirstenbosch free, on three conditions:

That an architect be commissioned to d plans for laboratories; quantity surveying be d and that the institute prove it has the R3,2 mil needed for the project.

"We have R2 million so far and big compa will not help us. We are appealing urgently to public to provide the remaining R1,2 million," National Botanical Society chairman Mrs Bergh.

If the money is not raised, the State will o the land to developers.

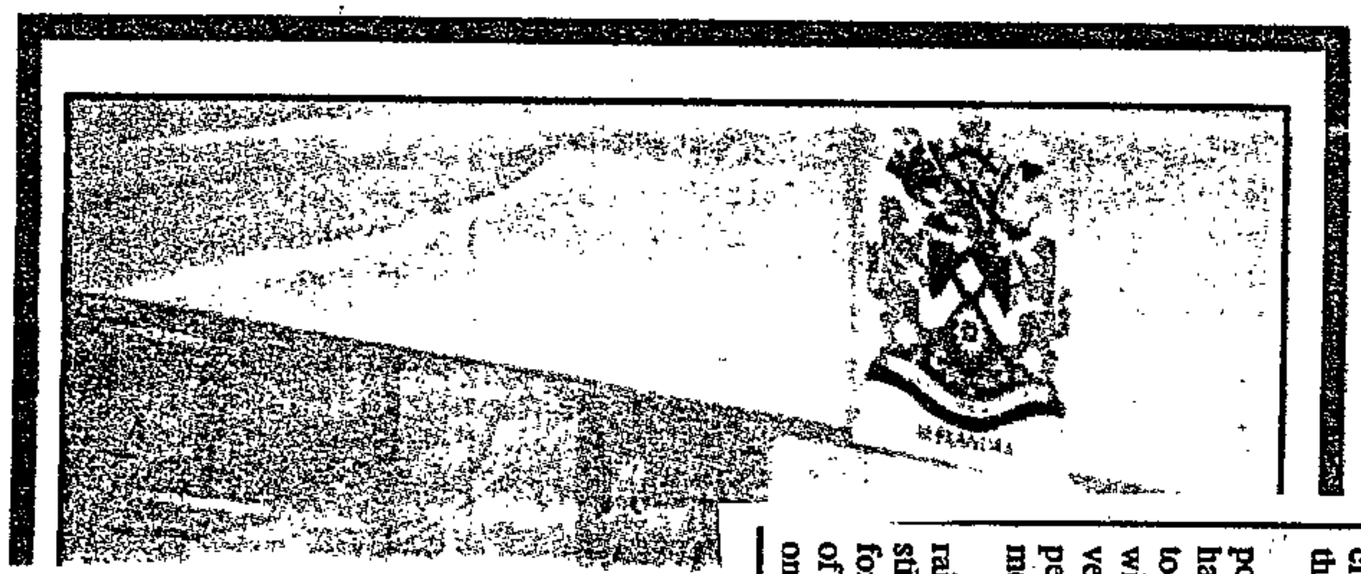
"We have six weeks to get the money or t

## Africanists, Government in first meeting

# HISTORIC PAC INDABA

Sowetan 9/4/92

30419



**A SIX-MAN Pan-Africanist Congress delegation jetted out of Jan Smuts Airport last night for Abuja, Nigeria, where it is to hold bilateral talks with the South African Government.**

The delegation, led by second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, confirmed before its departure that the current chairman of

**Own Correspondent**

the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Ebrahim Babangida, would chair the talks, to be held on Friday.

On Sunday Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said that in the Government's preliminary talks with the Nigerians, the issue of the talks being held under the

To page 2

Sowetan 9/4/92

## Historic talks for PAC

30419

From page 1

chairmanship of the OAU, on a foreign soil, was never raised.

He said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC, foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary".

But the PAC was adamant that the Government had acceded to their demands.

The PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said: "We put conditions and requirements and the Government has acceded to them. The meeting has been set up and will be chaired by the current chairman of the OAU, president Ebrahim Babangida."

Asked if the PAC would consider joining Codesa after the talks, Ebrahim said the PAC wished to make it clear that Codesa was not the issue.

"The PAC is not opposed to negotiations. We have always made it clear to the Government that we will meet them in a neutral venue and that a neutral person should chair the meeting," he said.

The PAC said it would raise the issue of a Constituent Assembly, and call for an early re-convening of a Patriotic United Front on its return from the talks.

# FW: Group in plain protest

THE New Unity Movement has joined the protest against President F W de Klerk's proposed mass rally in Mitchells Plain on Saturday.

Spokesman Dr Norman Maharaj said the people of Mitchells Plain and South Africa had to be reminded the policies of the De Klerk government were responsible for "the socio-economic woes of our people. He must be told to get the hell out of Mitchells Plain." — Sapa

# New group asks for Afrikaner state

Sowetan 9/4/92 (304A)

**THE Afrikanervryheidstigting (Avstig) has submitted a report to Codesa's Working Group 2, calling for an independent Afrikaner Volkstaat.**

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of Avstig, said a Volkstaat was the only way Afrikaners could ensure their survival and would participate in future negotiations at Codesa.

Unlike in previous apartheid policy, Boshoff said Afrikaners would have to come to terms with the fact that their homeland could not be scattered throughout South Africa.

"The creation of a Volkstaat has to come about through negotiation and it has to be economically viable," Boshoff said.

He said the process of "nation-building" in a unitary state was outdated and people had to accept that secession based on ethnicity was "modern and scientific".

He warned Codesa officials not to ignore their recommendations because it would cause "disruption and destabilisation" and this would not be to South Africa's advantage.

However, he said other disadvantaged groups could resort to the same tactics the African National Congress had used in trying to achieve their objectives.

Boshoff said he had spoken by telephone to Mr Koos Botha, rebel MP for Wonderboom, soon to discuss Avstig proposals and would probably meet with Botha soon. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Emergency regulations may usher in interim rule

By IKE MOTSAPI

304A

EMERGENCY regulations may be imposed to ease the establishment of an interim government, it was learnt this week.

A final decision on whether or not to impose these laws would be decided after a four-member task force had tabled its findings to Codesa Working Group 1 on April 21, a source told *Sowetan*.

It is expected that an interim government would be installed by June this year.

"It is premature to say that Codesa will impose those laws or not," the source said.

According to the source, the task force was appointed after objections were raised over the Government's proposals that emergency regulations be imposed during the transition period leading to a new democratic South Africa.

Sowetan 9/4/92

The Government's contention, according to the source, was that violence should be contained during this period, which will lead to the first nonracial elections next year.

Delegates at Codesa Working Group 1 charged with creating a climate for free political activity felt that the decision to impose emergency laws should be taken in consultation with Codesa and the Cabinet and not the State President alone, as mooted by the Government.

Delegates this week expressed concern at the slow progress achieved since Codesa 1 and the Government's unyielding position on its proposals.

However, *Sowetan's* sources said an interim or transitional authority would definitely be installed by June this year.

The breakthrough came on Tuesday when an 11-man technical committee was appointed to draft guidelines to be adopted when a transitional government is eventually formed.

# FW set to meet Pik in Nigeria today

By Staff 9/4/97

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha and a team of senior officials left yesterday for the Nigerian capital of Abuja. (3044)

They will be joined today by President F W de Klerk on the first visit by an SA head of state to the key west African country. De Klerk's visit is considered important in that Nigeria's president, Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, which is expected to discuss SA's membership in June.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said a delegation led by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke and the SA government delegation, probably led by Botha, would hold their first bilateral meeting in Abuja tomorrow or on Saturday.

The aim of the meeting was to lay the ground for a meeting between De Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he said, adding that talks would centre on the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly.

The problem of who would chair the meeting would be decided only in Nigeria, Desai said, but the PAC was insisting on a neutral chair. "The meeting has been brokered by Nigeria, and the matter of who will chair it will now be decided there."

The Transkei region of the ANC has criticised the proposed meeting. Spokesman Nat Serache said yesterday: "It is ironic that the PAC, which is so vocal in denouncing 'collaboration', saw fit to collaborate with the SA President and his hosts in violating the diplomatic isolation of the SA government." — Sapa.

# Into Africa's open arms

STAR 9/4/92 (304A)

**If Abuja beckons, can Cairo and the rest of the continent be far behind? Star Africa Service Editor GERALD L'ANGE reports.**

PRESIDENT de Klerk's visit to Nigeria this week puts an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa, and of the big positive vote in the white referendum. There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it would open consular relations with Pretoria, and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions.

Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Nigeria than it has with any other state on the continent. The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to Mr de Klerk to make an official visit. Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa, itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi, and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

Mr de Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria. There is some uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by Mr de Klerk, but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able, without difficulty, to reject an ANC protest against the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the OAU would have a somewhat academic value — the cherry on the top, so to speak.

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade, and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done.

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time, but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others, and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish.

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take their stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at Mr de Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place. If this is so, South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government. □

# SA for OAU soon — Pik

CT 9/4/92

From BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

ABUJA. — South Africa could become a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) later this year after today's discussion between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr De Klerk is due to arrive this afternoon.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said here last night at a press conference that Mr De Klerk's visit to Nigeria would end the era of separation between Africa and South Africa.

Mr Botha said the result of the March 17 referendum had certainly facilitated Mr De Klerk's visit and had had a major impact "on our African brothers".

He also disclosed that 10 of the 11 governments in Southern Africa had agreed to hold a regional conference to deal with the food crisis caused by the severe drought in the area.

Mr Botha said he could not confirm at this stage that he would be meeting a PAC delegation while in Nigeria, but said that if they happened to be in the country they would meet as South Africans.

## FW asked to say 'I'm sorry'

**Political Staff**

**LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has asked President F W de Klerk to visit his brother's grave in Nigeria and say "I am sorry".**

**Mr Hendrickse says the mixed marriages Act prevented his brother, Professor John Paul Hendrickse, from returning to South Africa.**

# NP's first meeting in black area a test

STAR 10/4/92 (304A)

The National Party's first mass meeting in a black area tomorrow is shaping up to be a huge test of strength.

The ANC and Labour Party have both announced plans to make President de Klerk unwelcome when he visits Mitchell's Plain.

And last night the Mitchell's Plain Merchants' Association was forced to cancel their planned luncheon for the president due to mounting pressure.

NP sources have acknowledged that the rally is something of a gamble. They also feel it could shape the party's future strategy.

A flop in Mitchell's Plain could persuade the NP to re-constitute as a new centrist party.

Opposition to the NP rally is growing and the NP has been angered by a pamphlet being distributed by the ANC this week.

It urges residents not to be fooled by Mr de Klerk's smile, saying he remains leader of the party "which caused misery to millions of South Africans".

It also quotes Marike de Klerk's views on so-called "coloureds", as published by the Vrye Weekblad more than two years ago, and urges residents to join anti-visit protests. — Political Correspondent and Sapa.

# Fears mount over FW's M'Plain visit

(3044) ET 10/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BRONWYN DAVIDS

**BIG businesses in Mitchells Plain were forced yesterday to cancel their planned lunch for President F W de Klerk during his visit to Mitchells Plain Town Centre tomorrow.**

**The visit, during which Mr De Klerk will deliver an address, will still go ahead despite mounting fears of a violent confrontation.**




**IT'S GOOD** . . . Mr Benneth Carster and Mr Edward Arendse believe that President F W De Klerk's visit to Mitchells Plain would be good and act as a uniting force. Picture: BENNY GOOL

A combined picket protest by 21 organisations ranging from religious to political groups was held in the suburb yesterday and ANC spokesman Mr Tony Yengeni said the ANC would hold a "protest motorcade" tomorrow with "peaceful, effective but loud" demonstrations.

The Labour Party and the New Unity Movement have already announced plans to protest at Mr De Klerk's mass rally "amid the victims of apartheid".

It was learned yesterday that a luncheon for Mr De Klerk, sponsored by the Mitchells Plain Merchants Association and to be held at the Mitchells Plain Medical Centre was abandoned after pressure.

This was revealed at an ANC Western Cape press conference in the township.

Mr Dawood Khan, chairman of the 2 000-strong Western Cape Traders Association, told the conference that large national stores had agreed not to send representatives to the lunch.

He said Mr De Klerk was "wooing coloured voters" but people should not forget the "oppression of the same Nationalist government" which removed "us from central areas and dumped us in ghettos like Mitchells Plain".

The visit will take Mr De Klerk to the heart of poverty-stricken Mitchells Plain and he will walk through Harmony Square, the daily gathering point of gangsters and unemployed people.

Yesterday, during the combined picket protest, gangsters mockingly chanted "Viva Cisco Yackies" (a local gang) as anti-FW slogans were being shouted.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC would take responsibility for the discipline of people joining the protest.

He said there were no militant factions in the ANC that would violently disrupt Mr De Klerk's visit but he noted that there were "tendencies in the community that were ultra-militant".

Asked about the gangster elements, Mr Yengeni said the ANC could not take "charge of a rowdy, criminal element".

The ANC condemned the visit as a "piece of shocking opportunism" and said it was "extraordinary that De Klerk should embark on what amounts to a piece of cheap propaganda at a time when there is so much at stake . . . and in a community to whom he and his party have done so much harm".

Mr De Klerk was abusing the office of state president and this was evidence that he intended distorting the democratic process by acting as referee as well as playing in SA's first true elections.

The NP slammed the ANC for issuing a pamphlet which, among other statements, says of Mr De Klerk: "After all the harm he has done, he thinks he can come to MPlain and ask for our support . . . recruit members (for the NP) from among our people . . ."

The pamphlet also quotes from a Vrye Weekblad article in 1989 quoting Mrs Marike de Klerk as saying that coloured people traditionally had no history of nationhood and that their "dilemma", because of their diversity, was that they had no binding force (saambindingskrag).

The NP said: "The ANC has issued a pamphlet with a despicable attack on Mr De Klerk and his family, even to the point of quoting Mrs De Klerk totally out of context."

However, the NP's Cape secretary, Mr Carel Greyling, said yesterday that opposition parties had a democratic right to protest against the visit as long as they did not try to disrupt the rally or interfere with those wishing to attend the event.

The chairman of the Democratic Party's Mitchells Plain branch, Mr Dave Wilson, said it could not back President De Klerk's visit to the area but defended his democratic right to campaign there.

Members of the local DP committee would decide by today whether they would launch any protest action to mark the NP leader's first major foray into a coloured area, he said.

Mr Wilson said Mr De Klerk would be visiting an area where citizens had been denied a full vote by his government.

# Historic visit




**ON THE CARDS** ... A smiling Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour Party leader and possible future Prime Minister of Britain, seen yesterday outside a Welsh polling station as he was about to cast his vote with his wife Glenys in one of the closest elections in a generation: "The sun is out and so are the Tories," he said. **Report — Page 3** Picture: AP

# Red carpet for FW in Nigeria

(304A) CAPETIMES 10/4/92

From BARRY STREEK

**ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigeria rolled out the red carpet for President F W de Klerk on his arrival here last night with a 21-gun salute.**

President De Klerk's visit to the most powerful black African nation — the first by a South African head of state — marks a major breakthrough in his efforts to end Pretoria's political isolation in Africa.

President De Klerk was met by military President Ibrahim Babangida, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

President Babangida greeted the SA leader, who was given a 21-gun salute and who inspected an army honour guard as the two national anthems were played.

The two leaders drove from the airport to Abuja, where President De Klerk will attend a state banquet and have talks with General Babangida.

The visit has gone ahead despite protests from the ANC, who said it was too early to welcome the white-minority government.

At the start of talks yesterday between the two governments, the Nigerian Foreign Minister, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, and his SA counterpart, Mr Pik Botha, made a strong plea for unity in Africa to challenge the industrialised world.

Welcoming the SA delegation, General Nwachukwu said "the Boers" were one of several tribes that made up Africa and a new SA would usher in a stronger Africa.




**OUR MAN** ... Mitchells Plain resident Ms Martha Roberts gives the thumbs up to President F W De Klerk, whose proposed weekend visit has divided the community. The pro-FW faction left this graffitti in Portlands. **Report — Page 2.**

He praised President De Klerk, saying courageous decisions and policies bringing SA to a non-racial society, but Nigeria wanted quicker gress.

Mr Botha said the way was open for Africans to accept the challenge of the dustrialised world.

"Africa was never given the chance deserved. The industrialised world one-sidedly on prices of commodities ported and exported to Africa."

Mr Botha and General Nwachukwu discussed diplomatic ties, creating air and developing trade.

SA government officials were tight-lipped about the negotiations but indications were that the meeting more than was expected.

The meeting lasted for two hours, than expected, indicating that progress being made.

# Nigeria's economy is no good-o

WIMAF 10/4-15/4/92

HOPPING around pools of stagnant water to attend customers at her stall in central Lagos, Morayo Yusuf said that in her 12 years as a market woman she had never seen prices rise so fast.

"The buyers are not coming anymore, the quality of the goods is not good anymore, and the prices keep going up," said Yusuf, who sells plastic jugs, powdered milk and other household provisions at the Sandgross market off Simpson Street. "We are being pushed to the wall, and there is going to be trouble if this continues."

What kind of trouble there could be, Yusuf did not specify, but tension in the markets is rising, as President Ibrahim Babangida's military government continues with its plan to restructure Nigeria's oil-dependent economy.

While the government's structural adjustment programme (Sap) has won acclaim from the International Monetary Fund and Western lenders and should help in negotiations this year to reschedule Nigeria's $30-billion foreign debt, Africa's biggest, it is hated in the urban markets.

*President FW de Klerk flew this week into a country of rocketing prices and rising tensions.*

*By* **KARL MAIER** *in Lagos*

"Nigeria no good-o. Dey wan kill us," Yusuf shouted, as nearby shoppers and merchants nodded in sombre agreement. Several market women said they feared that if violence erupted, it would be worse than in 1989, when students and workers rioted against the Sap measures.

As a market woman, Yusuf, a mother of three, is of a special breed. She is powerfully built with a sharp tongue and opinions to match. Market women are the glue that holds together the economies of Nigeria, Ghana and neighbouring countries, and a government ignores them at its peril.

Nigeria's new inflationary spiral was touched off by the government's decision on March 5 to float the national currency, the naira. In the past month, prices of everything from staples like cassava meal and milk to radios and televisions have risen by between 50 and 80 percent.

To emphasise the point, Rachidat Etti, a six-year veteran of the market, walked around picking up items for sale and gave their price histories. A tin of powdered milk has risen from 290 naira (about R40, the exchange rate is 20 naira to the dollar) to 650 naira (R100), a 50kg bag of rice from 450 to 650 naira, and a small bag of sugar from 4,50 naira to nine naira. A plastic one-litre jerry can cost one naira 10 years ago, today it sells for 20 naira. "They (the government) must do something because there is no one here, there is no market anymore."

The official value of the naira itself has plummeted with the exchange rate moving from 18 naira to the pound to 32 (or 36 at some independent exchange houses). While the government said it was seeking to strengthen its currency by narrowing the gap between official and unofficial exchange rates, the result has clearly been the opposite.

The problem is that there are too many naira in circulation chasing too few pounds and dollars. The government has pledged to cut its massive budget deficits and restrict the money supply to ease pressure on the naira, but Nigerians' thirst for imports and the foreign currency they need to purchase them remains unquenched.

Even Babangida seems confused. "Frankly, I have kept on asking my economists why it is that the economy of the country has not collapsed up-till now. What is it that is keeping it up?" he said in an interview published by the state-owned *Daily Times*. "Surely, it is not our knowledge, it is not our theories, it is not anything that we have read. I still have not found an answer."

Although some Nigerians are hoping that the answer will be found in the transition to civilian rule, after seven years of army rule, scheduled for January next year, Yusuf and other market women are not too sure.

"Politicians? Politicians are all the same, it does not matter if they come from the north or the south," said Romoke Ritan, who has been a market woman for 10 years.

Yusuf said: "If that one (politician) comes we will dance to his tune, and if the other comes, we will dance to his tune. But at home I will vote for nobody."

# FW's coup at meeting of Africa's giants

WIMAF 10/4-15/4/92

By KARL MAIER: Abuja

**TWO African giants set aside decades of hostility to open a new era of regional co-operation yesterday when President FW de Klerk arrived in Nigeria for two days of talks with military leader General Ibrahim Babangida.**

**Nigerian officials said the agenda for the talks would include landing rights for South African Airways, eased travel restrictions, improved communications links and possibly establishment of consular ties. De Klerk arrived in Nigeria just two days after the Ivory Coast announced it was establishing full diplomatic ties with Pretoria.**

**The De Klerk visit, which Nigerian officials refused to confirm until early this week, signals a dramatic turnaround in Nigeria's consistent policy of isolating the white minority government. It also marks De Klerk's biggest diplomatic triumph on the African continent since a visit to Kenya last year and bodes well for his efforts to gain membership in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the African Development Bank.**

**Nigerian officials said the decision to issue an invitation to De Klerk came after the overwhelming yes vote in the all-white referendum on March 17.**

**"We have come to the point where the change is almost irreversible and we must support that change," said Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu. The effective end of Nigerian sanctions against South Africa came last week, when Nwachukwu indicated that legitimate trade between Nigeria and South Africa, the continent's two most powerful economies, could begin.**



**Diplomatic breakthrough ... Foreign Minister Pik Botha meets his Nigerian counterpart, Ike Nwachukwu**

**Nigeria, the continent's most populous country with 88,5-million people, attracts $1-billion a year in foreign investment, mostly in its oil sector, while South Africa is Africa's biggest industrial power. Officials and businessmen are hoping the Babangida-De Klerk meeting will spark economic co-operation. South Africa is particularly interested in Nigerian oil and in the country's potentially huge markets for consumer goods, while Nigeria's flagging economy needs both investment and technology.**

**Announcement of the visit sparked controversy, however, and has strained relations between Nigeria and the African National Congress. George Nene, the ANC representative to Nigeria, said the authorities had not told him of De Klerk's arrival and had not invited him to a briefing on the matter for African diplomats last weekend.**

**"This does not have the blessing of the ANC," he said. "De Klerk will use this visit to bolster his image among whites and among blacks. It is a propaganda victory." That, he added, could help De Klerk take more hard-line positions in the multi-party negotiations within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The ANC has questioned the De Klerk government's commitment to real change and has pointed to growing evidence that South African security forces have abetted the "black on black" violence in the townships.**

**Reggie Kumalo, the Pan Africanist Congress representative, said: "The way we see it is that Babangida will be shaking hands with apartheid when De Klerk comes here." Nevertheless, there were reports that either Foreign Minister Pik Botha or De Klerk himself would use the occasion to hold talks with PAC officials, possibly including PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.**

**Nigerian officials have described yesterday's encounter as part of the Abuja government's efforts to play a role in promoting a settlement in South Africa within the Codesa framework. In a message to the PAC's third national congress in Umtata, Babangida urged the PAC to join Codesa.**

**ANC leader Nelson Mandela visited Nigeria in June last year, and Makwetu came earlier this year. Diplomatic sources said the timing reflected Babangida's eagerness to host De Klerk before his tenure as chairman of the OAU runs out in June.**

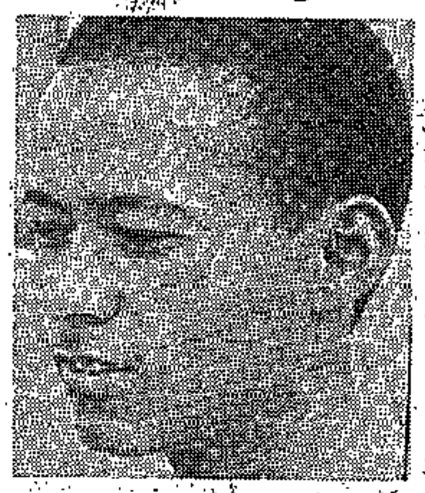
**●PAC in Nigeria: PAGE 17**

# Ja-nee, mixed reactions here

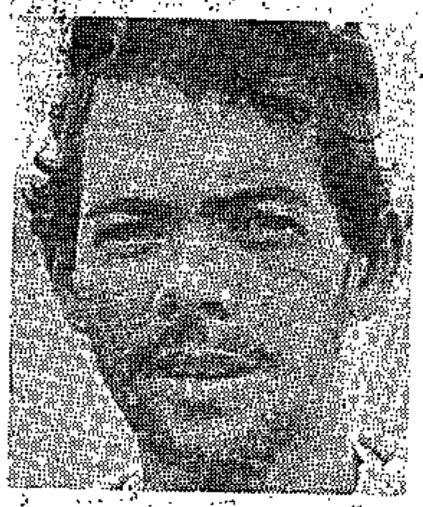
**MITCHELLS Plain residents have mixed reactions to President F W De Klerk's visit to the area tomorrow, a spot survey revealed yesterday.**

**On Westpoort Avenue, which is a main route to the Town Centre where Mr De Klerk will do a walkabout and talk at a rally, most people the Cape Times spoke to supported him.**

**People walking along the busy dual carriageway were indifferent to the graffiti, which ranged from "De Klerk go home", "F W stay out of Mitchells Plain or else" to "F W is our man".**



**'BETTER LIFE' . . .** Malcolm Hollenbach



**'FOR FW' . . .** Ricardo Simons



**'STAY AWAY' . . .** Mariam Hartley

**Mrs Martha Roberts said Mr De Klerk was "not so bad".**

**"Just look at the pretty houses he has given us," she said, pointing to the clusters of tiny homes.**

**Mr De Klerk gave "everybody a better life", said Mr Malcolm Hollenbach.**

**Mr Ricardo Simons opposed VAT because "our people can't afford it" but said since Mr De Klerk had "taken the chair, he has done a lot for us".**

**Mr Christopher Hess said: "We don't want him here. It will have one helluva response as a lot of people will take to him. He will definitely capture the coloured vote."**

**Mr Benneth Carster said the visit was "important and good".**

**"He is the first president to get all the things right — look, the sanctions have gone and the cricketers are touring the West Indies," said Mr Carster.**

**At the Town Centre, Miss Mariam Hartley said: "He must get out. This visit is just a popularity campaign to get support."**

**But she warned that after the "unwelcoming reception" he would get in Mitchells Plain, Mr De Klerk would be too "embarrassed to go any further".**

**Mr Peter Mentoor said the National Party had "oppressed the people for years" and he did not "fancy" Mr De Klerk moving into Mitchells Plain to capture votes.**

**While some comments were derogatory, many people felt the visit was a good thing**

# Carlisle rejects DP merger

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

WYNBERG MP Mr Robin Carlisle will vigorously oppose any move to disband the Democratic Party to form a new centrist party with the Nationalists under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership (304A)

He told a meeting of his Wynberg committee and party members last night that a report suggesting he backed such a plan was erroneous. CT 10/4/92

He knew of no plan to disband the DP and "if there was any such plan I would vigorously oppose it, as would the vast majority of the DP caucus and membership".

Mr Carlise said: "Notwithstanding the immature antics of a few individual caucus members on both the left and the right of the DP, the party will continue with its mission to bring about a representative constitution based on liberal democratic values."

He rejected any merger with the NP or the ANC because:

- The commitment of the ANC and the NP to liberal democratic values was "highly suspect".
- The insistence of the ANC on "unbridled majoritarianism" conflicted with DP principles.
- The devotion of the NP to "the political pork barrel" was unacceptable to the DP.
- The 1991 DP congress unambiguously committed the party to an independent course.

# F W meets 3 new envoys

CT 10/9/92

THREE ambassadors presented their credentials to President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday. (3C47)

They were Japanese ambassador Mr Masatoshi Ohta, Brazilian ambassador Mr Igor Torres-Carilho, and Transkeian ambassador, Mr Christian Magazi. — Sapa

Advertisement

# Codesa comes under focus

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Community Development Foundation is to host a one-day forum on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The seminar, which will take place at the Downtown Holiday Inn on Wednesday, will be addressed by speakers from the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and Democratic Party.

CDF executive director Mr Mbulelo Rakwena said the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress would respond to the speeches.

"The forum will examine Codesa as a means of conflict resolution in South Africa/Azania.

# TPA to lower fees

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration will decrease ambulance fees in the rural areas from next month.

MEC for Health Services Mr Fanie Ferreira said fees would drop by a third in areas like Thabazimbi, Phalaborwa, Evander, Nelspruit, Pietersburg and Christiana.

The decrease follows protests by rural communities.- *Sowetan Reporter.*

# It's a hard sell in Mitchell's Plain

304A
ARG 10/4/92

MY mother used to warn us to be wary of door-to-door salesmen and for years I closed the door on them.

I don't have anything against them; they just bring back memories of quick sales and even quicker repossessions in the townships which mushroomed on the sandy, windswept Cape Flats after the National Party removed thousands of people from District Six.

One remembers their flashy cars, charm and easy smiles and some were very successful. There were others who were dropped off in the townships battling under the weight of suitcases filled with the latest fashions. Sometimes township thugs couldn't resist the temptation and quite often they were relieved of their heavy loads.

One always knew when the sales lads on the beat weren't producing the goods — their bosses joined them in the field.

Which brings us to the visit to Mitchell's Plain tomorrow by National Party leader FW de Klerk, and an earlier one to the Western Cape by his opposite number in the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

The fact that these two have deemed it fit to descend from their dizzy heights on to the Cape Flats, trying to sell their respective policies to coloured voters, means that despite all the rhetoric, their respective organisations are not doing that well, particularly in Mitchell's Plain.

I should know. I live [illegible]

Be that as it may, one would have expected the NP MP for Mitchell's Plain to have appeared on a public platform in his constituency by now.

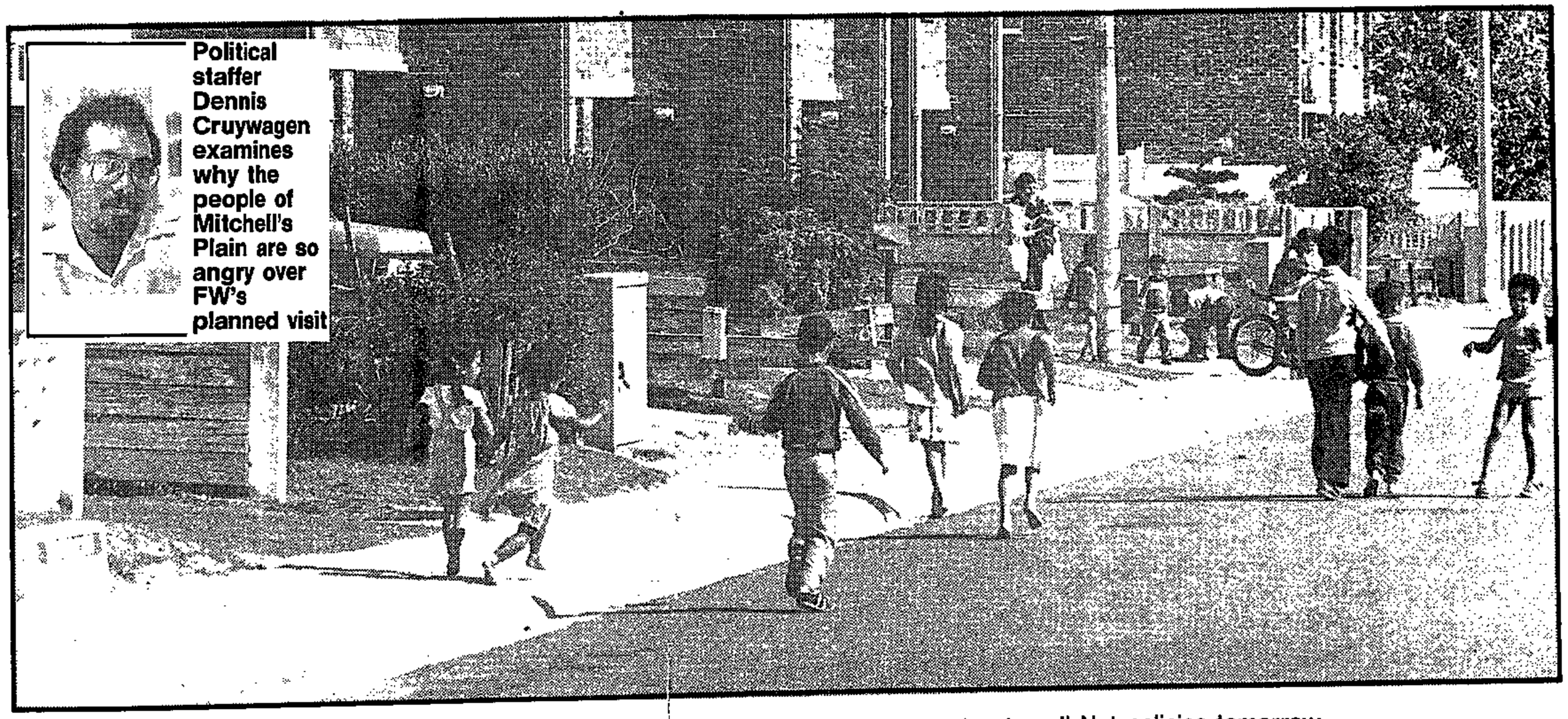
No doubt he'll be at the side of his party leader in Mitchell's Plain tomorrow.

I did not use my second class franchise to vote for him in the tricameral elections. In fact, I've never used my half-baked vote. The only time I'll vote is when I'm given the opportunity, along with many others deprived of the real franchise, to take part in free and fair elections for a government of my choice.

Although I am classified as coloured, it would be better to be black and so have a say in my own racial classification.

So I don't believe I'm part of a minority and I don't need the NP to protect my so-called minority group in the new South Africa.

Funny how the political wheel has [illegible]



**Political staffer Dennis Cruywagen examines why the people of Mitchell's Plain are so angry over FW's planned visit**

**[illegible] OF MITCHELL'S PLAIN:** Where FW de Klerk will try to sell Nat policies tomorrow.

The ANC has been meetings in Mitchell's Plain. The last one, featuring Dr Allan Boesak, didn't even fill the venue. Recruitment, one understands, has not set Mitchell's Plain alight.

It is said some residents are more loyal to the now disbanded United Democratic Front. They said it was their organisation, formed by them. The ANC, it is claimed, was founded by blacks and is dominated by them.

But I'm still waiting for the NP, or those former Labour Party members who have embraced the NP's political philosophies, to have a public meeting in the area.

Perhaps they have been too busy planning the takeover of the House of Representatives from the Labour Party to come to Mitchell's Plain.

the coloureds vote by chairing the senate, then they moved them out of areas such as District Six and Claremont.

Now that the new South Africa is the buzz word the Nats are asking coloureds to join them.

Maybe Mr de Klerk will be prepared to admit that apartheid was wrong after he has seen Mitchell's Plain — warts and all. I would suggest that his hosts take him to poverty-stricken Tafelsig, that they allow the street children who frequent the Town Centre near him, and that they introduce him to one of the hundreds in arrears with their rent, electricity and water, or a magistrate at the local court.

Maybe then he'll realise township on the skids.

Better still, a peak-hour train journey in a third class carriage to Cape Town would expose him to the dangers of rail travel. And at Cape Town station, where Spoornet still exercises its own brand of apartheid, he'd probably be turned away from what used to be the white section of the station if he has a third class ticket.

Perhaps then he'll understand what it's like to be coloured; to be labeled a second class citizen in his land of birth.

Perhaps, too, he'll understand why the National Party would have to admit, just as the ANC has done, that it has to change its composition if it wants to so-called coloureds

Token positions won't be enough. The National Party would have to change from being an Afrikaner party to being a South African party.

It's a tall order. But one necessary for political survival and proof that the NP is changing. Mr Mandela was willing to admit that the ANC had made mistakes and bold enough last year to ask the ANC to elect Dr Allan Boesak as regional ANC head to reflect the population spread in the Western Cape.

That was pragmatism and real political judgment, even if it upset some ANC members.

The Nats can only be taken seriously if they show candour and scrap tokenism. It's up to them.

# Help for the masses

## A POST REFERENDUM WHO'S WHO OF WHO'S HELPING SOUTH AFRICA

by **TOS WENTZEL** and **MICHAEL MORRIS,**
Political Staff

**FOREIGN aid of millions of rands a year — once a vital funds source for many anti-apartheid organisations — is being re-directed in the post-apartheid era into developing skills, extending education and promoting development.**

Most of the aid is directed at disadvantaged sections of the population.

Western diplomats stress the importance of training South Africans — particularly blacks — for the role they will have to play in the "new" South Africa, both in government and the private sector.

Foreign aid is channelled into South Africa through embassies, churches and other non-governmental organisations. None is channelled through the South African government.

Most of the aid millions are given for expressly non-political purposes, but some countries have given direct aid to organisations such as the ANC.

In some cases, countries opposed to direct political aid have been giving help to political exiles returning to South Africa.

The following survey of aid gives an idea of who it comes from and how it is spent.

### ARGENTINA

No aid.

### AUSTRALIA

Aid is directed through Australia's Special Assistance Program for South Africans launched in 1986 in large measure to give substance to Australia's condemnation of apartheid. The programme was reviewed in mid-1990 to "give it a more developmental orientation". Aid — this has amnounted to approximately R36 million a year

mental organisations and educational institutions.

The main focus of the programme is education with around 1 200 black South Africans a year receiving bursaries under various schemes operated by the British government.

These include support for teacher training and curriculum development projects in English, mathematics and mother tongue literacy,

There is also support programmes in the health sector including more than R5 million to the Alexandra health centre in over the past four years urban

There are urban development schemes including R2,5 million to the Urban Foundation's home loan guarantee company and rural development and public administration schemes. Activities in all these areas are to be expanded.

In addition assistance is provided to about 300 community-based development schemes including help for schools, community centres, small businss training and career centres.

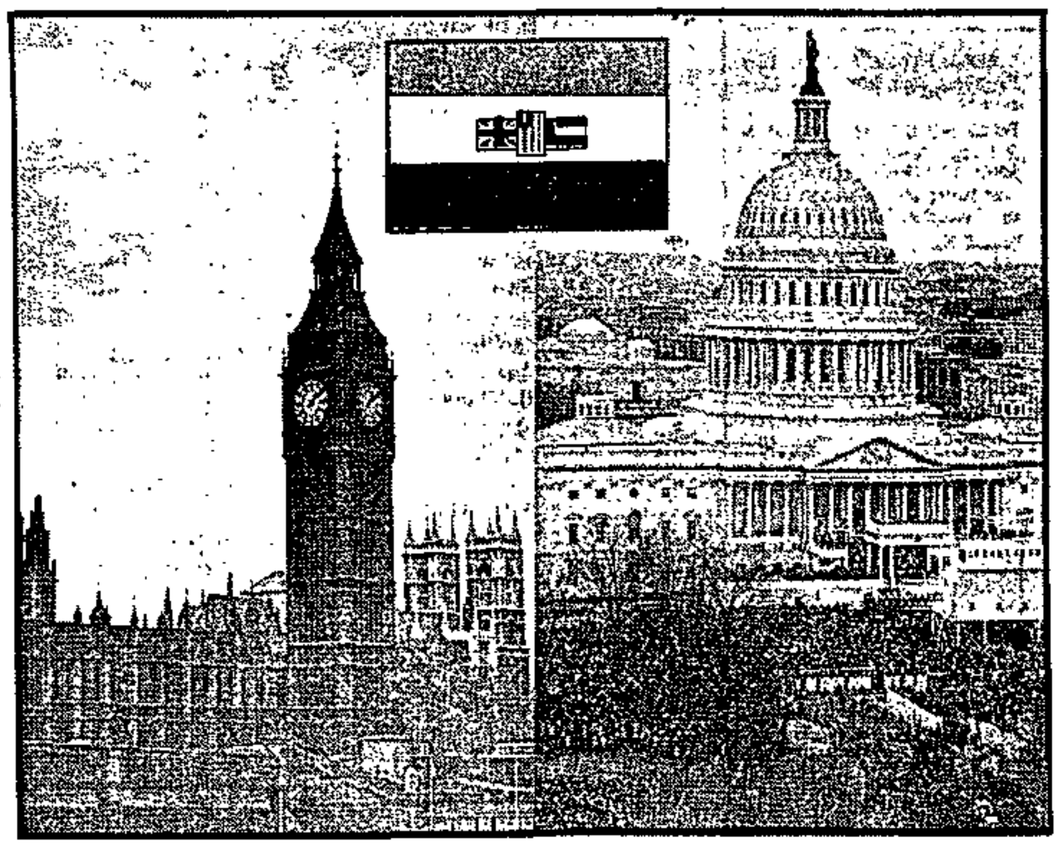
There is also a programme to help with the reintegration into South African society of recently returned political exiles.

### CANADA

Canada's aid disbursements to South Africa through all channels amount to more than R37 million in the 1991-92 financial year. This is handled by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

The Canadian attitude is that support is needed in areas where an effective contribution can be made to a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racist society rather than traditional development aid.

For several years assistance has been channelled through multilateral agencies [illegible] and South Afr-



**BRITAIN and America — chanelling aid to the people.**

### EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC)

All member States of the EEC contribute to a "positive measures" fund for South African aid totalling about R300-million this year. The sum has doubled in the past two years.

Most of the money is for education, training and primary health care and, to a smaller extent, rural agricultural projects.

### FINLAND

Nearly R40 million a year has been allocated to humanitarian and ecudational causes. The money is channelled through United Nations agencies and Finnish non-governmental organisations.

UN agencies, including those dealing with refugees, have received some R11,5 million.

Universities, human rights organisations, Cosatu and the SA Council of Churches have over R9-million for 1992.

Of this, R2-million is for scholarships for under-privileged children, R500 000 for programmes to upgrade black students entering tertiary level education, R2-million to support the teaching of French and R1,5-million for training programmes in medicine, science and trade.

A further R3-million is for specific development projects. There are about 50 in all, each receiving varying levels of support. Projects include provision of legal assistance to the under-privileged, helping the "doctors of the world" scheme in the townships, and a study on low-cost housing.

### GERMANY

Over and above its contribution to the EEC fund, Germany has a R10-million assistance programme for southern Africa — most of which is spent, on educational aid, in South Africa.

A further R35-million — channelled through church organisations in Germany and

It was aimed at education, trade unions, community development and the maintenance of human rights, including the promotion of dialogue.

The aim of the assistance is to bring about peaceful change in South Africa and to counter the effects of apartheid.

### HUNGARY

No aid.

### ITALY

About R1,5-million is being spent on 200 university bursaries in South Africa this year. In addition, it funds 10 bursaries for South Africans at Italian universities.

Italy is also funding a health training project in Natal, run by three Italian doctors (R2-million); providing computer training for trade unionists, and, in a separate project, the Matla Trust; building a centre for returning exiles in Soweto (about R10-million); and setting up an electro-technical training scheme.

Italy also contributes to the

has been allocated for the year ending March 31.

This has gone largely to the Kagiso Trust, a foreign-funded body formed to aid victims of apartheid and to United Nations educational and training programmes.

A sum of R4,3 million was specifically allocated to various educational and medical projects all over South Africa and to so-called "grassroots" projects.

A sum of R600 000 has also been set aside for what is known as a small scale grant scheme for educational equipment and training projects.

A small number of South Africans are invited to Japan for training in agricultural, industrial and construction techniques nd in small business development.

Japan is considering greatly increasing its assistance programme in the next financial year.

### LUXEMBOURG

No aid.

### MOZAMBIQUE

No aid.

### NORWAY

Norway has through the years given considerable aid to liberation movements and victims of apartheid but the Norwegian embassy declined to give exact details of this.

### PARAGUAY

No aid.

### POLAND

No general aid, but scholarships to universities are available on a case-by-case basis.

### PORTUGAL

Over and above its contribution to the EEC "positive measures", Portugal has what it describes as a "symbolic" bilateral aid package totalling about R100 000 largely for humanitarian assistance, such as hunger relief and small-scale education-linked initiatives.

### RUMANIA

Two scholarships are available for study at Rumanian universities.

### RUSSIA (CIS)

No aid at present but cultural

jointly by Seifsa and the trade unions, and business courses to teach people from the informal sector how to set-up businesses.

### SWEDEN

Humanitarian aid in various areas and direct aid to the ANC by Sweden will amount to some R155 million in the year up to June. A lot of this aid is not utilised inside South Africa but goes to support refugees in various countries. Much of this may be reallocated for use inside the country in future.

The UN High Commission for Refugees has received grants and there has also been assistance from the Swedish trade unions to bodies such as Cosatu and Nactu. Swedish churches support community projects and other non-governmental organisations support health clinics and cultural and women's organisations and educational projects.

### SWITZERLAND

Swiss aid amounts to about R10-million a year and focuses on promoting human rights and political dialogue, education, communication and culture and helping to meet the needs of returning exiles.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

US aid to South Africa is the largest non-food US Agency for International Development (USAID) programme in sub-Saharan Africa — expected to total about R232-million this year: this make the US the largest single donor country working in South Africa.

Aid levels have expanded dramatically over the past five years, and include a recently announced R87-million housing and urban development project.

US aid has two principal objectives: to support the dismantling of apartheid and to help South Africa's black population prepare for the leadership role in a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa.

However, in keeping with political developments in South Africa itself, the emphasis of aid has shifted to

...as reviewed in mid-1990 to give it a more developmental orientation". Aid — this year totalling about R15-million — now focuses on education and training, health, informal business, enhancement of women in development, and the economic and social development of the underprivileged.

A large portion of the funds go towards bursaries and scholarships. In the development sphere, there has been a shift towards larger projects capable of becoming self-sustaining and of being replicated at community level.

Some of the money — up to R20 000 a project — is distributed through a Direct Aid Program, largely aimed at small-scale projects.

### AUSTRIA

Austrian aid programmes concentrate on the re-integration of refugees, educational upliftment and self-employed economic activities or informal business. The aim is the support of socio-economic changes to secure the success of political transition.

Austria has granted R3,89 million for refugees for subsistence and accommodation grants, education assistance and job creation grants.

There is also a R987 000 grant for a Catholic education aid programme, R185 000 for a "promotion Matric" fund, R395 000 for Lawyers for Human Rights, R740 000 for the SA Institute of Race Relations, R241 000 for the Get Ahead Foundation and R246 000 for the Kagiso Trust.

### BELGIUM

Belgium gives substantial amounts for foreign aid to the European Commission but no breakdown is available of the amount that may be allocated to South Africa.

Money is also given through non-governmental agencies and bodies such as the SA Council of Catholic Bishops and the SA Council of Churches. Much of this goes to education schemes. A spokesman of the Belgian embassy said that global sums were given to these agencies for aid in various parts of the world and a breakdown specifically for South Afruica was not available.

### BRAZIL

No aid.

### BRITAIN

British aid to South Africa amounted to around R50 million in the 1991-92 financial year and is set to continue to rise.

There is no SA government involvement in the British aid programme — all the aid is granted through non-governmental organisations.

For several years assistance has been channelled through multilateral agencies and Canadian and South African non-governmental organisations. None of the monies provided through CIDA are received by the South African government or liberation movements.

An education programme provides for internal scholarships, labour education and education and training schemes in Canada.

There is also a fund for local initiatives with the emphasis on community development and self-help projects organised and implemented by South African communities anbd organisations.

Special programmes provide support for disadvantaged groups and include support for projects in education, community development, small-scale agriculture, water and health care.

A business co-operation scheme make South African business consultants available to assist black entrepeneurs in improving various aspects of their business operations.

### CHILE

No aid.

### REPUBLIC OF CHINA (TAIWAN)

The Republic of China uses the term "technical co-operation" for assistance it gives in South Africa.

Various training courses have been made available to South Africans, covering agriculture, land management, textiles and fishing. Agricultural experts from China have also been used in some of the black areas.

As the costs of these training schemes are spread through the budgets of various government departments and the private sector no details are available of the amounts involved.

A low-interest loan of approximately R100 million has been granted to the Industrial Develpment Corporation and another R100 low-interest loan is being granted to the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Some 10 scholarships at Czechoslovakian universities or technical colleges are to be made available to South Africans. Details are still being worked out.

### DENMARK

Denmark has for more than 25 years granted humanitarian and educational assistance to victims of apartheid through Danish and international private organisations.

In the past three years the annual Danish grant for this million.

Universities, human rights organisations, Cosatu and the SA Council of Churches have received grants.

Finland has given humanitarian aid to the ANC including aid to refugees and educational and vocational schemes in Tanzania and Zambia. There has also been direct aid to the ANC including the cost of the movement's office in Helsinki. An amount of several million rand has also gone to the UN High Commission of Refugees.

### FRANCE

Aid for educational and social programmes amounts to just

A further R35-million — channelled through church organisations in Germany and South Africa — is for wide-ranging developmental programmes.

### GREECE

A number of university or technical college scholarships, mainly for blacks, are available.

### GUATEMALA

No aid.

### HOLLAND

Dutch aid, channelled through non-governmental organisations in South Africa and in Holland, totalled nearly R24 million in the past year.

R...-million); and setting up an electro-technical training scheme.

Italy also contributes to the EEC fund.

### ISRAEL

Education and training covering a wide field — including agriculture, pre-primary education, computer technology and nursing — are the chief elements of Israel's aid to South Africa.

The embassy is presently selecting candidates for the 1992 courses.

No financial breakdown of aid is available.

### JAPAN

Aid amounting to R46 million

able for study at Rumanian universities.

### RUSSIA (CIS)

No aid at present but cultural exchanges could be worked out to have South Africans study in Russia as some did in the days of the Soviet Union.

### SPAIN

Apart from its contribution to EEC aid, Spanish aid totalling about R750 000 is channelled mostly into education and training. In addition to a bursary programme, it helps fund Promat (a project aimed at helping untrained black teachers to get their matric), courses for supervisors run

However, in keeping with political developments in South Africa itself, the emphasis of aid has shifted to development, education and "private sector mobilisation" in areas such as housing.

USAID does not implement projects itself, but sets programme goals which are then carried out through agreements negotiated with individual South African non-governmental organisations. Several hundred agreements are signed each year.

### URUGUAY

No aid.

### ZAMBIA

No aid.

# Pik pleads for 'world-beating' African unity

BIDay 10/4/92

BARRY STREEK

ABUJA — A strong plea for unity in Africa to enable it to take on the industrialised world was made yesterday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwe.

Unity would result in a stronger SA, Nwachukwe said at the start of talks between the two governments.

People in Nigeria and Africa were pleased with the progress being made at Codesa and would like to see further progress so that everyone could feel happy and welcome in one African family.

"In our view the Boers are one of the several tribes that make up Africa," Nwachukwe added.

Botha said the visit to Nigeria was the most important trip he had undertaken.

"This is a historical fact of Africa — that SA and Nigeria are the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa — and now that apartheid is dead we can meet each other as fellow Africans."

The visit to Nigeria by President F W de Klerk was a landmark one for both countries. It was a symbol of Nigerian support of the new SA and a signal to the rest of Africa that it accepted that apartheid really was dead, he said.

Botha said there were now no differences of principle between his government and party and the government of Nigeria. "We now feel free and liberated, free to share with our brothers in Africa who believe in the same principles."

While the two men did not go into any details about their agenda before the start of their meeting, the warmth in their opening comments indicated that the talks between De Klerk and President Ibrahim Babangida were likely to result in much closer ties between the two countries. This is expected to be the case in regard to trade and diplomatic relations, as well as to visa requirements.

# Violence: Codesa to intervene

Sowetan 10/4/92

304

By MOKGADI PELA

AFTER six months of working to end violence countrywide, the National Peace Accord admitted to Codesa that violence continues unabated.

Now Codesa, whose other task is to generate conditions conducive to democracy, is to step in to try to stem the tide and save the ailing Accord.

Sources within Codesa said one of the key figures in the peace secretariat, Mr John Hall, made this admission when he briefed them on the accord.

But they said Hall viewed the accord as an inherently sound document.

One source said: "There is an understanding that violence is not abating and that it is necessary to think of ways of giving the accord more teeth."

Among problems the peace secretariat encountered are lack of staff and finance.

The death toll from the violence, particularly in Reef townships, is a source of deep concern among Codesa participants.

Codesa's Working Group 1 is now to investigate ways to improve the situation.

# Nigerian visit puts seal on SA's return

Sowetan 10/4/92

FOCUS

**Sowetan Africa News Service**

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria yesterday put an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.**

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum. There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions. Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa's largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent. The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk to make an official visit.

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

De Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria. There is some uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak.

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation.

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish. The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa.

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at De Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place.

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government.



**BREAKTHROUGH: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha (left) and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwu meet at Abuja international airport, Nigeria.**

# Red carpet for De Klerk

FW DE KLERK

Sowetan 10/4/92

304A

**ABUJA (Nigeria) - President FW de Klerk was given a 21-gun salute and a red carpet welcome soon after his arrival at the Nigerian capital yesterday.**

De Klerk and his Nigerian counterpart, Mr Ibrahim Babangida, who is also current chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, then held talks at the State House to craft the beginning of co-operation between South Africa and Nigeria.

**Sowetan Correspondent**

On Wednesday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was given a warm welcome by Nigerian officials on his arrival before he held talks with Nigerian Foreign Minister, Mr Ike

To page 2

## Warm welcome

From page 1

Nwachukwu.

De Klerk's welcome at Abuja's airport, in blazing equatorial heat and humidity, had all the trappings of a full state visit.

He and Babangida inspected the presidential guard and shook hands with a welcoming line of Nigerian ministers and top officials in their colourful, traditional garb.

Mrs Marike de Klerk received a bouquet as she stepped off the presidential jet, including "Afrikaner" blooms. 10/4/92

Babangida then accompanied De Klerk in a presidential motorcade to the capital.

Their arrival at De Klerk's five-star hotel was delayed as the cavalcade swept around Abuja.

### Doubt

The lengthy wait sparked speculation that the two presidents may have engaged been in serious private talks in their limousine, while Mrs De Klerk and Mrs Maryam Babangida rode in a tailing vehicle.

South African officials said the wording of the formal invitations for last night's state banquet put the status of the visit beyond any doubt - it was a state affair which, in diplomatic parlance, meant the highest status one leader could give another.

On Wednesday, Nwachukwu told Botha: "In our view, the Boers are one of the several tribes who make Africa. Now we believe that a new South Africa will strengthen Africa."

Botha, referring to the result of the March 17 referendum, said "the whites of South Africa have given to you a signal that apartheid is dead". - *Sapa-AFP.*

# Two steps back means progress

w/mail 10/4-15/4/92

By PAUL STOBER

NEGOTIATIONS for transitional arrangements are back to where they started a month ago, but don't breathe the word "deadlock" around the delegates.

Working group three of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), on transitional arrangements, completed another round of talks on Tuesday. It announced that delegates had agreed on the need for a transitional executive and multi-party committees to govern the country in the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly/interim legislature. An 11-member technical committee was established to work out the details of the functions and powers of these committees.

It all sounded like progress, but the announcement mirrors one reached a month ago, when the parties said they had agreed to the formation of a transitional executive to be established by procedures agreed to by Codesa.

The two steps back were taken when the government returned to Codesa after the referendum and proposed preparatory councils to advise it during the run-up to elections.

The African National Congress, and most other parties in the working group, rejected the proposal, as the government would still be in control of state structures during elections for the constituent assembly. They insisted the transitional councils be given executive power.

The government rejected this, saying the country would then be run by two governments.

According to the National Party delegate to the working group, Minister of Economic Co-ordination Dawie de Villiers, an interim government could only be established after elections if it was to be "legal and constitutional".

Although no progress was made in the working group this week, delegates refused to describe the situation as deadlocked.

"Proposals are under discussion at the moment," said South African Communist Party delegate Jeremy Cronin, "and there are mechanisms in place to prevent a deadlock."

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew was confident the new agreement was a sign of progress: "The advance lies in the improved level of understanding in the working group. Delegates were saying 'that's not what we meant' when they were challenged. The technical people will sort out these nitty-grittys and we can then apply our minds to the proposals."

The details are important in a working group which has to decide which bodies will pass legislation and control the security forces and the SABC during the transition period.

While the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk have accepted they have to give up, or at least share, political power, they are now being faced with the reality of surrendering control of state structures.

But the government is hesitating because it is not sure on who it is going to bestow its power. "When it will relinquish power and under what conditions are very important to the government," said a Codesa observer. "This is why constitutionality is central to its thinking."

On the other hand, despite the ANC leadership denying it has made any substantial compromises, the organisation still has to contend with those in its ranks — and on its left — who believe it has made too many compromises and not enough gains.

The creation of a transitional executive, which will dislodge the government's control of state power, would be seen to be a major advance for the ANC.

The start of preparations for elections for a constituent assembly would force those on the left to come into the negotiations process or risk being sidelined.

How much progress the technical committee can make before it has to report back to the working group on April 21 is open to question.

While most delegates to the working group seem confident it was accepted that this transitional executive would have executive powers, government representatives were still not prepared to commit themselves.

Chairman of the technical committee, Patrick Maduna, of the Inyandza National Movement, said: "It will certainly have powers over and above advisory functions. The government did not object and indicated it is open to suggestions."

BOOKS

# Instant capitalism — just add water?

wlmail 10/4-15/4/92 (304A) (349)

THIS vigorous polemic sweeps across a range of issues that confront a South Africa in transition: the policy-makers no more than the ordinary people of the subtle. In a style that is eminently readable — indeed, racy — Don Caldwell preaches the gospel of the free market, taking spirited swipes at many ideas embraced by the "hard left", by which he usually means the African National Congress and its allies.

"*No More Martyrs Now*," he says in his introduction, "is written from an unashamedly liberal-democratic perspective. It's in favour of capitalism and sceptical of politicians!"

He enters the argument via a description of the way Romania's despot Nicolae Ceausescu tried to destroy civil society, bringing all areas of private pursuit under the control of the state. To this kind of social engineering, which he properly deplores, Caldwell links apartheid as well as the ANC's mobilisation of civic organisations — bypassing the fact that civil society in South Africa was politicised by repression.

This will later feed into his accusations of ANC authoritarianism, supported by yet another recitation of the "pervasive influence"/"hidden agenda" case against the South African Communist Party. South Africa, he hints heavily, will become another Romania if there is an ANC government.

The nub of Caldwell's argument is that apartheid *was* socialism. "Everything about apartheid smacked of socialism — from the spirit behind it to the laws passed to carry it out." Apartheid, as we all can see, has failed. Why, then, should we pay any heed to the socialists, who are actually contradicting themselves?

"Apartheid's bankrupt economic policies led to a litany of disasters, from uncompetitive industry to a gravy train for bureaucrats," Caldwell states. "But the ANC doesn't promise to get rid of these policies. Rather, it looks to them for inspiration."

Apartheid was certainly indebted to socialist ideas (ironically, brought on board by Nazi-sympathisers — and remember the workers who united for a white South Africa in 1922). But it was in alliance with big business and on the foundation of colonialism (something Caldwell ignores completely) that it achieved almost complete hegemony. The construct of race turned all whites into an ersatz bourgeoisie and relegated all blacks to the working class.

In fact, one might repudiate Caldwell's simplistic claim in something like his own language: socialism is intended to benefit the working class; apartheid didn't benefit the working class, so it wasn't socialism.

But despite some faulty premisses, Caldwell's lively arguments often have reason in them.

His *bête noire* is the meddling state that fetters capitalist growth. Taxes are a particularly wicked manifestation of the state's greed, though they are sometimes disguised as social upliftment.

He attacks the notion of strong central planning with all the wit at his command and very convincingly advocates the devolution of power to regions. In many ways, this mirrors what some people on the left mean by "grassroots democracy", as opposed to statism.

The idea of the recall is also pleasing. Politicians should be made to be as accountable as possible, and the fear of being booted out of office could help to keep them from acting against the interests of their constituents — or from putting their hands in the till.

One must also agree with his insistence that free speech be really free — that there be no censorship of any kind. The principle of tolerance in a post-apartheid South Africa must be large and strong enough not to have to try and gag even the frothing rightists. It would saddening to see an ANC government "preserving racial harmony" by silencing, say, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. (Or getting all Calvinist over sex.)

He is right, too, when he says that "group rights" are meaningless in the context of a liberal-democratic Bill of Rights. He argues lucidly: "Take the so-called group right to language or culture. In fact, this is just an individual right exercised by more than one individual at the same time."

Caldwell is extravagantly scathing when it comes to affirmative action: "But whether it's called preferential policies or compensatory preferences or positive discrimination or reverse discrimination or just plain discrimination, affirmative action — in practice — boils down to government-mandated preferences for government-defined groups."

Going on to look in some depth at the ANC's concepts of human rights, as articulated in Albie Sachs' book *Protecting Human Rights in a New South Africa*, the ANC's constitutional guidelines and draft Bill of Rights, Caldwell is passionate. Most of the rights demanded, he asserts, are really wishes — and, besides, who is going to pay for it all? The ordinary person would have to foot the bill, through taxes, and that will not help lift anyone from poverty.

There is an amount of cautionary wisdom in this, but one is let down when it comes to Caldwell's solution. It is a kind of happy-clappy capitalism, the belief in a magic freedom that will automatically provide rights and a modicum of wealth to all. In the style of Cold War rhetoric, democracy and capitalism are regarded as inseparable, perhaps synonymous. But Caldwell nowhere explains exactly what his free market entails — or whether monopolies and major industries will be severely restricted in their power to control the lives of workers as mercilessly as any state.

One may disagree with Caldwell, and laugh at some of his grandiloquence, but the debate should be as vigorous and accessible as *No More Martyrs Now*.

**Shaun de Waal**

**NO MORE MARTYRS NOW: CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND ORDINARY PEOPLE**
*by Don Caldwell* (Conrad Business Books, R40)

# 'Left over' remark back to haunt FW

W1May 10/4-15/4/92

(304A)

By GAYE DAVIS: **Cape Town**

MARIEKE DE KERK'S importunate description of coloured people as those "left over" after other nations "got sorted out" came back to haunt the National Party this week on the eve of President FW de Klerk's first foray into a coloured area.

She made the remarks in 1989, unaware they would appear in the *Vrye Weekblad* — or be reproduced in thousands of pamphlets distributed by the African National Congress to mobilise protestors against De Klerk's rally in Mitchell's Plain tomorrow.

A caricature of De Klerk, cigarette in mouth and feet on desk, with a thought bubble containing the words "It's just that I don't like the name Erica", also appears on the pamphlet, in a reference to the break-up of his son Willem's relationship with Erica Adams, daughter of a Labour Party politician.

Apart from Marieke de Klerk's assertions that coloured people were a "negative group" — an individual being not black, not white, nor Indian, but a "non-person" — the pamphlet carries reminders that the NP was responsible for the forced removals which gave rise to Mitchell's Plain being built in the first place.

De Klerk's rally in the dormitory suburb of an estimated 500 000 will feature all the hoopla of an American campaign trail, with drum majorettes, a motor cavalcade, marshalls in FW T-shirts, lapel buttons, bands and balloons. It is due to start at Westridge Civic Centre at 11am, and marks the first of a series of excursions the NP plans to make into black, coloured and Indian areas in a bid to broaden its support base ahead of a general election.

"During the referendum the state president reached out to the white voters in South Africa. Now he wants to reach out to the rest of South Africa, starting with Mitchell's Plain," said NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe.

Since LP members started defecting to the NP, a number of NP branches have been established in Mitchell's Plain in recent months.

The ANC has so far been unable to muster substantial support for itself in coloured areas. In response to De Klerk's meet-the-people campaign, the ANC has organised protests which began with a picket yesterday.

# Investigator not identified

B1pay 10/4/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

POLICE have refused to name the senior officer appointed to conduct the new investigation into the 1989 murder of Soweto physician Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

The investigation was launched after allegations linking Winnie Mandela to the slaying were published this week.

Lt-Col Johan Mostert said yesterday the investigating officer would not be identified to prevent the media from pestering him and hampering the investigation.

The police said all media inquiries about the matter would be handled by police headquarters in Pretoria.

In 1989 Thulane Dlamini and Cyril Mbatha were sentenced to death for murdering Asvat during a robbery.

But there were allegations this week in the US newspaper, The Christian Science Monitor, that the state was in possession of a statement claiming Mandela had offered to pay R20 000 to one of the murderers after the doctor's death.

Mostert said the new investigation would involve studying statements made by the two murderers.

But it was not known at this stage if personal interviews with them would be conducted.

Both men were currently being held in Pretoria Central Prison, said Mostert.

Statements about the events would also be obtained from others, Mostert said. On completion, the docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision.

# Key witness in Mandela trial returns to SA

B1pay 10/4/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

A KEY State witness in the 1991 Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial, Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who was "kidnapped" the day before he was to testify, is back in SA.

Mekgwe was allegedly abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church manse in February last year, resulting in the postponement of the trial and the initial refusal to testify of two other key witnesses, Kenneth Kgase and Thabiso Mono.

Police sources confirmed Mekgwe was in the country, but said they were not investigating the matter because Mekgwe had not laid a charge of kidnapping.

At the time of the alleged kidnapping, media reports claimed Mekgwe was abducted by ANC members.

He was allegedly later traced to an ANC "safe house" in Harare but was moved to Zambia after SA asked for his repatriation.

# New Cape MEC sparks outcry

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Newly appointed Cape MEC Peter Marais was in hot water yesterday over his assertion that it would be unfair for squatters to enjoy the same voting rights as ratepayers. B1pay

Marais, a former Nationalist member of the President's Council, was promoted two weeks ago to MEC for Works, Transport and Traffic Control after President F W de Klerk fired Labour Party members from the provincial executive. 10/4/92

Marais' first major speech in his new post caused an outcry among opposition MPs and embarrassment among his Nationalist colleagues this week. Speaking during the Cape provincial debate, Marais said he could not support a one man, one vote system in which illegal squatters enjoyed the same voting rights in an election for a future city council "as homeowners with properties worth R200 000 or more".

He asked whether fellow MPs would be satisfied with a situation where "those that live in motor car wrecks on an open piece of land got control of the city council because they are in the majority" and could then prescribe how much tax should be paid and how it should be spent.

DP spokesman for provincial affairs Jan van Eck said yesterday that Marais should be made to retract his "insulting" statements about squatters, or be fired.

"We cannot have a person with such a hostile attitude towards a large percentage of people in the Cape in such a position of responsibility. It will undermine all faith among squatters towards the Cape Provincial Administration."

# Diepsloot residents call for officials' resignation

B10ay 10/4/92

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Diepsloot Residents Association has requested President F W de Klerk to demand the immediate resignation of two TPA senior officials "as they are obviously unable to fulfill the functions of their positions".

TPA deputy director-general of community development Len Dekker accused smallholders in the northwestern PWV earlier this week of using environmental arguments to hide their racism.

Diepsloot and Cosmo City were recommended by the TPA task group as potential sites for the relocation of the controversial Zevenfontein squatters.

Association chairman Stuart Aitchison said residents were angered by the TPA officials' "emotional outbursts".

Dekker accused residents of resorting to "green" issues to disguise their racism and MEC John Mavuso described them as bigots.

The Diepsloot Residents' Association has demanded a public apology from Dekker and Mavuso.

"It is obvious that the TPA is having to use this sort of bluster and lies, and is having to fall back on the old cry of racism in order to cover their own bungling ineptitude," he said.

Aitchison stressed that any attempt to move squatters into Diepsloot and the surrounding areas could lead to civil riots.

People in the area were "not prepared to sit idly by and watch their livelihood and life investments being sacrificed on the altar of the TPA's ineptitude and authoritarianism".

He said Diepsloot was one of the first areas to request full free settlement development for an entire area in 1989.

He accused the TPA of giving no consideration to the existing character and development of the immediate surrounding stands.

Dekker said the TPA expected to meet opposition from local residents wherever they decided to resettle the squatters.

But they had to be housed somewhere, and there was no simple solution to the problem.

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# DP 'has no plan to disband'

B10ay 10/4/92 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle last night said he would oppose vigorously any move to disband the DP in order to form a new centrist party with the NP under President F W de Klerk's leadership.

He said reports suggesting that he backed such a plan were incorrect. The adverse reaction to his alleged involvement had been "so strong" he needed to set the record straight. He was not aware of any plan to disband the DP and if there was such a plan he would oppose it.

"Notwithstanding the immature antics of a few individual caucus members on both the left and the right of the DP, the party will continue with its mission to bring about a representative constitution based on liberal democratic values," Carlise said.

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# NP's rivals upset by De Klerk rally

B'Day 10/4/92

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The DP's Mitchell's Plain branch said yesterday it could not back President F W de Klerk's visit to the area tomorrow, but defended his democratic right to campaign there.

The chairman of the DP's recently established branch in the suburb, Dave Wilson, said members of the local DP committee would decide by today whether they would launch any protest action to mark the NP leader's first major foray into a coloured area.

"As democrats we believe that every person has a right to hold meetings and to protest," he said.

Wilson said De Klerk would be visiting an area where citizens had been denied a full vote by his government, and at a time "when we have not arrived at a democratic society".

"But in principle we feel it is the right of anybody to hold a meeting," he said.

The ANC, the Labour Party and the New Unity Movement have already announced plans to protest against De Klerk's mass rally amid "victims of apartheid".

NP Cape secretary Carel Greyling said yesterday that opposition parties had a democratic right to protest at the visit as long as they did not try to disrupt the rally or interfere with those wishing to attend.

He said NP members in Mitchell's Plain had asked the State President to visit their area "a long time before the referendum" and this request was now being met.

Sapa reports the ANC in the western Cape condemned the visit as a "piece of shocking opportunism" by De Klerk, and said it supported the people of Mitchell's Plain who had called for three days of action to protest against the visit.

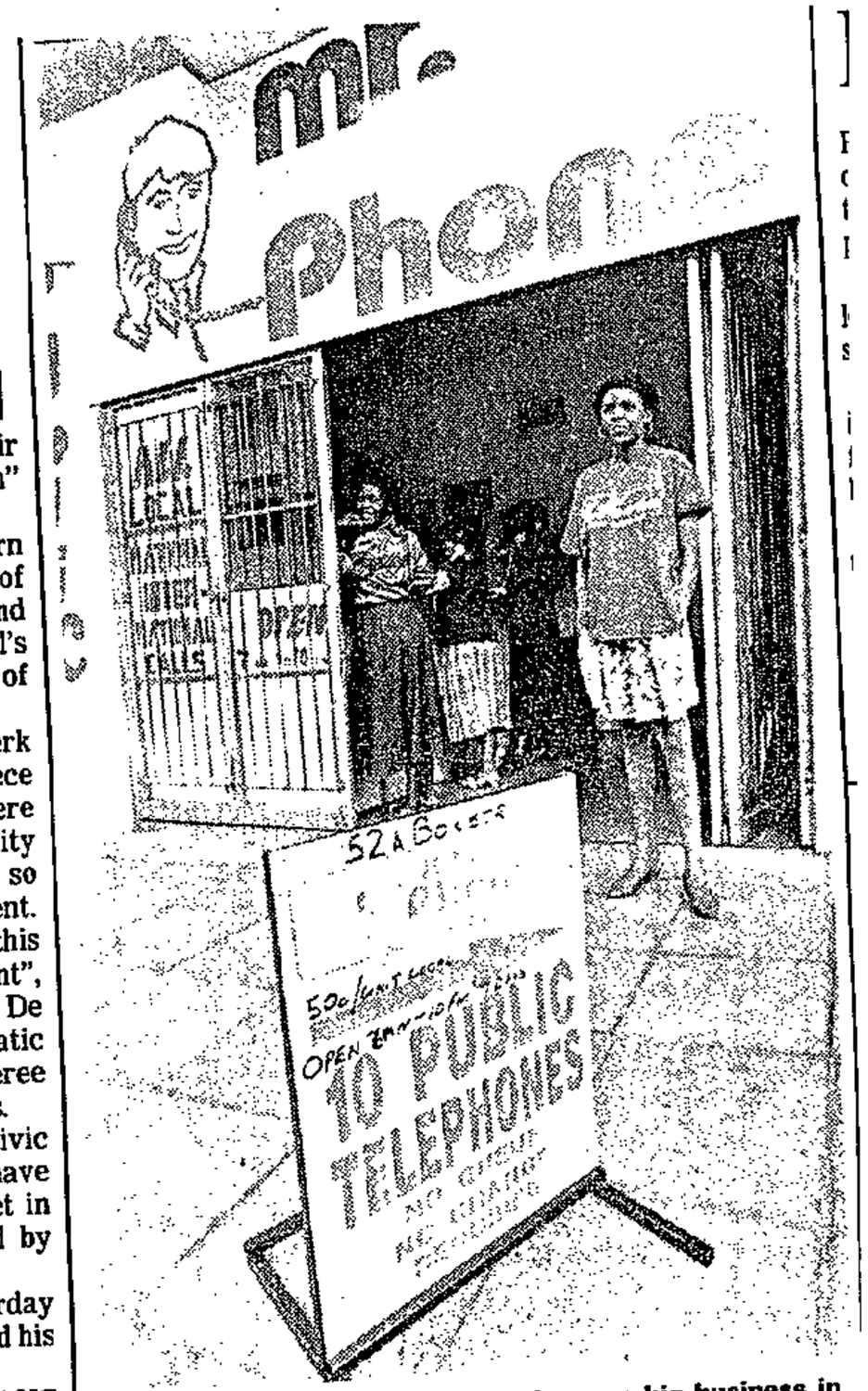
"We find it extraordinary that De Klerk should embark on what amounts to a piece of cheap propaganda at a time when there is so much at stake . . . and in a community to whom he and his party have done so much harm," the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC said it was concerned at this "abuse of the office of State President", which it saw as further evidence of De Klerk's intention to distort the democratic process by attempting to act as referee and player in SA's first true elections.

The Mitchell's Plain ANC Zone, civic associations and other organisations have called for protest action, with a picket in the town centre which will be joined by pensioners and other organisations.

The NP condemned the ANC yesterday for its personal attacks on De Klerk and his wife Marike.

A pamphlet distributed by the ANC warns residents not to be fooled by De Klerk's smile.




**Telephone shops have suddenly become big business in SA's cities. It is predicted that Johannesburg alone will soon have 100 of these shops.** Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

**Mike Littlejohn** reports on a disappointing, ostrich-like attitude

# UN still cool toward the new SA

STAR 10/4/92

304A

THE State President's historic visit to Nigeria and the more prosaic announcement that the first shipment of Cape wines to the United States since 1986 will arrive next week are signs the new South Africa is gaining acceptance in a once hostile world.

At the United Nations, however, attitudes are changing with a frustrating slowness, South African diplomats say. True, the old nastiness has gone and the atmosphere in which they work in New York today is generally cordial — in sharp contrast to decades of distinct coolness.

But the more congenial climate has yet to be reflected in a restoration of Pretoria's legal rights. Although prominently active, Ambassador Vernon (Jim) Steward and his staff are basically observers, not players.

"Unrealistic" is Mr Steward's word for the UN's ostrich-like attitude in the face of President de Klerk's reforms and their overwhelming endorsement in the recent referendum. He emphasises that the world body's own top legal authority has declared unlawful under the UN Charter the decision taken in 1974 to eject the South African delegation from the General Assembly.

The Republic never lost its membership but still has been unable to reclaim its seat in the Assembly and its subsidiary bodies.

"I am telling everybody we should be back in this year because there is no reason why not," Mr Steward said in an interview.

South Africa's return to the General Assembly at the 47th session opening in September ought to be a routine event without the need for any vote to bring it about, he added. However, given the negative attitudes that still persist in the membership and the absence of any encouragement from the ANC, not to mention the PAC, Mr Steward is not betting that what he believes should happen will happen this year.

There has been so far a surprising reluctance on the part of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan — to name only a few members with political clout — to do much to expedite a return to UN legality. Mr. Steward is unwilling to criticise this failure, but clearly the mission would welcome some formal indication of support.

The establishment of an interim government, which seems likely to occur before the Assembly convenes, could enhance the prospect. In the meantime, its is especially irksome for the South African delegation that "liberation movement" representatives with observer status in UN bodies are free to vilify a Government member who, under the present rules, has no possibility of responding.

There also remains a little matter of almost R180 million in unpaid assessed contributions to be settled before South Africa may regain its voting rights. Mr Steward, however, refuses to accept that this is money owed.

A member state that has been unable to exercise the prerogatives of membership ought not to have to pay dues as if it enjoyed all its rights, he argues.

Jacques Baudot, the UN financial controller, disagrees. South Africa is obligated under the Charter to pay up in full, he insists. However, he does not deny that there may be room for manoeuvre. A negotiated settlement appears likely. □

# SA not part of African family yet – Nigerians

STAR
By Alan Dunn
Political Staff 10/4/92

ABUJA — Nigeria has signalled to President de Klerk's delegation that more has to be done, quickly, before South Africa joins the "African family".

While praising Mr de Klerk for his reforms, top government officials and several newspapers said yesterday they wanted a speedy conclusion to the negotiations at Codesa.

Presidents de Klerk and Ibrahim Babangida sit down today at an historic encounter to craft the beginnings of co-operation between the two countries.

The two leaders are scheduled to talk for 90 minutes at the State House, amid great excitement in the SA camp at the significance of Africa's two giants eventually breaking the decades-old ice between them.

Bilateral relations, trade and South Africa's short-term relations with the rest of Africa and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will probably be high on the agenda.

Mr de Klerk started his brief visit with a 21-gun salute and red carpet welcome at Abuja's airport. The welcome, in blazing equatorial heat and humidity, had all the trappings of a full State visit.

The president and General Babangida inspected the presidential guard and shook hands with a welcoming line of Nigerian ministers and top officials.

Marike de Klerk received a bouquet as she stepped off the presidential jet.

The general then accompanied Mr de Klerk in a presidential motorcade on the 37 km highway to the capital. Mrs de Klerk and Maryam Babangida rode in a tailing vehicle.

South African officials said the wording of the formal invitations for last night's State banquet put the status of the visit beyond any doubt — it was a State affair.

"We are pleased with the progress so far," Foreign Minister Ike Nwachuku told his counterpart Pik Botha when they met yesterday, "but we would want to see quicker progress made."

General Nwachuku said Nigerians looked on the "Boers" as one of several tribes in Africa. They saw no difference between them and other tribes.

A new South Africa would strengthen Africa, he added.

Mr Botha replied: "As far as I'm concerned, this is the most important visit of my career outside my country."

South Africa and Nigeria were the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa and the visit was a milestone, he said.

Mr Botha said he saw no differences in the ideals the Nigerian and South African governments were striving for:

"We now feel free and liberated to come to our brothers and say 'look, let us forget about the antagonisms of the past and build together'."

Nigerian newspapers amplified the cautious welcome given to the South African delegation which was widely reported on front pages and commented on in editorials.

The National Concord said it "must be regarded as a first handshake, not as an all-time embrace". Moves towards that embrace at an appropriate time could start in today's talks.

Other newspapers, such as The Guardian, described South Africa as a racist enclave.

"Mr de Klerk's visit to Nigeria, one of the countries that steadfastly championed the global ostracism of Pretoria, is a major diplomatic victory for the man who has changed the tone of SA politics through his reform measures," it reported.

But its editorial, siding strongly with South Africa's black nationalists, expressed doubts about Mr de Klerk's ability to complete the job: "History has taught us that the dissolution of a social system cannot be carried out by the managers of the system.

"At best, these managers can become part of that dissolution process if they are willing and able to read the movement of history correctly."

Abuja's Newsday reported that General Babangida was expected to urge Mr de Klerk in their talks today to accelerate his reforms — especially in the light of the March 17 referendum outcome.

FM 10/4/92

TERRORISM

# White fangs

**From the** cell where he is serving a life sentence, mass murderer Barend Strydom, the Pretoria "Wit Wolf," is urging followers to fight the "enemies of the Boerevolk" with all available means. The message is contained in a letter, dated February 13, mailed from Pretoria Central Prison and published in the latest edition of rightwinger Robert van Tonder's *Boerestaat Nuusbrief.*

Subscribers received their copy with Strydom's call to action about 10 days before a limpet mine was detonated at the Rand Show at the weekend. In a statement to the SABC, the shadowy Wit Wolwe organisation claimed responsibility for the explosion which injured nine whites, two of them seriously.

"It is never too late," writes Strydom in urging rightwingers to become involved in the struggle of the *volk*. "The process is reversible. We can never accept this situation under which we are illegally suppressed and a communist ANC government is thrust upon us. Never but never! What you can do is much more than I can and am allowed to do from inside the prison. The enemy must be fought with all means available to us."

According to the Wit Wolwe, who apparently claimed responsibility after Saturday night's explosion, "black terror was a huge headache ... terror by whites will make it look like a picnic."

The statement called for an end to gambling with the *Boere* heritage, and concluded: "Apartheid is dead. Long live apartheid." It was typed on a Wit Wolwe letterhead and listed a series of demands, including representation of whites by whites, a white homeland and the destruction of communism. The organisation undertook not to use violent methods as "far as possible" and said that members would give their lives for their country and their people. The message was typed over what appeared to be a sketch of a snarling wolf.

The Boerestaat Party's Robert Van Tonder tells the *FM* that he communicated with Strydom through "an intermediary" on Sunday and, according to information that had reached him, Strydom denies any knowledge of the attack or involvement by the Wit Wolwe. "To us this looks like an orchestrated attempt by the police to justify action against rightwingers," says Van Tonder.

Correctional Services Major Wena Greyling says that, according to their records, Strydom wrote a letter to "a Mr Du Toit" on February 13; the mailing and publication of which was not a contravention of the Prisons Act.

But Clause 44 of the Act states that it is an offence to publish a photograph of a prisoner 30 days after a court has found him guilty of an offence unless written permission is obtained from the Commissioner of Prisons. "Permission has not been granted to the publication concerned (*Boerestaat Nuusbrief)* to publish a photograph of prisoner Strydom," Greyling says.

Van Tonder admits that he did not ask for permission to print Strydom's picture. He says the letter was given to him by someone but he is not prepared to name his informant. He will not comment on whether he knows "a Mr Du Toit."

Van Tonder says he often visits Strydom and that he went to see him three weeks ago. Strydom still believes in the *volkstryd*, says Van Tonder. "This is understandable. As a youngster he experienced the horror deeds that were done to his own people and this had an effect on him."

The *Beeld* newspaper said on Tuesday in an editorial that those responsible for the bomb "were being fed by insinuations from rightwing leaders — among them even people like Prof Carel Boshoff — that a violent option to the struggle for 'Afrikaner freedom' cannot be excluded."

Rand Show MD Anton Post has announced a R20 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the explosion. *Eddie Botha*

POLITICS FM 10/4/92

# More fluid than (3044) ever

**Proposals for** a major realignment in white politics, as a first step towards establishing a new nonracial party to oppose the ANC, are expected to be announced before the end of the month.

The initiative, spearheaded by National Party (NP) leaders, aims to forge most of the 2m whites who voted "yes" in last month's referendum into a moderate centrist grouping, that could eventually include the bulk of the 1m potential coloured and 500 000 Indian voters as well as 1m-2m black voters.

The new party — with a new name — would rely initially on the vast organisational and financial infrastructure of the NP. It would effectively swallow up the existing parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as well as the Democratic Party (DP).

Though most current DP MPs would probably remain loyal to the party's liberal philosophy and try to maintain an independent identity, they would have little chance of winning enough support in a proportional representation (PR) election to be awarded any seats. The only way this could happen would be if a pact between the DP, NP and other parties agreed to submit a joint list to the electorate.

Even at a 2% PR cutoff point (it is generally accepted that the figure will be at least 5%) in a 70% poll, involving a conservatively estimated total of 17m potential voters, the DP would need 238 000 votes to secure one seat.

The "Centrists" (or whatever) on the other hand could realistically expect to win 30%-plus of the vote. That would place them in fairly strong opposition to the ANC (which, given present trends, could be expected to win 60%-65% of the total vote).

The Labour Party, which has been whiteanted by the NP, is unlikely to join the new grouping but, like the DP, it would have little chance of winning even a single seat in a new parliament. Its only real option would be to put what little support it still has into the ANC.

The imminent end of the current political era and the prospect of being swamped by larger groupings has shaken the DP more than any other party.

The parliamentary caucus remains split over what options to exercise. A proposal by Tony Leon (Houghton) to consider participation in a new moderate party was discussed last week, but left unresolved. Leon's plan has minority support in the caucus, but is regarded as the most realistic option for the party. MPs and supporters who are unable to accept any form of alliance with the NP face a future in the political wilderness — or retirement on fairly handsome parliamentary pensions. There is little choice.



Van der Merwe



Leon

The pro-Leon faction accepts that the NP is tainted by its apartheid past, but must be forgiven in the wake of the De Klerk reform era and accepted as the essential core of a new nonracial democratic party.

Though they are not prepared to detail their plans at this stage, NP leaders acknowledge that the party is embarking on a major new strategy to win support in previously unexploited areas.

In the most ambitious move of its sort so far, President F W de Klerk will speak at a high-profile public rally in the predominantly coloured area of Mitchells Plain in Cape Town on Saturday. According to pre-publicity, the event will include a public meeting, motor cavalcade, drum majorettes, bands, ballons, flags and stickers.

NP strategists say De Klerk emerged during the referendum campaign as the party's most marketable commodity and has the ability to draw considerable support from across party lines.

Latest indications are that he will use the debate on his budget vote in parliament on April 21 to lay the groundwork for a new political grouping. ■

CODESA FM 10/4/92

## Question of sovereignty

**The key** issue bedevilling agreement at Codesa on the critical first phase of transitional government centres on the relationship between an ANC-mooted interim government council and the existing government.

It is a question of power: how much, for how long. (3044)

Though neither the government nor ANC describe the situation as deadlocked, it seems government has adopted a tougher negotiating stance after its resounding white referendum triumph last month and the international kudos for President F W de Klerk as a result.

ANC delegates have certainly detected a change in government's attitude, claiming it has reverted to positions it held nine months ago. The ANC had thought that government

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was resigned to accepting an equal role in any power-sharing arrangement — but it is now shaken at what it sees as the change in government's negotiating position.

When Codesa announced last month that consensus had been achieved on the creation of a "transitional executive structure," it sounded like the breakthrough that would make agreement on the details plain sailing.

In its submission on transitional arrangements on Monday, government said that meaningful discussions on the topic were becoming difficult. Progress on transitional arrangements depends on progress being made towards the creation of a climate for free political participation.

Government now says the ANC proposal for an interim government council, which should have the final say over present authorities while working in tandem with them, would result in there being two governments.

The ANC, of course, reiterates the charge that government's proposal would result in the ruling NP being referee and player in the process. While the ANC castigates the present parliament as illegitimate, government argues that it is nevertheless the sovereign authority and that the principle of legality must be respected. NP chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers is, however, confident that consensus will "eventually" be reached.

On Monday, government tabled a draft Bill, for discussion at Codesa, titled Framework for Legislation on the Establishment of Preparatory Councils. The councils were renamed "so as to describe better their functions" after the ANC's rejection of the earlier version as "toy telephones" because of their advisory nature (*Leaders*, April 3). Five such councils are now mooted for: elections, regional and local government, government finances, housing and urbanisation.

The powers of preparatory councils are not spelled out, though the ANC did not believe they would be more than advisory. Nor does the draft framework say anything about where executive power would reside.

This vexed question is dealt with in the ANC's Proposals For the First Stage Of Interim Government. It calls for an interim government council (IGC) on which each Codesa participant will have one seat. The tricameral parliament should be consolidated into one chamber and own affairs departments into single ones. All existing legislative and administrative structures, including the homelands, will continue to function "subject to the powers of the IGC."

The ANC says draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to parliament and Bills passed by parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President. ■

# One of us at last

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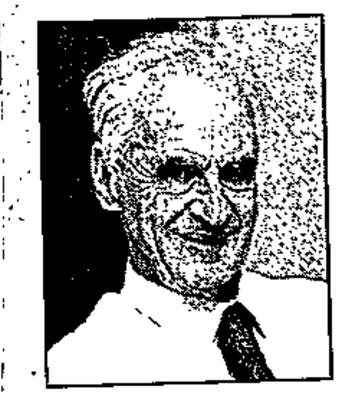
(304A)



**Regular contributor Radford Jordan is a former senior lecturer in political studies at Wits University.**

**"What sticks** in my gullet about this referendum is that we've just become part of the Nats."

"You mean they've become part of us . . ."

This exchange, which took place in the "yes" committee rooms at Temple Emanuel on March 17, points the way to a new alignment of parties.

The self-starter of the white political machine used to be the party that articulated purely Afrikaner traditions and aspirations: the *volksparty*. Successive Afrikaner parties attained volksparty status as they climbed to power by discrediting the claim of governmental parties to embody the authentic *volkswil*. Once a volksparty became sufficiently menacing, the English-speaking section sank its identity in support of the governmental party. Sooner or later, this sacrifice proved to be the kiss of death to what had been a volksparty only a decade or so before and still hoped to project the image of one.

After 1948, organised business was divided in its political allegiance into English and Afrikaner sections but these, by coming together fully for the latest referendum, broke the mould of white SA politics. This has made possible the first steps towards fitting whites into a new mould. To deal with this, we must first identify the self-starter of the new machine.

It may seem obvious that this party will be the ANC, once it ceases to be a liberation movement and transforms itself into a political party. Once it does this it can hardly fail to become the political front of the labour movement and, as such, will be closely linked with the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Cosatu has been active in both the political and the economic spheres for over a decade. It accordingly combines a greater maturity, continuity and, above all, practicality of thinking about SA's future — notwithstanding the recent rhetoric — than is possible for a body that is for the moment lumbered with a ragbag of ideas, some of them distinctly utopian.

It has been said of British trade unionists that they exert their muscle to the utmost for the advantage of their members while weeping crocodile tears for the unemployed. If one may judge from a recent interview given by secretary-general Jay Naidoo, he holds a broader view of his constituency. He said: "Looking after only the interests of the employed is not the road to stability" and "We are even prepared to back public works programmes where working conditions are less favourable for a time than in the formal sector." Here he is on the path that Keynes could have taken had he adopted R F Kahn's concept of an employment multiplier instead of an income multiplier.

Future politics will take the form of a working confrontation between a labour-based party on the Left (whether or not this is the ANC in its present form) and an employer-orientated party. This we must in all honesty call a party of the Right, even if there is further to the Right a party of no real relevance. Compare the Italian political scene: the Christian Democrats form the right wing of the governamental parties, from which category the neo-fascists are permanently excluded.

To its credit, the NP has in effect invited the DP to take its place in a coalition of assured relevance within the new political pattern. In form, they have asked the DP: "Won't you join us?" In substance the DP may fairly reply, "Yes, you are now of our number. Or at least you will be, once you allow us a decisive role in ending the violence which is the pistol at Codesa's head."

It will be no disaster if some DP MPs prefer to join the ANC and form the right wing of a leftwing party — something no less needed in a mature political spectrum than the left wing of rightwing party.

# War of words over FW visit to M'Plain

(304A)

ARG 10/4/92

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Staff**

AS TENSION rises in Mitchell's Plain over President De Klerk's visit tomorrow, a war of words has broken out between the National Party and the ANC.

A lunch for Mr De Klerk hosted by the Mitchell's Plain Merchants' Association has been moved from a private hospital to an undisclosed venue.

Association chairman Mr M Patel said: "The manager of the original venue informed us it was no longer available. He told us someone from the ANC had phoned his head office and used intimidatory tactics."

But ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC had not been in contact with the hospital. He said that the venue was withdrawn after the Western Cape Traders' Association warned the hospital's owners that they were becoming embroiled in a political dispute.

A spokesman for the private hospital said "we decided it would be in the best interest of our patients and the service we render to make the decision we did".

Mr De Klerk's visit, his first to Mitchell's Plain, has led to a propaganda war with NP placards advertising the meeting competing with those from the New Unity Movement telling him he's not welcome. The ANC and SA Communist Party have distributed pamphlets against the visit.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the NP, said it was a pity the ANC was trying to deny Mr De Klerk the right to speak and accused the ANC of using intimidation.

He appealed to people in Mitchell's Plain to show that they welcomed the democratic process and not to stand for intimidation and "uncouth politicking".

Mr Hofmeyr challenged the NP to prove the ANC had used intimidatory and high-handed tactics.

CURRENT ISSUES

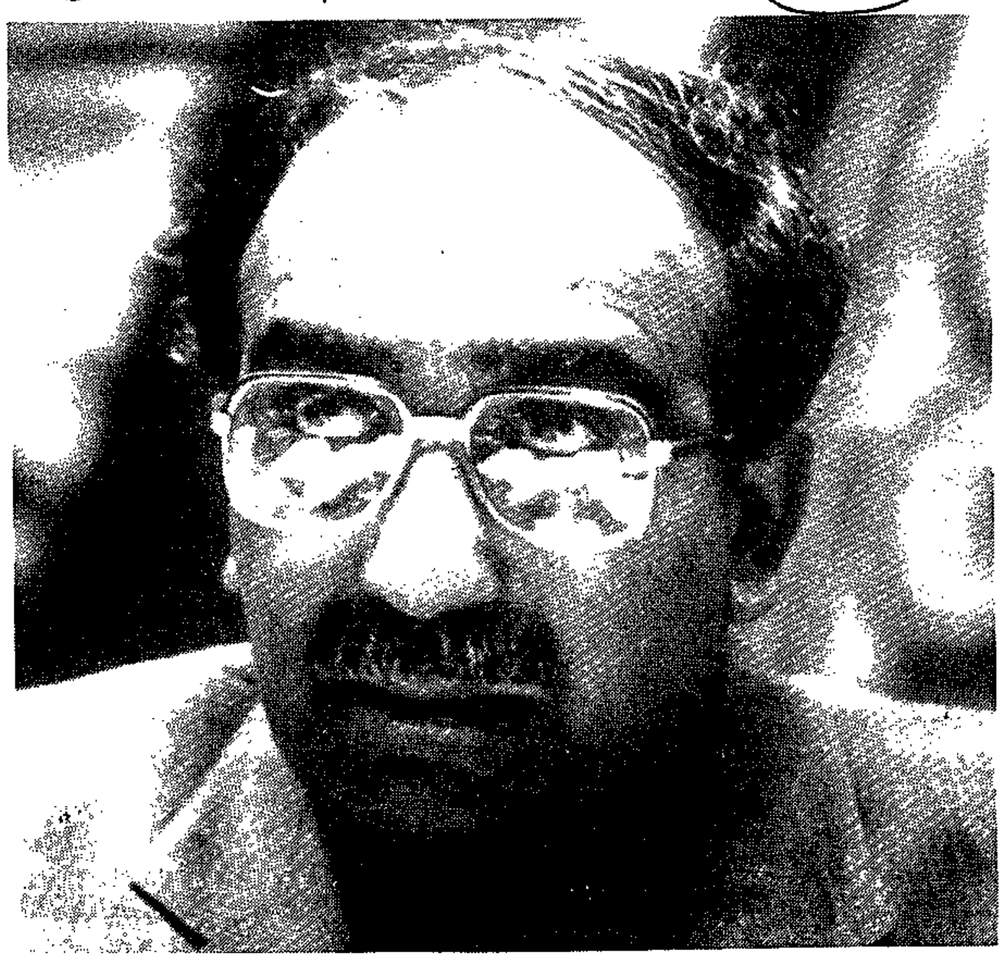



# Constitution-building and Political Power

New Nation [Leaning Nation] 10/4 - 15/4/92

304A

**Over the next three weeks, Learning Nation will feature an interview with Professor Kader Asmal on electoral systems and politics. In the first article we pose the question of the relationship between constitutional questions and political power. Next week, we continue with the interview, looking at details of different electoral sytems and their relationship to democracy.**



**Kader Asmal is a professor of Human Rights Law. He is also a member of the ANC National Executive Committee**

**Learning Nation:** *Professor Asmal, what weight do legal/ constitutional questions bear in relation to other aspects of political power like military power and mass struggle?*

**Professor Asmal:** In the history of transformation and change from an illegitimate regime to some form of legitimate constitutional structure or legal structure that enjoys respect or support, there are two ways of dealing with the transition. One is a transition where the previous illegitimate authorities are overthrown by force of arms. And the victor will then draft a constitution, bringing together all the social forces that stood for the alliance of the victors. So that in the United States, for example, in 1776, when the British were defeated, the 13 states came together and formed a federation.

In our situation, a combination of factors led to the events of February 2. It was the effect of sanctions , the state of emergency that resulted in the large scale withdrawal of investor confidence in South Africa, the extraordinary strength and resilience of the people of South Africa, and the armed struggle. But in terms of struggle, the armed struggle could not overcome the apartheid regime. And the apartheid regime, with the use of torture, large scale killings, the imprisonment of thousands of children, with fifty, even sixty thousand people detained without trial, could not smash the resistance. The Joint Management Committees failed. The whole provocation of hit squads in the 80's failed. So we reached a situation where the route to be followed was going to be different.

Now, as far as the ANC is concerned, Nelson Mandela, when he was underground in 1961, made an appeal for an All South African Convention. Albert Luthuli, in 1959, had made the same type of appeal. So the resistance movement has always maintained a position that because of the peculiar situation in South Africa, there should be change by negotiations. It was those in power who have caused untold misery over the last thirty to fourty years, and rejected every demand of the resistance for peaceful change.

Now we are at a stage where the possibility for peaceful change exists. But that peaceful change won't take place without the continued involvement of our people in organised activity. And that is why the government has tried to link mass action with armed action. 'Mass action must end', they say, 'sanctions must end'. Because they know that the only levers we have as a democratic force is the strength of our people. Successful negotiation depends on the relative strength of the parties, not on good intentions.

History is full of the debris of lost causes with morality and justice on their side. All the struggles for national liberation in the world, when they were conducted peacefully , were ignored in the countries where they took place. Internationally, they paid no attention, either. Who paid any attention to our struggle in the 50's and 60's, at a time when we had a passive resistance campaign much more intensive in terms of quality and numbers than anything Ghandi had in 1929 and 1930? Who paid any attention? Overseas arms suppliers? No. The Malan regime? No. But when we moved to the armed struggle, when the ANC was banned - then, they paid attention. So you must not see struggle as unrelated to negotiation. Anyone who counterposes struggle and negotiation simply doesn't know how negotiation operates.

Recently there are examples of this; as recently as November, the government refused to consider the option of an interim government. What changed their minds? The anti-VAT strike. That showed the mobilisation of people. The largest general strike in the history of the world. Three to three and a half million people participated in the VAT strike, and then the government woke up to acceptance of interim government. They realised that they couldn't be both player and referee at the same time.

In the same way, Inkathatha and the government had rejected out of hand the idea of a constituent assembly. And now, we are on the verge of agreement on the interim government AND the constituent assembly. And that is only because they know the strength of the democratic forces. They know how we can mobilise opinion. That is why, from the Pretoria Minute onwards, they have had to link mass mobilisation to armed struggle, and to say that we must repudiate mass struggle. But we cannot repudiate it, because that is the only way in which successful negotiations work. While the apartheid regime has STATE power with all its associated resources, the democratic forces have only their SOCIAL power, that is all. The power of the people to boycott, to mobilise, to picket, to demonstrate, and, at the end of the day, to bring the country to a standstill. That is why EVERYONE must be involved in this process, particularly young people, because what CODESA is trying to do is NOT write the constitution. The constitution will be written by a constituent assembly. What CODESA is negotiating is the phase BEFORE the constitution. We're discussing the PRINCIPLES of a constitution, as we are right to do under the Harare Declaration. The government would like unelected, unrepresentative parties to write the constitution. And that is totally unaccaptable.

**Next week, we continue our interview with Professor Asmal. The subject is electoral systems and democracy.**

# CULTURE



**Last week we saw how the "independent" associations were instrumental in the formation of South Africa's first non-racial football federation, the South African Soccer Federation (SASF). We also saw that soon after the formation of a white professional soccer league, the SASF formed a professional wing, the South African Soccer League (SASL), and introduced inter-racial professional football to South Africa. We saw that this development resulted in the decline of the South African "Bantu" Football Association (SABFA).**

In 1956, the SASF issued a direct challenge to the white controlled establishment. It applied for membership to the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA), the body which co-ordinated international football as well as organised the World Cup. The white football association, the South African Football Association (SAFA), was already a member of FIFA having been accepted as a member in 1952. The SASF wanted to become a member of FIFA in place of the white body. It claimed that it was fully representative of the South African population and that the white association was not.

The SASF tried to convince SABFA to join the Federation but its efforts proved futile. In addition to racist attitudes, some officials feared that unity would decrease the number of administrative positions and leave them out in the cold.

**Federation member, Bob Pavadai stated: "SASF's future depends on unity between the African and Bantu Football Associations. I hope this will be achieved before the next FIFA congress.**

In 1956, the FIFA congress in Lisbon, Portugal, urged the white association, SAFA to meet with the SASF to try to reach an agreement. This resulted in a meeting between the Federation and SAFA, which took place in November, 1957. Over a good curry, the groups thrashed out the issues, but could not reach a compromise. The white association was simply not prepared to challenge the Government's apartheid policies.

**At the meeting, the president of SAFA, Dave Snaier, stated: "my association is prepared to assist the non-white federation to arrange tours, to get passports and to help with coaches. But fusion is out. The SAFA will do nothing against the present government's policy or the social customs of the land."**

SAFA said it was prepared to accept the Federation as an affiliated member without voting powers, but that it did not "want non-whites to represent South Africa in an international match or to play with whites in the Union." Not surprisingly, the SASF refused to accept any of these proposals.

Realising that the SASF would stop at nothing short of a fully non-racial body, the white association turned instead to the "Bantu" association. It re-vitalised the now failing SABFA and helped it launch its own professional league, the National Professional Soccer League (the NPSL) to challenge the professional wing of the SASF. The NPSL was launched at Wembley Stadium in Johannesburg, in February, 1962.

FASA gave SABFA a token seat and a vote on FASA's executive and created a co-ordinating committee on which soccer representatives from each separate racial structure were to sit and discuss their relations.

FIFA, however, confirmed FASA's suspension. FASA, then, with the support of the government, suggested that a solution might be found in sending alternate South African teams to the World Cup - a black team in 1966 followed by a white team in 1970. This outrageous suggestion was also rejected by the SASF.

FASA now changed its strategy. In 1962, Maurice Hommel, a reporter for the WORLD newspaper, reported that: "*many people believe that a systematic attempt is being made to split the Non-whites who stand for non-racialism and to drive African soccerites into a separate "Bantu" kraal. This is because location supervisors, municipal authorities and group areas officials are making it difficult for non-racial sport to take place.*"



**Hassan Howa, ex-president of SACOS which the SASF co-founded**

What Hommel and others were witnessing was an appeal by FASA to all municipal authorities to close soccer grounds under their jurisdiction to SASF teams. Instead FASA asked that these grounds be made available only to teams from SABFA.

FASA's strategy had an immediate effect. Feeling the pressure of being denied access to grounds and facilities, the Durban and District African F.A. joined SABFA in May, 1962. Then, an affiliate of the SASF, Moroka Swallows, on the verge of bankruptcy because the only pitch available to its players at Natalspruit was closed for maintenance, agreed to play the best NPSL side, the Black Pirates, at Orlando Stadium. Up until that point the stadium had been closed to non-racial sides by the Johannesburg City Council.

In protest against FASA, the SASF organised a non-racial "counter-match" at the Indian Sports ground, the only ground they could use in Johannesburg. But, on arriving at the ground, players found that the City Council had uprooted the goalposts and locked the gates, saying that the ground was meant for Indians only. In response, the players, supporters and officials stormed the gates, put up their own posts and continued with the game.

But the writing was on the wall for the SASF. Having lost the use of most of the available football grounds, its supporters and clubs began to gradually move to SABFA and the NPSL. The challenge to white domination of soccer was in the process of being defeated.

A FIFA commission of inquiry into SA soccer in 1963 heard that SABFA was "perfectly happy to be affiliated to FASA". It decided that the SASF attitude had been "one of destruction, not construction" and that they were irresponsibly critical of government policy.

On hearing the Commission's report, the FIFA executive lifted its suspension of FASA. Viv Granger, a FASA executive, declared that this was a "defeat for communism" and that South Africans "were obliged to practise apartheid in sport because it is the policy of the government and traditional, but we must ensure in future that it is a Christian apartheid."

This victory was short-lived because FASA was finally expelled from FIFA in 1964 for its racial policies. The SASF was reduced to a strong amateur section in regions such as Natal, Western Cape and the Eastern Cape and a very small professional league. The SASF was later to become a founder member of SACOS.

Next week, in our last article in this series, we will look at the dark era in South African soccer, the apartheid years.

### *Organisations which fought racism in sport*

**The South African Sports Association (SASA) was the "father" of the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). It was formed in Durban in 1959 to fight racism in sport. In that year, a Brazilian team agreed to play a Western Province white team in Cape Town. This game would only be allowed to take place if three of the Brazilian players who were regarded as "non-whites" were excluded from the team. SASA telegrammed its opposition to the President of Brazil. The President instructed that the game be cancelled.**

# A new African era



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□ VITAL MEETING:
Picture, page 3

## FW paves way for closer ties with Nigeria

**ALAN DUNN,** Weekend Argus Political Staff

ABUJA (Nigeria) — Growing relations are on the cards between Africa's giants, South Africa and Nigeria, following a visit by President F W de Klerk here.

In what amounts to a new era in African history, Mr De Klerk raised the prospect of diplomatic relations, trade, and multi-disciplinary exchanges between the countries.

...been set for continued contact and communication and to expand relations in the future," he said after what appeared to be another successful foreign trip.

On full diplomatic relations, he said "the stage has been set for follow-up discussions to ensure that that will materialise in due course".

The need for them was clear. Countries needed mutual offices when they started co-operating, he said following almost two hours of talks at State House with Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Concrete agreements usually followed a general meeting such as the one they had had, he noted. Mr De Klerk said he expected Nigerian delegations to visit South Africa — he had extended such an invitation — and vice-versa.

At a news conference at the presidential headquarters, Mr De Klerk described the talks as warm and friendly. "It was extremely constructive," he said.

The meeting had enabled him to explain the issues in South Africa, give a first-hand account of developments and say he was confident Codesa would succeed.

He and General Babangida had also dealt with the violence in South Africa, had focused on bilateral relations, and the challenges Africa faced.

On Africa, they had spoken on the philosophy of regional co-operation rather than specifics. He said South Africa's desire to become a member of the Organisation of African

■ Turn to page 3

P.T.O.

# Stage set for closer ties

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■ From page 1

Unity (OAU) had not been raised. "I have no hesitation, however, in saying that I believe South Africa must become a fully-fledged member of co-operative structures in Africa," he added.

The OAU had played a constructive role in the South Africa issue, one he appreciated, by impressing on all leaders the need for a negotiated settlement.

The body had behaved correctly in refraining from internal interference in the belief that South Africans should reach their own agreements.

Turning to a question on violence in South Africa, Mr De Klerk said government had already done much. "Accusations that the government is sitting back and not doing its duty are unfounded," he said.

"We are really doing everything reasonable which we can do," he said, citing the expansion of the police force, its budget and technological resources.

Policing and government action were not the only answers. Political leadership had to defuse the volatile atmosphere, he said. Leaders had to instil a spirit of reconciliation in their supporters.

On General Babangida associating him with anti-apartheid luminaries like Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Steve Biko, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Albert Luthuli, he said he did not make the speech and would not have placed himself there.

"I am not a protagonist of apartheid, I've closed the book on apartheid. I've led the party from which it originated," he said.

In explaining government policy to Nigerian journalists, Mr De Klerk repeatedly said the government was "in a hurry" to reach the new South Africa.

Government proposals for a new constitution were "in step with the best democracies in the world", he said.

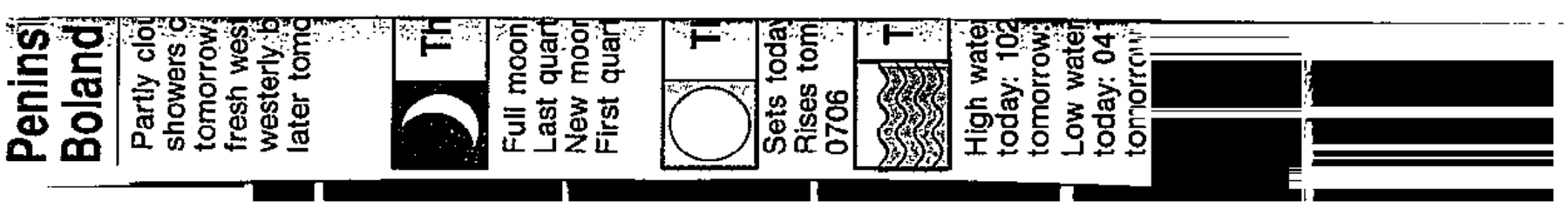
He rejected any accusation that government wanted to suppress people and maintain a privileged position for whites through fancy footwork and trickery.

The National Party was no longer a white party. "I am going full-out for black support. I no longer divide South Africans on a racial basis," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he had growing support among black South Africans. Polls showed that the majority of coloureds and Indians already supported him.

The NP had stopped thinking in racial terms.

"I hope that those who fought so long to end apartheid will not keep racialism alive," he said. He hoped that being white would not be held against him.



# FW full of praise for Nigeria talks

CF 11/4/92 (304A)

From BARRY STREEK

ABUJA, Nigeria. —President F W de Klerk yesterday said his historic two-day visit to Nigeria and talks with President Ibrahim Babangida had been "completely constructive".

As he prepared to leave the West African country, Mr De Klerk said discussions on bilateral relations between South Africa and Nigeria would be held shortly. No agreements had been reached at this stage.

Mr De Klerk praised the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) constructive role in South Africa and said he believed South Africa should become a member, but the issue had not been raised in his meetings with General Babangida.

His comments at a press conference here poured cold water on expectations of any immediate agreements on issues such as diplomatic ties, landing rights and visa agreements.

General Babangida made no comments to the media at the conclusion of the talks.

But the strong Nigerian praise for Mr De Klerk by General Babangida and the media indicated that much more had been achieved in the discussions than was immediately apparent.

Mr De Klerk said he had not used the occasion to specifically focus on South Africa's possible membership of the OAU, but he had no hesitation in saying that South Africa should be a full member of the organisation and other continental structures.

He also believed the countries of Southern Africa should form a co-operative structure, like the European Community, to promote economic growth and develop a market of more than 100 million people.

The Nigerian government urged Mr De Klerk to accelerate the Codesa negotiations and introduce a transitional government as soon as possible, suggesting it would hold off making any official announcements until this had been done.

From page 1

what senior Nationalists have described as the start of campaigning for South Africa's first non-racial election.

As political temperatures continued to rise in Mitchells Plain yesterday, the lunch hosted by business leaders for Mr De Klerk was rescheduled to an undisclosed venue after orignally being cancelled.

The NP blamed the change of plan on intimidation by the ANC but the ANC denied this.

Mr De Klerk's campaign extends from 11am to 2pm today — but the ANC plans to kick off their protest by 8am.

Meanwhile, the acting chairman of the Democratic Party in the Western Cape, Mr Jannie Momberg, said last night said that nobody was entitled to deny Mr De Klerk the right to address any gathering.

"However, the DP also wants to point out to the NP that it should not be upset if the people of Mitchells Plain do not open their hearts to the leader of the NP," he said.

However, Mr Momberg emphasized that any attempts to violently disrupt Mr De Klerk's visit to the area "must be condemned in the strongest possible terms".

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, yesterday called on the ANC to allow Mr De Klerk to exercise his right to speak.

"As I fought for the right of the ANC to speak freely in Cape Town, so too will I fight for the right of the State President to speak in Mitchells Plain, or anywhere," Mr Van der Velde said.

● Meanwhile an ANC-supported protest march involving Mitchells Plain high school pupils failed to generate much interest yesterday morning, when pupils at two schools opted to remain in class.

● A planned ANC protest motorcade appeared not to have materialised by last night, but ANC Mitchells Plain spokesman Mr Neville van de Rheede said that about 15 cars had participated.

Mr Tony Rody, a worker at the Mitchells Plain Advice Office, had said they expected more than 80 cars to take part.

# FW expects 1 000s at rally today

From BARRY STREEK

ABUJA, Nigeria. — President FW De Klerk yesterday said he was going "full out for a black basis" in the National Party and predicted thousands would attend his Mitchells Plain rally today.

"I am going for the full support of the majority of the people, I am going

**FW PRAISES TALKS IN NIGERIA — PAGE 2**

However, he declined to speculate on how many supporters Mr De Klerk might draw in full out for a black basis in my party," he said here before returning to South Africa today.

The NP was no longer a white party and had strong support among black people, while opinion polls showed majority support among coloureds and Indians.

In Cape Town, the NP was confident last night that Mr De Klerk's first mass rally in a black area will be a resounding success today — despite protests by groups opposed to the visit, reports **Anthony Johnson.**

The ANC, New Unity Movement, Azapo and the Labour Party say they will protest against Mr de Klerk's visit.

NP Cape secretary Mr Carel Greyling acknowledged that a "war of words" had erupted between groups for and against the visit but was confident there would be adequate security.

To page 3

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**TALKS ..**
relations
visit to

# Pik, PAC likely to talk today

ABUJA (Nigeria). — Foreign Minister Pik Botha was likely to meet a Pan Africanist Congress delegation here today to discuss the movement's involvement in shaping the new South Africa.

He was expected to see the PAC, including its deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, at the airport outside the Nige-

**ALAN DUNN,** Argus Political Staff

(304A) ARG 11/4/92

rian capital after seeing President De Klerk off at the end of an overnight state visit.

The PAC views this meeting as a prelude to one between Mr De Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

At stake is the PAC's participation in some way in negotiations on an interim government and final constitution. Today's encounter is being widely viewed as a face-saving effort for the PAC which has so far steadfastly refused to be drawn into the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

# FW to take NP to new voters

ROAM

PRG 11/4/92

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

BACK from the heart of Africa, President F W de Klerk goes to Mitchell's Plain today to lead his National Party into South Africa's new era.

The new-style mass rally is another milestone in the NP's epic political expedition away from apartheid towards non-racial democratic government.

Only hours after Mr De Klerk had returned from Abuja, Nigeria, he was on his way to Mitchell's Plain's Town Centre for the NP's first bid to win mass support outside the white community since opening its membership to all races.

The US-style rally, with motorcade, marching girls, bands, balloons, flags, stickers, banners and special T-shirts, is a far cry from traditional NP campaign meetings.

Opposition has been mounting since earlier this week, when both the ANC and the Labour Party indicated they were considering protest action.

The New Unity Movement called on residents to protest.

Last night things were hotting up. A school which was to have provided children to march for the President withdrew its participation, as did the Mitchell's Plain Traders Association, which was to have hosted a lunch. However, a threatened protest cavalcade did not materialise.

Opposition to the rally is being seen as a sign of fear among ANC and Labour Party supporters that the NP may overshadow them in support in local coloured communities.

● The Democratic Party has condemned any attempts to disrupt President De Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Jannie Momberg, acting chairman of the DP in Western Cape, told Weekend Argus the party believed that nobody could deny the State President the right to address any political gathering anywhere in South Africa.

"However, the DP also wants to point out that the NP must not be upset if the people of Mitchell's Plain do not open their hearts . . . It was the NP which in 1966 cruelly evicted the people of District Six, which was the start of Mitchell's Plain."

**EDUCATION**

# Recognise us, warn 30 000 teachers

W|Mail 10/4 - 15/4/92

MORE than 30 000 teachers may "down their chalks" next month because education departments refuse to recognise their union and right to organise as workers.

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union announced at a press conference in Johannesburg this week that pickets, marches and sit-ins were being planned for two days in May. Details of the decision — which emanates from the Sadtu national council — are being discussed in its 15 regions.

General secretary Randall van den Heever said negotiations with education departments — in South Africa there are 19, all racially based — had reached an impasse over the definition of "unlawful action" and that his union would not back down on its demand for collective bargaining.

The definition used by the departments in draft recognition agreements was based on current "illegitimate"

*Two days of protest are in the pipeline as thousands of teachers fight for the recognition of their union.*

*By* **PORTIA MAURICE**

education laws and impinged on teachers' trade union rights, he said.

For the past year the union has been engaged in talks at two levels:

●With the umbrella Department of National Education where the implementation of a national collective bargaining mechanism for teachers is being considered; and

●At the level of "own affairs" departments where the "hiring and firing" of teachers takes place, and where stop order facilities should be processed.

While agitating at a national level for the implementation of a single, non-racial education department, Sadtu's policy is to seek interim recognition with the "own affairs" departments to address issues such as victimisation.

"These departments are trying to neutralise our union rights by elaborately-worded clauses which attempt to co-opt us into the discriminatory education administration," Van den Heever said.

"Because there are no meaningful procedures for resolving disputes, our members have to resort to unconventional means."

Assistant general secretary Thulas Nxesi said union members were being victimised in the Free State, western Transvaal, Ciskei, Lebowa and kwaZulu. Homeland departments, he claimed, were particularly uncooperative, and were trying to resuscitate defunct teacher organisations by providing them with funds. "There are contradictions between what they say at forums like Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) and what they do to our members on the ground."

In Lebowa, Venda and the western Cape many teachers have not yet received a salary cheque for the year. The northern Transvaal branch of Sadtu is pursuing legal action to secure payment, and negotiations are under way in the western Cape to resolve the issue. "In the Department of Education and Training new teachers have become accustomed to waiting no less than three months for a salary," said Van den Heever. "This appalling situation cannot be allowed to continue."

Nxesi said any recognition agreement should include rights to organise, to be consulted, to freedom of association and to negotiate proper dismissal and dispute procedures.

On the two days of action, teachers would be expected to report to school before protesting. "As educators we are workers who should have the right to strike — but this weapon should be used sensitively," Nxesi said. Referring to the union's code of conduct for behaviour at schools, he said teachers should maintain a balance between rights and responsibilities.

●In the arena of teacher unity, the union announced that the African Teachers Association of South Africa, the Indian Teachers Association of South Africa and the Transkei Teachers Association had dissolved while the coloured Free State Teachers Association had declared its commitment to do likewise and work closely with Sadtu structures.

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Vol. 322 PRETORIA, 10 APRIL 1992 No. 13931

## PROKLAMASIE

***van die***

***Staatspresident***

***van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika***

**No. 35, 1992**

TUSSENVERKIESING: VOLKSRAAD: KIESAFDELING WELKOM

(1) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 110 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling Welkom.

(2) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby ingevolge die bepalings van artikels 34 en 110 van genoemde Wet—

(i) **Dinsdag, 5 Mei 1992,** as die dag waarop 'n nominasiehof ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Welkom sitting sal hou om nominasies van verkiesingskandidate te ontvang vir die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir daardie kiesafdeling;

(ii) **Woensdag, 17 Junie 1992,** as die dag waarop, indien 'n stemming in die bedoelde kiesafdeling nodig word om die redes vermeld in artikel 41 van die genoemde Wet, die stemming ten opsigte van die verkiesing van die lid van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling hierbo vermeld, gehou sal word, welke stemming ooreenkomstig artikel 94 van genoemde Wet op daardie dag om 07:00 sal begin en om 21:00 sal sluit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sewende dag van April Eenduisend Negehonderd Twee-en-negentig.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

**E. LOUW,**
Minister van die Kabinet.

275—**A**

## PROCLAMATION

***by the***

***State President***

***of the Republic of South Africa***

**No. 35, 1992**

BY-ELECTION: HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY: ELECTORAL DIVISION OF WELKOM

(1) Under the powers vested in me by section 110 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the House of Assembly in the Electoral Division of Welkom.

(2) Under the powers vested in me by section 33 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby determine, in terms of the provisions of sections 34 and 110 of the said Act—

(i) that **Tuesday, 5 May 1992,** shall be the day on which a nomination court will sit in respect of the Electoral Division of Welkom, to receive nominations of candidates for election as a member of the House of Assembly for that Electoral Division;

(ii) **Wednesday, 17 June 1992,** as the day on which, if a poll becomes necessary in the said electoral division for the reasons mentioned in section 41 of the said Act, the poll in respect of the election of the member of the House of Assembly in the electoral division mentioned above shall be taken, which poll in accordance with section 94 of the said Act will commence at 07:00 and will close at 21:00 on that day.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town on this Seventh day of April, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-two.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

**E. LOUW,**
Minister of the Cabinet.

13931—**1**

# Strain takes its toll on all parties

(304A)
ARG 11/4/92

## Apartheid label sticks in spite of Yes landslide

A NEW process of political ferment has begun. Tension is high in the Conservative Party, with clashes on the issue of whether to take part in constitutional negotiations. The Democratic Party has been under some strain, and even the National Party's future is said to be in the balance.

Although NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has dismissed speculation that the party might disband to form a new centrist party under a new name, other NP insiders say politics is becoming so fluid that anything could happen.

One problem that has worried NP reformists is the weight of the party's apartheid baggage. Some fear the party in its present form will never escape this burden — a major obstacle to NP efforts to woo black and coloured voters.

It is argued that the NP — more than any other player in the negotiation process — needs a totally new image if it is to survive in a new predominantly black political environment. To get away from its all-white racist past, it needs a "blacker" image, new attitudes, and a name that will not bring back memories of the party's grim record of racial oppression.

That is why some NP insiders are toying with the idea of dumping the NP on the political scrapheap and forming a new centrist party with substantial black and coloured support and including elements of the Democratic Party and, perhaps, pro-negotiation rightwingers, mainly from the CP.

While top NP planners insist such a drastic move is hardly likely, they acknowledge the party has made the recruitment of non-white members its highest priority.

Opinion surveys have shown a large body of potential NP voter support in black, coloured and Asian communities, but Mr Nelson Mandela was still ahead of President De Klerk in potential overall support.

One estimate in NP circles is that the party will need at least 3 million black voters and a million coloured voters in addition to its present white support. And the huge additional voter support from black and coloured people will be needed within a year or two — in time for the first non-racial elections for a constituent assembly or interim authority.

This is a tall order that makes President De Klerk's landslide Yes victory in the recent white referendum fade into insignificance.

If there is to be a common voters' roll for the next general election, this first non-racial roll is expected to include at least 15 million voters, of whom barely 3 million will be white.

Professor Hennie Kotzé, head of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, expects more clarity within the next few weeks on the direction in which South African politics is moving.

The pace of change in party politics, he says, will depend on how soon interim government measures are agreed and implemented.

If a transitional executive authority is established soon, it will mean speedy preparations might have to be made by the political parties for an all-race general election.

The challenge facing the parties is to make themselves attractive to the electorate to draw maximum voter support. And the main source of potential support is the country's millions of black people who will be voting for the first time.

Professor Kotzé says one problem to be solved urgently — if the elections are to be free and fair — is the violence.

"I cannot see how free and fair elections can be held in the present climate," he said.

"How, for example, will the parties be able to canvass for votes in areas racked by violence, such as Soweto and other trouble spots on the Witwatersrand and in Natal?"

Meanwhile an immediate task facing the government and political parties is to educate those who have never voted in an election. Among them are many illiterate people who cannot read or write, and many others whose political knowledge is low.

The immediate training to be provided will depend largely on the electoral system to be used. Will it be proportional representation, for example, and will symbols be used to enable illiterate voters to know who the candidates and parties are? How will the ANC, for example, run an election campaign when it is still a "liberation movement" with its own army?

These and many other practical questions still have to be answered once agreement on such issues has been reached in Codesa's negotiations.

An important factor is the secrecy of the vote, vital if intimidation is to be averted.

What are the NP's prospects in a non-racial election?

Since the former whites-only party opened its membership to all races, it has made some important gains in support from people of colour — notably from a batch of MPs who defected from the Labour Party in the House of Representatives to the NP.

Significant support for the NP has been shown by a recent Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) opinion poll in urban areas which showed that while the ANC would take 37 percent of the total urban vote in an election and the NP 28 percent, the ANC lagged significantly behind the NP in Indian and coloured support.

The NP would get 54 percent of the coloured vote, 52 percent of the Indian, 49 percent of the white and six percent of the black.

The ANC on the other hand would win only seven percent of the coloured vote, eight percent of the Indian vote and three percent of the white vote, but 67 percent of the black vote.

The Pan-Africanist Congress and Inkatha would get only three percent of the total vote.

A top HSRC spokesman, Dr Johann Mouton, told Weekend Argus that opinion polls had shown consistently that the ANC did not have much coloured support.

He said also that although the poll showed only three percent support for Inkatha, it had to be taken into account that certain rural areas of KwaZulu had been excluded from the survey. If those areas were to be included, Inkatha's support could rise to as high as 12 to 15 percent.

As preparations for an election progress, parties might need to form alliances or even merge, and to pool their resources. Traditional "white" political attitudes will have to be abandoned as fast as possible if former all-white parties like the NP are to make any headway in the coming scramble for support.

President De Klerk is likely to indicate during the debate on his Budget vote in Parliament after the Easter recess the directions in which party-politics will move.

Major issues he is expected to clarify are those of possible political realignments, the future of the National Party, and the possible formation of a new centrist party.

Whatever happens, a new inescapable reality for politicians is that South African mainstream politics has become colour blind — all that matters now is votes.



**FROM GOLF TO THE GRASSROOTS: FW de Klerk will reach out to the masses this week** Photo: Eric Miller

# Plain truth about FW's M'Plain visit

South 11/4 - 16/4/92

By Quentin Wilson 3041

RAZZLE-DAZZLE arrangements for President FW de Klerk's visit to Mitchells Plain took an embarrassing turn this week when prominent locals dissociated themselves from the fanfare.

For a start, the church brigade invited to lead De Klerk's procession on Saturday from the Westridge Civic Centre to the Town Centre refused to take part.

The Western Cape Traders Association added to the organisers' headache when they said they wanted nothing to do with the luncheon for local businesspeople.

Even Radio Plain, which broadcasts from the Town Centre, was in two minds about whether they were going to allow De Klerk air time to give a short message to Saturday morning shoppers, specially considering the station was not consulted in the first place.

The NP's "meet the people" campaign aims to win the hearts, minds and votes in an area hit hard by the NP's discriminatory policies.

This weekend will be the first time De Klerk has canvassed support in Mitchells Plain, among people whose vote was taken away by his party.

Although the NP's Mitchells Plain MP, Mr Stanley Fisher, said "everything is going according to plan", a not-so-welcome programme of action was planned by residents who interpret the visit as an insult.

In addition to a protest rally at Glendale High School for all 14 schools in the area — demonstrations, pamphlets and meetings were organised to voice disapproval.

One ANC pamphlet contained the notorious quote by Mrs Marike de Klerk about coloured people: "They are a negative group. The definition of a coloured in the population register is someone who is not black and is not white, and is also not an Indian, in other words a non-person."

The pamphlet also referred to the controversy surrounding the relationship between Mr Willem de Klerk and coloured model Ms Erica Adams.

ANC publicity secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC "will in no way disrupt his visit, but we want to make it clear on Saturday that a lot of people are unhappy with his presence in Mitchells Plain".

"We feel that in some ways he is abusing his position as state president to accrue votes for the NP. We also feel that it is ironic that De Klerk asks people to support his party that took their votes away," Hofmeyr said.

Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party also disapproved of the visit and endorsed the protest action.

Rev Ronald Phillips of the Westridge Anglican church said his church had decided not to lead Saturday's procession because "De Klerk is still a representative of a minority people".

"We have a policy in our church that we will not align ourselves with the state — of which Mr De Klerk is a symbol.

"He is the leader of a minority people and for that reason we have asked the church brigade not to lead the procession on Saturday," he said.

Eighteen organisations, including the Dispensing Family Practitioners Association and the South African Democratic Teachers Union, criticised the Merchants Association's executive for hosting the business luncheon without consulting their membership.

"It is seen as if the Merchants Association is taking sides between the government and the people, the very people from Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha who are your loyal customers and supporters," the organisations said.

Chairperson of the Merchants Association Mr Mohammed Patel said they had decided to host De Klerk "out of courtesy".

# Codesa may be out, but outside is in for PAC

South 11/4-16/4/92

(304A)

**Six members of the PAC national executive are heading for Nigeria to meet with the South African government in a move seen as an attempt to reassure those pushing for participation in negotiations:**

THE PAC has emerged from its third national congress holding firmly to its anti-Codesa stance.

It decided it was willing to talk about the modalities for a constituent assembly with all interested parties — but not at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa).

This forum was labelled an undemocratic one that could not ensure the transfer of power.

However, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu announced amid loud cheers that the PAC would be meeting the South African government in Nigeria.

The announcement seemed to be aimed at reassuring those, inside and outside the PAC, pushing for participation in constitutional talks and an attempt to get a little closer to the Codesa bandwagon.

The meeting would be chaired by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, currently the chairperson of the Organisation of African Unity.

Makwetu said the meeting would lay the basis for a summit between himself and President FW de Klerk to discuss the modalities for elections to a constituent assembly.

The PAC was quick to hail the announcement as a victory for its insistence on talks outside South Africa under a neutral chairperson.

The South African government responded with a statement that left many questions unanswered.

No formal meeting had been arranged, said the statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although Nigerian officials had informally asked about a meeting with PAC leaders.

"This was a goodwill gesture on the part of Nigeria. At no stage, however, was it suggested that such a meeting would constitute a formal negotiating session, or summit, with the PAC under the chairmanship of the OAU on foreign or neutral territory."

The government said such a step would be unnecessary, reaffirmed its commitment to Codesa, and said it would prefer to meet the PAC inside South Africa.

What it didn't say was whether there would be a meeting of some sort in Nigeria, although officials later said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha would "readily" meet the PAC if they were in Nigeria when he was there.



Clarence Makwetu

The PAC believed the meeting would be on. A six-member delegation from its national executive was due to head for Nigeria this week.

The PAC also decided that it could not drop its armed struggle, because of ongoing violence in the townships.

The congress resolved that as long as African people were subjected to "state-sponsored violence" in urban and rural areas, the armed struggle would not be suspended or abandoned.

There was no shortage of pressure on the PAC to join negotiations. Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said the struggle could not reach its logical conclusion while there was bickering among the liberation forces.

He hoped the PAC would soon meet the SA government. Diplomatic observers used their messages of support to refer pointedly to the benefits of negotiations.

MAKWETU complained bitterly that the United States government was singling out the PAC as the only political group not to receive support.

This was based on the misconception that the PAC was opposed to negotiations, he said.

One resolution said the PAC would "resolutely pursue" its policies to overthrow the "settler colonial regime" and establish a socialist, Africanist democracy.

The PAC rejected "any attempts by the US or any other foreign government to force the PAC to alter its policies and programmes to suit its own interests".

Despite factional rumblings before the congress, the PAC managed to contain the differences.

There were predictions of a walkout over the question of negotiations, but this did not happen.

The integration of the external mission and internal leadership seems to have been achieved reasonably smoothly. The executive was enlarged from 30 to 40 members and the external mission was dissolved.

The PAC's headquarters would be in Johannesburg, leaving only the military wing headquarters outside.

On the Revolutionary Watchdogs, an East Rand group contesting previous executive elections, the congress decided to mandate the national executive to resolve the problem.

The three-person presidency, with Makwetu, first deputy Mr Johnson Mlambo and second deputy Mr Dikgang Moseneke, was returned.

There were cheers of "Makwetu, you're the lion" when the proposal to return the three was accepted.

There was a battle for secretary-general, between incumbent Mr Benny Alexander and the national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivanani. Alexander won 219 votes to 144.

At the start of the conference, he earned enthusiastic laughter for his Afrikaans version of the PAC slogan, one settler, one bullet: "Een boertjie, een koëeltjie."

**— Ecna**

Wiet iv

create a climate of free political activity and to define a role for the international community during South Africa's transition.

The word from participants, as in every other working group, is that progress is slow and tedious. They have not had time to even think about the role of the international community and are bogged down with their first chore.

They still have to reach consensus on trying to create a free political climate. In attempting this, they have divided themselves into three sub-committees.

- The first is working out the reorganisation of the state-controlled media with particular reference to the SABC.

Participants agree the SABC should play a neutral and balanced role in its coverage of events, especially during election campaigns. But there is major disagreement as to how this should be achieved.

In this debate, all groups are clustering around one of two arguments. The first position, spearheaded by the ANC, insists on the establishment of an independent broadcasting commission. This would mean a multi-party body would effectively run the direction of the SABC.

The second argument, supported by the NP, calls for a Complaints Tribunal to be set up to advise the

oners and the return of exiles. It has decided to wait for further breakthroughs in ANC-government talks on this topic. The debate here is whether exiles/prisoners should continue with their individual applications for indemnity or be given blanket indemnity.

- The third sub-committee is dealing with the future control of the security forces and assessing whether the National Peace Accord is being observed.

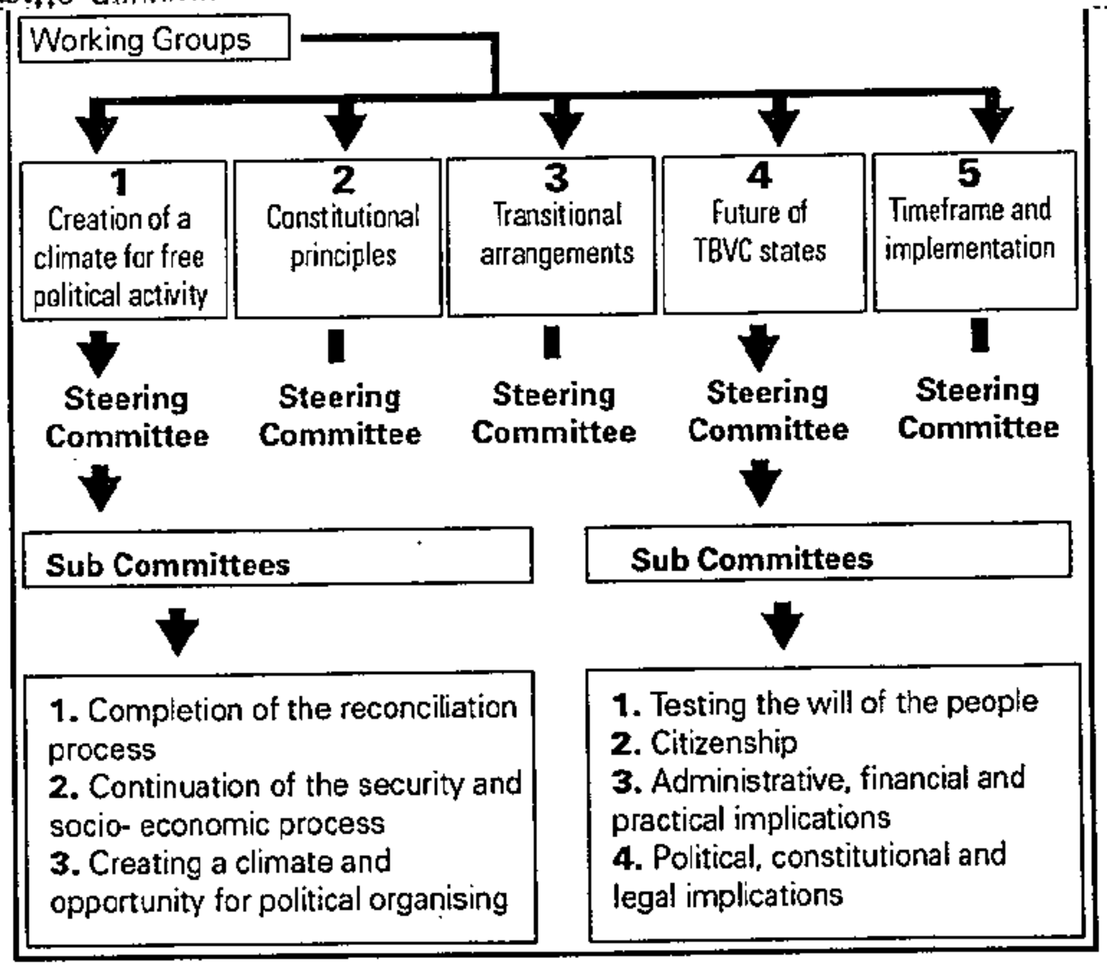
As far as the security forces go, again there is a deadlock. Should Umkhonto we Sizwe be integrated into the SADF or should MK dissolve while SADF structures remain unchanged?

**Working group two:** this group, (Constitutional principles, constitution-making body/process) has agreed on general constitutional principles to be enshrined in the new constitution. It is now discussing the nature and form of the body which will draw up the constitution.

This next step overlaps with the work of working group three to such an extent that the two groups will cover these items jointly.

Otherwise working group two still has to address:

- The protection of religions and languages.




- The role of traditional leaders.
- The roles of central, regional and local government.
- Affirmative action.
- The protection of minorities.

**Working group three:** (Transitional arrangements) is looking at structures which will move the country from the present dispensation to a more democratic one.

Shortly before the referendum, this group agreed on the need for a "transitional executive structure" to be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

Since then, parties have tabled their proposals and are currently discussing them.

The central point of disagreement is the amount of power the present tri-cameral parliament should enjoy in the run-up to non-racial elections.

While the ANC is suggesting that an interim government should over-

a plenary session of Codesa for fin agreement.

Modifications to the initial sul committee decision are made alor the way.

No voting takes place at Code — all decisions are taken by "suf cient consensus".

In practice this means a signi cant number of parties have reach agreement on an issue for t process to continue. This does n mean there should be comple agreement.

**Working group four:** is concern with the future of the TBVC state

It has split into four sub-comm tees to cover the following:

- Testing the will of the people these areas.
- Working out the citizenship each homeland.
- Administrative, financial a practical implications of reinco poration.
- Political, constitutional and le implications.

**Working group five:** (Tim frames and implementation) mo tors the progress of the other wo ing groups.

It finds points of agreement a helps to decide what other issu they should discuss.

# Carlisle condemns DP-NP merger bid

STAR 11/4/92

**PETER FABRICIUS**
**Political Correspondent**

304A

CAPE TOWN — A senior Democratic Party member of Parliament has condemned the plan by Houghton MP Tony Leon and others to form a centrist party with the National Party.

Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle last night described moves in the DP to link up with the NP or the ANC as "the immature antics of a few individual caucus members".

He denied a report last weekend that he had backed the plan to form a centrist party under President F W de Klerk. Carlisle told the DP Wynberg committee he was not aware of any plan to disband the DP and would vigorously oppose it if there were.

"I believe passionately in the need for an independent liberal-democratic party in South Africa and I reject out of hand any merger with either the National Party or the ANC."

DP MPs in Leon's camp said yesterday that it was up to the National Party to make the next move.

Although the option of re-forming under a new name has been discussed within the NP, no decision seems to have been taken.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe dismissed the idea earlier this week, but NP sources said this might not be the final word.

Most NP MPs appear to favour the NP retaining its name while broadening its support base by forming alliances with other parties.

One of the main considerations is whether or not the name "National Party" carries too many apartheid associations to appeal to black voters.

# Democratic Party keeps SA guessing

South 11/4 - 16/4/92

By Sabata Ngcai

DEBATE between MPs in the Democratic Party is hotting up as different factions try to pitch the organisatins in contradictory directions.

The debate on the party's future follows a DP caucus meeting held recently to discuss a proposal to disband and form a new centrist party with the NP.

DP MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, said his party should be part of something bigger.

"We want to work for a centrist party that would include not only the DP and NP, but also organisations like the ANC and other parties.

"The DP was formed to fight the white elections in 1989 and the past position of the party is no longer relevant now.

"There are no other whites-only elections coming now as we are looking forward to non-racial democratic elections in South Africa."

Hulley said the DP would remain independent "until something bigger, which we should work for, has been achieved".

DP MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, could not say whether there were divisions within the party or whether he had any intention of joining another organisation.



Mr Jan van Eck

Van Eck did not rule out the possibility of joining the ANC in future.

"I have always stated categorically that I stand on the side of the oppressed and dispossesed people but I cannot say whether I will or won't join the ANC.

"What I stand for and what the ANC stands for is almost the same."

Although he did not want to commit himself on divisions within the party, Van Eck did not rule out any merger with other parties.

He said a plan drawn up by the DP MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, was "strictly confidential" and was still under discussion.

Leon is reported to have drawn up a merger plan in which he said the DP was facing a bleak future.

He said the support for the party had shrunk alarmingly among whites and there was no growth of support in the "non-white" community.

Leon reportedly said it was impossible for the DP to consider engaging in any alliance at national level without tearing the party apart.

DP chairperson, Mr Ken Andrew, ruled out any possibility of a DP merger with other parties.

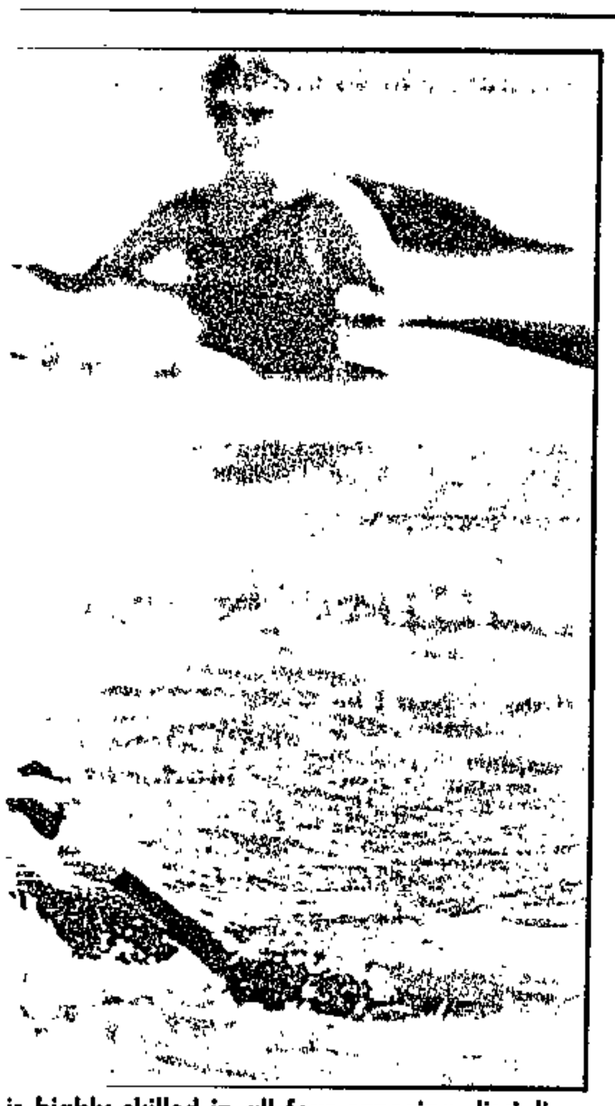
"It is not possible in the foreseeable future that there would be any merger with other parties, maybe it could be possible in two or three years.

"The idea is not even shared by the majority of the party members at the moment," Andrew said.

Thank you

# Nelson, for Windies tour!

STAR 11/4/92 (HKP) (304A)



is highly skilled in all four canoeing disciplines lane where he will carry South Africa's hopes.

## now glory




in the gym at mid-day alternating with a run, then back to the lake in the evening for another 90-minute session.

All this for less than four minutes of effort on race day and a chance of Olympic folklore. "The Olympic standard for the 1 000 m is 3 minutes 50 seconds," he says. "Our top guys have been getting close to 3:48 this season.

"There has been a great turnaround in South African canoeing. Our top paddlers have deserted long distance in favour of sprints, and the recent influx of European coaches has sparked even more interest over the shorter distances.

"In between all this training I make time for my girlfriend, Tracy, but she understands this is a one-off event and how important it is for me. She rides horses at competitive level and identifies with the commitment.

"This will be my first and last Games. I'll give it my all and then ease up a little. Besides, I don't have the money. Sponsorship is critical. A good single canoe costs up to R10 000, with a top double craft going for R14 000.

"We have to tread a fine line between trying to give our backers maximum exposure without transgressing race sponsor rules."

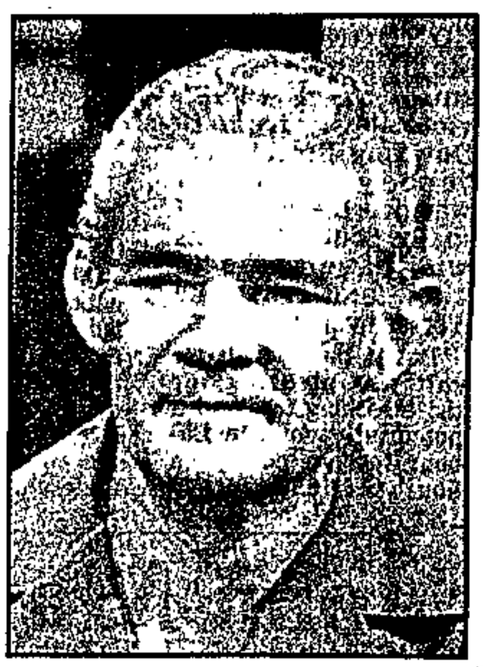
Indeed, the 1990s race-for-cash disease was near-fatal for Perrow and Evans during Dusi, when organisers invoked a fine of R10 000 for blatant displays of advertising.

"The row this caused gave our sponsors even more coverage, so they didn't complain," says the man who displays an acute sense of business acumen.

"I've had to quit my job to devote enough time to training, but when the show is all over I'll have to think seriously about a career. There's not enough money in canoeing to keep you going, but right now it's the only thing that matters."




**MICHAEL Manley (right), the recently retired Jamaican Prime Minister, never thought he would be encouraging a South African cricket team to tour his island. In an exclusive interview, he told the Saturday Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON how Caribbean perceptions of the former "racist republic" have changed.**



KINGSTON — It may come as a surprise to many South Africans to hear it, but the white referendum was followed very closely in Jamaica — and had there been a "no" vote the cricket tour would have been cancelled.

The source of this information is no less than Michael Manley, the long-serving Jamaican Prime Minister who retired recently — but not before he'd played a key role in persuading his countrymen that it was time to welcome South Africa back into the international fold.

Manley said he — a lifelong and vociferous enemy of the Pretoria Government — had been persuaded to do so by Nelson Mandela.

"The critical moment came when Nelson Mandela and the ANC settled their own sense of strategy about sport, and took the firm position that, wherever a genuine effort was being made toward integration, it should be supported," Manley said.

"I was one of the people who then acted on this, making a small contribution to the fact that the tour was possible, and that there has been a good reception."

Manley said he "felt very strongly that, once the breakthrough began between Mandela, De Klerk and the others, that we would take our lead from the ANC in reviewing our long held positions".

He revealed that the referendum result had had a profound impact on Jamaican attitudes towards white South Africans.

"I can tell that we were very, very deeply pleased, and even moved, that not only did the referendum go as it did, but that whites voted with such an overwhelming majority. It gave us a huge thrill, and that's one of the reasons why you have been so well received here."

Manley said it was undeniable that there had been — and still, to an extent, was — "a lot of unease here about the invitation to tour".

"This is a very politically conscious society. It's small but very politically aware. And we Jamaicans, truthfully, do not regard the struggle in South Africa as being over until there is a constitution that gives one person one vote."

The discussion with Manley also confirmed a fact that is visually obvious to any visitor in Jamaica: Nelson Mandela is held here in a higher regard than any other single political figure in the world.

One drives on the "Mr Nelson Mandela Highway" from Kingston to Spanish Town, there is Mandela graffiti all over the island, and even in small mountain villages streets and squares have been named after the ANC leader.

"You must understand that here, Mandela is regarded as a hero of a proportion that I wonder if people inside South Africa even begin to understand. He is one of the greatest symbols of the 20th century. So when Mandela tells me he is ready to co-operate with those sporting bodies that have reached a certain point, that is good enough for me."

According to Manley, feelings about apartheid are very personalised in the Caribbean — and therefore very intense. "People here identify with black South Africans very deeply, partly because of our ethnic composition and partly because going way back to my late father's time, when he led this country, Jamaica was one of the first two countries in the world to ban trade with South Africa.

"Small as we were — you probably wouldn't have even noticed our measures — it was taken as a deep matter of principle.

"Consciousness about the issue really goes back to one of our great national heroes of the past, Marcus Garvey," Manley said.

"He instilled racial pride; never in an aggressive way, but in a way that insists upon recognition and equality. And do you know why, like Garvey, Mandela is so profoundly admired here, and has such deep resonance? It's because he has never allowed his own experience to make him bitter, to make him racist.

"Jamaica is a very non-racist society. It's an overwhelmingly black society that is totally easy and accommodating of different races.

"So when Nelson Mandela stands there for the principle of justice rather than revenge, he strikes a resonance in our psyche."

Manley, who has not visited South Africa, said he hoped to. "I think there would be no greater thrill for me than to visit South Africa when democracy finally arrives, having been concerned for all my life with it."



# FW ends historic visit

STAR 11/4/92 (304A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

not doing its duty are unfounded," he said.

"We are really doing everything reasonable which we can do," he said, citing the expansion of the police force, its budget and technological resources.

Policing and Government action were not the only answers. Political leadership had to defuse the volatile atmosphere, he said.

Though said simply to be on a working trip, De Klerk was welcomed to Nigeria's new federal capital late on Thursday with all the pomp and ceremony of a state visit, including a red carpet and 21-gun salute.

Nigeria provided the honours, despite protests from the African National Congress that the visit should not have taken place until a non-racial transitional government was in place in Pretoria.

The radical Pan Africanist Congress, which is boycotting constitutional talks with the South African Government, also condemned the visit, but it sent a delegation to Abuja to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha and Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu discussed diplomatic ties, creating air links between the two countries and developing trade.

De Klerk's visit to Nigeria took place in the week that Ivory Coast became the first black African country to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa, apart from Malawi.

At a banquet on Thursday night, Babangida said De Klerk's reforms had earned the white leader a place alongside ANC president Nelson Mandela and other black opponents of apartheid.

Nigeria, the most influential state in black Africa, has headed continental opposition to apartheid.

"We welcome you as the man who closed the book of apartheid," Babangida told De Klerk. "By virtue of what you initiated ... in the last two years, you have taken a well-deserved position among these stalwarts." — Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP-AFP.

... of the murderers had possible".

# FW kisses roadshow goodbye

CP Nov 12.14/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's Mitchells Plain roadshow appears to have been abandoned after he was booed down at a chaotic public meeting yesterday.

He struggled to make himself heard above the chanting of ANC and New Unity Movement supporters among about 3 000 people who thronged a specially erected marquee at the Mitchells Plain town centre.

His address, much of which was inaudible, lasted only a few minutes and he left immediately afterwards in a vehicle.

As De Klerk left, opponents jeered and chanted "ANC, ANC", but many grasped his hand and shook it.

When De Klerk arrived, the marquee was overflowing. Some supporters carried orange and blue balloons, NP party flags and posters saying: "We love De Klerk."

Many more carried placards with slogans such as "Votes before visits", "Kiss your white privilege goodbye", "Mandela for president" and "NUM against Codesa". (304A)

De Klerk was greeted by deafening jeers and cheers. He said: "I say thank you very much to Mitchells Plain. I see Mitchells Plain is National Party territory."

Other portions of his brief address which were audible included: "I want to say one thing to you ... the NP has closed the book of apartheid.

"The NP is the party of peace ..."

Quarrels broke out between the rival supporters after a man grabbed the microphone as the State President was leaving and said: "FW, jou moer."

De Klerk said after the meeting he would return to Mitchells Plain. – Sapa

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# Spirit of intolerance waits to ruin new SA

**South Africa, 1994-2004: A Popular History by Tom Barnard (Southern) – R49,99c (incl VAT).** Ipren 12/4/92 (3644)

NOT since Arthur Keppel-Jones wrote his famous 1947 *When Smuts Goes* has an author written a book that has grabbed South Africans by the scruff of their necks and forced them to look into the future.

The book becomes urgent reading – especially following President FW de Klerk's referendum in which white SA mandated him to talk rather than fight, while on the other hand, endemic violence is tearing the country's black communities apart.

Add to this the noise which followed the book's publication. The author had chosen the pen name Tom Barnard, for professional reasons. Intrigue was added when he started appearing in the media wearing a mask.

Finally enterprising journalism won the day when he was unmasked by a Johannesburg newspaper as Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University.

Essentially the book is a candid chronicle of post-apartheid SA. Though in the tone of *When Smuts Goes* in its treatment of the fictional events, the story is still too close to the bone.

This is particularly so now that SA is at the critical Codesa stage. Interim government and Constituent Assembly are no longer abstract words.

The book opens at the birth of a new SA on Wednesday, April 13, 1994 in Pretoria during a fanfare ceremony at the National Stadium (what we know today as the Loftus Versfeld rugby stadium).

The green and gold flag with a diagonal black bar is raised to give birth to the Federal Republic of South Africa. Much had gone into name changes at the Commission of Inquiry into National Symbols.

The ANC's leader Eminent Magqabi is sworn in as president of the new nation. The ANC had won 55 percent of the seats in the 300-member National Assembly. President Magqabi commits himself to reconciliation and the building of a new SA.

It is after President Magqabi's death and Qunta succeeds him when the course of history takes another turn.

Qunta quickly stamps his leadership qualities as "a man who brought a good deal of emotion into politics and he was a man who spoke his mind".

But Qunta dies and is succeeded by former Umkhonto weSiwe member Mxolisi Cindi who "had established a reputation for ruthlessness in dealing with dissent from both Afrikaner and Inkatha quarters".

It is here that the ghosts lurking in SA's history emerge to haunt Cindi's government. Afrikaners demand their homeland. "The slow movement of Afrikaners from other parts of the country to Orania, as the envisaged Afrikaner homeland in the north-western Cape had become generally known, gathered momentum between 1999 and 2001," writes Barnard.

The question of Orania becomes so messy that there is a threat of nuclear war. Western powers come into the picture. And some sort of solution is brokered when Orania finally wins its independence.

Later through the famous London *Sunday Times'* respected "Insight" team we learn that Orania's threat of nuclear war was a hoax.

# And now, something new out of Africa

ST Times 12/4/92

304A

STORY AND PICTURE: CLAIRE ROBERTSON

AS South Africa prepared for the end of three decades of ostracism by Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha donned a traditional West African danshiki and dark glasses — to look the part of our man at the OAU.

South Africa is expected to be represented at the Organisation for African Unity conference in Dakar in two months' time — as an observer — and is likely to be admitted as a full member next year.

The Nigerian ambassador to the OAU, Chief Segun Olusola, said members would not oppose South Africa's admission to the body after the signal of acceptance given by Nigeria during a visit by President FW de Klerk this week.

And, to celebrate on the flight home, Mr Botha changed into Nigerian traditional dress.

During the visit M. Botha's Nigerian counterpart, Major-General Ike Nwachuku, welcomed "the Boers as one of the tribes of Africa".

Mr Botha, in his own tribal dress of dark suit and tie, replied: "The tribe I represent has signalled that apartheid is dead".

● See page 2



ALL SET FOR OAU? Pik Botha relaxes in Nigerian dress . . . but the cigar is a not-so-traditional Havana

# Protesters pelt FW with stones

ST Times 12/4/92

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was yesterday forced to abandon his visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town after protesters threw stones at him.

The incident happened while he addressed more than 10 000 people who gathered in and around a marquee. The stones were apparently thrown by members of the ANC and the New Unity Movement.

Some of them hit Mr De Klerk, but he was not injured, the Cape secretary of the National Party and chief organiser of the rally, Mr Carl Greyling, confirmed yesterday.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

However, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary, said gravel, not stones, was thrown at Mr De Klerk.

Mr Greyling said Mr De Klerk was escorted out of the marquee and driven to Tuynhuys. The rest of his programme, including a walkabout in a Mitchell's Plain shopping centre and a luncheon, were also cancelled.

## Threats

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr De Klerk made no mention of the incident.

"The fact that, regardless of threats and intimidation, they gathered in their thousands along the route and venues, carrying placards, flags and stickers displaying their support for the NP, conveys a powerful message that bodes well for the future," he said.

"All that serves as great inspiration to me.

"It again proved that the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in South Africa."

The president's "roadshow" began at the civic centre where he was given a rousing welcome. His cavalcade then moved to the marquee which was lined by thousands of people waving placards.

Inside, Mr De Klerk struggled to make himself heard above the chanting of a small group of ANC and NUM supporters among about 3 500 people.

The ceremony was scheduled to last an hour and Mr De Klerk was then to have walked to the nearby shopping centre to speak to the public.

Inside the tent, supporters welcoming him jostled with those opposing his visit. A further 7 000 to 8 000 people waving pro-De Klerk posters gathered outside the tent.

## Cheers

But as soon as the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, opened proceedings he was shouted down by chants of "ANC, ANC".

Mr De Klerk's speech was greeted by deafening jeers and cheers.

Then, from the direction of the ANC and NUM protesters, stones started raining on Mr De Klerk and his aides. Bodyguards, who were backed up by police, threw a cordon around him and whisked him to his car.

He was then driven to Tuynhuys, leaving behind pandemonium and confusion among the people.


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# And now, something new out of Africa

ST Times 12/4/92



ALL SET FOR OAU? Pik Botha relaxes in Nigerian dress . . . but the cigar is a not-so-traditional Havana

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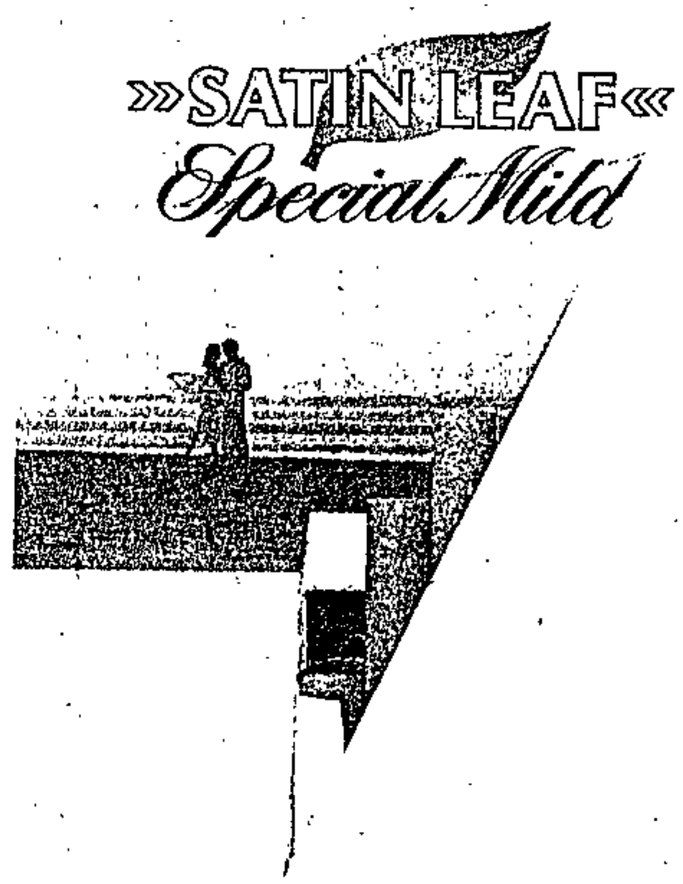


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# Like Topsy, it just grows and grows

ST Times 12/4/92

CONSIDER a paradox: the immense labours of apartheid have been abandoned and most of the tasks laid on the public service by Verwoerdian theology have been abolished, but government grows and grows like Topsy.

The list of abandoned tasks is awesome: the pass laws have gone and with them the work of issuing passes, checking them, trucking people to the commissioners' courts, collecting fines, enforcing prison sentences and transporting people back to the rural areas.

But as the work shrinks the cost of government grows. It is now running at about R50-billion a year.

The group areas boards have gone, and nobody need buy up land for reallocation to different races. Also gone are the inspectors who used to chase workers around building sites because they were doing work reserved for other people. Nobody need spy on lovers, nor enforce miscegenation laws. Workers move where they will and there is no need for labour bureaux.

The securocrats, as we called the stifling network of committees that blanketed the country, with an army officer on every committee, are superfluous. There is no need for sanctions-busters, for oil buyers, for strategic stockpiles of aspirin and eyewash or for the army of bureaucrats who defended our industrial secrets. The censors have nothing much to do, and nobody chases hawkers from the sidewalks.

Nevertheless, the cost of government goes up.

The whole mad business of centralised planning, and all that went with it, has fallen into disrepute. No bureaucrat is called upon these days to discover the best site, ideologically speaking, for a Taiwanese factory, nor to administer the rotten system of subsidies that went with it. The attempt to turn Bronkhorstspruit into an industrial hub has fizzled away.

Chris Heunis has gone, and his rickety structure of constitutional devices has collapsed into nothing more than Codesa, which costs not a fraction of the old Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. That alone should have saved us billions, but it hasn't.

Iscor is a private company and so is Sasol. Armscor, SA Airways, the railway network and other enterprises which were once included, as government departments, among the burdens of the taxpayer are now supposed to pay their own way, and they put up their fees and charges ruthlessly. To go to hospital is to risk starving to death, and school fees drive mothers out to work.

The war in Angola has ended, and the administration of Namibia has been reduced to running a port. Nobody is building huge bases in Owamboland nor case-hardened highways for the army along the borders. Thousands of military flights across the sub-continent have been terminated.

Despite all this, however, the government does not shrink. It grows. As this newspaper pointed out last week, the abolition of the entire Department of Development Aid — the biggest apartheid bureaucracy of all — has saved not a single job. On the contrary, it has caused the public service to grow.

Not only has the government found make-work jobs — at the old salaries, of course — for 4 071 redundant public servants; it has also absorbed 5 224 people who used to work for the defunct SA Development Trust. Heaven knows what they all do, but they still draw their salaries, drive around in their Mercs, occupy their offices and spend our money on each other.

WHEN government departments do, on rare occasions, shrink, the results are hardly more comforting. In 1986 Chris Heunis's department employed 1 348 people to make constitutions that didn't work. Of these, 15 were in the top bracket, earning at least R55 100 a year (not to speak of their Mercedes-Benzes, their subsidised housing loans, their crooked pension scheme, their first-class air tickets and jaunts abroad, *ensovoorts, ensovoorts)*.

Today that department has been cut down to a mere 189 people whose task includes such things as liaison with media, research and "stabilising" the pension fund (whatever that may mean). That's progress, you might say — except that the number of officials in the top pay bracket has increased from 15 to 19, and that they now earn R101 500 or more.

To ask why it takes 19 highly paid mandarins to supervise 189 people when 15 used to supervise 1 348 people is naïve. Public servants protect each other by promoting each other — that is why our army is reputed to have more generals per soldier than any army since Napoleon III. Indeed, the military officers have more or less promoted each other out of fighting, a task which tends to be left to conscripts, or to Angolan refugees.

ANOTHER bureaucratic trick which we are seeing now is to ensure that budget cuts fall most heavily on the public — the hospital patients are dumped on to the floor and the roads are left to break up, but no senior fellow ever loses his job. The ensuing public outcry soon persuades the politicians to restore what they have cut from the Budget. The officials smile quietly.

To say that this is the worst government we have ever had is perhaps true, but petulant; to say that the ANC couldn't do worse than Mr Barend du Plessis in controlling government spending is also petulant, and perhaps untrue. What is true, however, is that the Nats will soon be handing over to the ANC a wondrous machine, an immense vacuum cleaner that sucks up money from people who work for a living, and dispenses it to those whose work is simply to dispense money.

Things can only get worse, people say gloomily as they survey the deprived masses clamouring for jobs, welfare, education, health and happiness from the nanny state that is about to be created. Perhaps so, but there will be one difference: the ANC proposes to confiscate from the rich and give to the poor; the Nationalists confiscate from the poor to give to the rich.

And that's a much more wicked way for a government to ruin a country.

**KEN OWEN**

# Landmark trip for FW

Citizen 12/4/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha returned to SA from Nigeria this week after what has been described as one of their most important official visits. (3044)

Relations between Nigeria and SA have been sour since 1960 when the then South African government refused to attend the Nigerian independence celebrations.

At the State banquet President Ibrahim Babangida said he was "delighted" that at last there was someone in SA that Nigeria could do business with. – Sapa

# Getting gender on the agenda

By LULAMA LUTI

AS preparations for the next sitting of Codesa get under way, the debate on the representation of women in the organisation is also gaining momentum.

As a result, a broad national alliance of women's groups is being formed.

Already, regional structures have been set up in the Western Cape and Natal regions and it is hoped that the Transvaal will launch their structure soon.

This alliance will draw up a charter which will deal with women's rights at home, in the workplace, and in society at large.

Spearheaded by the ANC Women's League and others, the Women's Alliance was formed primarily to pressure Codesa to include gender issues in its deliberations.

Co-organiser of the alliance in Natal, Sue Holland-Muter, listed the main objectives of the group:

- To raise the awareness of women about the need for including women's rights in the new constitution;
- To draw up a list of needs and demands that need to be included in a charter of women's rights to ensure that women are well-represented in negotiations and;
- To work for the setting up of a tribunal or similar institution to protect these rights.

Holland-Muter said the key issues were laws discriminating against abortion and contraception, violence against women, health and housing, education and child care.

The alliance is expected to bring as broad a spectrum of women's organisations together as possible.

"We are currently having discussions with women from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, IFP, the DP and the NP," she said.

The alliance could see party political allegiances and differences in ideologies taking a back seat as women fight for their voices to be heard during this historic era in SA.

Dr NC Zuma of the ANC Women's League said the parties taking part in Codesa were made up of people produced by a patriarchal society.

"It is not surprising, that they are slow in taking deliberate steps to correct gender imbalances in our country," she said.

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# PIK'S ENGINES OF GROWTH PUFF FOR A UNITED AFRICA

ST Times 12/4/92

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON: Abuja, Nigeria

SOUTH AFRICA came home to Africa this week and in true form its fellow Big Brother of the continent killed the fatted calf.

Nigerians did not turn out in droves to cheer President FW de Klerk's motorcade through Abuja. Then again, there are no droves living in the underpopulated building-site-in-the-bush that is Nigeria's new federal capital.

But the official welcome matched the tropical heat of central Nigeria for warmth, with displays of mutual delight as the two giants of Africa met 30 years after suspending diplomatic relations in 1962.

This was the "most important visit of my career outside South Africa", said Foreign Minister Pik Botha. For many of his entourage it was the reward for years of work as contact with lesser countries culminated in the visit to the country considered SA's peer in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria's President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's recognition of SA's reform holds considerable clout. As chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, he can influence South Africa's formal readmission to organised African politics. Although no official announcement was made, OAU membership is in the offing.

The visit also highlighted a vision of a new Africa, one united economically in the face of a unified Europe and economic pacts in North America and the Pacific Rim.

Mr Botha outlined his plan for economic co-operation in Africa, with four regions each "pulled" to prosperity by the locomotive of its region — South Africa, Kenya to the east, Egypt to the north and Nigeria in west Africa.

These engines of growth would in turn unite to speak for Africa — "and if there is one thing Africa needs urgently it is one voice" — he said.

"We must help our continent to survive against enormous odds. If Nigeria and South Africa can put together a strategy against the world tendency to discard us, we would be fulfilling a historic mission."

The Nigerian foreign minister, Major General Ike Nwachuku, said he believed a new South Africa would "usher in a stronger Africa and make it possible for Africa to be heard much louder than in the past".

South Africa has committed itself wholeheartedly to the continent — even halving its diplomatic representation in the United States to finance its push into Africa and the Far East.

The warm "welcome home" offered by Nigeria this week is bolstered by rich economic opportunities for South Africa in West Africa.

Estimates of the potential trade between the two countries are as high as R3 000-million, according to Foreign Affairs officials.

Last year South African sales to Nigeria were worth just R1-million.

A country with an estimated unemployment rate of 40 percent, where a loaf of bread costs 50 percent more than the minimum daily wage, Nigeria is clearly looking to South Africa for an economic miracle.

The high expectations African countries have of South Africa's wealth and generosity are a headache for diplomats in the delicate courtship stage of relations.

"Expectations are excessively high as regards economic assistance from South Africa. There is an enormous expectation that we will become a donor nation, but we have to let them know we simply do not have the wherewithal," said the Africa section chief at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Derek Auret.

After the emotionally charged and intensely positive visit by President De Klerk, President Babangida sounded a note of caution in talks on Friday.

He emphasised the importance of a transitional government coming into being to facilitate the normalisation of relations between South Africa and Nigeria, according to a joint communiqué issued by the two leaders.

Nigerian officials spoke of their delight at being able to welcome the South African delegation.

The Nigerian man in the street shared the sentiment. "I'm so proud, I'm so happy. This Africa has to be one," said Lagos businessman Chief Patrick Abi.

A local cultural group composed a special song for President De Klerk to a tune from the South African musical *Ipi Tombi*. To a blushing Mr De Klerk they sang: "De Klerk saw a black man caught in a trap, he asked himself what shall I do? Apartheid is dying for good."

Then, to the delight of the guests at the state reception, the two presidential couples joined hands to the music of Ibo singer Nelly Uchendu.

After the SA presidential couple had flown out of Nigeria, the visit ended with a meeting between Mr Botha and a Pan Africanist Congress delegation at which the PAC said it repudiated a reported chant of "one boertjie, one bullet" made at a recent congress.

# Secret bid to clear impasse

**GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators met secretly in Cape Town this week in an attempt to resolve the impasse over proposals for an interim government.**

## Codesa group reach broad agreement on interim government

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

The participants explored possible areas of compromise between their conflicting proposals for interim rule which has caused a deadlock in Codesa negotiations over the past three weeks.

The meeting, held on Thursday morning, was attended by ANC negotiators Jacob Zuma and Mohamed Valli Moosa, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport.

Spokesmen on either side were loath to discuss details of the meeting except to say that they had used the opportunity to flesh out their respective positions in an attempt to reach some sort of understanding.

This was the first bilateral meeting between the two parties since government negotiators unveiled their plans for an appointed interim government three weeks ago.

The proposals were angrily rejected by the majority of participants in Codesa's Working Group Three, which is investigating transitional arrangements.

### Progress

The working group this week appointed an 11-member technical committee, under the chairmanship of the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew, to try to break the impasse.

A committee member said yesterday that progress was made towards reaching agreement on the two phases of interim government.

There was broad agreement that the first phase should be preparatory and should concentrate on levelling the playing field, while the second phase should be real transitional rule.

Progress was also made towards reaching a consensus that the various councils to be appointed in the first phase to oversee matters such elections and control of security forces should not serve as an alternative executive to the Cabinet.

The committe member said the technical committee still needed to outline the functions of the preparatory councils and develop more clarity on how they would link with the executive.

### Complex

Mr Andrew said yesterday that, while progress had been made in a number of important areas, it was a complex task and there was still a long way to go.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said: "I think we have all developed a clearer picture of the process and how we will have to fill in steps to make it work."

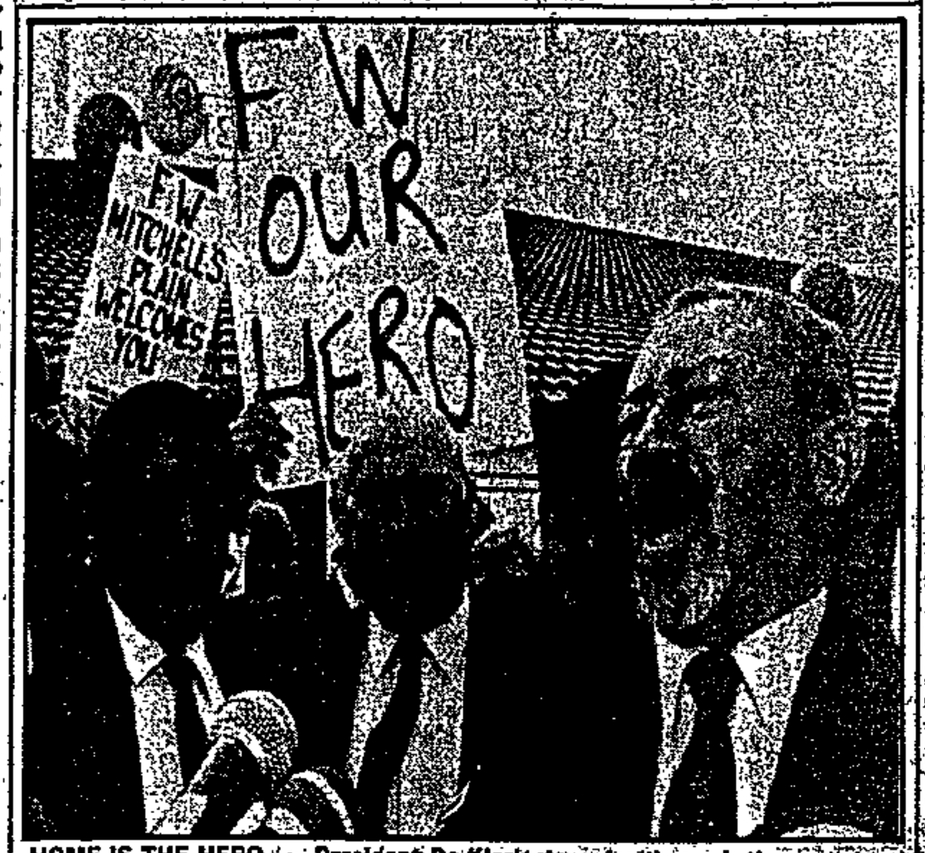
The impasse developed over the extent of power to be exercised by the appointed interim authority, which will oversee the process towards elections for a constitution-making body.

The government has proposed the appointment of five preparatory councils to oversee elections, plan new provincial boundaries, draw up new municipal boundaries, make proposals on future government finances, and deal with housing and urbanisation issues.

The government wants these councils to have essentially advisory powers.

The ANC proposes an all-party interim government council to oversee the operation of the tri-cameral Parliament, the Cabinet, the TBVC states and homeland governments.

The ANC's multi-party committees would have complete control over their areas of jurisdiction.




HOME IS THE HERO ... President De Klerk struggles through the crowd to address NP supporters at a rally at Mitchell's Plain yesterday

## SADF threat to reporter

SUNDAY TIMES reporter Peta Krost was threatened by an SADF officer yesterday, who said that she would be investigated for "possibly attempting to incite violence" in Phola Park.

She was accompanying Defence Minister Roelf Meyer on a visit to the East Rand squatter camp.

After Mr Meyer's press conference, Miss Krost and Witwatersrand Command media officer Major Andreas Jordaan were called aside by an SADF officer by the name of Van Eeden.

He told Miss Krost: "We have information that you may have been attempting to incite violence while in Phola Park. Do you know that you can be charged for such an offence?"

When Miss Krost asked the officer what he was talking about, he declined to give her further information.

Earlier, Miss Krost had asked residents of the camp — scene of an alleged attack by members of the SADF's 32 Battalion on Wednesday night — how they felt about Mr Meyer and SADF officers visiting.

## THOUSANDS GATHER TO CHEER, BOO DE KLERK IN MITCHELLS PLAIN

# FW rally ends in chaos, division

304A

Times Cape Metro 12/4/92

By KURT SWART

**THE battle for the hearts and minds of the people of Mitchells Plain reached a crescendo yesterday when State President F W de Klerk was pelted with stones and driven off stage during an abortive attempt at a mass rally.**

Mitchell's Plain, with a population of more than 700 000, will be a key constituency in a future non-racial election.

Many of the Labour Party MPs who have crossed to the National Party have taken their supporters with them.

Yesterday NP supporters claimed a victory as thousands turned out to witness Mr De Klerk's controversial first visit to the sprawling township.

On the evidence of the crowd's response Mr De Klerk has strong support in Mitchells Plain. But, it was equally clear that the township's residents were deeply divided between supporters and opponents of the National Party.

In Seventh Avenue near the Town Centre, thousands of residents lined the road, ANC and New Unity Movement supporters on the one side facing F W fans, waving NP flags and shouting "F W! F W!" on the other side.

Some NP supporters tried to peel an ANC poster off a van. A white NP official shouted through a megaphone to the F W fans: "Please calm down, comrades".

Posters clashed: "Welcome FW De Klerk" from the NP, "Welcome to Apartheid's Ghetto", from the ANC.

Democratic Party MP Mr Jannie Momberg said: "The crowd (estimated at under 10 000) is surprisingly small. I expected a lot more people here."

Heated arguments and healthy good-natured debates between ANC and NP supporters broke out all around the marquee after Mr De Klerk had been escorted to safety from the stonethrowers.

Boatbuilder Mr Johan Cleophas, sporting FW stickers and waving a NP flag, said: "De Klerk has made everything possible. Sanctions are dropping, and more boats are coming in every day. The ANC is insane. They want to break things down. They throw people off trains. I'm going to sign up for the National Party."

Asked about forced removals his wife Katie said she would love to return to Observatory, from where she was forced to move under the Group Areas Act.

She would not forget the shooting of Mitchells Plain schoolchildren by the police in 1985/1986. "My own son was hurt then, but it's time to forgive. That's what the Bible says."

The government delegation arrived at Westridge Civic Centre at 11.00 am and was welcomed and booed simultaneously by a crowd of about 500. The NP supporters sang Die Stem, and Mr De Klerk, in a brief speech, said to a cheering crowd: "On March 18 I said on the steps of the Tuynhuys that the book of apartheid is closed."

### Safety

The entourage then moved to a marquee adjacent to the Town Centre were both supporters and protestors staged a heated welcome for the president.

A nervous-looking Mr De Klerk was hustled on to stage to a tumultuous and divided reception. Boos and cheers fought for dominance throughout his short stay on stage.

Mr Dawie de Villers was booed when he described the behaviour of the ANC supporters as "scandalous".

President De Klerk started his speech but could not be heard through the cacophony of noise from supporters and detractors. There were claims that ANC supporters had cut the leads to the microphones.

Shortly afterwards small stones rained down on the stage and pandemonium ensued. Mr De Klerk crouched for safety, while NP officials held placards in front of the President to protect him.

In the panic journalists, officials, policemen and residents struggled to maintain balance on the rickety stage. Some people fell over chairs and crashed to the ground but miraculously no one was hurt.

The president was hastily bundled out the back of the marquee and escorted to his car by a phalanx of policemen. He did not make his scheduled appearance in the Town Centre.

The verdict at the end of the day was that the NP had at least 60 percent support among the 10 000 who thronged in and around the marquee.

**Graham Linscott** reports on a beguiling possibility in the new South Africa

# Could FW become populist leader?

STAR 13/4/92 (3044) (#)

A POPULIST De Klerk? The President's resounding success in the referendum, where he gathered in his most enthusiastic support from regions not traditionally Afrikaner Nationalist, must make the thought of disbanding the party to reach out into presently disfranchised South Africa a most beguiling one.

There are indeed indications of significant support for Mr de Klerk in the coloured and Indian communities. Could this be translated into black support as well?

If so, it would have to be pinned on De Klerk the man, certainly not his former party (presuming the Nats are in fact disbanded) nor a newly formed party which would have the fuzziest image.

It is interesting that the Nats should go for De Klerk buttons and De Klerk balloons for the big Mitchell's Plain bash — all the Yankee razzmatazz.

Brazil is a country which people often compare with South Africa for its racial composition. It is also where, a few years ago, the leader of a right-wing party, himself a representative of the old landed oligarchy, trounced the hard Left in the country's first democratic election; an election in which, going by population numbers, the trouncing should have gone the other way. In that election the illiterates (at least 10 percent of the population) had been enfranchised for the first time.

It is tempting to substitute F W de Klerk for Fernando Collor de Mello and wonder whether, having disbanded the Nats to found an all-embracing party of the centre, he may be able to achieve the same against the ANC.

However, an analysis for the Centre for Policy Studies (Human Sciences Research Council) suggests that this would be misplaced.

Visiting researcher Douglas L Pierce says the election of Mr de Mellor represented protest against an unpopular and hugely corrupt system (which included politicians of the Left).

The vote for a conservative was influenced by stratospheric inflation (at times a monthly 15 or 20 percent). Its taming took priority over a redistribution of wealth. In South Africa, however, the demand is for a redistribution of wealth, not a retaining of its value.

Pierce says the degree of government intervention in the Brazilian economy exceeded the monopoly characteristics even of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, while the taxpayer also found himself subsidising private monopolies. Parastatals combined inefficiency with dismal service. Most Brazilians were disillusioned with socialism.

Black South Africans, on the other hand, frequently confuse apartheid with capitalism and blame the latter for the tenacity of the former. They would probably favour a government of the moderate Left to initially redistribute national wealth.

Pierce says the absence of a shared South African identity precludes the formation of a Brazilian-style "nationalist-populist" option. It also precludes the election of a Centre-Right coalition because black South African voters do not identify with the interests of the present Government or its economy. The phenomenon of a popular conservative protest vote, as in Brazil, is remote.

All the same, the smart money is surely on President de Klerk making the strongest bid for the centre ground in every community, whether in Nat colours or new colours. □

# Disruption of FW's Cape speech condemned

STAR 13/4/92

**Own Correspondent**
**Staff Reporters**
**and Sapa**

The threatening behaviour of ANC supporters during President de Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town on Saturday came under fire last night. Mr de Klerk was forced to withdraw under a hail of gravel.

The ANC yesterday denied its supporters had infringed Mr de Klerk's right to free speech, but accused him of abusing his position to launch an expensive vote-gathering campaign.

Despite the apparent setback, Mr de Klerk hailed the visit as a triumph and said he had been "overwhelmed" by the reception given to him earlier.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said the NP was planning a second, larger rally that could accommodate more NP supporters from both Mitchell's Plain and the Peninsula.

NP information service official Piet Coertze said the NP also planned to hold rallies in the Transvaal which could include coloured and black townships. He said the NP wished to use the "momentum" created by the reform referendum to build the party.

Reacting to Saturday's events, DP Leader Dr Zach de Beer said there was no possiblity of a "democracy of any colour" in South Africa if politicians were not allowed reasonably peaceful audiences.

## Unfortunate

"It is not a desperately serious episode, but an unfortunate episode," he said.

He said there were clear indications before the meeting that attempts would be made to intimidate the NP.

"It was poor behaviour indeed," Dr de Beer said. He noted that those who disrupted the meeting had chanted "ANC, ANC", and one must therefore presume that they were ANC supporters.

This posed a difficult situation but, "If if they say they are your people and they misbehave, the onus is on you to put it right," he said.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Jan van Eck, who monitored Mr de Klerk's visit, yesterday condemned what he called some people's "hooliganism" and contrasted it to the "very restrained behaviour of the SAP".

Members of a crowd in Mitchell's Plain town centre threw "gravel and other objects at Mr de Klerk" as he attempted to address a crowd of National Party supporters in a marquee.

The meeting was abandoned and the President's security staff hustled him off to saftey moments before members of the crowd stormed the stage, overturning tables and tearing down posters. Afterwards, scuffles broke out between anti-NP and pro-NP supporters.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC denied that its supporters had infringed Mr de Klerk's right to address his supporters.

They stressed that members of the crowd had included supporters of organisations such as the PAC, Azapo, Unity Movement, Call of Islam and the Mitchell's Plain Civic Associations.

The ANC also accused Mr de Klerk of abusing his office to launch a vote-gathering campaign at great expense.

## Abuse

"After reportedly spending R250 000 on rallying a few thousand supporters, it is clear that De Klerk's attempt to go vote-gathering was an extravagant flop.

"We are forced to ask: was this funded by the NP, or was the NP using the privileges of power and State for its own electoral campaign, and an abuse of the office of the state president to promote party political interest?"

Mr de Klerk's office yesterday released a summary of the speech he planned to give in Mitchell's Plain town centre before it was cut short.

It said the National Party had closed the book on apartheid and put the past behind it.

He also planned to say that the NP was building a nation to bring together all those who belonged together through conviction.

These common ideals were an undivided South Africa, a franchise and full participation for all, co-operation among all South Africans, reconciliation and tolerance.

It rejected intimidation and stood for real democracy: freedom of speech, the right of every person and party to put its case unhindered, and the right to vote whichever way one wanted.

The party rejected communism and stood for the protection of a free economy.

# Denmark promises massive cash aid for SA

Copenhagen wants to re-establish ties with South Africa and will provide financial support once an interim government has been established, said Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen in Pretoria yesterday.

After meeting Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said that Denmark would provide $100 million (about R280 million) over a five-year period for this purpose to the interim government and non-governmental organisations.

Denmark lifted sanctions against South Africa recently.

Mr Botha said they had discussed the concept of a southern African community of states, Codesa, and a timetable for domestic political developments.

Mr Botha said it was the first time that a Danish cabinet minister had visited South Africa.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen said it seemed obvious that South Africa would proceed to establish a democratic, non-racial dispensation.

A Danish official said Mr Ellemann-Jensen would meet President de Klerk today and Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Forty-four business representatives, 13 journalists and eight Danish Foreign Ministry officials are accompanying Mr Ellemann-Jensen on his visit. — Sapa.

Hospital said that 37 of the in- ... of them worked through the night treating the victims.

# PAC says talks with Pik 'a breakthrough'

ARG 13/4/92

**Political Staff**

**JOHANNESBURG. — The meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and the government in Nigeria was an important breakthrough in the negotiation process and the start of a series of bilateral meetings between the PAC and other parties, said PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.**

**He said today the meeting, held on Friday in the Nigerian capital Abuju, was an important breakthrough for the PAC because the meeting was held at a neutral venue and chaired by the Nigerian Foreign Minister General Ike Nwuchukhu.**

**Foreign Minister Pik Botha led the government delegation at the meeting which lasted almost two hours.**

**Discussions focused on the transitional process and it was agreed that there was a need for further meetings, Mr Moseneke said.**

**Further meetings between the PAC and the government would be arranged directly or through intermediatries.**

**The PAC suggested that an alternative negotiation forum be created which was acceptable to all parties.**

**The principle of neutrality should be strictly observed which meat that the forum should be convened, chaired and its agreements endorsed by international bodies such as the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement, he said.**

**Codesa lacked neutrality and should therefore be reconvened.**

**Mr Moseneke said there were many examples of a lack of trust between negotiating parties as was clearly demonstrated by the National Peace Accord, which had failed and some signatories were now calling for the international community to monitor the agreement.**

**A negotiating forum should also not be "pre-packed" as was the case with Codesa. The PAC envisaged a two-sided negotiating table — between those who were in favour of a constituent assembly and parties opposed.**

**Plans were afoot to reconvene the Patriotic Front to establish a two-sided negotiating table, he said.**

# NP, ANC prepare for election battle

(3044) (Day) 13/4/92

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will, within weeks, visit black, coloured and Indian areas across the country as the NP accelerates its new campaign to win over voters of all races.

The ANC also announced it was launching a major offensive in coloured areas following De Klerk's rally in Mitchell's Plain on Saturday.

The protests against De Klerk's visit marked the first open clash in the pre-election battle between the ANC and NP to win coloured support.

De Klerk's visit was cut short when he was forced by stone-throwers to leave the scene hurriedly. He was hit by small stones as he addressed a crowd estimated at 10 000, a turnout which De Klerk said afterwards proved "the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in SA".

ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC was gearing up for an election and would embark on a major offensive in coloured communities.

The ANC believes an election will take place this year or early next year.

The NP is also planning a series of rallies in coloured, Indian and black communities as a build-up to a general election.

She said the Mitchell's Plain rally was the first of a series of rallies intended to express De Klerk's view that as he had reached out to white voters in the referendum, he wanted to reach out to other population groups.

The Human Sciences Research Council found in a survey last year that 61% of coloureds said De Klerk was their first choice for national leader. ANC president Nelson Mandela received only 5%.

Hofmeyr said that of the ANC's membership of 55 000 in the western Cape, about 10 000 to 15 000 were coloured people. The ANC had 60 branches in coloured areas and 40 to 50 interim structures which were not yet full branches.

"The ANC is by far the biggest and best supported party in terms of branches and members," Hofmeyr said.

He said the ANC, in protesting against De Klerk's visit, was not trying to say that De Klerk had no right to speak and canvass for votes in Mitchell's Plain.

"What we are saying is that people in Mitchell's Plain don't like him and that they have the democratic right to express their dislike."

Sapa reports that DP law and order spokesman Jan van Eck yesterday condemned the actions of those who prevented De Klerk from exercising his right to address Mitchell's Plain residents. He also praised the "very restrained behaviour" of the SAP.

● Comment: Page 8



Encouraged by negotiations . . . Sir Geoffrey Howe speaks at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Picture: Peter Mogaki

STAR 14/4/92

# Referendum is basis for further reform – Howe

Political Reporter 304A

The result of the snap referendum last month was a strong foundation for the next stages of reform, former British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his arrival from London, he said he was encouraged by negotiations.

Sir Geoffrey, who attended Codesa 1 as an observer for the Commonwealth, said the convention was a moving experience with "so many representatives of such diversity working together".

He said he was looking forward to establishing what progress had been made since Codesa 1 in December.

Sir Geoffrey, whose visit will last seven days, will deliver the keynote address today at a conference of the Institute of Directors in Southern Africa.

# Labour will be a 'good friend' to SA

BRITISH Labour leader Neil Kinnock, addressing a foreign press corps of more than 500 journalists this week, said he was intent on close ties with South Africa.

He said Labour would be "a good friend" to any post-apartheid government.

With shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman at his side, Mr Kinnock said any government he formed would talk to all the parties in Codesa.

"We have consulted with the ANC, which represents a substantial majority in South Africa, in the past," he said.

"In fact, we are known to have close links among senior as well as rank and file members of the ANC.

"However, we will not confine our relationship to the ANC. We have many friends in SA and they will counsel us on what our position should be."

Mr Kinnock said he talked to President FW De Klerk last year because he wanted as broad a perspective about affairs in the country as possible.

"I was most alarmed when I first heard Mr De Klerk had called a referendum, but was reassured after consultation with our friends in South Africa.

"We believe sanctions must go when the final vestiges of apartheid do. But, of course, there will continue to be significant economic divisions.

"However, we will agitate for full and mature change in the country and after that we will try to encourage the return of foreign investment into the country."

He said President De Klerk "must prove that progress is taking place".

If there is an outright Labour victory, Mr Kaufman could become Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

The man the British press dubbed Labour's top Wasp and one of the rudest of politicians has had a long association with South Africa, which he visited last year.

It is understood that were he to become Foreign Secretary he would devote time, money and effort in the townships in the form of training and education.

The Conservative press claims Labour has hidden Mr Kaufman (pronounced Korfman) because he is so rude he wins votes for the Tories.

Mr Kaufman, a man whose knowledge of opera, classical music, art and the finer aspects of culture are legendary, snapped this week: "I've just been asked in a TV interview why I'm never on TV."

# PAC calls for Codesa changes

(3044) 14/4/92

**THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called for the restructuring of Codesa and listed five demands which should be met before it could enter the negotiation process.**

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who led a delegation which met representatives of the Government in Nigeria last week, made it clear that the talks were not an attempt to re-enter Codesa through the back door.

He, however, said if Codesa could agree to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly which satisfied PAC demands, then the organisation would contest them.

Moseneke said the PAC demanded that:

- Real negotiations should be held at a neutral venue;
- A neutral person or persons should chair the process;
- A neutral monitoring mechanism should be agreed upon by all parties;
- Certain guarantees should be agreed upon; and
- Agreements should be verified from time to time.

**By IKE MOTSAPI**

Moseneke said people who should chair and monitor the negotiation process could be drawn from organisations such as the Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity and the European Economic Community or "a combination of all".

He said Codesa was a "do-it-yourself" structure which would not succeed as shown by lack of real progress achieved so far.

"Codesa has achieved nothing. All the so-called breakthroughs have been shot down by other participants," Moseneke added.

He stressed that last week's meeting with the Government was not initiated by the PAC.

"The PAC did not ask for this meeting. We were approached by the Government and we responded positively," he said.

# SA conditions not yet right for democracy

JOHANNESBURG. — A democratic political structure could not be introduced in the country while the present undemocratic culture existed, government spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Speaking at the Institute of Directors conference here, he said free and fair elections could not take place in a culture where violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance were the order of the day.

"At present, the degree of violence and level of political intolerance are not reflecting a democratic culture."

He warned that radical forces from the extreme left and right of the political spectrum would not be allowed to endanger the process.

"The process must be protected agains interference. Not everyone in South Africa shares the ideal of peaceful negotiations."

Dr Delport said the negotiation process at Codesa should also not be put under pressure to produce results.

"There is presently a high level of expectancy even irritation, at what may appear to be slow progress that has been made.

"May I stress the point that it would not be wise to sacrifice in-depth deliberations merely to produce quicker results."

Codesa was still dealing with very fundamental issues and immediate results could not be expected.

# Conduct code for parties?

THE desirability and extent of a code of conduct for political parties is to be raised in a President's Council report to be released next week.

The council would also debate the report on April 22 and 24, its secretary, Mr. Johan Weilbach, said in a statement yesterday.

304A

# 8 MPs fly to see Mandela

## Cosatu will resist, says Naidoo

The Congress of SA Trade Unions will continue to resist any attempts by the government to impose an economic or political solution on the country, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

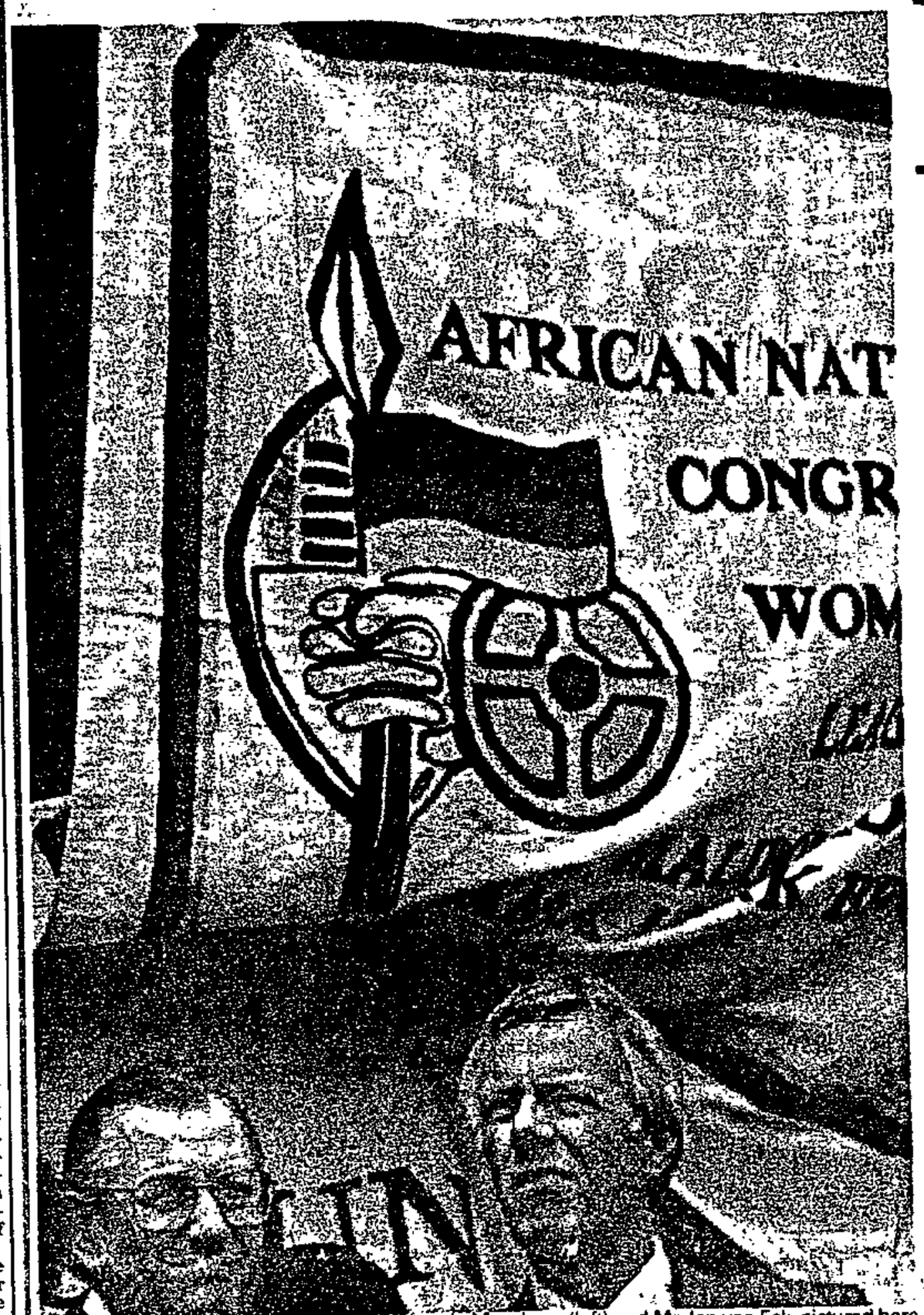
**ANC'S PLAN FOR ACTION IF TALKS FAIL**
See PAGE 12

Speaking at the Institute of Directors conference here, Mr Naidoo accused the government of pursuing a conscious policy of "government by stealth" in all socio-economic areas.

It was for this reason that Cosatu had called on the government to stop restructuring the economy and to enter into bona fide negotiations with the organised trade union movement and organised business.

"We believe that the establishment of a national economic negotiation forum will ensure that we shift from the ad hoc economic government of the present to developing a coherent economic programme in which we can unleash the creative energies of all sectors of society."

Mr Naidoo said the real issue was whether the key players were prepared to have a public and democratic debate on how to resolve the problems apartheid had created. — Sapa




EARLIER MEETING WITH ANC . . . Mr Jannie Momberg (left) and Mr Jan van Eck, pictured here at an ANC rally, were among the Democratic Party MPs who held intensive strategy discussions with the ANC, including its president Mr Nelson Mandela, this week. Picture: BENNY GOOL

# DP men in ANC talks

CT 15/4/92
3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

**IN a dramatic move, eight Democratic Party MPs met the ANC this week for crucial talks about strategy and the future role of the party.**

The MPs, all members of the ANC-supporting faction in Parliament, flew to Johannesburg on Monday for discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. They were joined by other senior members of the party.

Yesterday they continued their talks with other ANC leaders at the organisations's headquarters.

Among those involved in the discussions were Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South).

This grouping insists that the DP should align itself with the "liberation camp", and form an alliance with the ANC. They want the DP to state emphatically that it is opposed to any alliances with the National Party.

A split in the DP now seems imminent as this directly conflicts with the position of those DP MPs who want to link up with the NP, possibly by forming a centrist party.

Earlier there had been speculation that at least four DP MPs planned to resign and become the first ANC Members of Parliament. The ANC, it is understood, would have no objection to their remaining MPs.

Although the ANC has not yet constituted itself into a political party, such a move would result in an ANC caucus and provide it with offices in Parliament for the first time.

The DP's national chairman, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday that the party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, had made it clear at last year's national congress that people who preferred to be in some other party should leave the DP.

The sooner they did so, the better.

"It would not be a great surprise nor a great shock after all the rumours that have been going around.

"The DP has enough to do. The DP does not need people who think they should be elsewhere," Mr Andrew said.

One of the MPs involved in the ANC talks said on his return last night that it was a "contradiction" to talk about an alliance with the NP and with the ANC. "We have to make our choices and nail our colours to the mast."

"The wheels are turning in the DP," another said.

The crunch date for the party is the meet-

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From page 1

## DP MPs

3044
CT 15/4/92

ing of the DP's parliamentary caucus on Thursday next week when a strategy document, drawn up by a committee headed by Mr Andrew, will be discussed.

If the strategy document puts the DP clearly in the "liberation" camp and rejects aligning itself in any way with the NP, the group of MPs in favour of working more closely with the NP will be put in an impossible position.

The possibility of the strategy document taking such a decisive position is likely to have increased after a meeting last week between the party leader, Dr Zach De Beer and Mr Mandela.

"The party could position itself quite dramatically by next week," one of the MPs said last night.

If, however, it does not go far enough and leaves the party in an ambivalent or an unchanged middle position, or it favours the formation of a centrist party with the NP, the MPs in favour of alignment with the ANC will be forced to make a stand.

The ANC would not comment last night on the talks.

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Tuesday, April 15 1992

# ANC says govt is threatening Codesa

(3049)

JOHANNESBURG. — The success of Codesa II is being threatened by the government's stubbornness in negotiations, the ANC said yesterday.

At a press conference here, the ANC said the government had been particularly unreasonable at Codesa since the March 17 referendum.

"Our concern for Codesa II is: Will it deliver the goods?" ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said.

"We thought the euphoria after the referendum would be short-lived and that things would be back to normal. But the government is proving to be obstinate.

"If substantial agreements are not arrived at, at Codesa II, it would require us to review the negotiation process," he said.

The government last night rejected ANC criticism, saying this was a ploy to distract attention from its own responsibilities towards ending violence.

Codesa government spokesman and deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said the government found it difficult to understand why the ANC had "made use of this week in which Codesa is not sitting to launch an attack of this nature".

"This attack came in spite of the fact that the ANC would have had every opportunity to put its objections at the working group at Codesa this coming Tuesday.

"The government recently took a strong stand on the ending of violence in the country and insisted that the ANC honour bilateral agreements which had been reached.

"It seems as if the ANC, through this latest attack on the government, is trying to distract attention away from their own responsibilities in this regard," Dr Delport said.

The ANC also said it believed the PAC would soon return to negotiations at Codesa. — Sapa

Legal groundwork laid for polls

# ANC spells out demands for Codesa

THE ANC yesterday set out a list of 10 items on which it wanted agreement at Codesa II on May 15 and 16, but expressed concern at a news briefing that government "intransigence" threatened the possibility of progress.

Four members of the organisation's negotiating commission also disclosed at the briefing that a working group was already drafting an electoral law for the country's first nonracial election.

According to ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mohamed Valli Moosa, the ANC's "shopping list" for Codesa II included agreements on:

- ☐ Establishment of an elected constitution-making body whose decisions could not be vetoed by any other body;
- ☐ Mechanisms to ensure elections would be free and fair;
- ☐ A general amnesty for exiles and political prisoners (as opposed to the temporary indemnity granted to exiles so far) as part of the creation of an appropriate climate;
- ☐ The scrapping of all legislation impeding free political activity;
- ☐ The passage of a general law guaranteeing basic civil rights to all during the transition — in effect, an interim bill of rights;
- ☐ Assurances that the security forces would not interfere with free political activity. According to NEC member Mac Maharaj, this included joint multiparty control over the security forces;
- ☐ A moratorium on unilateral restructuring in the socio-economic, foreign relations, security and political spheres;
- ☐ Impartial control of state-owned media;
- ☐ Overall arangements for the initial phase of an interim government; and
- ☐ The restoration of SA citizenship to the approximately 10-million citizens of the TBVC states to enable them to participate fully in the political process. An interim arrangement of dual citizenship would be acceptable.

TIM COHEN and ALAN FINE

Valli Moosa said government had been sending mixed signals on its willingness to accept anything more than advisory powers for non-NP groups during the first interim phase. In this it faced opposition from almost all other parties at Codesa.

The NP appeared unwilling to allow hands-on control of government functions by other groups. Further, the ANC believed strongly, at the very least, that an interim executive should have the authority to veto decisions of the existing Cabinet.

Valli Moosa rejected government's claim that because its proposed preparatory councils would include government, it would naturally be obliged to enforce any agreements achieved.

☐ To Page 2

## ANC demands

☐ From Page 1

According to government's formulation, full consensus would be required, which the ANC believed would mean council decisions would be few and far between.

The NP's proposed terms of reference for the councils specified that they would debate actions the government should take in the future. They excluded immediate, hands-on control.

Valli Moosa said if government failed to move on the issue, this would block agreement at Codesa II, and the ANC would be forced to review its position in the negotiations. He declined to speculate on what options it would consider, but said ANC branches had been approached to discuss what the organisation should do.

Maharaj said government's "intransigence" appeared to be due to divisions in its own ranks, problems with elements in the security forces, and attempts to pursue both negotiations and electioneering.

Valli Moosa said it appeared a conservative faction in the NP still held out hope and was looking for some device "to allow them to stay in power forever".

On other issues facing negotiations, ANC negotiators said they believed the PAC would soon join Codesa. "We believe they have no option. It's a question of time and face-saving," said Maharaj.

On the issue of the Zulu king's representation at Codesa, Maharaj said the subcommittee handling the issue had not finished its work, but there was agreement that the king could not be treated in a separate way from other traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders also agreed they should participate. But it was acknowledged that the king and paramount chiefs should not descend to the playing field itself. Traditional leaders below the rank of paramount chiefs should, however, find representation at Codesa, he said.

# Violence will delay elections — govt

TIM COHEN

NEW government structures would not be installed while the existing "undemocratic" culture prevailed, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Delport — who is also government's spokesman on Codesa — told an Institute of Directors conference in Johannesburg that free and fair elections could not take place in a culture of violence, intimidation, private armies and intolerance.

"At present, the degree of violence and level of political intolerance are not reflecting a democratic culture," he said.

SA's unique circumstances required that major political players all have representation in the executive. The negotiating process, he said, had to be protected from left- and right-wing radicalism.

Government had advocated a political power-sharing model at Codesa. "In practical terms this means that the major players should share executive power, it means that the major political parties shall have representation in the presidency and the Cabinet."

SA's special circumstances required innovative concepts and a constitution that provided more than mere representation for all major parties. Effective participation required that special features be built into the constitution.

"We simply cannot run the risk of the major political forces in our country not being reconciled," he said.

While progress in negotiations might appear to be slow, it would be unwise to risk jeopardising the talks to produce quick results. Codesa was still dealing with very fundamental issues and immediate results

☐ To Page 2

## Elections

☐ From Page 1

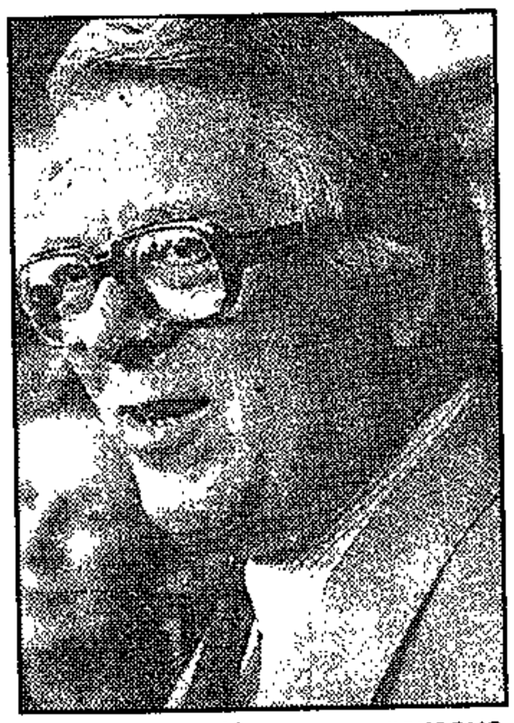
could not be expected, he said.

Delport urged a process of nation-building which included redistribution through growth. "To adopt in an unqualified way the concept of growth through redistribution is to our mind suicidal," he said.

Government believed the new constitution should entrench an economic system characterised by a balance between a market-related, free enterprise system and social responsibility. "We believe in redistribution through growth, while accepting that development programmes and empowerment are prerequisites for unlocking our full economic potential."

While disparities between whites and blacks were large, it would serve no logical purpose either to attempt to retain affluence for whites only or to spread such wealth as there was over the whole population.

● See Page 5



Sir Geoffrey Howe . . . remove government intervention and regulation.



Dr Tertius Delport . . . the interests of all major political forces must be promoted.

# Power sharing vital to a new system – Delport

STAR 15/4/92. (304A)

By Michael Chester

It was vital that the new political system in South Africa was based on power sharing rather than total domination by a single party, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport told businessmen at a Johannesburg conference yesterday.

Dr Delport, Government negotiator and spokesman at Codesa, told the annual conference of the Institute of Directors a new constitution should create space for every political party that had substantial support.

"The whole of political power may no longer rest with the majority party alone, as in the Westminster system," he said.

"It is imperative that more than one political party should have a share in power at all levels of government. The system must exclude the possibility that a political party with majority support could alone dominate decision-making."

The system advocated by the Government had been termed "forced coalition". He preferred to call it a government of national unity, reconciliation and reconstruction.

"We are convinced," he said, "that the confidence in the future of South Africa that we all need can best be stimulated by a constitution that regulates distribution of political power in a way that all major political forces know that their interests will be actively promoted.

## Achieved

"There is a marked difference between representation in government and participation in government. Mere representation can be achieved by a system of proportional representation in Parliament. To allow for meaningful and effective participation, however, special features need to be built into the constitution.

"Special circumstances need special and innovative concepts. We cannot run the risk of the major political forces in our country not being reconciled.

"The basis for reconciliation is acceptance and recognition. This can be fostered by allowing active participation also at the highest level in government.

"In practical terms, this means that the major players should share executive power; it means that the major political parties will have representation in the presidency and Cabinet."

Protection of Codesa talks from interference was essential. Not everyone in South Africa shared the ideal of peaceful negotiations. Radical forces from the extreme left wing or right wing should not be allowed to put the process at risk.

It was also important that negotiations were not put under time pressures. "There is at present a high level of expectancy, even irritation, at what may appear to be slow progress," he said. "It would not be wise to sacrifice in-depth deliberations for quicker results."

Fair elections could not take place in a culture of violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance, he added.

# More doors open to SA

30 Apr

Star 15/4/92.

By Esther Waugh

President de Klerk's coming to power has had a domino effect in opening the doors of international diplomacy to the previously isolated South African Government, with Zambia being the latest to establish links.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said since Mr de Klerk assumed office in 1989, the number of South African missions had risen from 45 to 70.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Monday that representative offices were to be established in Pretoria and Lusaka.

Consulates in Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Bulgaria, Japan, Norway and Rumania have been upgraded to embassies.

A permanent South African delegation in Finland has been upgraded to an embassy as was the permanent mission in Hungary.

The SA interest office in Moscow has been made an embassy as has a representative office in Poland.

New missions have been opened in Rwanda, Turkey, Angola, Botswana, the Cape Verde Islands, Colombia, the three Baltic states, El Salvador, Honduras, Kenya, Madagascar, Sao Tome and Principe islands, Togo and Zaire.

C

bliss ... The Boesaks on their wedding day.

# Rebel DPs: 'Expel them'

304A
ARG 15/4/92

**MICHAEL MORRIS and WILLEM STEENKAMP**
**Staff Reporters**

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zac de Beer is today watching developments around ANC-sympathising MPs in his caucus to determine whether anybody should be "thrown out of the party".

"There is a mood of anger among party workers throughout the country (over the speculation about leftist MPs seeking closer relations with the ANC)," he said this morning in reaction to reports of talks this week between at least eight Democratic MPs — including Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont and Mr Jannie Momberg of Simon's Town — and the ANC on question of strategy.

One of the MPs involved in the talks indicated that no decision was made during or after the talks, and that the future of the party would depend on debate early next week on a DP strategy document.

The MP believed a loss of MPs to the left — as well as to the National Party — was "very likely" if the strategy document, as is thought likely, emphasised a strictly independent role for the DP.

Citing a groundswell of anger among DP workers around the country, Dr De Beer said: "They feel we did well in the referendum, which served to pull our people together to an extent which has not happened before, and to be confronted immediately with this makes them fed up. They want me to throw somebody out.

"I do not believe the evidence exists to embark on that course yet, but it may well come to that point later."

# NP takes a deep breath before leap into the unknown

Bldy 16/4/92 **ALAN FINE** (304A)

HE referendum was white SA's moment of truth. Now the NP's own moment of truth has arrived, and it is oving to be a rather drawn out e.

Agreement on transitional govern-nt was always going to be a criti- point in the negotiation process. nost by definition, it is the point at ich the NP, which has ruled SA ne for the last 44 years, hands er a share of that power to others. The ANC has taken to complaining terly about the mixed signals it s been receiving from government d NP delegates to Codesa on the st phase of interim rule. At issue is ether the NP will grant formal wer to other parties in this period, continue mooting structures ose powers are merely advisory. Those mixed signals have been re-cted in news reports which have peatedly announced either immi-nt agreement or deadlock, almost alternate days, over the last six eks. The ANC and its allies know talks have reached a critical nt where a certain amount of fric-n has interrupted the relatively ooth progress at Codesa, and pon-on the reasons for it.

t a media briefing on Tuesday, gotiating commission member ic Maharaj spoke of divisions in ranks, resistance from the secur-forces and the party changing its us from "negotiation mode to ction mode". The latter, he ar-es, has meant the party has had to oject an image of firmness rather n continue with the process of e-and-take central to negotia-ns. His colleague, Mohamed Valli osa, talks of a continuing post-erendum euphoria on the part of NP.

The simplest explanation would pear to lie in the enormity of the cision awaiting the NP. While it is eady effectively sharing decision-aking at Codesa on the course of negotiating process, relinquish-a share of statutory power will be act which cannot be reversed.

When the party tabled its initial oposal at Codesa for a series of advisory transitional councils for various areas of government, one senior Cabinet Minister, a renowned "verligte", conceded privately that concessions to real power-sharing would have to be made. But some of his colleagues are taking longer to reach that conclusion.

Nervousness about entering the unknown may also explain the NP's new precondition for progress — the ending of violence. It is an ironic step — repeated by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport on Tuesday — when one recalls events almost exactly a year ago. On that occasion government, and many others, accused the ANC of acting irresponsibly when the ANC — itself then unprepared for progress — used the same pretext to threaten the suspension of negotiations.

The question now is how long it will take the NP as a whole to make the leap of faith and accept formal power-sharing in the intitial interim phase. If it dithers too long, its opponents may attempt to give it a push. The ANC has begun to rattle its sabre ever so gently, talking about a need to review the process if a breakthrough does not occur at Codesa II next month. Its ally Cosatu, less subtly, has threatened to make interim government the focus for its annual round of mass action if the matter is not resolved by June.

It is worth asking why progress is that urgent. Comprehensive agreement on all phase one matters may warm the spirit. But the negotiation process would not necessarily be badly served if — instead of being a stage-managed show of unity — Codesa II were used as a forum where political parties can bring into the public eye those debates which have so far been kept hidden behind closed doors at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The ANC is attempting to use the present delay to regain some of the moral high ground from President de Klerk. It has been at pains to assert the reasonableness of its position and its flexibility. Its 10-point shopping list for Codesa II reported yesterday — including mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections, an interim bill of rights, impartial control of the SABC, and overall arrangements for the first phase of interim government — is generally not outrageous.

But there is one issue lurking there, reasonable only on the surface, where the need to compromise rests substantially with the ANC and its allies. That is the question of the constitution-making body.

As described by Valli Moosa on Tuesday, the ANC wants agreement on "an elected constitution-making body whose decisions cannot be vetoed by any other structure." The organisation has justifiably complained about those who accuse it of demanding a system of "simple majoritarianism" for this purpose. It points out it has proposed that the body — for all practical purposes a constituent assembly — take decisions by a two-thirds majority.

This, however, misses the point. A constitution sets out a country's rules of the political game. It requires broad legitimacy because, if significant sectors of society refuse to accept it, the consequence would be eternal destabilisation.

That is why a simple majority is insufficient, and so is a two-thirds or even a 75% majority. What is required is a formula for making and amending the constitution that incorporates the concept of "sufficient consensus" presently all the rage at Codesa. Translating the concept into specifics may sound elusive, but an examination of the world's great constitutions could point the way.

Take the provisions of the German Basic Law and the American constitution regarding constitutional amendments.

The German Basic Law requires that constitutional amendments be passed by two-thirds of the votes of the Bundestag (where members are directly elected) and two thirds of the votes of the Bundesrat. The Bundesrat (essentially a senate) consists of three to five representatives of each German state (Land), depending on its population. The system, therefore, gives extra weight to regional interests.

In addition to this, the basic principles (effectively the German bill of rights) may not be amended at all, thereby entrenching those rights totally. The corollary of this for constitution-making would be unanimity on the contents of a bill of rights.

Apart from the latter point, the US system is even more onerous. Constitutional amendments, including amendments to the bill of rights, must be supported by two-thirds of the House of Representatives, and two-thirds of the Senate. In the Senate each state has equal representation regardless of size. In addition, the amendment must be supported by three-quarters of the (presently 50) state legislatures, each voting separately by a simple majority.

The ANC has a strong case when it protests about the NP's reluctance to accept power-sharing. In the same light, the NP's present constitutional proposals do not bear comparison with the constitutions of western democracies. The NP proposals — a compulsory revolving presidency and joint cabinet and distorted forms of regional representation — are clearly designed to allow the party to retain a veto on power at all levels, whatever the feeling of the electorate.

To win its case, though, the ANC will have to be willing to accept constitutional safeguards comparable with those of, say, the US and Germany, in such areas as civil rights — including property rights — the decentralisation of power and formulas for making and amending the constitution.

# Split looms as DP MPs suspended

CT 16/4/92 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

FOUR Democratic Party MPs were yesterday suspended by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer from its caucus and all positions in the party, paving the way for an open split.

The MPs are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), all of whom were involved in strategy discussions with the ANC earlier this week.

Mr Van Eck, who said he had not been informed of the decision by Dr De Beer, commented: "It is really being kicked out — based on the hearsay of other members."

Although the four rebel MPs said they would discuss the matter next week with Dr De Beer, there seems little doubt that their membership of the DP will be terminated.

They were all tight-lipped last night about their political futures, and although none of them would say so, they could well become the first ANC MPs, a move which has already been approved in principle by the ANC.

The significance attached by the ANC to the negotiations with the MPs was underlined by the disclosure yesterday that not only did Mr Nelson Mandela take part in the talks on the same day his separation from his wife was announced, but ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and head of international relations Mr Thabo Mbeki were also present.

Three other DP MPs — Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Mr Werner Nel (Mooi River) and Mr André de Wet (indirectly elected) — initially took part in the discussions but, according to DP sources, walked out in protest.

The DP's chief whip, Mr David Dalling (Sandton), was to have participated but was forced to withdraw after he was re-admitted to hospital following his

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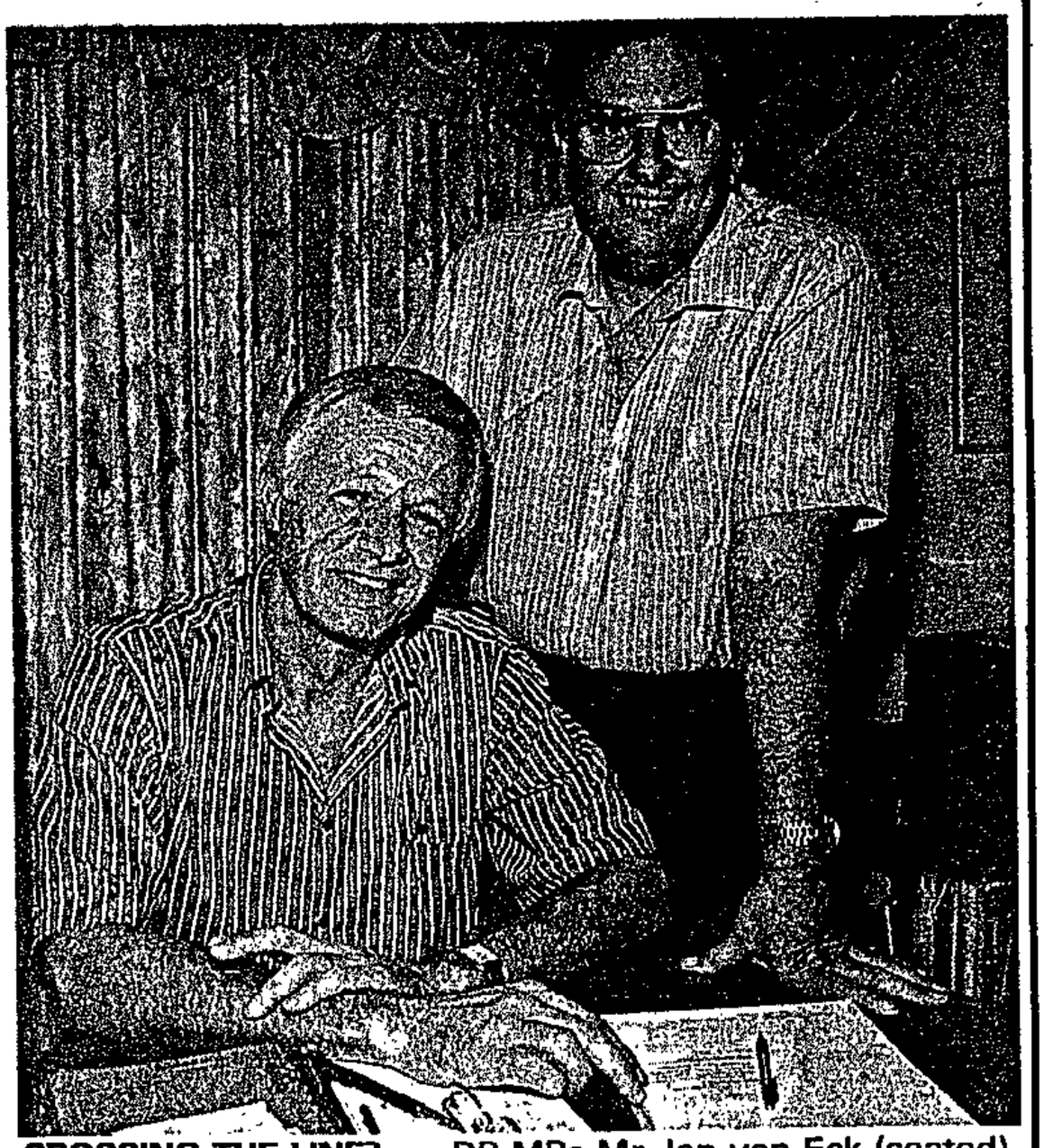

CROSSING THE LINE? ... DP MPs Mr Jan van Eck (seated) and Mr Jannie Momberg who were suspended from the party yesterday. The two "Jannies" are among four DP MPs who could become the first ANC MPs. Picture: ANNE LAING

# ANC voice in parliament soon?

304A ARG 16/4/92

304A ARG 16/4/92

:HAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

'RICAN National Congress MPs ıld take their seats in parliament the first time next week, following bitterly controversial suspension four members of the Democratic rty caucus.

The row is almost certain to lead to four being expelled, or defecting to ANC.

nd it is believed the ANC favours their remain- members of parliament, establishing a parlia- ıtary foothold for the liberation movement. The s would officially be Independents.

ı a swift and decisive action yesterday, an an- DP leadership suspended from the caucus four even MPs who had talks with the ANC in Jo- nesburg on Monday and Tuesday.

hey are Whip Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's wn), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre nje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritz- g South). In addition the MPs have been ɔped of their status as party spokesmen.

ı a further development, Mr Momberg was also night suspended as a member of the Western e executive of the party.

## own ANC sympathiser

fifth MP, Chief Whip Mr Dave Dalling, is like- ı join the four. Mr Dalling, a known ANC sym- ıiser, was to have accompanied the group on day but he was in hospital with heart compli- ons.

Mr Van Eck is also suspended as representative to Codesa, where he served on the working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

The other three MPs who took part in the talks — Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Mr Andre de Wet (indirectly elected, Border) and Mr Wessel Nel (Mooi River) have evaded censure.

Leader Dr Zac de Beer said today their loyalty to the DP was not in question and no action would be taken against them.

The manner in which the suspensions were ordered has been sharply criticised by Mr Van Eck and Mr Momberg, who charged that even the recently suspended Conservative Party MP Mr Koos Botha had been treated more fairly.

Mr Van Eck reacted: "I'm amazed. I was informed by the Press that I was being suspended, I was not given reasons, nor asked for a response. It's unheard-of and not very democratic. What about those considering joining the Nats?"

## Double standards

Like Mr Van Eck, Mr Momberg, a former regional chairman of the DP in the Western Cape, a party Whip and the party's official spokesman on home affairs and sport, first heard of his suspension from the Press.

He said: "This was such a crucial decision to take, surely if he could not raise us, he could have held it back.

"I take a dim view of this. If you talk to the Nats, that's allowed. This is double standards. But the fact is I am suspended. I will have to talk to my committee and make a decision on my career."

Mr Haswell said he considered the matter sub judice. Greytown MP Mr Cronje was not available for comment.

## Sharing for peace

**Political Staff**

FOR the first time since the signing of the National Peace Accord last September, President De Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will share the same platform in a bid to stem the violence.

They will address one million Zionists at the annual Easter gathering of the Zionist Christian Church in the Eastern Transvaal, estimated to be one of the largest churches in the southern hemisphere.

A spokesman for the ZCC said its leader, Bishop Barabas Lekganyane, who has expressed his concern about the violence, invited the leaders in accordance with the Peace Accord, which stated that leaders should publically renounce violence.

The gathering will be attended by Zionists countrywide.

# Chances were 'squandered'

CT 16/4/92

**Political Staff**

**VALUABLE opportunities in the rationalisation of government development assistance had been squandered through a mass of bureaucratic structures, the De Loor committee of inquiry found.**

**"Unfortunately vested interests have too often prevented sound conclusions and recommendations by previous investigations to come to fruition and often new ad hoc decisions were taken without fully relating them to the impact they might have on existing structures and policies."**

**The committee, whose report was completed in October 1990 and handed to the government, said that in many of these instances political factors played a dominant role.**

**Its confidential report has never been published, but the Cape Times obtained a copy.**

**Its findings show that despite the urgent need for development aid to poor communities, a vast administrative bureaucracy had been established with considerable overlapping and duplication, wasting much of the official effort to deal with the problems of poverty in South Africa.**

**The committee said that in the first phase of the past 40 years, apartheid was the overriding objective and development assistance was aimed at the attainment of political and economic independence for the homelands.**

**The second phase, started in the early 80s, was an effort to recognise economic realities but apartheid structures remained and were even expanded.**

**The third phase, commenced in the late 1980s, was non-racial in approach and although many racial structures were still in place, they would probably soon be dismantled.**

# Inquiry found 'duplication'

CT 16/4/92

## World Bank finding backed

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SECRET government inquiry, completed 18 months ago, strongly criticised the "proliferation" of official institutions, funds and role players involved in development assistance.

This, it said, had resulted in the wasteful application of scarce human, financial and managerial resources "because of the overlapping and duplication of activities".

The report of the nine-person committee of inquiry, headed by former auditor-general Mr Joep de Loor, was completed in October and handed to the former minister of administration and economic co-ordination, the late Dr Wim de Villiers.

At the time, Dr De Villiers said that after the report had been studied, further steps would be considered, but little action has been taken since then and the proliferation of government bodies involved in development work has continued.

The overlapping and duplication of activities has gone on, despite the fact that these departments and agencies are at the forefront of official government policy to remove economic and social backlogs and reduce inequalities.

The "confidential" Report of the Committee on Development Assistance has not been published before, and publication of it was "restricted".

The report reveals a remarkable bureaucratic mess in the provision of development aid to underprivileged communities, much of which could have been rectified regardless of the constitutional changes being negotiated.

The committee even proposed interim steps to address most of the deficiencies it came across and it said that rectifying many of the present problems was not dependent on constitutional development, but few of its proposals have been implemented.

"Apart from the present incoherent institutional arrangement of development agencies, a number of other important deficiencies were also identified.

"The most important one in this respect can be related to the lack of a sound system of financial relations between different levels of government."

The committee said central government departments should, as far as possible, only be responsible for policy advice to the executive, and for macro-planning, financing, monitoring and co-ordination, and that every public sector institution should take responsibility for the total spectrum of the South African population.

It also recommended that development projects and programmes should as far as possible be executed by the second and third tiers of government and that the co-ordination of development policy be undertaken by a new institution that also accepted responsibility for the facilitation of development, macro-economic analyses, planning, co-ordination and advice.

**Political Staff**

**DR Joep de Loor is a former director-general of finance and former auditor-general.**

**He retired from the civil service in 1989 after serving in a number of departments.**

**Dr De Loor was also head of the committee of inquiry into the provision of housing in South Africa, whose preliminary report was completed earlier this year.**

**It is believed to have backed up a confidential World Bank finding on South Africa that the "present structure for formulating and implementing housing policy is hopelessly inefficient, contradictory and duplicative".**

**The other members of the De Loor committee into development assistance were: The Director of Information Services of the former Department of Development Aid, Mr J H Buiten; the Director of the Central Economic Advisory Service, Mr R A Downing; the Deputy Director-General and chief of the Central Economic Advisory Service, Mr J P Dreyer; the Deputy Chief Auditor in the Office of the Auditor-General, Mr F J Joubert; the then general manager of the Development Bank, Mr A B la Grange; a partner in Deloitte, Pim Goldby and consultant to the office of the Auditor-General, Professor J A J Loots; the special adviser to the Chief Executive of the Development Bank, Dr F J van Eeden; and the senior assistant economist in the Central Economic Service, Mr J C Lotter, who was also the committee's secretary.**

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# Chances were 'squandered'

CT 16/4/92

**Political Staff**

**VALUABLE opportunities in the rationalisation of government development assistance had been squandered through a mass of bureaucratic structures, the De Loor committee of inquiry found.**

**"Unfortunately vested interests have too often prevented sound conclusions and recommendations by previous investigations to come to fruition and often new ad hoc decisions were taken without fully relating them to the impact they might have on existing structures and policies."**

**The committee, whose report was completed in October 1990 and handed to the government, said that in many of these instances political factors played a dominant role.**

**Its confidential report has never been published, but the Cape Times obtained a copy.**

**Its findings show that despite the urgent need for development aid to poor communities, a vast administrative bureaucracy had been established with considerable overlapping and duplication, wasting much of the official effort to deal with the problems of poverty in South Africa.**

**The committee said that in the first phase of the past 40 years, apartheid was the overriding objective and development assistance was aimed at the attainment of political and economic independence for the homelands.**

**The second phase, started in the early 80s, was an effort to recognise economic realities but apartheid structures remained and were even expanded.**

**The third phase, commenced in the late 1980s, was non-racial in approach and although many racial structures were still in place, they would probably soon be dismantled.**

# Inquiry found 'duplication'

CT 16/4/92

## World Bank finding backed

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SECRET government inquiry, completed 18 months ago, strongly criticised the "proliferation" of official institutions, funds and role players involved in development assistance.

This, it said, had resulted in the wasteful application of scarce human, financial and managerial resources "because of the overlapping and duplication of activities".

The report of the nine-person committee of inquiry, headed by former auditor-general Mr Joep de Loor, was completed in October and handed to the former minister of administration and economic co-ordination, the late Dr Wim de Villiers.

At the time, Dr De Villiers said that after the report had been studied, further steps would be considered, but little action has been taken since then and the proliferation of government bodies involved in development work has continued.

The overlapping and duplication of activities has gone on, despite the fact that these departments and agencies are at the forefront of official government policy to remove economic and social backlogs and reduce inequalities.

The "confidential" Report of the Committee on Development Assistance has not been published before, and publication of it was "restricted".

The report reveals a remarkable bureaucratic mess in the provision of development aid to underprivileged communities, much of which could have been rectified regardless of the constitutional changes being negotiated.

The committee even proposed interim steps to address most of the deficiencies it came across and it said that rectifying many of the present problems was not dependent on constitutional development, but few of its proposals have been implemented.

"Apart from the present incoherent institutional arrangement of development agencies, a number of other important deficiencies were also identified.

"The most important one in this respect can be related to the lack of a sound system of financial relations between different levels of government."

The committee said central government departments should, as far as possible, only be responsible for policy advice to the executive, and for macro-planning, financing, monitoring and co-ordination, and that every public sector institution should take responsibility for the total spectrum of the South African population.

It also recommended that development projects and programmes should as far as possible be executed by the second and third tiers of government and that the co-ordination of development policy be undertaken by a new institution that also accepted responsibility for the facilitation of development, macro-economic analyses, planning, co-ordination and advice.

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# Plain speaking at Idasa forum

(304A) CT 16/4/92

DURBAN. — If Codesa II fails, the negotiation process in South Africa will be in peril and those responsible for this failure will stand condemned, Mr Joe Slovo of the ANC's national executive said.

"Codesa II dare not end up as a damp squib. The eyes of all our people will be upon it and they will be harsh judges of those who are perceived to be playing with their lives," he said.

Mr Slovo spoke at a Future Forum lunch here yesterday, hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

On the question of private armies, Mr Slovo said most people had the just perception that the SADF, security and police forces were private armies of those who wielded minority power.

Referring to uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), he said there wasn't a single historical example of one contestant in a struggle demanding that the other dissolve its army before the first stage of reaching and implementing an agreement for transformation.

"We are not prepared to establish such a ludicrous precedent. We have made it clear that the issue of MK must be treated as part of a package which addresses the question of effective supervision over all armed forces by an acceptable interim executive mechanism," Mr Slovo said.

Sapa reports that PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander yesterday denied rumours that they were considering joining Codesa after meeting the government last week.

"We are not going to that circus," he said at the forum.

"We told them under no circumstances will we join Codesa. Talks with the regime do not mean that we are trying to sneak into Codesa through the back door.

"We said we would talk to them again, but it must once again be outside Codesa and in a neutral venue."

If the PAC were ever to participate in negotiations, the homelands and all parties and organisations associated with the government would have to agree to sit on one side of the table, while the liberation movements would sit on the other.

The organisation would also insist on elections first before any form of negotiations took place.

"The PAC has no problem with understanding that all wars end in a ceasefire. There comes a time when you have to talk," Mr Alexander said.

# A bastion crumbles in a pile of gravel chips

*President FW de Klerk's mission to 'build a nation' misfired in Mitchell's Plain — but he was not the only loser in the fiasco, reports* **GAYE DAVIS**




**Beating a hasty retreat ... FW de Klerk leaves Mitchell's Plain** **Photo: ERIC MILLER**

WHEN the gravel chips started flying towards the rickety stage, President FW de Klerk's security men grabbed posters bobbing in the crowd which was pressing up against the podium and used them to shield him. One home-made poster proclaimed: "FW de Klerk, Mandela — Jesus loves you". Another advertised "calamari gatsbys", a type of sandwich, for R9,99.

The gigantic red and yellow-striped marquee was by this stage a seething cauldron of heat and human emotion. Arms linked, a barricade of plain-clothes and uniformed policemen — the latter keeping one hand on their gun holsters for fear of having their weapons lifted off them — battled to keep the surging mass of bodies from broaching the platform.

De Klerk was about three sentences into his prepared speech when the chips of stone, which were readily available as they were strewn all over the ground on which the tent was erected, started whizzing towards him. But no one heard a word of what he said anyway because of the cacophony of chants of "NP! NP!" and "ANC! ANC!".

Bundled off the stage and out of the tent, De Klerk was whisked away by his minders and triumphant African National Congress supporters took the stage. But it was not long before they themselves were ousted by National Party supporters, amid a welter of flying fists and scuffles.

Outside the marquee, a woman vented her spleen at the fiasco De Klerk's visit had descended into: "*Die ANC is onbeskof — hulle is net bladdy rude!* (The ANC is ill-mannered — they are just bloody rude!)" This sparked a heated discussion; one of hundreds which took place among the crowd milling about the tent after De Klerk's abrupt departure. "De Klerk was really asking for it, coming here," said one man. "*Hy soek net votes — dis al wat hy nodig het* (He's just looking for votes — that's all he needs)," said another.

It had all started with relative good humour, hours earlier, at a nearby civic centre, where De Klerk made his first stop. ANC supporters brandishing flags and placards arrived early and exchanged slogans and insults with a few hundred NP supporters gathered on the steps in front of the building.

Clutching one of the little white flags emblazoned with the NP's new thumbs-up logo and the words "Build a nation", Jeanie Bergman halted the stream of invective she was directing at the ANC demonstrators arraigned opposite and explained why she was there. "The past doesn't matter any more," she said. "De Klerk had the guts, he stood up and made changes. The ANC — I don't trust them. They're fighting black among black. If they get in, there'll be civil war."

Many of those crowded on the steps, brandishing balloons and pennants distributed earlier by a white NP functionary, said they were former Labour Party supporters. But in the heyday of the United Democratic Front — launched in Mitchell's Plain in a similar marquee to that used by De Klerk — they were derided and reviled.

"As a Labour MP, I was never welcome here in Mitchell's Plain," said NP minister Abe Williams. "But look at us today." He was voicing a sentiment shared by many rejoicing in their newfound legitimacy, a sense of being part of the winning team.

By the time De Klerk arrived at the civic centre, the number of ANC supporters had dwindled, the majority having been directed to take up positions in the marquee at the town centre. Their placards only hinted at the anger and outrage they felt at his presumption in coming: "Votes before visits"; "We're Natvol"; "A brown Nat is a stupid Nat".

They remembered Spine Road, the scene of fierce battles in the mid-1980s between police and students, some of whom died. They knew that Mitchell's Plain came into being because of forced removals; that despite its population of close on 500 000, it as yet has no general hospital.

ANC marshals worked hard to prevent scuffles from becoming brawls. An NP pennant was ceremoniously burnt, but when some comrades tried to set alight a South African flag, a senior ANC official stepped in to stop them.

Wearing grotesque papier-maché masks styled "Pik" and "FW", two men stepped forward with a cardboard cupboard opened to reveal a painted skeleton and lists of names of those killed by hit squads. But as an attempt at political education, it failed to make any impression: those on the steps were convinced FW was their hero.

"The past was tragic, the future is FW," stated one poster. It said it all. Harping on the past would gain the ANC few converts — and the subsequent disruption of De Klerk's speech at the marquee served only to harden perceptions of the ANC as a bunch of hooligans.

ANC supporters were among those to express their concern: "He should have been allowed to speak. Freedom of speech — it's what we've fought for all these years," said one.

In a statement issued by its department of information and publicity in Johannesburg, the ANC condemned what it called "isolated incidents that occurred after De Klerk's departure when pebbles and dirt were thrown at the stage". Anyone close enough to see would refute this: the pebbles were thrown at De Klerk.

The SABC, announcing on TV news that his sudden departure was because of the crowd's over-enthusiasm, was just as guilty of prevarication, as were the NP-supporting newspapers which hailed the visit as a triumph instead of a debacle.

De Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain was pitifully poorly organised. Security arrangements were so lax that people's safety, including the president's, was at times in serious jeopardy. If De Klerk's opponents — they included the New Unity Movement, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Call of Islam — had wanted to cause major trouble, they could easily have done so.

But rather than sweeping in like some conquering hero, confident of people's hearts and minds, De Klerk would have done better to give some acknowledgement of the pain and suffering his government's policies have caused in the past. If he really wanted to "build a nation", his aim should have been to unify people, rather than sowing division. Instead, his visit smacked of opportunism.

With De Klerk appealing to people to "make the NP a mighty bastion against radicalism", the ANC should have organised its protest in such a way that precluded it being beaten with this stick — perhaps by making it clear that it was only by virtue of what the ANC had achieved that De Klerk could have made the visit in the first place.

# Minor changes in Africa from Major

Wmail 16/4-23/4/92

By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare

CONTINUITY will be the chief component of British policy towards southern Africa put forward by John Major's newly elected government.

Support for the FW de Klerk government and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks, continuing pressure on the one-party regimes in Kenya and Malawi, assistance to Zambia's new government and the promotion of market economies are expected to be the hallmarks of the new Major government's policies towards southern Africa.

If there was any doubt about the substance of Major's foreign policy it was put to rest this week with the reappointment of Lynda Chalker as minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs. Chalker lost her parliamentary seat in the elections but, because he wanted to keep her in his cabinet, Major had her made a Baroness and sent to the House of Lords.

The lofty title aside, Chalker will no doubt remain a no nonsense, forceful yet flexible distributor of Britain's aid, always with an eye to encouraging the political and economic trends that Britain desires. Chalker runs the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), Britain's chief aid organisation.

The Major foreign policy will be guided by the principle of encouraging "good governance" — made up of political pluralism, market economies, respect for civil and human rights, reduced government roles in the economy and reduced government deficits, effective opposition to corruption and general accountability of government to the voters.

Speaking to the Southern Africa Association in London recently, Chalker said Britain would work to persuade the international community to underpin South Africa's constitutional reform process by relaxing trade and financial sanctions, by supported renewed access to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and by the encouragement of new investment and strategically targeted aid.

Kenya and Malawi will get less carrot and more stick, as Britain attempts to influence the regimes of Daniel arap Moi and Kamuza Banda to undertake major reforms to respect basic human rights and to install multi-party democratic systems.

Zambia is the shining example of such democratic values, as evidenced by the country's return to multi-party politics and the change of government by the ballot box, not bullets.

Accordingly, Britain wants to lend its support to President Frederick Chiluba's government, particularly its efforts to strengthen democracy, to reduce government control of the economy and promote free enterprise.

After years of good relations with Britain, Zimbabwe now appears to be caught on shifting sand with neither completely friendly nor antagonistic relations. That is a result of the Mugabe government's mixed results in meeting the Major standards of good governance.

Towards southern African in general, the Major government plans to encourage regional political cooperation and increased economic integration. Britain will continue to be a major donor to the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

# Three EC foreign ministers for SA

A "TROIKA" of foreign ministers from the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK is set to visit SA within the next month, according to senior diplomatic sources.

The three, the previous, present and next holders of the EC presidency, will represent the EC as a whole, rather than their individual states. Bloom 16/4/92

Foreign ministry spokesmen in the three countries would not confirm the visit, but senior diplomatic sources said it was likely to go ahead before Codesa II on May 15.

Sources close to government said Foreign Affairs was aware of provisional plans and was awaiting further details from the governments concerned.

Portugal is the current holder of the rotating EC presidency. The Netherlands held the presidency until December 31, and the UK is set to take over from June 30.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd

DARIUS SANAI (3047)

was in SA in May last year, and is one of the few "old guard" British ministers to have kept his position after the post-election cabinet reshuffle.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek is due in SA in August, accompanying Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers on a visit that has roused the ire of the ANC. The Dutch leaders, who were key supporters of the ANC during the apartheid years, cancelled a visit planned for last February due to ANC opposition.

The ANC was unavailable for comment yesterday on the EC trip.

Hurd and Van den Broek, and their Portuguese counterpart Joao de Deus Pinhero, will meet representatives of all the major participants in Codesa.

sions against the entire local Chinese community.

## Women to fight for Codesa role

WOMEN from a variety of political persuasions have grouped together and vowed to give fresh impetus to demands for a greater role for women at Codesa. Representatives of various organisations — including the ANC, the NP, Inkatha and the SA Council of Churches — said yesterday there was concern about how little representation women had at Codesa.

## Pensions to be rounded off

SOCIAL grants paid out to black pensioners will be rounded off to the nearest R5 or R10 in future to overcome the problem of a new teller-assisted cash dispenser which does not dispense coins.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporter, Own Correspondent.

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Scott said the company planne
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## Final sequestrat

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The order, by Judge H J Prei
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# Air Tanzania to start SA route

LINDEN BIRNS

AIR Tanzania is hoping to start flights between Dar es Salaam and Johannesburg by the beginning of July.

SAA was evaluating the viability of starting its own service on the route, a spokesman confirmed yesterday following the signing of a commercial air services agreement between the two airlines.

SAA spokesman Anelda Reynecke said Air Tanzania had expressed interest in hiring SAA's technical assistance and service for its Boeing 737-200s similar to those operated by SAA.

"Nothing has been finalised on the technical side yet, but they have been shown our facilities and now we are just waiting for the Tanzanians to make a decision," she said.

Sapa reports that an Air Tanzania delegation visiting SA held talks yesterday with several travel companies, including Thompson Tours and Orient Travel. The talks concerned the compilation of various package tours.

Tanzania recently lifted its ban on SA-registered aircraft passing through its airspace.

This enabled SAA to reroute its Nairobi flights over Tanzania instead of its aircraft having to first fly east and then north over the Indian Ocean before turning west to cross the Kenyan coast near Mombasa.

Air Tanzania said in a statement yesterday it hoped to start operating weekly flights to Jan Smuts Airport by July.

SAA had no plans to introduce a flight, but was willing to assist Air Tanzania in developing the route, said Reynecke.

Market demand would dictate whether SAA would put its aircraft into service on the route.

party."

# De Beer suspends 4 MPs after ANC talks

By Esther Waugh
and Carina le Grange

Four Democratic Party MPs were suspended from the caucus of the party yesterday as a result of a meeting with the ANC leadership earlier this week, leader Dr Zach de Beer confirmed last night.

Dr de Beer announced yesterday afternoon that the four, Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Rob Haswell and Pierre Cronje, were suspended "on the basis of information" he had received yesterday.

Earlier yesterday he had said there was "not enough" evidence at that stage to expell the DP members who met the ANC, but said last night that he had received further information.

The MPs were suspended from the caucus and stripped of their status as spokesmen of the party.

Mr van Eck is also suspended as representative on Codesa. He served on the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

The suspended men are all in favour of closer ties with

● To Page 3

# DP suspends 4 after ANC meeting

● From Page 1

the ANC and opposed to any DP alliance with the National Party or to proposals by some DP MPs that the party join the NP in a new centrist party.

A further statement will be issued when all relevant information has been collected, Dr de Beer said.

The group who met ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday and Tuesday had also included Kobus Jordaan.

Dave Dalling, who is at present in hospital, has also been associated with this group.

But Dr de Beer last night said he had "no problems" with Mr Jordaan and with regard to Mr Dalling, he would not add to making his life difficult.

Mr van Eck, the Claremont MP, last night said in response to the announcement that what surpised him was the fact that he was informed about the decision by the media.

"I have no idea why I have been suspended, but it is a motion of no confidence in me and the message I get is that it is impossible to remain in the DP," he said.

He declined to comment on the implications his suspension holds with regard to Codesa or with regard to his political future.

Sapa reported that Simonstown MP Mr Momberg said he had also learnt about the suspension through the media and that he did not consider it a "crime" to talk to leaders of other political groupings.

However, Mr Haswell (MP for Maritzburg South) told The Star that he had been informed and that he considered the matter to be sub judice at this stage in view of a hearing when he gets back to Parliament.

Greytown MP Mr Cronje was not available for comment last night.

# Local deals hinge on Codesa

B/Day 16/4/92

(304A)

**ADRIAN HADLAND**

THE suspension last week of the activities of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber has important implications for the future of local government in SA.

The reimposition of the rent boycott, the faltering of negotiations between civic associations and local authorities and renewed allegations of black council corruption have become the traditional topography of local government affairs.

The chamber's chairman, Van Zyl Slabbert, describes the real cause of the breakdown as a "crisis of delivery".

Public and official expectations regarding both the provision of township services — which have not improved noticeably in recent months — and the corresponding payment of rent and tariffs, which have dropped in Greater Soweto from 60% to less than 30% since December last year, have not been fulfilled.

This "crisis of delivery", says Slabbert, is likely to be a recurring theme, on a regional as well as on a national level.

Founded as a result of the Greater Soweto Accord of 1990, the metropolitan chamber was to provide a model for the way things should be done. As Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs head Chris Thornhill points out: "If the chamber is successful, it could provide an important negotiating mechanism for other local authorities in densely populated areas".

It was the Thornhill report submitted in 1990 which framed the options for metropolitan forms of government in SA. In the report, it was envisaged that all the major city regions in SA should form metropolitan chambers with the central goal of bringing "fragmented communities together to seek a common destiny and thereby to act as a mechanism of reconciliation".

But the process of reconciliation has been hampered by not only a crisis of delivery but also, says Slabbert, a crisis of legitimacy.

With the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983 destined for the legislative rubbish heap, and with white councillors facing six or seven year terms before the next round of municipal elections, it is difficult to ascertain who is representing who.

The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) has called for the mass resignation of black city councillors as a precondition for the continued life of the chamber and the lifting of the rent boycott. The TPA has rejected this. White city councillors have been crossing the floor, resigning from party caucuses or becoming independents at an alarming rate, unsure of their parties and constituents.



☐ SLABBERT

The white councils, some of which are not financially viable — particularly on the Cape coast and Transvaal — have had considerable trouble convincing themselves and their increasingly militant ratepayers, that the path towards nonracial metropolitan government will not affect their own resources too much.

Part of the difficulty is that until a new national government structure can be worked out at Codesa, local government has been left without a context. It has not been decided whether there will be a strong central government with weak local authorities (as the ANC would prefer) or the government's preferred option of the opposite scenario. With both of these definitions up for grabs, the role of first-tier metropolitan chambers is increasingly uncertain.

Slabbert says the sooner an interim government is established and the earlier nonracial municipal elections can be held, the better for legitimate local government.

Last week the SCA, citing a lack of any improvements in services, rising tariffs and continuing black local authority corruption, pulled out of the Greater Soweto Principal Parties, a group responsible for overseeing the normalisation of affairs in Soweto, and pulled down the metropolitan chamber with it.

Chamber CEO Vic Milne said this week he was confident that negotiations could resurrect the chamber in the short term.

As Slabbert points out, "the chamber was born in crisis, has endured in crisis and will continue in crisis. There is no other alternative but to keep on talking. The problems which the chamber tried to face will continue to be there and when parties come round to talking again, as eventually they must, the problems will be greater not smaller."

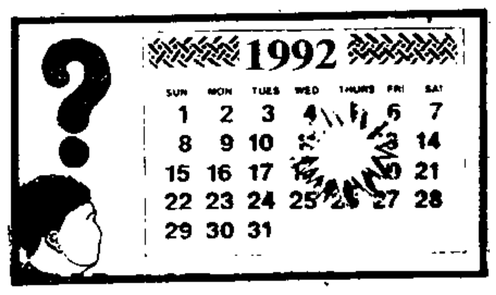
Milne believes there are vital lessons to be learnt from the problems experienced by the chamber. "Most negotiators are going to have to learn from what has happened here. It takes a while to get to know each other, understand problems and find some common ground."

Thornhill suggests the chamber was too hasty in its formation and should have concentrated on establishing nonracial local authorities before making the leap to a metropolitan body.

The quicker Codesa can establish an interim government and constitution — which, unlike the current constitution, includes local government within its ambit — the easier it will be to tackle the crises of delivery and legitimacy which continue to plague the normalisation of life in SA's cities and townships.

LETTERS

# CURRENT ISSUES




# Democracy and Electoral Systems

New Nation [Learning Nation] 16/4 - 23/4/92 (304A)

**This is the second part of our interview with Kader Asmal. We spoke to Professor Asmal about electoral systems and their role in the struggle for majority rule.**

**Learning Nation:** *Tell us why it is so important to have a constitution which is drawn up democratically?*

**Professor Asmal:** The constitution must be written by everybody through a Constituent Assembly. In this sense South Africa has never had a constitution.

Firstly it was only drawn up by what is now 11% of the population. It excluded, until 1983, the vast majority of blacks. A small percentage of blacks were co-opted on a racist basis into the Tricameral System. The constitution therefore had no legitimacy.

**LN:** *How do constitutions relate to the question of law?*

**Professor Asmal:** Our constitution is not the higher law because, by an ordinary Act of Parliament, a simple majority of whites can amend the existing constitution.

A higher law constitution is one that has priority over Parliament and existing laws. All laws passed which conflict with such constitutions are of no effect. You have to go to the highest court in the land, one which will have blacks, which will have women, gays too. This court will interpret government legislation and to strike it down if it is contrary to the constitution. We have never had that in South Africa.

We don't want a constitution drawn up by lawyers, in smoke-filled rooms. Everybody should be able to make representation. There should be a Bill of Rights - whether we want abortion or counter-abortion. This should be a matter of public debate.

**LN:** *Tell us about different electoral systems, and how they strengthen or retard democracy?*

**Professor Asmal:** An electoral system determines how votes are related to the elections of individuals and parties. There are about 300 different systems in the world, but basically they can be divided into the following:

*The British System* - This is also called the "first past the post", "winner takes all", or plurality system. Elections are held in a geographical areas called constituencies. The constituencies should be the same size. Supposing there are five candi-dates. The person that gets the highest number of votes is elected into parliament. That candidate often does not get more votes than the others combined. The votes for the other candidates are therefore wasted, they may as well have not voted. Elections are therefore often by minorities .

Whoever draws the constituency lines can maximise their strength and minimise the strengths of their opponents. Secondly the constituencies don't have the same number of voters - this is called the "loading factor". One-person-one-vote-one-value doesn't apply. This system favours two parties. It doesn't allow for many parties to be heard. We would rather have parties inside parliament than outside, reaching for the AK47.

There are other problems as well. For example it disadvantages women - in the USA, fewer than 6% of



Congresspeople are women, in Britain 10%, whereas in Sweden, and Germany it's 30%, and they don't use the British system.

Second System - *the Run-Off or Exhaustive system*, where candidates must get more than 50% of the votes in each constituency. In Algeria, in the first democratic, elections , the FIS (Muslim fundamentalists) got 50% of the votes in a large number of seats but they didn't get 50% of the votes in half the seats so there had to be a run-off. In the run off the party which came last in the constituency is excluded. This means there must be more than one election. Therefore the system is cumbersome and expensive. It is also still based on constituencies, and who decides on constituencies? .

Thirdly it is a one-to-one contest in the end. Fourthly there is no proportionality between the votes you get and the number of seats. For instance in France the Communist Party never got the number of seats it should have been entitled to get.

Third System - *the Alternative Vote*. This system is also called the Australian system. When there is more than one candidate for a constituency, you vote by numbers. You give your first choice the number 1, say the Labour Party, then the next party, say the Country Party, 2; then the Conservative Party 3; and then the Popular Trotskyist Movement 4.

So we count all the number 1's and if one party, or one person, has been found to have received more than 50% of the votes then he or she is declared the winner. You must get 50% of the first preferences. If no-one gets more than 50%, then you eliminate the last one. You then look at the ballot papers and check to see what the second preference was and you allocate the second. What will happen then is that, say 10%, will go to one candidate, 30% to another and so on, and you count up all the votes over again and see whether a candidate has 50% so far. If no-one does, you eliminate the third and allocate the people's 3rd choice and so on until all winning candidates get more than 50% of the vote.

This is a fair system But it is still based on the constituencies. Secondly there is no proportionality. When you add up all the votes, nationally, of the candidates of a particular party, there is no relationship between the number of seats a party might get and the number of votes it received. So the Australian Labour Party could get 46% of the votes, but only 37% of the seats. Also this system is a spoiling system - it means that in each constituency there must be coalitions, you have trade offs.

It means that in South Africa, the National Party in Natal can say "Give us the first preference to keep the ANC out and give Inka-tha number two". This is because the National Party has no hope of winning a democratic election in South Africa, but its own second preferences will spoil the chances of another party.

But there is another crucial negative feature - my own estimate is that about 60% of our people are illiterate. You can ask the returning officer to help you with a cross or a tick but you cannot ask him or her to help with preferences. Any system which relies on numbers, will give inordinate power to returning officers.



Voting for political: but how much is your vote worth?

**Next week we continue our interview with Kader Asmal. We will look at proportional systems and see whether these help democracy.**

# INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

# Nationalism 5

New Nation (Learning Nation) 16/4-23/4/92 304A

# Right-wing Nationalism



Fascists selling their paper in Britain.

**In our introductory article to this series we noted that alongside the many national liberation movements that exist worldwide, there is also a growing right-wing nationalist current. This article will focus on the rise of this form of nationalism and some of its implications.**

## International Capitalism: Recession and Uncertainty

A striking feature of many of the leading imperialist countries over the last few years is their economic recession. The USA, Britain and France are amongst the worst hit countries. On the other hand, countries like Germany and Japan have shown a growth in their economies, but there is uncertainty as to how long this trend can continue.

**A recession means that instead of the economy growing and the capitalists making bigger profits, the economy declines and profit making becomes increasingly difficult.**

Under these conditions, the capitalists resort to all kinds of measures in an attempt to secure their profits. In trying to beat the recession, capitalists cut production rates or even shut down factories. Sometimes they shut down a factory in one country and move the plant to another country to get cheaper labour or better tax benefits. Capitalists also argue for a wage freeze despite a rise in the cost of living. All these different tactics lead to workers facing a drop in their standard of living or unemployment.

## Responses to the Economic Crisis - The Capitalists

Capitalism is a economic system based on competition between capitalists. This competition happens between capitalists within a country as well as between capitalists of different countries. For example, American and Japanese capitalists compete with each other for the sale of their products. Over the last few years, the USA has bought more from Japan than Japan has bought from the USA. By the beginning of 1991, the USA owed Japan about $46 billion. This trend is most clearly shown up through the collapsing motor car industry in the USA. More and more Americans prefer Japanese cars to US models resulting in a severe drop in sales of American made cars. The capitalists who invested in the motor car industry face huge losses.

American capitalists accuse the Japanese capitalists and the Japanese state of blocking the entry of American products into Japan. Often these accusations are made in such a way that the Japanese capitalists and their state **are not attacked for being capitalistic, but for being Japanese**. This amounts to promoting racism where the Japanese nation is made to be a nation that is selfish or greedy. These prejudices can get easily re-enforced in conditions of an economic recession.

Capitalists also stir up racist prejudices between nations, out of fear that their country will be dominated economically and politically by another. In particular, countries like France and Britain with their weak economies, fear German domination. This fear continues to grow given that by the end of 1992, countries like Germany, Britain and France together with our European countries are meant to merge into a single European Economic Community (the EEC). In America, there is a rising tide of anti-Japanese feeling. A campaign to "Buy America" and to put "America First" is gaining in popularity as Americans are encouraged to buy American products despite the higher prices as a sign of their patriotism.

Past experiences have shown that under worsening economic conditions, the capitalist class of one country is willing to go to war with another country. The Gulf War is a recent example. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a threat to America's oil supply and political influence in the Middle East. Imperialist invasions of another nation have little to do with advancing democracy. Instead, democracy is often sacrificed to secure the political and economic interests of the imperialist country.



### Japan Strikes Back!

Japan is no longer willing to take the racist bashing it gets from the USA in silence. Japanese capitalists have found a way in which to make a profit from all the racial abuse Japanese get from Americans.

A Japanese computer company has produced a video game called Japan Bashing. In the game, players must use their "skill" to convince the Japanese government to allow US building companies into Japan. Another situation involves the player trying to understand a Japanese speak "broken" English.

The makers of the video game argue that the game is meant to improve Japanese-American relations. This is questionable however for when the "Americans" are offended in the game, a cowboy with his six-shooter guns shoots the "Japanese". When the "Japanese" are offended in the game, a Samurai warrior uses his sword to kill the "Americans".

Rather than improve relations, this game seems more likely to sharpen the growing racism between America and Japan.

## Responses to the Economic Crisis - The Middle and Working Class

The most immediate impact of the economic recession for the middle and working classes in the imperialist countries is a drop in the standard of living, bankruptcy and unemployment. As a result of the dominating influence of capitalist ideology, middle and working class people largely believe that the economic crisis is a fault of some other country. For example, many ordinary American people believe that Japan is the cause of their economic problems. The capitalist system itself is not questioned as a possible cause for the failing economy. Thus fertile ground exists within the middle and working classes for racist sentiments to grow.

In Germany, although the economy is not in a recession, there is growing fear amongst Germans about job security and a drop in living standards. This fear comes after the recent reunification with East Germany where unemployment is as high as 50%. Germans also feel threatened by immigrants or workers from countries like Poland and other East European countries who are looking for jobs, often for low wages. Similar fears about loss of job opportunities and social benefits exist amongst middle and working class people in countries like Britain and France.

The competition between workers for jobs or for social benefits not only divides worker against worker, but also turns workers of one nation or national group within the same country against another. This division within the working class is promoted by the capitalists who are out to pay the lowest wage possible. This is already being clearly demonstrated in countries such as Britain, Germany and France. In recent months, there has been growing support for right-wing and fascist political parties. Among the key issues promoted by these right-wing and fascist parties are demands for stricter immigration laws, deliberate discrimination against immigrants when it comes to jobs, housing and social security and the maintaining of "cultural values and standards". **It is this desire to limit democratic rights to a chosen national group at the expense of others that makes this form of nationalism reactionary.**

Presently, the fascist organisations do not enjoy popular support. However there is growing support for some elements of the right-wing programme especially for the tighter control of immigration. However, if the recession continues to cut more deeply into the living standards of working people and the fate of capitalism is in danger, then fascist solutions become real options.

**In our last article in Nationalism next week we will focus our attention on South Africa. We have the complex situation in which the majority of people are still struggling to win their democratic rights denied them under apartheid. Under the same conditions, there exist right-wing nationalist and even fascist movements.**

# Cracks in the DP as Zach suspends four MPs

TENSIONS within the DP came to a head yesterday when party leader Zach de Beer suspended four MPs apparently contemplating membership of the ANC. The move heralds a possible split in the party.

De Beer said in a statement that on the basis of information he had received yesterday, he was suspending the caucus membership of Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town). The MPs were also suspended from their status as spokesmen of the party and as representatives on select committees and Codesa.

TIM COHEN

The four were part of a group of seven DP MPs who held talks on Monday with ANC president Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC members.

De Beer said yesterday he had been informed that the four MPs concerned had discussed joining the ANC with the ANC delegation. This was the reason they, and not the others, were suspended.

De Beer said the suspension could be reversed if his information turned out to be untrue, but he expected the information to be confirmed soon.

The suspended members contacted last night said they were astounded by the action, which took them by surprise. They did not spell out what they would do, but party sources said their position was untenable.

Van Eck and Momberg both complained that they should have been informed of the move before the suspensions were announced, so that they could answer any allegations made against them.

Momberg said he would have preferred

□ To Page 2

## MPs suspended

□ From Page 1

to have discussed the matter in an amicable way with De Beer before any action was taken. He thought it was not a crime to discuss strategy with all parties.

"I don't want to harm the DP which has been very good to me, but I have to look to the future. I am not angry, just bewildered," Momberg said.

Van Eck said: "It is really being kicked out — based on the hearsay of other members." He said he was amazed he had been suspended without being spoken to or being given any reasons. "It is basic courtesy to at least talk to one."

The suspensions come shortly before the DP caucus discusses a new approach for the party, in the light of the changing political situation and the NP's adoption of many DP positions. About 11 MPs apparently favour a closer relationship with the ANC, about five with the NP and the remainder want to remain independent.

In reaction to the proposition that the DP was bound to shed members soon, De Beer said: "It may be that we are in the process of shedding some members." He said he knew of no other members who were likely to leave the party.

Our political staff reports that according to DP sources, also at the talks with the ANC were Wessel Nel (Mooi River), Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga) and indirectly elected Transvaal MP Andre de Wet. David Dalling (Sandton) was to have participated but withdrew for medical reasons.

From his bed in a Stellenbosch clinic, Dalling said: "I think it is a mistake for a party which has a narrow support base and narrow focus to try to limit that support and focus even further. I shall be speaking to the four MPs in the next 24 hours and hear what their story is."

□ Sapa reports from Durban that the Inkatha Freedom Party has welcomed the suspension of the four DP caucus members. In an unattributed statement it welcomed their "coming out of the closet and displaying their true colours. The IFP supports the MPs' inalienable right to attend political funerals of rival organisations — however, actually addressing them is unbecoming of members of an organisation which projects itself as a centrist political party."

THE TRANSITION FM 17/4/92 (3044)

# De Klerk for president?

**The National Party** is poised to draw massive support from coloured areas in the Cape in SA's first democratic election — that will probably be held within the next 18 months. And the ANC rabbit seems, for the moment, to be dazzled in the headlights.

The Nats, having ditched apartheid, are moving swiftly to capitalise on their leader's popularity.

They also expect to get substantial majority support in the Indian communities — and they may be increasingly attractive to more blacks than the ANC may be comfortable with.

The Nats have other advantages over the ANC which could prove important going into an election. President F W de Klerk has tested his constituency and consolidated his position.

The ANC, on the other hand, has many restive factions. It is saddled with some official ideological positions that the civilised world finds at best quaint and at worst dangerous. The ANC has never faced an election. And its president, Nelson Mandela, has been forced to wash domestic linen in public.

It must also not be forgotten that the ANC has always been a broad church. When Mandela eventually goes, it is not impossible that the organisation will split — which would probably strengthen further any moderate centrist party presided over by a relatively young De Klerk.

De Klerk's first foray into Mitchells Plain, the country's largest coloured residential area (in his capacity as party leader), was an undeniable success. But he was effectively forced to abandon the main public meeting and was whisked away from the giant marquee packed with about 5 000 people, after the stage had been pelted with gravel and the occasional bottle and egg.

The vast majority of the 10 000-plus people who lined the city's streets and packed two venues to hear him speak were cheering rather than jeering. General chaos — most of it good-natured — reigned for hours before his arrival, during the visit and long after he left and it all ensured widespread publicity for the Nat cause.

De Klerk was shouted down by a relatively small group of mainly ANC supporters. But it allowed him to capture the moral high ground (a political skill that he has perfected over the past two years).

The ANC has been seen as the villain in Mitchells Plain, denying De Klerk the right to free speech, so often claimed for itself (and, until recently, been denied by the NP). The ANC was also seen as perpetuating racial divisions by demanding that De Klerk keep out of coloured areas which it regards as its turf.



De Klerk



Boesak

Such are the ironies of the new SA.

In reaction to the meeting, a statement from the ANC's head office in Johannesburg described the event as a total disaster and claimed De Klerk was neither shouted down nor placed under threat and that he abandoned the meeting when it became clear that most people opposed him.

But local officials of the ANC (and almost every journalist on the scene) conceded that the NP had clear majority support on the day. ANC spokesman Willie Hofmeyr also condemned "in the strongest terms" the stone-throwing and disruption that forced De Klerk to leave.

It was also condemned by Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck, widely regarded as much more partial to the ANC than the Nats. After monitoring the meeting and witnessing the events, he said that while he understood how angry some people were at the way Nat governments had treated coloureds for 40 years, he disapproved of the disruptive action in the strongest and most unqualified terms. "We cannot allow this sort of thuggery to become the pattern in the run-up to the first democratic election in our history."

It is interesting to speculate on how the ANC would have responded had the Inkatha Freedom Party disrupted the weekend meeting in KwaMashu near Durban addressed by Mandela in the same way that its supporters broke up De Klerk's Mitchells Plain rally.

There is also a correlation between the weekend disruption and the behaviour last year of AWB supporters in Ventersdorp, when De Klerk went to the town considered by the AWB to be its territory.

The ANC's response to De Klerk's Mitchells Plain visit demonstrated how far the organisation — particularly in the western Cape — still has to go to transform itself into an efficient political machine rather than a protest movement.

The Nats are already thinking in terms of nonracial elections — and their campaign has already started.

The western Cape ANC is based largely on the old United Democratic Front, an extremely effective anti-apartheid machine in the region while the ANC was still banned. But it's clearly struggling now to develop a new role.

Despite the election last year of Allan Boesak, the ANC's western Cape leader (supposedly to draw coloured support), there is growing evidence that coloureds will flock to the NP or, better still, a new party established around the core of the current NP.

In some respects, the groundswell of support for the NP among coloureds is surprising, considering the shameful manner in which they were treated by the party for four decades. Many residents of Mitchells Plain in particular have reason to be bitter. They were forcibly moved to the sprawling Cape Flats city when areas such as District Six were declared white.

But interviews with residents — including some who were forced to move — published over the past few days indicate that most believe De Klerk has taken the NP beyond apartheid and that it's time to start a new chapter in political history. They feel more comfortable with De Klerk and the NP than they do with Mandela and the ANC.

Many coloureds are deeply religious and, therefore, suspicious of the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party. And they are overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking.

NP leaders believe that if there is already such strong and open support for the party in Mitchells Plain, a relatively radical community prone to political intimidation, then the potential in more conservative (and less bitter) areas is massive. ■

DEFENCE FM 17/4/92

## The last battle

**The Cape** Corps, a volunteer military unit for coloureds, has been disbanded as part of the SA Defence Force (SADF)'s current rationalisation programme and in an attempt to move away from "apartheid" in the army. But the move has been described as "window dressing" and insensitive to the traditions of a unit which traces its history back more than 200 years.

The rationalisation was approved in February by Defence Minister Roelf Meyer after months of investigation. On April 1, the Cape Corps battalions were merged to form 9 SA Infantary Battalion (9 SAI), based at the old corps base in Eersterivier near Cape Town. The maintenance unit and the Cape Corps Regiment, a citizen force voluntary unit, were disbanded. At a parade in Cape Town next week the corps will be formally disbanded and its colours, including battle honours from World War I, will be laid up in the Castle.



Cont--D

(3041)
ARG 18/4/92

# The race for the black vote

**The emphasis in South African politics has shifted to the black vote. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the new political battleground and some of the organisations shaping it.**

POLITICIANS are realising the black vote counts if they are to stay in business.

This shift in emphasis — to prepare the ground for South Africa's first non-racial elections — is a major factor in moves towards a realignment in party politics.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch, foresees a potentially significant impact of this week's events — Mrs Winnie Mandela's fall from grace in African National Congress "establishment" politics and the shift of a group of Democratic Party MPs towards the ANC — on the future course of politics.

He sees these events as a forerunner to other similar trends in South Africa's unfolding political drama.

By shedding Mrs Mandela, or at least diminishing her role, the ANC stands to gain more respectability in the eyes of whites. This could facilitate and even encourage white politicians to either become members of the ANC or form alliances with it.

On the other hand, however, political analysts are closely watching Mrs Mandela's next moves for signs that she may continue as a potentially powerful leadership figure for the ANC's militant faction, consisting mainly of young people who are impatient with the older generation's relatively conservative strategies.

Next to MK chief-of-staff and South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, Mrs Mandela is known to appeal strongly to young militants in black townships. If she were to be ousted from any significant role in the ANC hierarchy, tensions inside the organisation could increase to the point of a possible split.

This could mean the ANC would lose much support, with militants defecting to join other black organisations like the Pan African Congress, which is still committed to the "armed struggle" and refuses to negotiate with the government inside the framework of Codesa.

So far, Mrs Mandela has not shown her hand, apart from announcing her resignation from her key post as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

She remains a member of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC).

Some analysts say developments in the Democratic Party this week, pointing to a possible defection of some DP MPs to the ANC, could set off further significant political realignments.

An indicator would be the reaction of militants in the ANC to a new DP presence. If the militants disapprove, it could motivate some of them to move towards other groupings like the PAC and Azapo.

Another powerful force which could direct not only the ANC's future political and economic policy directions, but also the whole course of black politics is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

With more than a million members, it is the largest and strongest trade union federation in South Africa. Its membership includes unions in nearly all industrial sectors.

In its recent fight against VAT and previous tough campaigns against government policy, Cosatu has shown that political leaders would be unwise to underestimate its future role and power.

Only this week, Cosatu once again bared its teeth with a blunt warning that it would resist any attempts by the governmentt to impose economic or political solutions on the country.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo said the government should stop restructuring the economy and enter into negotiations with the organised trade union movement and organised business.

Professor Breytenbach points out that Cosatu, in effect, has the power to veto government decisions by mass action and threatened disruption of the country's economy. Although it is at present an ally of the ANC and the SACP, a future interim government in which the ANC had a role could well find itself up against Cosatu opposition if it did not approve of government policy or decisions.

The present political line-up, as seen by Professor Breytenbach, puts the DP in the centre of the political arena, with the National Party "right of centre", the ANC/SACP "left of centre" and Cosatu further left. The PAC, Azapo, New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation of SA are "far left".

On the basis of opinion surveys, the ANC is the strongest political grouping in South Africa, with an estimated 55 percent of the total vote in a general election. The NP is the second strongest, with an estimated 30 percent of the total vote.

This means the two strongest parties could get up to 85 percent of the total vote, leaving 15 percent between the other groupings.

After the two big guns, the support ladder is as follows: the PAC, the Conservative Party and Inkatha — each with an estimated million supporters — followed by other smaller groups on the left and on the right of the political spectrum.

A big question mark still hangs over the future role of Inkatha in the peace process and over the continuing conflict and animosity between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Can the two groups ever be reconciled? Such hopes seemed to fade this week when vitriolic exchanges erupted between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi over attempts by Mr Mandela to speak to the Zulu king.

Other divisive factors that could affect future political alignments in black politics include the taxi war and train violence.

An important, although relatively silent influence is the powerful Zion Christian Church which draws up to two million supporters to its annual Easter gatherings in the northern Transvaal.

Significantly, the church's gathering tomorrowis to be addressed by three key players in South Africa's peace process — President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi. This move will enhance the church's image as a force for peace and reconciliation.

Some observers say the potential role of traditional black leaders in future political realignments should not be overlooked.

Some of these leaders have a strong influence over their followers inside and outside South Africa and are eager to play a role in constitutional negotiations.

# 'disenfranchised'

COLOURED people who moved into traditional white areas should be included on the existing voters' rolls, regardless of race, Walmer MP General Bob Rogers said at Parliament yesterday.

He said the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts meant that people who moved into white areas "disenfranchised themselves" (304/4)

# Gloss of FW cult hides tarnished history

South 18/4 – 23/4/92

304A

"FW — OUR LEADER, our father, our hero" read one placard. While claims of paternity might seem far-fetched (ask Erica Adams), "leader" and "hero" were a fair indication of the sentiments being bandied about that sunny autumn morning in Mitchells Plain by FW supporters.

FW's face, wearing its now characteristic expression of mild benevolence, appeared on T-shirts in a style akin to cult figures such as Che Guevara and Jim Morrison.

It wasn't the first time we'd seen evidence of an FW personality cult. Remember the referendum question with its reference to "the reform process begun by the state president"?

Just as FW lured white DP and ANC supporters into giving him their ostensibly unequivocal support in the referendum, so in Mitchells Plain last Saturday the emphasis given to the personality rather than the policy proved an effective way of putting the NP's sins that much further out of sight.

"No to old SA, yes to new SA, no to old NP, yes to new NP, FW you are welcome" was a placard that encapsulated the feelings of every "brown Nat" in the crowd.

"I don't have to go to the back door any more," said bus driver Mr Charles Fredericks.

"We have no water in Grabouw. What is the ANC doing about that?" asked a woman who had been bussed in for the occasion, apparently impervious to the suggestion that water supply is the responsibility of the present government rather than of an opposition group.

To his supporters at the rally, FW is the man who has liberated coloured people from the shackles of petty apartheid.

Nothing else seems to matter: not the fact that the NP legalised segregation in the first place and created the ghetto of Mitchells Plain by means of forced removals from District Six and other suburbs; nor the fact that FW de Klerk had a reputation as a verkrampte in the PW Botha cabinet; nor the fact that coloured people still receive second-rate education and pensions, and were denied a democratic voice in last month's referendum; nor the fact that the NP's present reformist gestures were only won out of years of struggle by organisations such as the UDF and ANC.

The protest by ANC and New Unity Movement supporters was regarded with contempt by the Nats. "The NP would never disturb an ANC meeting like this," remarked one bystander. Where was this gentleman between 1961 and 1990, when "disturb" would have been a very limp euphemism for "ban"?




**WELCOME TO THE PLAIN ... But many of the welcoming party had been brought from further afield**

Yet the racism that coloured people have experienced under apartheid is largely forgotten as the coloured Nats turn NP-style racism to their advantage.

However much the Mitchells Plain Nats may use the phrase "nation building" in explaining their support for the party, any talk of national unity is quickly undercut by the self interest that is invoked at the same time.

"It's not black people who are suffering, it's the coloureds. They won't pay rent in Khayelitsha, so why must we pay in Mitchells Plain?"

One resident after another condemned Africans and the ANC for the violence in Alexandra and for the Cape Town taxi wars.

Just as the National Party once used swartgevaar myths to draw white voters into their fold, so they are now establishing themselves as the protectors of coloured interests against a supposedly hostile African majority.

The laager remains. All that De Klerk's machinations have done is to enlarge it a little. And here we are, back to when the NP encouraged coloureds to add their votes towards the 1948 election victory.

# The day the Nat tann

South 18/4 – 23/4/92 304A

**The 'bald Messiah' evoked strange scenes in Mitchells Plain. JUSTIN PEARCE and photographer YUNUS MOHAMED were there to witness the Nats going multi-cultural to the sounds goema:**

"RIGHT OF admission reserved" said the notices on the circus tent where the FW rally was to take place. Five years ago, they would almost certainly have said "whites only". But this was Mitchell's Plain. This was the day the Nats went multi-cultural, my bra.

How else do you explain toyi-toying Nats, or an NP gathering where most of the whites present were ANC supporters?

To stress the multi-cultural nature of the occasion, a Muslim brass band struck up with an out-of-tune rendition of "Onward Christian Soldiers".

Later they swung into a rousing goema melody. It was as though the campaign planners had been studying all the clichés of "coloured culture" and adapting them to their own ends. Shining coon carnival jackets caught the eye, unbuttoned to reveal the image of FW de Klerk smiling from the T-shirt underneath.

But "struggle culture" was part of the mix as well. Brown NP members toyi-toyied to chants of "FW, FW, FW" (pronounced in Afrikaans, Ef Vee), which mingled with the chant of "ANC, ANC, ANC" coming from the other side of the tent.

The NP had rallied its forces in good time, with one particularly vocal busload occupying a stand supposedly reserved for a TV camera crew. Perhaps the SABC had been given instructions not to object.

Dressed in their best Sunday hats, head scarves or fezzes, this largely elderly crowd snatched voraciously at the NP flags that were being distributed.

These were the kind of party supporters every journalist should love. It wasn't necessary to ask them why they were supporting the Nats — they pushed their way towards me as soon as they saw my notebook. They wouldn't go away until they were satisfied that every detail was recorded — and then I would be handed over to the buddy or neighbour who expressed the same opinions over again.

These people had learnt their lines very, very well. But more and more ANC supporters wandered in until the tent was divided into two equally-sized camps: the ANC supporters on the left and the Nats (prophetically?) on the right

DISTRICT SIX and other forced removals were frequently alluded to, one poster reading "Let's talk about Six, baby".

Two white NP ladies in the platform party showed their commitment to multi-culturalism by thrusting their fists into the air in time with the toyi-toyi.

One of them got so carried away that when she suddenly realised the chant had stopped, she self-consciously used her raised hand to adjust her lacquered hairdo.

Outside a minibus drew up, and its occupants began handing out NP balloons and stickers. The vehicle was rocked from side to side by the crush of people desperate for the magic freebies.

As 11 o'clock came and went, the noise level, the temperature and the restlessness in the tent rose with the numbers of people who were still pouring in. There was no way the crowd would relax before FW appeared — but it seemed increasingly unlikely that he would be able to make himself heard, or even to squeeze his way onto a stage already jammed with photographers, journalists, Nats of assorted colours and stray hangers-on.

The multi-cultural brass band having given up, Bontebeuwel MP Mr Patrick McKenzie seized the microphone and tried to lead the audience in more goemaliedjies.

Someone arrived with more balloons, and people went over like dominoes in the ensuing scuffle for a souvenir.

Then a white, statesmanlike figure in a suit elbowed his way onto the stage. Could it be, could it be (the




**FW'S FAITHFUL AND UNFAITHFUL SUPPORTERS: Both sides with a score to settle went in Mitchells Plain. The result however is in dispute with both teams claiming victory**

April 18 to April 23 1992

# tannies toyi-toyied




**ORTERS: Both sides with a score to settle went to great lengths to make their point at the Nat jamboree dispute with both teams claiming victory**

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...ional brass band
... Bonteheuwel MP
... Kenzie seized the
... tried to lead the
... goemaliedjies.

Someone arrived with more balloons, and people went over like dominoes in the ensuing scuffle for a souvenir.

Then a white, statesmanlike figure in a suit elbowed his way onto the stage. Could it be, could it be (the shrieks of delight from one side of the tent would have made Paul Simon jealous), could it be ... no, this one's got hair, it's only Kleinbaas Stoffel van der Merwe.

He was not the Light, but came to bear witness to the Light. He beamed at the audience, muttered into the microphone before standing aside for the bald man in the grey suit who came stumbling on after him. This time the shrieks were worthy of a Madonna concert.

The expected address was little more than a five-minute harangue against the ANC.

"These people do not represent the spirit of Mitchells Plain." (Clearly, the true spirit of Mitchells Plain had to be bussed in from the platteland with the other NP supporters.)

"They are the radicals we must eliminate from our society." Shades of PW there, FW.

THEN THE STRAIN got too much for the bald Messiah and he disappeared through the back of the tent under a not-so-democratic hail of sand, pebbles, stones, gravel or coarse gravel depending on your political vantage point.

A large part of the NP crowd vanished in pursuit; the rest occupied the stage and resumed the toyi-toyi, initiating a prolonged slanging match with the ANC supporters who were toyi-toying at ground level.

Yet as far as real aggro was concerned, the gathering barely measured up to a Sunday braai attended by the supporters of two different cricket teams.

Now and then people in search of fresh air would start an NP or an ANC protest march and do a few laps of the field outside. A self-appointed orator leaped onto a plastic chair to proclaim "FW is ons baas en sal ook julle baas wees".

So who won? While coloured people are still disenfranchised, we won't find out.

"Gaan PW nog praat?" asked someone passing me on his way from the bus terminus towards the tent.

Sorry, bra. You're three years to late for PW — and an hour too late for FW, just in case you know the difference.

# Rent-a-crowd by Nats boosts FW rally support

By Justin Pearce

NATIONAL Party MPs bussed supporters from outside Mitchells Plain to President FW de Klerk's rally on Saturday.

Chilwan's bus hire company said the company had donated nine buses which had been organised by three Nat MPs. In addition to these, eyewitnesses report that buses with registration plates from Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester were parked outside the Westridge Civic Centre where De Klerk held his rally.

The Chilwan's buses each had a capacity of 65 to 70 people.

Strandfontein MP Mr PC Harris, who was responsible for seven of the buses, explained that his constituency covers an area from Macassar to Hanover Park, including part of Mitchells Plain. Although the rally had been used by the NP to show its support in Mitchells Plain, Harris said he had a right to bring in people from his entire constituency.

"The crowd at the rally spoke for itself," he said.

## Bussed in

Mitchells Plain resident and Labour Party member Ms Mary Jane Windvogel interviewed some of the people bussed in from rural areas. "They were outsiders — they understood nothing about NP policy," Windvogel said. "They said that the NP people had picked them up off the street and gave them flags and balloons."

Some of the people were under the impression that the rally was to celebrate De Klerk's referendum victory, Windvogel said.

"The Cape Town people are all ANC and LP supporters."

The Mitchells Plain zone of the ANC said in a statement, "We reach the conclusion that actual support for the NP is relatively low — that is why they transported members from all over the Western Cape to Mitchells Plain, leaving false impressions."

NP regional secretary Mr Ewalt Groenewalt said transport for NP supporters to the rally had been arranged by individual MPs and not the NP regional office. "But I am still glad that they arranged it."

While the ANC has claimed that the rally cost the NP about R250 000, Groenewalt said he did not yet have an official tally. The banners, flags, T-shirts and public address system had cost "a good few thousand rand."

The brass band from Paarl had come voluntarily and were not paid, Groenewalt said.

● See pages 16 and 17




**FW BUS: Supporters were bussed in from numerous small towns to swell attendance at the NP rally**

Photo Yunus Mohamed

DP, CP may split at key caucus meetings

# Crunch nears for white party politics

STAR 18/4/92 (3044)

**PETER FABRICIUS, ESTHER WAUGH and FRANS ESTHERHUYSE**

WHITE politics enters a decisive phase next week when the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party gather for strategic meetings which could cause both to split.

The DP and the CP caucuses will both meet on Thursday for the first time since the Easter parliamentary recess to discuss crucial reports on their strategies for transition.

The DP caucus will discuss a strategy document compiled by a special committee under national chairman Ken Andrew.

And the Conservative Party caucus will discuss the reports of seven special committees which have been deliberating on strategy and policy for several weeks.

The caucus meeting is likely to see a showdown between the hardliners who now control party policy and "volkstaters" who believe the party should go into negotiations to bargain for a smaller Afrikaans homeland.

This group has gained ground since the decisive defeat of the no-vote in the referendum in March and could wrest control of the party at Thursday's caucus meeting.

The DP caucus is also certain to be the occasion for a battle for the soul f the party.

Three strands have emerged in the DP: those favouring closer ties with the ANC, those wanting a new centrist party wr[illegible] National Party, and the centre, which wants to retain the party's independence.

To some degree the decision about where the party goes has already been pre-empted by the suspension this week of four MPs sympathetic to the ANC.

The four — Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Jannie Momberg and Pierre Cronje — were suspended after talks earlier this week.

Mooi River MP Wessel Nel has confirmed that he attended the meeting, while it is understood that Andre de Wet and Kobus Jordaan were also present.

Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who is in hospital, has been associated with the group in the past and would probably have attended the meeting if he had been able.

Political observers said a split could occur in the CP if the party retreated into its well-known position that it would not negotiate with blacks other than leaders of recognised ethnic groups.

## Agonising

But if the "volkstaters" prevail, this could force out hardline conservatives.

While the CP and DP are agonising over their futures, President de Klerk is also expected to make major announcements during the debate in Parliament on his budget vote.

● The row between the four suspended DP members and the party leadership continued with a new flare-up y[illegible]day arising from remarks [illegible]rty leader Dr Zach de B[illegible]n a television interview o[illegible] the SABC's Agenda programme on Thursday night.

De Beer yesterday confirmed he had made an offer to the four: that he would apologise to them and rescind their suspension if they gave their colleagues "a satisfactory assurance they have no intention of joining any other party and would serve the DP in full loyalty".

He also confirmed certain remarks he had made in the SABC programme to which some of the suspended members had taken exception.

Reacting to De Beer's offer and remarks, Momberg said he and others had been suspended without the party leader contacting them. The decision had been taken on the basis of "third-party evidence".

"I regard this as a hatchet job on us. Clearly the DP wants to get rid of us."

Momberg said the Agenda interview had been conducted in a way that created the impression that the four MPs were already out of the party. He took exception to remarks by De Beer to the effect that the four had been a "debilitating" influence in the party and now that they were gone, an "invigorating" process had started.

De Beer confirmed he had made remarks on such lines and had used the words "debilitating" and "invigorating". However, he had talked on the basis of "if they go ..."

Momberg, he said, had worked hard for the DP, but his constant "courting" with the ANC had had a demoralising influence on many party members.

Momberg said he had requested the chairman of his Simon's Town constituency council, Ed Coombe, to call a meeting of the council for Tuesday night.

"There I will inform them (the council) fully about my intentions."

# DP crisis showdown

ARG 18/4/92 (3014)

CRISIS in the Democratic Party which could lead to a split and the defection of four MPs to the African National Congress, is expected to come to a head next week — possibly on Wednesday.

Party leader Dr Zac de Beer has called a special meeting of the party's MPs to discuss the issue when parliament resumes after the Easter recess.

He told Weekend Argus the four MPs suspended from the caucus would be given a hearing before any action was taken to end their membership.

They are Whip Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South). In addition to their suspension from the caucus, they have been stripped of their status as party spokesmen.

The earliest opportunity for the special meeting is expected to be Wednesday, because Dr De Beer and others will be attending Codesa discussions in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

It is likely Dr De Beer will present a declaration of loyalty to the DP and ask all the MPs to sign it. Those refusing will be asked to leave the party.

MPs unable to give the DP their unquestioned loyalty because of leanings towards the ANC or NP will probably have to leave, DP sources have said.

The row between the four members and the party leader-

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE and MARTIN CHALLENOR**
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ship continues with a new flare-up yesterday arising from remarks by Dr De Beer during an interview on SABC-TV's *Agenda* programme on Thursday night.

Dr De Beer yesterday confirmed an offer he had made to the four — that he would apologise to them and rescind their suspension if they gave "a satisfactory assurance they have no intention of joining any other party and would serve the DP in full loyalty".

Reacting to Dr De Beer's offer and remarks, Mr Momberg said he and others had been suspended without Dr De Beer contacting them.

"I regard this as a hatchet job on us. Clearly the DP wants to get rid of us."

Mr Momberg said the *Agenda* interview had created the impression the four MPs were already out of the party. He took exception to remarks by Dr De Beer to the effect that the four had been a "debilitating" influence in the party and now they were gone, an "invigorating" process had started.

Dr De Beer confirmed he had made remarks on such lines and had used the words "debilitating" and "invigorating". However, he had talked on the basis of "if they go . . .".

Mr Momberg, he said, had worked hard for the DP, but his constant "flirting" (vryery) with the ANC had had a demoralising influence.

Mr Momberg said the chances of a reconciliation between him and the party leadership were "less than 50-50".

Mr Rob Haswell said that since his suspension there had been no communication from the DP — except a telephone call from Dr De Beer to tell him of his suspension.

"I'm very much in the dark about what is happening. I had been told I would get a hearing in the caucus, but then I was suspended from the caucus. Now, I don't know what I'm entitled to and whether there will be a fair process."

Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Pierre Cronje could not be reached for comment.

Meanwhile, Mr Wessel Nel, one of the seven Democratic Party MPs who met with the ANC this week, said yesterday in a statement: "All political parties, particularly parliamentary parties, are going through a period of soul searching about how their aims and principles can most effectively be pursued in the future. My attendance at a meeting with members of the ANC leadership in Johannesburg on Monday should be viewed against this background.

"However, I do not intend to enter a public debate about details of such a meeting or the issues discussed until the whole matter has been fully considered by the DP caucus and leadership."

# 'Big three' court Zion's faithful

## FW, Buthelezi, Mandela speak at Moria service

STAR 18/4/92

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and AFP

**IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.**

State President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and De Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collison between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, nine seriously, national accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

### Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important in the new South Africa".

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1985 when former president P W Botha addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

Botha's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1985, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant for your good."



## This was no yolk

NAPLES — Police found guns, bullets and drugs hidden in Easter eggs when they raided a Naples bar yesterday.

The bar owner and his wife had also hidden dozens of illegal gaming slips among the Easter bunnies and bottles of whisky on the shelves. — Sapa-Reuter.

## A sweet, early Easter

DAVID KATZ

**EASTER came sweet and early for 15 excited children at Johannesburg's Coronation hospital — they were given Easter eggs and picture books donated by the Cadbury and Penguin groups.**

**An abandoned 18-month-old toddler, Katherine Cloete, living at the hospital until a foster home is found for her, was slightly overwhelmed by all the attention, but smiled shyly when a big, brightly coloured egg was thrust into her hands. Delton Yule (5), just grinned widely between mouthfuls of chocolate.**

**Paediatric ward sister Lorraine Chatel said those children who could read would keep their books while the rest of the books would be put in the hospital library.**

● Photograph: JACOOB RYCLIFFE



# Time of reckoning for DP

MOUNTING pressures within the Democratic Party are expected to reach a crisis this week, which could result in a final break-up of the party after the suspension of four MPs for holding discussions with the ANC. CIPRES 19/4/92

It is believed that the next move will be for the DP Chief Whip Dave Dalling to force his own suspension which could lead to him and his suspended colleagues leaving the party. 3044

Dalling, a member of the old guard and a known ANC sympathiser, was expected to have led the delegation of seven others who saw Nelson Mandela last Monday, but suffered a setback following a recent heart-attack which required his readmission to hospital.

If he is well enough to return to Parliament this week his colleagues expect him to force the issues.

This could lead to a three-way split in the party with some DP MPs joining the NP

# SA's future at stake in Codesa II – Slovo

By FRED KHUMALO Cpress 19/4/92

THE future of SA will be at stake when Codesa II meets in four weeks' time.

This was the clear message from ANC NEC member Joe Slovo at a Future Forum organised by Idasa in Durban this week.

He said the ANC had no intention whatsoever to dissolve MK.

He said there was no example in history of one contestant in a struggle demanding that the other must not only declare a ceasefire – "which we have done" – but also dissolve its army even before the first stage of reaching and implementing an agreement for a transformation." (3041)

As a next step, he expected a constitution-making body to be elected.

As soon as the constitution-making body has been elected, the tricameral parliament should be dissolved; voters from the TBVC states should participate fully in the elections; and an independent non-partisan commission should take control of the election process.

However, notes of discord have been sounded at Codesa. The government has called for a two-chamber approach – which effectively means the perpetuation of the tricameral system.

The IFP proposes a constitution-making body composed of a group of wise men "detached from the political process", whereafter the constitution would be put to a referendum.

Said Slovo: "There is no historical precedent of a whole constitution being adopted by a referendum. Just imagine asking the electorate to say 'yes' or 'no' to a package containing hundreds of clauses."



# Shaping a constitution by push and shove

304A

S/Times 19/4/92

PRESIDENT DE KLERK's campaign to win support for the National Party from coloured and black voters has taken him from one devoutly Christian community to another, from Mitchell's Plain in the south to Moria, headquarters of the Zionist church, in the far north.

The glint in his eye, one assumes, is the vision of a political alignment that pits the NP's "Christian democrats", against the ANC's "social democrats". Leaving aside such troubling details as finding a name to accommodate Muslims in a Christian-democratic party, it's a nice idea but it raises two questions.

The first is whether it can succeed, and on this point I am sceptical. Members of the Democratic Party, it is true, are already choosing sides, some going left and others going right, leaving the old-fashioned Progs like Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin, who don't have such fast footwork, sitting lonely on their liberal principles.

President De Klerk is bound to pick up large numbers of coloured Afrikaans voters, he will surely draw more Indian voters than TIC-NIC, as Codesa's only ethnic party is fondly known, and he may even win over the Zionists and other black Christian constituencies. The idea of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party is fading, but it may not be dead.

On the other side of the great divide, the ANC, its policies in confusion and its organisation in disarray, must appeal to an increasingly fractured black constituency. Despite the support of a handful of white and Indian intellectuals, and a minority of each minority, its hopes of a two-thirds majority seem increasingly unrealistic. No wonder there is a glint in Mr De Klerk's eye.

Nevertheless, having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government.

This raises the second question: what happens if the grand coalition fails? To the ruling elite, and especially to the bureaucracy, the prospect of an ANC government is an unmitigated disaster. The public servants foresee purges, such as the Nationalists conducted in their early years against military officers and senior public servants; the business elite foresees nothing but taxes and restrictions; the whites foresee retributive oppression.

As a kind of insurance against such disaster, the Nationalists are trying to construct a constitution that will not simply transfer power, as the ANC demands, but "share" power. The thrust of Nationalist thinking is to build into the constitution a guaranteed role for minorities — in practical effect, to preserve the white bureaucracy, and to entrench the minority party in government.

The ANC, of course, wants a transfer of power, as unfettered as possible. It makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but it is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total.

On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding "control" of state media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power.

THE attitude of Cosatu is instructive. As the government begins, at long last and very timidly, to dismantle the corrupt instruments of power by which it has dispensed privilege to its supporters — the boards, the parastatals, the immense state enterprises — Cosatu does not applaud, it rages: the present government is stripping the future government of economic weapons.

There is not much, when you think of it, to choose between the Nationalists and the ANC, the one seeking to preserve its bureaucracy and its privileges, the other seeking to inherit them. The one clings, the other grasps. Either of them, whichever comes to office, will be confronted with demands for vast expenditure to overcome what one calls "backlogs" and the other calls "injustices", and both relish the prospect of meeting those demands.

The making of a constitution is an intensely political process. It is no use lamenting that both the government and the ANC have already made the constitution hostage to their own political agendas. The state president is openly campaigning for election, and the ANC is pushing for an effective transfer of power to an interim government, ahead of a new constitution.

THAT interim government would serve both as a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution and as an interim administration with executive powers. A more satisfactory arrangement would have been an independent constituent assembly, capable of quietly drafting the constitution while the government simply kept the show on the road, but that obvious course has been rejected. The shaping of the new South Africa has already been politicised, beyond retrieval, and the constitution will be created not by adherence to principle or by intellectual rigour but by plain old political push and shove.

This may perhaps produce a good constitution, since each side must at least contemplate the prospect that the other might win, but it would be a lot more comforting if President De Klerk, instead of banking on his grand coalition, began to contemplate the prospect of ANC rule.

Then, instead of trying to keep his bureaucracy and its powers intact, he might concentrate on limiting the size and scope of government, and entrenching the protection of the weak which is the essential feature of democracy.

**KEN OWEN**

SUNDAY TIMES, April 19 1992

# DP suspensions a 'hatchet job'

S/Times 19/4/92 (304A)

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

NE of the four MPs suspended by ie Democratic Party this week has ivately confirmed that they did disiss with the African National Conress the possibility of their joining ie organisation and serving it in arliament.

This was the reason given by party ader Zach de Beer for suspending iem. But Mr Jannie Momberg, one of ie four suspended MPs, has accused r de Beer of acting precipitously in uspending them.

Mr Momberg, MP for Simonstown, aid Dr de Beer had spoken to only one f the four MPs, Mr Rob Haswell Maritzburg South), before acting. Mr an van Eck (Claremont), Mr Pierre ronje (Greytown) and he were not iven a hearing.

Dr de Beer, he said, had based his lecision on "third-party evidence".

Mr Momberg added that he regard-d the suspensions a "hatchet job" and clear indication that the DP was trying to get rid of them.

Dr de Beer said the MPs would be given a hearing next Wednesday or Thursday. If they were able to assure the party of their loyalty then he would concede that he had acted unjustly, apologise and would probably suffer considerable harm to his reputation.

But, if it turned out they had been trying to join the ANC, his decision to suspend them would be justified.

Two meetings between DP MPs and ANC leaders were held this week.

At the first meeting, on Monday, the four suspended MPs were accompanied by Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Mr Wessel Nel (Mooi River) and Andre de Wet (indirectly elected).

They met ANC president Nelson Mandela, national chairman Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international head Thabo Mbeki.

On Tuesday, a second meeting, attended only by the four suspended MPs and the ANC leaders, was held.

It is is at this meeting that the MPs allegedly discussed joining the ANC and serving it as MPs.

One of the MPs confirmed that such discussions had taken place when asked what the reaction of the ANC had been. He responded that it had been "initially favourable" but it would be up to the ANC's national working committee and the regions concerned to make a final decision.

He said it appeared as if one of the MPs who attended the Monday meeting had been "planted" by the party leadership. He suspected Mr Jordaan.

Mr Jordaan said he had informed Dr De Beer that he would participate in the Monday meeting. "He was not in the dark."

He had also spoken to the party leader on Wednesday, but by then, he believed, Dr de Beer had already decided to suspend the four MPs.

The questions that needed to be asked, he said, was who had leaked the story about the Monday meeting with the ANC, and why.

"I can categorically state that it wasn't me."

He believed one of the four MPs was responsible and his reason for doing so was to force the hand of the ANC in accepting them as members.

A fifth DP MP, Mr Dave Dalling, is expected to force his own suspension this week if the decision on the other four is not reversed. Mr Dalling is the party's chief whip.

The DP caucus will this week discuss a strategy document compiled by a committee headed by party chairman Ken Andrew.

It is understood that the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, has been mandated by his region to put forward a proposal that the DP seek alliances with parties on its left, such as the ANC, and rule out the possibility of an alliance with the National Party.

Mr Trent would only confrim that the Port Elizabeth region had had a brainstorming session and would be putting forward proposals on how the DP could expand its support base and strengthen itself in preparation for forthcoming elections.

Another option to be discussed is that favoured by Mr Tony Leon (Houghton). He proposes that the DP disband and form a new centre party with President FW de Klerk as leader.

# ANC to get first MPs this week?

ET 20/4/92 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THERE is little chance of reconciliation between the Democratic Party and its four suspended rebel MPs, who are likely to join the ANC this week.

The ANC's national working committee, which met in Johannesburg last week after talks with the rebel MPs, has agreed in principle to MPs who join the ANC retaining their seats in Parliament.

As the ANC is not a registered political party, however, they will have to sit as independent MPs.

The four rebels — Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) — will almost certainly be joined by, Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton, when he recovers from his recent illness.

Mr Dalling said yesterday that he was still receiving medical treatment and was not able to comment.

The DP's parliamentary caucus meets on Wednesday morning to discuss the report of a strategy committee, headed by the party's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew, appointed after the party's MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, proposed that the party dissolve and form a new centre party with President F W de Klerk as leader.

Indications are that a substantial majority of the caucus support the idea of the DP continuing as an independent liberal party and will back party leader Dr Zach de Beer's call for it to take the lead in forming a democratic centre in South Africa.

They feel the DP's strong showing in Codesa and the referendum have vindicated its role, and that those who do not support this role should be told to seek a political home elsewhere.

Dr De Beer's decision to suspend the four rebel MPs has been strongly supported inside and outside the caucus, Mr Andrew said yesterday.

One of the rebels, Mr Momberg, said last night that the way in which the suspensions were handled made reconciliation unlikely.

The party leadership has said that for the suspensions to be lifted the four would have to explain why they had organised a meeting with the leadership of another political organisation without telling Dr De Beer.

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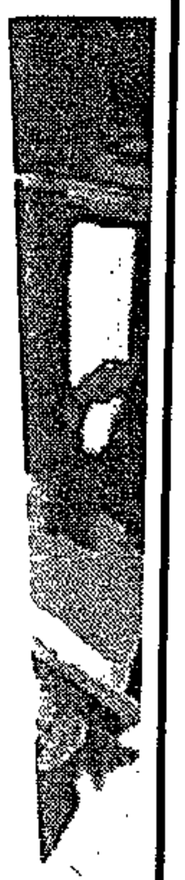

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# National symbols require tactful handling

CT 20/4/92

304A

By Dr NEVILLE ALEXANDER
Chairman of the Workers Association for Socialist Action

NATIONAL symbols such as flags, anthems, insignia and colours imply the existence or the becoming of a nation. In different countries under very different historical circumstances national symbols have obtained legitimacy and acceptability by very different routes.

In South Africa itself the present national symbols were the outcome of a series of compromises between Afrikaans and English-speaking white inhabitants of the country. For this reason, they have never embraced the entire population and have in fact been spurned by the majority of the people. For most of us, indeed, they are no less than the insignia of national oppression, a constant reminder that we are excluded from enjoying the rights of full citizenship because we are supposed to be one or other shade darker than the white citizens.

## No SA nation

Present discussions about national symbols are, to say the least, premature. They will certainly influence the eventual outcome but they cannot be decisive. Only a democratically elected Constituent Assembly will be able to decide the issue itself or, at the very least, the principles on which *ad hoc* solutions will be based.

The simple fact of the matter is that there is no nation in South Africa at present. We are building a single national community. The practice, adopted by very many of us, of referring to our country by means of the double-barrelled word *South Africa/Azania*, shows the complexity of the situation.

We would simply be fooling ourselves and our children if we tried to give the impression that by cobbling together a set of "national" symbols, whether a rising (or a setting?) sun, the Olympic rings, or anything else, we have somehow ordained the nation. Most of our history has been one of conflict between white and black, between ruling classes and oppressed classes.

If we follow the advice of Ernest Renan, the famous French historian, we shall have to "forget" many things before we can constitute a nation. Among some of the things we shall have to "forget", in my view, are the present symbols that pass as the national symbols of South Africa. It is no less than a matter of class and racial hallucination to suppose that the present symbols could become acceptable to all South Africans.

To underline the point I am making, one could ask the question: how many white South Africans other than soldiers and policemen have ever been (never mind *lived*) in a black township for more than a few minutes? Can they have any idea of the depth of alienation that has become such a terrifying feature of our society?

No, we shall have to wait for the impulses towards the unity of our people to become the dominant ones before we shall be able to speak sensibly about national symbols. In the meantime, makeshift, so-called symbols will have to do. They reflect accurately the bitter legacy of racism and apartheid, the opportunistic groping for legitimacy by some and for the trappings of power by others. They do not, and cannot at this stage, paper over the deep cracks that continue to divide our people from one another.

Only the healing process of a democratically elected constituent assembly that will bring about greater unity by means of a series of speak-bitterness meetings — not unlike *Buchu brandy* and *perdepis* — will begin to overcome the ravages of our past.

# Codesa still split on transition body

3044 ARG 21/4/92

**Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG. — No agreement has yet been reached on a transitional executive structure by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee as Codesa resumes today after an Easter recess.

The eight-man committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements before Codesa began its recess two weeks ago.

A three-man task group comprising advocate Mr Arthur Chaskalson, Mr Fanie van der Merwe and Mr Dawid van Wyk met yesterday and will report to the technical committee today. The working group will meet next week.

An impasse developed between the government and ANC about the powers of the body which will rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government

The ANC has proposed an interim government council while the government wants several preparatory councils to rule the country in conjunction with the existing tricameral parliament.

The differences, however, revolve around the powers of a transitional executive body.

The ANC has rejected the government's proposed councils, which would have only advisory powers.

The government wants the ultimate power during the first phase of the transition to be with the existing parliament and Cabinet until the election of a transitional government.

The ANC, on the other hand, wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President but proposed that his authority could be exercised subject to approval of the interim government council.

The two sides also disagree on the decision-making mechanism of an executive structure — the government wants decisions to be taken by sufficient consensus, as is the case at Codesa, while the ANC has proposed that decisions be taken by substantial consensus, which means at least a two-thirds majority.

The ANC and government also differ on the role of the homelands during the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles, which also meets today, will continue to hear proposals on a constitution-making body.

# DP's rebel five will join the ANC today

(304A)

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent** ARG 21/4/92

THE five rebel Democratic Party members of parliament will join the ANC today.

At least four of them flew to Johannesburg this morning and are expected to announce their membership of the ANC at a Press conference around lunchtime.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be present.

The rebels are expected to retain their seats as independents, effectively representing the ANC in parliament.

They are not likely to have any further discussion with party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who indicated yesterday that he intended to the confront the MPs today.

But the MPs made it clear they considered their relationship with the DP to have been "terminated" by Dr De Beer's remarks on television last week when he described their presence in the party as "debilitating".

The decision of the MPs — Mr Jannie Momberg of Simon's Town, Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont, Mr Dave Dalling of Sandton, Mr Rob Haswell of Pietermaritzburg South and Mr Pierre Cronje of Greytown — to resign today and join the ANC preempts tomorrow's DP caucus meeting.

There was strong speculation that disciplinary action would be taken against them at the meeting, although one of the rebels said today he had not been invited.

The dramatic developments in the DP unfolded in the wake of talks last week between the ANC leadership and four of the five rebel MPs. Mr Dalling was to have attended the talks, but was unable to for medical reasons.

Dr De Beer — who summarily suspended the men from the caucus after growing pressure in the party to act against potential defectors — made it clear that unless the MPs were able to assure him of their full loyalty to the DP, they would have to go.

The MPs face considerable anger from constituents, many of whom will demand their resignation as MPs.

# De Beer to meet suspended MPs

(304A)

PATRICK BULGER

FOUR DP MPs suspended from the party's parliamentary caucus will meet DP leader Zach de Beer tomorrow to finalise their political futures. BTday 21/4/92

De Beer said yesterday he would confront the four MPs — Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell — on information he had that they had sought membership of the ANC.

He had consulted the party's lawyers to establish the mechanisms for their expulsion from the party if their expulsion from the caucus was upheld.

If the MPs confirmed his information, they would be permanently suspended. "If they can satisfy me their loyalty is fully with the DP, they are welcome to stay."

Sources close to the group said yesterday they would probably leave the DP and remain in Parliament as independents.

One source said the ANC had no difficulty with the MPs being members of it and remaining as MPs in the tricameral Parliament. However, ANC sources have pointed out that they cannot sit as ANC MPs as they were not elected and because the ANC is not a political party.

De Beer said the DP position remained that it would take part in temporary alliances with other political organisations to realise specific political goals. However, alignments with other political parties would not be entered into if they sacrificed the independence of the DP.

☐ To Page 2

# De Beer BTday 21/4/92

☐ From Page 1

(304A)

The issue is likely to be raised during the President's budget debate this week in which the NP is expected to spell out its stance on co-operation with other parties. At the same time a DP strategy committee meeting will examine options.

Our political staff reports that government sources have indicated President F W de Klerk's speech will also increase pressure on the embattled CP.

The turmoil in the DP and CP was sparked by the referendum result. A faction within the CP is committed to negotiations, and some believe the right wing should be represented at Codesa and at least put forward its proposals.

Several caucus committees were established to probe the various options, and are expected to report back to Thursday's caucus meeting.

ship of prohibited organizations was granted without applications having to be submitted in this regard. It is, therefore, not possible to determine how many persons have acquired indemnity in respect of this offence. Furthermore, various persons have acquired indemnity in accordance with more than one category.

The number of persons who have already acquired indemnity for categories of offences, other than membership of unlawful organizations are as follows:

Illegal departure from the country — 5 144

Undergoing training in contravention of statutory provisions — 4 625

Various other specified offences — 921

(3) The staff required for the indemnity process is increased or decreased depending on the frequency of applications and the work load. At present a total of 26 persons are permanently charged with the indemnity process. This does not include the staff in the employ of the Department of Correctional Services concerned with the release of prisoners.

(4) No. The existing staff component is capable of handling the current work load expeditiously.

**Death sentences commuted**

61. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

How many death sentences in each race group were commuted in 1991?

B149E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

26 Black men

1 Indian man

2 White men

2 Coloured men.

**Members of Cabinet: experience/qualifications**

77. Dr W J BOTHA asked the State President:†

(a) Which members of the Cabinet are experts in respect of the portfolios held by them, (b) what practical professional experience does each Minister have in respect of his portfolio and (c) what are the qualifications of each?

B208E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

Your attention is drawn to the fact that Cabinet Ministers are public figures who serve as the political heads of departments and not merely on the basis of their formal or practical training and professional experience, but quite frequently on the basis of their general experience and skills.

In addition, the *curricula vitae* of Ministers, being public figures, are readily available and include particulars of their professional training and experience, and I am not prepared to provide these personal particulars.

**Applications for indemnity: two persons**

101. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether he has received any applications for indemnity from two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) what are the names of the persons concerned and (b) what was the outcome of these applications;

(2) whether the Government intends releasing either of these two persons?

B261E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) (a) The provisions of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No 35 of 1990), do not apply to persons already sentenced. Such persons can, however, be granted remission of sentence by the State President.

Applications for release have been received from the persons mentioned by the hon member.

(b) In accordance with an undertaking by the Government, all applications for indemnity, immunity or release are treated with the utmost degree of confidentiality. The required information can therefore not be disclosed, other than by the applicants themselves.





(2) Only one test is applied in considering all applications for indemnity or release and that is whether or not, objectively speaking, the offences concerned satisfy the guide-lines for defining political offences. It is the Government's contention that all prisoners whose offences positively fall within the guide-lines have already been released.

The persons referred to do not fall within the South African definition of a political prisoner and they will therefore not be released as such. Like all other prisoners they fall under the responsibility of the Minister of Correctional Services who informed me that the duration of their term of imprisonment is subject to the provisions of the Correctional Services Act, 1959.

**Justice Department: employees**

126. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(a) How many persons with legal qualifications were employed by his Department in professional capacities in the Republic, excluding the self-governing territories, (b) how many such persons were (i) White, (ii) Black, (iii) Coloured and (iv) Indian, and (c)(i) in which positions and (ii) where were these (aa) Black, (bb) Coloured and (cc) Indian persons employed, as at 31 December 1991?

B325E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(General remark: The statistics below will be updated soon and will be dealt with during the Vote of the Minister when it will be shown that the positive policy of the Department has now started to show meaningful results.)

(a) 2 998

(b) (i) 2 810

(ii) 58

(iii) 75

(iv) 55

(c) (i) and (ii)(aa)

*Prosecutor*

| | |
|---|---|
| Pretoria | 6 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 3 |
| Johannesburg | 14 |
| Verulam | 5 |
| Springs | 2 |
| Wynberg | 1 |
| Soshanguve | 1 |
| Durban | 5 |
| Benoni | 2 |
| Mtunzini | 1 |
| Krugersdorp | 1 |
| Odendaalsrus | 1 |
| Tzaneen | 1 |
| Greytown | 1 |
| Moutse | 3 |
| Kimberley | 1 |
| Vanderbijlpark | 1 |
| Empangeni | 2 |
| Witbank | 1 |
| Potgietersrus | 1 |
| King William's Town | 1 |
| Kempton Park | 1 |

*Magistrate*

| | |
|---|---|
| King William's Town | 1 |
| Stanger | 1 |
| Johannesburg | 1 |

(bb) *Prosecutor*

| | |
|---|---|
| Upington | 1 |
| Paarl | 1 |
| Cape Town | 1 |
| Bellville | 2 |
| Wynberg | 22 |
| Laingsburg | 1 |
| Worcester | 2 |
| Port Elizabeth | 6 |
| Witbank | 1 |
| Johannesburg | 4 |
| Springbok | 1 |
| Evander | 2 |
| Caledon | 1 |
| Mossel Bay | 1 |
| Vanderbijlpark | 1 |
| Ceres | 1 |
| Roodepoort | 1 |
| East London | 4 |
| Goodwood | 2 |
| Grahamstown | 2 |
| Malmesbury | 1 |
| Wellington | 1 |
| George | 1 |
| Queenstown | 1 |
| Relief Staff | 1 |

# Major debate as F W takes centre stage

ARG 21/4/92 (304A)

**TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff**

MAJOR issues, including interim government arrangements, political realignments, violence and relations with the rest of Africa, will be among the issues raised in one of the most important debates of the parliamenary session.

The two-day debate on the President's budget vote begins tomorrow. Parliament resumed today after the Easter recess.

Codesa also resumed its work today after an Easter break and problems which have arisen there are expected to be reflected in the parliamentary debate.

An impasse has developed between the government and the ANC over the issue of transitional arrangements in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

President De Klerk is expected to deal with attempts to bridge these differences. The government attitude is that some substantial results in the negotiations must be reached before the next plenary session of Codesa on May 15 and 16.

Mr De Klerk has also stated that the problem of continuing violence must be adequately handled before the constitutional reform issues can be fully addressed.

He said at Moria in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend that speeches and peace accords alone could not make peace happen where violence ruled. He also referred to cunning and violent forces at work.

Mr De Klerk could give details during the debate of what the government has in mind for an interim constitution. Draft legislation containing these ideas is expected soon.

According to some Nationalist politicians, Mr De Klerk may also address the question of new political alliances or the formation of a new centre party.

At present these politicians are more in favour of alliances than a new party which would lead to the National Party changing its name.

(i) Department of Budgetary and Auxiliary Services: 20

(ii) Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture:

Ministry of Housing: 22
Ministry of Local Government and Agriculture: 10

NB: The Chief Director of the Department and his Secretary have been included under Housing but they also render service to the Ministry of Local Government and Agriculture. Regarding expenditure see note under (a)(ii).

(iii) Department of Education and Culture: 16

(iv) Department of Health Services and Welfare: 14

(v) See (ii).

**Use of Government vehicles by staff members**

13. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services:

Whether the Administration: House of Delegates has drawn any vehicles from the Government Garage for use by staff members doing sessional work in Cape Town during the current session of Parliament; if so, (a) why, and (b) how many, in respect of each Department?

D63E

The MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND AUXILIARY SERVICES:

Yes.

(a) The vehicles are used by the ministerial staff who are often required to work late in the evenings and over weekends. Certain private secretarial duties are undertaken during the day, which also necessitate the use of vehicles. This is in keeping with the practice followed by the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives.

(b) Office of the Chairman of the Ministers' Council and Ministry of Housing: 1

*Ministry* of Local Government and Agriculture and of the Budget and Auxiliary Services: 2*

*Ministry* of Health Services and Welfare: 1

*Ministry* of Education and Culture: 2*

Deputy *Ministry* of Housing: 2*

* Indicates the Ministeries where a police driver is afforded use of a vehicle.





*HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY*

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

*General Affairs:*

*Precedence given to Interpellation No 2:*

**Open-skies policy/application by airline**

*1. Mr S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether any persons arriving with British and other non-South African passports at the South African Embassy in London and other foreign embassies, respectively, to vote in the referendum of 17 March 1992, were immediately issued with South African passports; if so, how many such passports were issued;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B517E.INT

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, of course I shall make a statement. During the three special overseas voting days for the referendum, 90 new passports, including renewals, that is an average of 30 per day, were issued by officials of the Department of Home Affairs attached to the SA embassy in London.

There is nothing strange about that at all. In South Africa passports are, wherever possible, issued within 24 hours, and often while one waits. The same is done abroad. The same was done here in respect of London and, as far as could be established, other overseas embassies issued no such passports, or very few, during that period.

The hon member tried to insinuate that the issuing was irregular. Why else would he have asked the question? [Interjections.] The hon member is trying to insinuate that passports were at times handed out merely to try to win Yes-votes in the process, in other words unfair bias in favour of the Yes-vote. That is the whole nonsensical object of this interpellation. In 1991 our London office issued a total of 2 984 passports, an average of 57 per day.

Those hon members can be thankful that the referendum was not held last year, because then 81 more votes would have counted against them. The 90 passports issued in London represent only 2,62% of the 3 429 special votes that were cast there, if all these new passport-holders did in fact vote. What is more important, however, is that every one of the 90 applicants qualified fully and was entitled to a SA passport on account of his or her SA citizenship. The hon member surely does not want to deprive SA citizens of their right to be able to apply for passports?

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Especially not if they vote yes!

*The MINISTER: The hon member for Losberg must pardon me when I refer to his irresponsible press statements immediately after his return from London. [Interjections.] These link up with his highly questionable action during the referendum campaign. They link up with the feedback that I received in respect of the counting hall in Roodepoort, which to say the least, was shocking.

The hon members for Roodepoort and Losberg tried to dominate the counting at that polling-station, caused endless delays, impeded officials in carrying out their duty, and made no secret of the fact that they trusted nobody. The hon member for Losberg, as a no-agent, kept jumping onto the platform and making announcements. [Interjections.] What was he? He was nothing but a no-agent! [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*The MINISTER: Threats were frequently made of intimidation and court cases.

*Mr C J W BADENHORST: He was just like Terre'Blanche's horse!

*The MINISTER: With this action in Roodepoort in the 1989 election he cast grave suspicion on the excellent officials of my department. The officials feel very hurt over incidents such as those in Roodeberg—pardon me, I mean Roodepoort—and other places. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister has now ranted and raved dreadfully. It is as though someone fired a shot in the dark and hit the hon the Minister!

cont-b

[Interjections.] The hon the Minister was so confused that he started speaking of Roodeberg. I wonder what the hon the Minister had in mind when he came out with Roodeberg. [Interjections.] (3041)

The hon the Minister has today done a very nasty thing here which is typical of the NP, and that is to bring the officials into it, saying that they now feel very unhappy about certain pronouncements of my hon colleague. [Interjections.] The NP has backbenchers who are known as "Winnie Mandela's kindergarten". [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister dragged in the civil servants today and said that they were extremely unhappy about certain matters which the hon member for Losberg had raised. But the hon the Minister was present in this very House when I thanked the officials on behalf of my party for the excellent work they had done.

When in these uneasy times one looks at the referendum, the announcement, the course it took and the result, one sees many interesting things. There are many things which cause us to be uneasy about the situation. [Interjections.] I want to look the hon the State President squarely in the eye. I do not want to wear my reading glasses when I look at him, because I read him well enough, but I want to see him properly. I want to tell him that there are many things happening in South Africa today which are causing us a great deal of disquiet.

As far as the matter under discussion is concerned, there were people—so we were told—who arrived at the polling-station in London with British and other passports. After completion of the documents, South African passports were given to those people. The regulation stipulates that only citizens abroad temporarily will be able to vote, but the fact that they are there temporarily is not indicated on the passport.

Now I want to face the hon the Minister again. The fact that they are there temporarily is not indicated on the passport and we were told that on that day people voted who had most probably been living abroad for years and years and who only went to vote so as to register their enmity from there against the peoples of South Africa. [Interjections.] Besides, it is very clear to us that the large moneyed interests, just as in South Africa, either conveyed the people there or forced them to vote. They conveyed the people there in an improper manner in order to vote.

*Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, by asking this question, the hon member for Losberg, who is not with us today, is doing just what he did during the referendum. He is being contrary. He is trying to turn the tide of history. He is obviously too ashamed to be with us today to hold a debate. [Interjections.]

†The referendum result was so resoundingly favourable to the Yes-vote that it is astounding that the CP still tries to suggest manipulation or malpractice influenced the result. It is as if they cannot bring themselves to accept the result that is the South African reality. [Interjections.]

However, this party will always agree with that party that things must be done by the book. The system of control that was put in place for the purposes of the referendum seems to have been as acceptable as possible in the circumstances, namely that all votes cast abroad—and there were 12 000 of them—were checked in Pretoria and checked against the population register. Some were indeed thrown out.

I think that what the hon member for Losberg was probably trying to suggest—and the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe did not really address the point—was that large numbers of surreptitious emigrants voted. The hon the Minister has, however, responded today by saying that only 90 new passports were in fact issued.

It is a weakness in the system that citizens who simply leave this country without notification of emigration are not removed from the population register and the checking mechanism in Pretoria would fail in the specific request . . .

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: So you agree with Fanie!

Miss M SMUTS: No! South Africans may hold dual citizenship, and there are so many possible permutations of the problems which travellers, students or others holding dual citizenship may have had, through not having with them their South African passports which they needed to prove their temporary status abroad, or losing them, that it is simply unrealistic to suggest that a huge emigré vote played a decisive role in the referendum.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I simply cannot understand what





irregularities could have occurred in London when the hon members of the Official Opposition had their best advocate there to keep an eye on the situation. [Interjections.] Furthermore, he was not even entitled to be there, because the regulations did not make provision for that. Our department allowed him to be sent out of the kindness of its heart. (3049)

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: That is not true.

*The MINISTER: Furthermore, that advocate intimated after Roodepoort that he would institute a court case, but he did not proceed to do so. He intimated that he would institute a court case in regard to nine votes in Beaufort West, but he did not proceed to do so. [Interjections.] In *The Citizen* he spoke of a plan of instituting court cases because thousands of irregularities had been committed in London, but he did not proceed to do so.

After the 1989 election they brought 11 lawsuits, and in every case lost or withdrew. [Interjections.] That is the calibre of the advocate.

The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe laid his finger on the point. Passports were not issued to people to vote. Those people had to prove that they were abroad temporarily. What the hon members of the Official Opposition were not aware of, was that the chief referendum officer had drawn up clear guidelines as to what "temporary" meant.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Temporary is a person who votes yes.

*The MINISTER: Every polling-officer in each of the 63 missions throughout the world knew exactly how to test it. In addition to that, we especially amended the regulations so that the declarations could go through to Pretoria and the relevant polling-officer in Pretoria under whom they fell then could test every aspect of the contents on the computer.

What was found? Four hundred and eighty-five special votes were rejected. That was the initiative taken by the Department of Home Affairs to ensure an absolutely honest result. [Interjections.] People who were not on the population register, people under 18, people who in this case were non-White, immigrants and people who had committed certain criminal offences, could not participate in the referendum. [Time expired.]

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Chairman, it does not often happen that we in these ranks can agree with an hon member of the DP, but today I do wish to associate myself with the hon member for Groote Schuur. The issue is not the thousands of votes or however many were involved. The issue is the procedure which was followed. The hon the Minister has not satisfied us here this afternoon.

In these regulations it was stipulated that the South African citizen had to do two things. He had to convince the officials that he was a South African citizen and that he was abroad temporarily, and therefore only temporarily absent from the Republic. These were the two requirements.

The hon the Minister has not explained in exact detail to us this afternoon. We are in no way whatsoever questioning the officials' good faith, but how, for instance, could they determine, in the event of such cases, whether a person with dual citizenship was not perhaps living permanently in London? [Interjections.] How could they determine whether the relevant voter, as the wife of a British citizen, was not in fact possibly living permanently in Britain? How could they determine whether the relevant person, as a South African citizen, was not an official in the service of a British company? In this case that group could possibly have been the largest.

We want to know from the hon the Minister what the details are in this respect. He must tell us precisely, as far as these two requirements that they be South African citizens and temporarily abroad are concerned, because there is no indication here of how it is to be proved that he or she is abroad temporarily. It is . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I should just like to refer briefly to the ambassador, Mr Kent Durr, who during the few days of the referendum walked around there as if he were some candidate of the NP and also encouraged the people to vote yes. [Interjections.]

We shall leave it at that, because we are used to the NP. However, the hon the Minister said in the House today that the CP's representative,

cont—p

the hon member for Losberg, was there with his approval . . .

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: They sent him!

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: To say that they sent him so as to be there, is a plain and simple untruth. [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister either does not know what is going on in his department, or he does not know what went on during the referendum. To now implicate the officials and then also my colleague, who cannot be here today, in this manner, is simply not only in bad taste, but what it in fact is, you would not allow me to say, Mr Chairman.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that we have grave doubts about the manner in which this referendum was conducted.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, it is surely not a problem. There were guidelines from the chief referendum officer which were very clear about people studying there, working there temporarily and whose passports were subject to alien control. On the computer one can see what such a person applied for and when he left the country. [Interjections.] There are numerous examples, and after so many years the hon member ought to know how to deal with the matter. It is surely no problem.

As regards the hon leader of the CP and the hon member for Losberg . . . [Interjections.] My information is that the hon leader of the CP wanted to cancel the hon member for Losberg's trip because he felt that the costs were too high. Furthermore, controversy arose in that party about that trip. Surely that cannot be denied. Now he is as quiet as a mouse. The hon member's trip was even delayed by 24 hours. When he returned from his joyride to London, he of course had to try to prove, with a series of insinuations and suspicion-mongering and now also with this interpellation, that his visit had been justified. What nonsense is he proclaiming? He issues sensation-seeking press statements, like the one in *The Citizen* of 16 March 1992:

> To my mind about 1 000 if not more people voted in London while being domiciled in London.

What extreme sensation-seeking rubbish! He says here that many people who had emigrated, voted. There has not been a single piece of evidence to prove it. He says:

> All in all, I would like to say the NP thought it fit to use foreign voters to influence the referendum.

That is the kind of argument he wants to use because he cannot face the fact that he lost by 1 048 567 votes. Just look at what a sensation-seeking impression he tries to create in the public's mind:

> There were so many irregularities I don't know where to start.

That is what he proclaims in the press. What absolute nonsense it is! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

**Passports issued at SA Embassy in London**

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether he will comment on the application by a certain airline, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to inaugurate direct, discounted flights between Britain and South Africa; if not, why not; if so, what steps does he intend taking to facilitate the introduction of such an air service in particular and the introduction of an open-skies policy in general;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B522E.INT

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: Mr Chairman, firstly I should like to discuss the factual position pertaining to the rendering of scheduled air services between countries.

Scheduled air services between countries are usually introduced after the signing of a bilateral agreement between two countries. All aspects relating to rendering the particular service are defined in such an agreement. Such an agreement also contains particulars of the frequency of flights that each designated airline and/or airlines of the signatory countries will be allowed to undertake. The number of frequencies is negotiated between the countries on the basis of the need that is determined by the aviation authorities of the two countries through market analysis.

Therefore the following steps have to be followed: The number of frequencies to be operated by each of the respective countries have to be negotiated in terms of the agreement and in the light of the market demands. The total number of frequencies to be operated by each country is allocated to a country and not to a specific airline. The airline and/or airlines have to be designated by each of the countries to operate the required services. Such designation is done by each individual country.

In the case where a country designates a single airline to operate the required service, the airline would then be entitled to operate the total number of frequencies allocated to that country.

However, in the case where a country opts for the designation of more than one airline to operate the allocated frequencies, it stands to reason that it is the responsibility of that other country to allocate to each of its designated airlines the number of frequencies to be operated by each one of the airlines.

I must stress that the opposite country has no say in this process of dividing the allocated number of frequencies between the airlines of the other country. The only responsibility of the opposite country is to grant as a mere formality, after having been informed of the designation or designations, landing rights to the airline and/or airlines concerned, and to approve of its and/or their timetables and tariffs.

Regarding the specific case under discussion I should like to point out that such an agreement between South Africa and Britain has been in existence since 1945, in terms of which initially only one airline per country was designated to render the particular service.

However, South Africa's international aviation policy is currently under revision. As a matter of fact, the study has just been completed, and as an interim measure I, in conjunction with the Cabinet, determined as our policy that other countries may designate more than one airline to render this service to South Africa on behalf of those countries.

This concession has been discussed in each of the 20 bilateral negotiations undertaken since November 1991. During the talks held with Britain on 28 February 1992 this concession also came under discussion. Britain accordingly obtained the rights to appoint more than one airline to undertake the allowed number of frequencies. At present, this frequency amounts to 10 flights per country per week. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Chairman, I would like to congratulate the hon the Minister on his announcement today that in future more than one airline will be able to render a service between the two countries in a bilateral arrangement. I very much hope that this is something that will be followed because after the very exciting visit to South Africa by Mr Richard Branson, chief executive of Virgin Atlantic, there seems to be confusion in the hon the Minister's own department as to whether or not an agreement had been struck with Virgin Atlantic. The response given by the Ministry of Transport was that there was no agreement between the airline and the South African Government, because South Africa was not in a position to influence the British leg.

The South African government can, and with respect should, start making an impact by ensuring that the service is now opened up to all competitors who comply with certain basic safety and economically viable criteria. Historically the problem with the bilateral agreement—which has been in existence for 46 years—the very one which the hon the Minister is currently renegotiating with the British government is, that such agreements have been deeply interventionist and protectionist. We had a situation in which the South African Government has overly protected South African Airways at the cost of the South African consumer. It has been a very cosy relationship, but one which resulted in high airfares, high capacity and very low competition.

It is properly what one could call a duopoly.

Between 1983 and 1991 air fares between London and Johannesburg rose by an average of 24% per annum, the increase since 1985 being cumulatively 160%. That has grounded South Africans and prevented them from travelling abroad. At the same time, however, on the other major air route in the world—the North Atlantic route between London and New York—air fares have fallen by 22%. There is a very simple explanation for those two sets of figures. On the one route there has been a very rigid protectionist attitude of very strict bilaterals; on the other, between America and Britain, one has had a relaxation on the bilaterals on those routes and one has accordingly had a drop in fares, to the

# Bush to nominate new ambassador to SA

STAR 21/4/92

30 4A

By Hugh Roberton
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bush today nominated the US ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, to be the new ambassador to Nigeria and he is expected to announce shortly the nomination of Princeton Lyman, now Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, as the new US ambassador to Pretoria.

In a brief announcement, the White House also said Mr Bush would nominate Dennis Barrett, the mission director in South Africa of the Agency for International Development, to be the new US ambassador to Madagascar.

Mr Swing (57) has been US ambassador to South Africa since 1989 and is regarded as one of the State Department's most skilled African specialists. His tour of duty in Nigeria will begin at a time when that country is taking faltering steps towards establishing a democratic constitution.

The new appointments will have to be approved by the Senate and the process is expected to begin next month. No difficulties are expected and the confirmation proceedings are likely to be formalities.

Mr Lyman is popular and widely respected in the State Department, and is known to be an efficient administrator and an effective diplomat. It is understood his appointment will be made known once a series of bureaucratic changes have been decided in the State Department.

He is known to have been following events in South Africa closely for some months.

# 5 DP MPs to join ANC

Political Staff (304A) STAR 21/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The five rebel Democratic Party members of parliament will join the ANC today.

At least four of them flew to Johannesburg this morning and were expected to announce their membership of the ANC at a press conference around lunchtime.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was expected to be present.

The rebels are expected to retain their seats as independents, effectively representing the ANC in parliament.

They are not likely to have any further discussion with party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The MPs said they considered their relationship with the DP to have been "terminated" by Dr de Beer's remarks on television last week when he described their presence in the party as "debilitating".

The decision of the MPs — Mr Jannie Momberg of Simon's Town, Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont, Mr Dave Dalling of Sandton, Mr Rob Haswell of Pietermaritzburg South and Mr Pierre Cronje of Greytown — to resign today and join the ANC preempts tomorrow's DP caucus meeting.

The developments follow talks last week between the ANC leadership and four of the five. Mr Dalling was unable to attend for medical reasons.

Dr de Beer, who suspended the men from the caucus, had said that they would have to assure him of their full loyalty to the DP, or go.

# Codesa still grappling with transition issue

STAR 21/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 3041

No agreement has yet been reached by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee on a transitional executive structure as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa resumes today after the Easter recess.

The eight-man committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements before Codesa started its recess two weeks ago. A three-man task group comprising Arthur Chaskalson, Fanie van der Merwe and Dawid van Wyk, met yesterday and will report to the technical committee today.

The working group will be meeting next week.

An impasse developed between the Government and ANC about the powers of the body which would rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council while the Government wants several Preparatory Councils to rule in conjunction with the existing tricameral Parliament. The differences, however, centre on the powers of a transitional executive body. The ANC has rejected the Government's proposed councils which would have advisory powers only.

The Government wants the ultimate power during the first phase of the transition to be with the existing Parliament and Cabinet until the election of a transitional government.

The ANC, on the other hand, wants the executive authority to remain vested in the State President but proposed that his authority could be exercised only subject to approval of the Interim Government Council.

The working group dealing with constitutional principles will also meet today.

● Codesa faces taxing problems — Page 13

**Benny Bunsee** reflects on how deftly the Government changed the nature of the struggle towards democrac

# FW won round 1 of the power game – now for round 2

STAR 21/4/92

304A

ALMOST 25 years ago when circumstances drove me out of the country, this was a deeply stratified society.

It was not only the racial compartmentalisation into which individuals were boxed — it was also the fossilisation of thought, the impossibility of breaking out of fixed attitudes and customs into which individuals were trapped.

The nature of South Africa's transition makes it remarkable, and distinctly different from what has occurred in other Third World countries. There the struggle assumed a straightforward fight between the old powers of colonial domination and the indigenous people.

Here, that kind of struggle has been cleverly sidestepped by the National Party, pulling the rug from under the feet of the liberation movements. Suddenly the language of change assumed a new form, the old fossilised thought patterns disappeared.

The struggle for power and political influence will cut across colour lines but still reflect deeply entrenched interests. In a way it can be said that our politics have overnight become multiracial in a way that those who advocated it never imagined.

Nothing reveals this as starkly as the attempts of the National Party to break into the black vote.

The liberation movements themselves, in particular the ANC, have played into the hands of Mr de Klerk in being unable to forge unity among themselves. While the Patriotic Front was a good attempt to do so, it is now virtually defunct.

The violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a godsend for the Nats. It has destabilised and demoralised the black communities, driven them into laager-type ethnic thinking, less able to deal with a situation they wish to abolish.

But ultimately South Africa will head for a straightforward type of modern democracy based on one person one vote. Neither the strong opposition forces in the country, nor the international



Skilled player ... President de Klerk

community will accept anything less.

Round one has been won by Mr de Klerk in stemming the tide of an armed struggle that would inevitably have followed if the Government had persisted in its apartheid politics, and with it the loss of white power as has happened in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa.

Round two is uncertain and is taking the form of political struggle where the Government and Mr de Klerk are attempting to lay down the rules according to its own power play.

But the struggle for power knows no rules, indeed makes its own rules. Yesterday's enemies become one's friends and, black turns into white, and so on.

South Africa is also a deeply pluralistic society, both culturally and politically, and the division of the unity of the African people into two contending liberatory trends, ANC vs PAC/Azapo together with other interests like Inkatha and the TVBC regions, confirms that political pluralism.

It will be the ability of the Government to maintain these divisions, and this pluralism, that will ensure its own future survival, and its own aims of power sharing. In this process it will have to give in as much as to take, clearly indicated by the see-saws of the negotiating process.

But some aspects of that pluralism will fade away, like the interests of the TVBC, and the lunatic AWB. They cannot hold ground because they defy all the norms of a modern democratic state.

The TVBCs violate the territorial integrity of the country, and the AWB represents a dying age that will be swept away. Both the ANC and the National Party, with the latter threshing around to maintain its power, will occupy the centre and dominant ground.

However the interests of the PAC cannot be swept away that easily. The PAC represents an ideology that is becoming increasingly important in Africa and the African Diaspora.

The collapse of communism also gives a decisive edge to pluralism, and the lack of a credible alternative to capitalism will mean at most reform within that system.

But what form the next phase of the social struggle will take is beyond prophecy. If the bulk of the African people remain at the bottom of the ladder it could take an Africanist socialist form which might merge in with a worldwide Pan-Africanist movement.

The African people have always been in the vanguard in the struggle for change.

So far the ANC has been able to intervene against this with the support of its white liberal and socialist friends and divided the African people on this basis.

A free election based on one person one vote might be able to release that centralising force and the consent of a democratic state, particularly if it is based on proportional representation with its element of greater democratic fairness.

It will not be what the various interests want but it might be the only one that will enable us to get out of our impasse.

● *Benny Bunsee is an exiled journalist who has just returned home.* □

# Model of transitional govt on drawing board

Bldy 21/4/92 304A

PATRICK BULGER

CODESA negotiators have begun formulating a transitional government model which can be implemented as soon as obstacles to an interim government have been removed.

A technical committee headed by DP national chairman Ken Andrew and including representatives of 10 other Codesa participants met for a full day during Codesa's two-week break, which ends today when working groups resume their deliberations.

Andrew said yesterday the committee would meet again today to conclude its work.

"I hope that we get a long way towards devising an appropriate model for Phase I that can be brought into being when the preconditions of certain parties are dealt with," Andrew said.

He said the technical committee had reached "quite a lot of commonality". There had been broad agreement that initial multiparty structures should be appointed by Codesa to deal with specific issues of the transition.

The committee was appointed after NP proposals for advisory transitional councils were rejected by the ANC and allied organisations. The ANC argued that advisory councils would leave government's executive powers intact and allow it an unfair advantage in the runup to elections for a constitution-making body.

Government has since said it will not enter binding agreements on a transitional government until the ANC abandons the armed struggle and disbands Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The DP attempted to play a facilitating role in working group three dealing with transitional arrangements when it became clear that a gulf had developed between NP and ANC positions.

Andrew said the committee had put aside the preconditions of the parties and these would be dealt with by the appropriate working groups.

He would not say how the committee had overcome the issue of the extent of the interim government councils' sovereignity. There has been broad agreement, however, on a two-phase approach to an interim government: the first phase concentrating on levelling the playing field in the area of elections and state media and the second stage concerning itself with the election of a sovereign interim government to oversee elections for a constitution-making body.

Andrew said there were over-optimistic hopes of significant progress before the next plenary session of Codesa takes place in mid-May.

"I would be pleasantly surprised if there has been agreement on Phase I and II of interim government," he said.

# DP's 'good riddance' stance shortsighted?



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

DEMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer is fond of reminding those who complain about the lack of discipline and unity within his party that it is more difficult to employ strong-arm tactics in a party that regards itself as liberal.

True, a P W Botha-style leader who rules with an iron fist would not sit well with a party so staunchly opposed to authoritarian ways of thinking and doing.

But a more relaxed and tolerant style of leadership should never serve as an excuse for not knowing what is going on in your party.

Indeed, in a liberal party there is a special onus on the leadership corps to remain fully abreast of developments among the party's often fairly diverse constituents and have their political antennae constantly tuned into the various streams within the organisation.

## Hearts and minds

Sadly, this has not always been the case in the DP.

The question which arises is whether the crisis the party currently finds itself in could have been avoided or managed more skilfully if the party leadership knew what was going on in the hearts and minds of what is, after all, a not particularly large caucus?

One would expect that with the multiple uncertainties thrown up by the transition process, the leaders of all parties would at this stage be particularly sensitised to the hopes and fears of their public representatives.

Of less concern are those MPs — easily identifiable among all parties in the tricameral Parliament — who are merely biding their time waiting for retirement from active politics.

## Significant bloc

These individuals are too old, too tired, too bored or too inflexible to deal with the rigours of the new politics which beckon. Others have had a long innings and deserve a well-earned rest.

Politicians falling into this broad category generally have the security of a parliamentary pension but are toying with the idea of running a small business as a hobby when they step down. Others will return to their second professions.

But then there is a significant bloc of MPs who harbour very real aspirations of retaining some meaningful role in politics under a new democratic order.

## Formal response

It is particularly this group of MPs that is proving a headache for both the DP and the Conservative Party and the leadership corps in both parties should have taken the trouble to speak at length to these easily identifiable MPs on an individual basis.

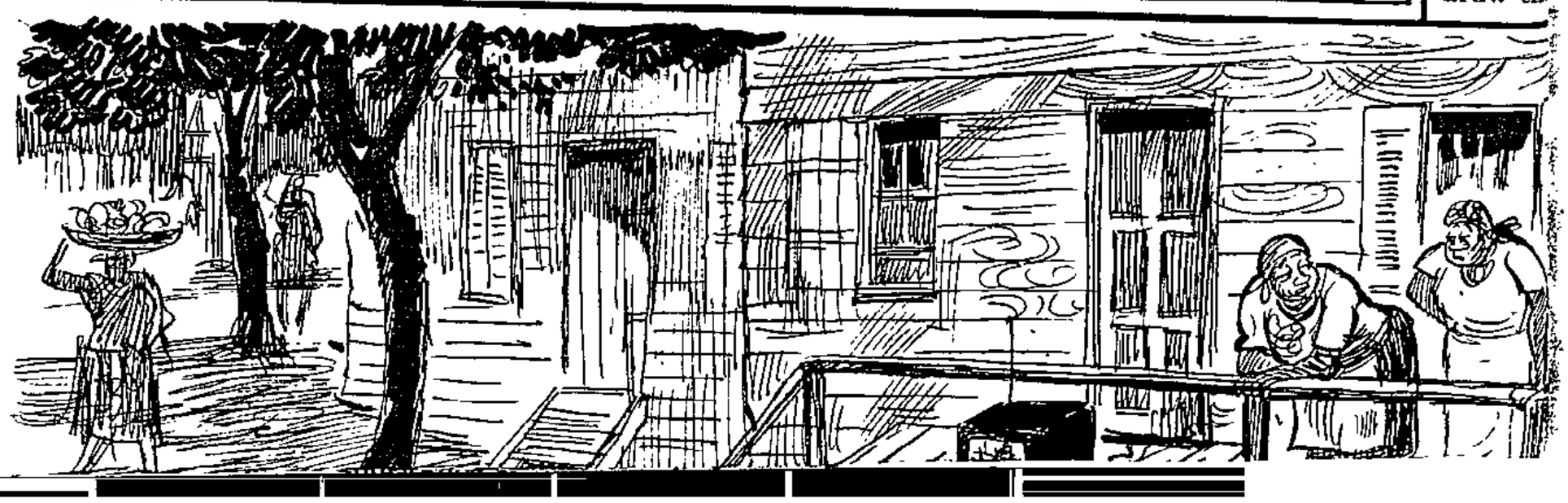
These face-to-face sessions may or may not have succeeded in preventing the gradual break-up of these parties but at very least they would have served to better enlighten the leaders about the stresses and strains troubling their parties.

In the case of the DP, the leadership argues with some justification that dissidents have not made proper use of available channels to voice their misgivings and aspirations.

There have also been complaints that some MPs have not been frank with the leadership when approached or have simply lied about their intentions when confronted.

But at the end of the day it would appear that the DP leadership did not really want to continue accommodating what Dr De Beer has referred to as the "ANC-friendly" members of his party.

Indeed, the party's formal response to the decision of the five MPs to finally leave the party and join the ANC amounts to "good riddance" — a stance which may yet prove to be shortsighted as the DP moves from the old politics to the new.



# Debate continues over Zulu king's presence at Codesa

Political Staff (304w) ARG 22/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — No firm decision had been taken on the thorny issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa, said management chairman Pravin Gordhan.

The chairman of the sub-committee investigating their participation, the Reverend T J Mohapi, said earlier a "tentative" agreement stated that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa.

A major stumbling block for the continued participation of the Inkatha Freedom Party would be removed if the management committee ratified the sub-committee's proposal.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take part in Codesa only if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is given the same status as other Codesa participants.

Mr Gordhan said the sub-committee was still receiving submissions and no firm decision had been taken.

Several progress reports had been tabled by the sub-committee to the daily management committee and the management committee, he said.

Mr Mohapi, who said he was commenting in his personal capacity and not as the sub-committee's chairman, said: "A tentative agreement has been reached but not yet an agreement in the final sense."

He said the agreement was still to be ratified by the management committee.

It was tentatively agreed that the Zulu king and traditional leaders would be admitted as full participants on a provincial basis.

Each province would be able to send 12 delegates and five advisers, said Mr Mohapi.

He said Mr Mandela was still to make a submission to the sub-committee this week.

# Work delayed

THE National Manpower Commission, dogged by delays in extending labour laws to all workers, could become extinct if it was not restructured.

Writing in the 1991 annual report of the NMC, acting-chairman Dr Frans Barker said it had been impossible to achieve full consensus on principles for restructuring the NMC by January 1992. — Sapa.

# Should the rebels keep their seats?

(304A)

ARG 22/4/92

**THE vexing question whether the five Democratic Party defectors are obliged — legally or morally — to resign their seats was raised at the first hint of their dramatic shift into liberation politics. In the absence of a simple answer, precedent favours their retaining their seats. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.**

THE clearest aspect of the inevitable controversy MPs land themselves in when they cross the floor is the legal one: there is no compulsion in law for an MP to resign his seat if he changes sides.

This was actually tested in the 1960s when the United Party required aspirant candidates to sign an undertaking that if they left the party after being elected they would resign their seats.

Later, the UP referred this written undertaking to legal counsel for a consolidated opinion. The reply was emphatic: it was unenforceable in law.

One of those aspirant candidates required to sign the UP's undertaking was Senior Counsel (and, subsequently, MP) Mr Brian Bamford, who wrote about this question several years ago, ironically, when Mr Jan van Eck resigned from the PFP.

He recalled that the contract was declared void because it was *contra bonos mores* — against the public interest.

This was so because to uphold it would penalise a person who acted according to the dictates of his conscience.

Mr Bamford cited the dramatic example of the debate in September 1939 on whether South Africa should enter the war. Unbridgeable and genuine differences within the governing UP led to a split.

The second, unresolved aspect is whether MPs are morally bound to resign if they change sides.

It could be argued that an MP who has used party funds and machinery, and party promises, to gain the support of the majority of voters in a constituency owes it to them to resign if he decides to leave the party.

Mr Bamford suggests an alternative: "On the other hand, there is a strong argument that a public representative must feel free to apply his mind to the affairs of state which are in constant flux. How can he do this if there is a Sword of Damocles constantly about his head?"

In the end, Mr Bamford concludes, "no answer to this moral dilemma can satisfy everybody".

However, the third aspect, that of precedent, favours the five DP rebels hanging on to their seats.

Not one of the 56 MPs who were part of the seven major breakaways in parliament since World War 2 resigned their seats:

- In 1954, six members under Bailey Bekker left the UP and formed the National Conservative Party;
- In 1959, 12 members under Jan Steytler left the UP and formed the Progressive Party;
- In 1969, four members under Albert Herzog left the NP and formed the HNP;
- In 1975, four members under Harry Schwarz left the UP and formed the Reform Party;
- In 1977, six members under Myburgh Streicher left the UP and formed the South African Party;
- In the same year, six members under Japie Basson refused to join the New Republic Party, formed the Committee for a United Opposition and later helped form the PFP;
- In 1982, 18 members under Andries Treurnicht left the NP and formed the CP.

The following have broken away individually without resigning their seats — Japie Basson (1959 UP to National Party, 1980 PFP to independent), Howard Odell (1964 UP to NP), Harry Lewis (1969 UP to NP), Marais Steyn (1973 UP to NP), Louis Nel (1979 NP to independent), Gerrie de Jong (1979 NRP to independent) and Wynand Malan (1987 NP to independent).

There were only four exceptions in the post-war period who did resign after leaving their parties: Bernard Friedman (1955), Hamo Russell (1963), John Wiley (1980) and John Malcomess (1980).

There is little comfort in the roll call of defections in South Africa's modern political history for those who want the rebel five out of parliament.

But, as Mr Bamford concluded: "That is politics as we play it — strange, unedifying, very human — and not to be discarded until we find a better system."




**NEW COMRADES:** ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, left, shares a joke with new ANC member Jan van Eck. Mr van Eck and four other whites are the first MPs to join the ANC.

# Dissension and denials reign over Zulu king's inclusion at Codesa

Blocy 22/4/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders could become part of Codesa in time for the second plenary session in mid-May.

The king's inclusion would be recommended by a multiparty subcommittee appointed by Codesa, QwaQwa's representative on the committee, the Rev T J Mohapi, said yesterday.

He said the subcommittee completed its report yesterday, and would hand it to the management committee early next week.

But Sapa reports that Codesa's management committee last night described as incorrect reports that the subcommittee had agreed traditional leaders, including Zwelithini, would become full delegates at the convention.

Management committee official Pravin Gordhan said the subcommittee had not yet completed its work as it was still receiving submissions on the issue.

"The subcommittee therefore has not arrived at any agreement on a recommendation in this regard to the management committee of Codesa. Recent reports attributed to the chairperson of the subcommittee (Mohapi) that the subcommittee has reached tentative agreement on this matter are regrettably misleading and unfortunately anticipate the possible findings of the subcommittee," Gordhan said.

He pointed out that only Codesa's management committee was empowered to take a final decision on the status of traditional leaders at the convention.

"The daily management committee is extremely optimistic that a constructive solution will soon be found to facilitate the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in the negotiations process," he added.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted Codesa I in December in protest at the king's exclusion. The king's participation would probably satisfy Inkatha demands that he take part on behalf of the Zulu people and remove Inkatha reservations about the representativeness of Codesa's participants.

Mohapi said the report had not yet been finalised but that "it is at an advanced stage. We have a tentative agreement which is not yet final."

The report recommends that four additional delegations representing traditional leaders from each of the four provinces be allowed to take their place at Codesa. The four delegations would be allowed 12 members and five advisers each and would have the same status as the other 19 delegations.

It is understood that Zwelithini would lead the Natal delegation. The other delegations would be drawn from traditional leadership in the independent homelands and self-governing territories in the four provinces.

☐ To Page 2

## Codesa

304A

☐ From Page 1

Mohapi said the subcommittee had heard recommendations from experts and from the traditional leaders. The traditional leaders had been eager to establish at Codesa what their position would be in a future dispensation.

The subcommittee would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who had been invited to make a representation, before submitting its report to the management committee. "But I don't expect Mr Mandela's representation to make any difference because the ANC is part of the agreement reached in the subcommittee," Mohapi said. Sapa reports that the subcommittee included Frank Mdlalose (Inkatha), Joe Slovo (SACP) and Colin Eglin (DP).

However, the ANC said in a statement last night it did not believe the subcommittee's decision was conclusive.

"Firstly, Dr Mohapi gravely misconstrues the situation by saying that 'the ANC is part of the agreement reached in the subcommittee'. None of the individuals serving on the subcommittee are there as representatives of specific organisations or parties, but have been appointed in their individual capacities.

"Irrespective of the views expressed by individual members of the subcommittee, who also are members of the ANC, the ANC has not as yet pronounced itself on this matter," the organisation said.

Slovo also disagreed that finality had been reached on the issue. He pointed out that the subcommittee's work was incomplete and that Mandela was still to present his viewpoint.

While the inclusion of the king would represent a victory for Inkatha, some of the other traditional leaders would be drawn from the ANC-supporting Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA.

● See Page 3

Members to sit as independents

# Five rebel MPs ditch DP for ANC

B/Day 22/4/92 304A

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC gained its first de facto representation in Parliament yesterday when five DP MPs said they had joined the ANC and would sit as independents.

MPs David Dalling (Sandton), Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) told a news conference at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg the ANC had not asked them to resign their seats.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the five would be expelled from the party.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the MPs' membership of the ANC had been approved by the organisation's national working committee. He said a subcommittee had been appointed to examine the relationship of the ANC and its members with the tricameral Parliament. Its report would determine whether the MPs would continue in Parliament.

Their decision clearly delighted the ANC. Cosatu hailed them as "the new Voortrekkers for the new SA".

However, Sapa reports the NP said the members would find little support for their decision among their constituents.

De Beer said their move would surprise no one. It vindicated his actions in suspending the four (excluding Dalling), and even raised the question as to whether the party should have been as patient as it had been.

"On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said. The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might, in a symbolic sense, derive some advantage from their joining.

"I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed in any way."

The MPs' switch follows their expulsion from the DP parliamentary caucus last week when De Beer said he had information they had sought ANC membership. An expected meeting between De Beer and the rebels failed to materialise yesterday.

Their joining the ANC signals a renewed drive by the organisation to gain support and credibility in the white community.

An ANC source said it was unlikely the organisation would ask the MPs to leave Parliament at a later date. Instead they would probably retain their seats as Parliament underwent its probable conversion from SA's legislative body to a constitution-making body and interim legislature.

While Ramaphosa said the five could not in any way be seen as ANC representatives in the "unrepresentative and discredited tricameral Parliament", they would be subject to ANC policy dictates.

"They have worked closely with the ANC for many years and their member-

□ To Page 2

## MPs join ANC

□ From Page 1

ship formalises a long-standing relationship which has earned them great respect in our communities and among our members," an ANC statement said.

The five said in a joint statement their attempts to promote a closer relationship with the ANC had triggered opposition from within the DP caucus.

They said a post-referendum caucus discussion had outlined various future courses of action for the DP which included remaining independent and forging a closer relationship with the ANC, leading to a formal alliance and merger when the ANC became a political party. They said senior party members felt a closer relationship with the ANC would debilitate the DP.

They said they were joining the ANC to promote nonracialism, the "full liberation of all South Africans" and to work for democracy in practice. B/D ay 22/4/92

"We join the ANC with no preconditions regarding our positions in the organisation or with specific policies, knowing that our experience and views on emerging policy positions will be judged on merit within the organisation.

"We recognise that years of propaganda, which is still continuing unabated, has created a false impression of the ANC, particularly in the white community." They said their membership would "assist in countering this negative image" of the organisation among thinking South Africans and the world community. They called on others to "reach out and take the hand of friendship extended by the ANC".

A "ganging up against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of contrived constitutional models designed to thwart the will of the people merely because the ANC seems to enjoy majority support in the black community, will have a polarising and negative effect that will not be in the best interests of SA or of democracy".

They were confident they were acting in the best interests of their constituents, including disenfranchised blacks.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 4

# Dawie de Villiers fills in for Barend

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday appointed Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers acting Finance Minister. BIDay 22/4/92.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was admitted to hospital 12 days ago suffering from extreme exhaustion, and he was expected to be back at work by yesterday.

But a spokesman for his office said Du Plessis' doctor had refused to allow him to return and had recommended rest for a further "week to two weeks at the most". The spokesman added: "The strain with Codesa, the referendum and then the Budget was extreme and it is amazing he did not collapse earlier."

Parliament had been in recess and only now was it considered practical to appoint an acting Minister.

BILLY PADDOCK

3044

It is practice in SA for a full Minister, not a deputy, to stand in for an absent colleague. Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys, the most likely choice, was due to travel abroad this week and was thus not available.

De Villiers, one of the most senior members of the Cabinet, has been closely involved in economic planning portfolios for the past few years.

The Finance spokesman said there was no cause for concern that Du Plessis' condition had deteriorated. "He just needs rest and will be back in office within two weeks," he said.

# Codesa group: 'No progress'

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa's working group II on constitutional principles was unable to make progress yesterday and mandated its steering committee to look into the differences that had arisen. (30WT)

Government representative Dr Gerrit Viljoen said after the day's discussions that the group was "treading water".

"We obviously have differences," he said.

As a result the working group's eight-member steering committee will meet on Monday to draw up "lines of debate or proposals" to be discussed by the full group the following day. — Sapa CT 22/4/92

# Zulu king may join Codesa II

(304A) ET 22/4/92

**Political Staff**

A MAJOR stumbling block to progress at Codesa appears to have been cleared away with a proposal by a managememt committee's sub-committee that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini be allowed to lead a delegation to Codesa.

This was a pre-condition laid down by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his personal participation in Codesa.

The report by the eight-man sub-committee, which includes IFP chairman Mr Frank Mdalose and the South African Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo, will now be submitted to the management committee for ratification.

The report follows rejection of an earlier one which also gave support for King Goodwill to be allowed to head a delegation.

Sub-committee chairman Dr TJ Mohapi said it had been agreed that traditional leaders would be represented by four delegations based on the four provinces.

In terms of the recommendation, King Goodwill will head the Natal delegation.

## ANC representations

Dr Mohapi said the traditional leaders could participate as early as Codesa II on May 15 and 16, if the recommendation was approved by the management committee.

He said the only work left for the sub-committee was to hear representations from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and this was expected to take place this week.

Dr Mohapi said that he did not expect Mr Mandela's submission to alter the committee's finding.

● The technical committee appointed by Codesa to discuss transitional interim structures is making good progress, according to Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, the government delegate on the committee.

Mr Meyer was not prepared to comment further on the workings of the committee.

The committee was appointed by working group III sitting on transitional arrangements before the Codesa recess two weeks ago. The working group was scheduled to sit on Tuesday but did not.

It is hoped that the technical committee will reach agreement on a transitional executive structure before Codesa II.

The government and the ANC have been unable to reach agreement on the powers of the body which will rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

# Whites urged to change attitude

By MONK NKOMO

WHITES should help build the nation and stop thinking that blacks would kill them or repossess their properties in a new South Africa, says *Sowetan* editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

Addressing the *Pretoria News*/Burgerspark Business Club in Pretoria on the concept of Nation Building yesterday, Klaaste appealed to the business sector to help change the attitudes of those who still had apartheid in their minds.

"The vicious system of apartheid, including the pass laws, has destroyed black families and the black man's culture," said Klaaste. "The Government attacked our souls by making our tribes look very bad."

He appealed to blacks and whites to show the world that people in this country could live harmoniously together.

He commended the Afrikaner nation for having built their "volk" since 1922.

"It will be a sick and criminal thing to go back to the past. Most Afrikaners are dead frightened of black people. They think we are a violent nation. They think we are necklacers. The problem is that they do not know us.

"The Afrikaners must help us rebuild this nation which has been torn apart by apartheid laws," Klaaste said.

# Zulu king could get Codesa seat

AN agreement allowing Zulu King Zwelithini and other traditional leaders to take part in Codesa is on the cards.

The possibility of such an agreement was confirmed by the chairman of a Codesa sub-committee, the Rev TJ Mohapi.

It is expected that an agreement could be ratified by Codesa's management committee next Monday.

Mohapi confirmed that "a tentative agreement has been reached by the committee".

He said members of the sub-committee, who include Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose, Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and ANC official Mr Jacob Zuma, all agreed that every province in the country be represented by 12 delegates and five advisers.

**By IKE MOTSAPI**

Codesa's daily management committee, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, however, denied last night that the sub-committee had reached agreement on the issue.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said the sub-committee had not yet completed its work as it was still receiving submissions on the issue.

He said only Codesa's management committee was empowered to take decisions on the status of traditional leaders.

● To page 4

# King at Codesa

● From page 1

"The Daily Management Committee is extremely optimistic that a constructive solution will soon be found to facilitate the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at the convention.".

Zuma, who did not want to confirm or deny Mohapi's statement, said Codesa was formed to find solutions to problems. He said he saw no reason why the issue of the king could not be resolved by Codesa.

He said: "What we have to do is to find ways of including the king and other traditional leaders as delegates.

"If we do not do that, then Codesa will be failing in its duty. What we should accept is that the king and other traditional leaders will not be bringing anything new to Codesa," the ANC leader said.

Other delegates believed that the way had now been "paved clear" for IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take his place at the negotiating table.

# Democratic Party MPs join the ANC

Sowetan 22/4/92



ANC's information chief Pallo Jordan and former DP MP Jan van Eck at the Press conference.

**FIVE Democratic Party Members of Parliament yesterday formally joined the ANC, amid suggestions that this could earn the present Parliament some form of legitimacy.**

The five MPs are Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) and Mr Robert Haswell (Maritzburg North).

The defection of the five MPs was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

An overseas observer suggested at the conference that the act of defection would give "some legitimacy to the racist parliament" that has for years excluded black South Africans from mainstream politics.

The ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan said the attitude of the ANC to the present Parliament was unchanged.

He said the ANC still saw the present Parliament as a racist institution.

304A

**By JOE MDHLELA**

"But if you want to think that the defection means the ANC was represented in Parliament, you have the right to think that way," Jordan said.

Other observers labelled the "new ANC-DP" members as political turncoats who have betrayed their constituencies by unilaterally taking a decision to join ANC.

"You have no mandate to join the ANC," one observer said.

In a joint statement the five MPs said since the unbanning of the ANC they had promoted a closer working relationship with the organisation.

They said they joined the ANC to promote nonracialism.

"We joined the ANC to work towards the full liberation of all South Africans," they said.

# Parties poised for FW's political rabbit

(304n)
CT 22/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THERE was intense speculation in parliamentary circles last night that President F W de Klerk might pull another rabbit out of the hat during the debate on his budget vote which begins in Parliament today.

The 12-hour debate begins this afternoon against a background of defections from the Democratic Party and suggestions that turmoil in the Conservative Party could soon burst into the open.

However, National Party sources said last night that it was premature to expect Mr De Klerk to make any announcements on a new centrist political party at this stage.

NP sources said that while the president "may have something up his sleeve" they did not expect "anything drastic" to be announced during the next two days.

However, the debate on the president's budget vote does give Mr De Klerk centre stage and there has been widespread speculation that he will use it to announce initiatives on several major issues.

These include the interim government deadlock — with the government and ANC apparently some distance away from agreement at Codesa — further steps aimed at curbing violence and South Africa's international relations.

# Call for rebel MPs to quit

(304A) CT 22/4/92

## Voters slam shift to ANC



SPIRITUAL LIFE ...
Samantha



TENSE ...
Brett Williams



STAND DOWN ...
Sharon Zeidel



ALL MIXED ...
Sheilah White



A PITY ...
Martin Friedman



WE'RE AFRAID ...
Veronica Carless



NO APPROACH ...
Trevor Goodwin



DISGUSTING ...
Ida Varnes

**Staff Reporter**

FISH HOEK and Claremont constituency residents — whose MPs yesterday announced their shift to the ANC camp — called for the resignation of Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jan van Eck in a street survey conducted in the areas by the Cape Times.

Out of about 30 people interviewed, most demanded that their MPs resign and stand for re-election.

Mr Tom Robinson, 45, of Fish Hoek said Mr Momberg had a "bloody cheek" to shift to the ANC.

"I didn't vote for the ANC, I voted for the DP. He should stand down and stand in an ANC constituency when that's possible", he said.

"I think it's disgusting. Mr Van Eck was mandated for the DP, and should resign," said Mrs Ida Varnes, of Rondebosch.

Mr Hugh Solomon of Fish Hoek said his MP, Mr Momberg, should resign.

"I'll probably still vote for him. He's a good MP. But anyone who changes his party should resign and be re-elected," he said.

"Because Mr Van Eck was elected as a DP MP, I believe the correct thing to do is to stand down and be re-elected, as he seems to have changed his point of view," said 26-year-old Ms Sharon Zeidel, in Claremont.

Mrs Veronica Carless, 45, of Simon's Town, said she disagreed with Mr Momberg's party shift.

"The ANC has a hidden agenda and we don't know what's happening. So we're afraid," she said.

Mr Trevor Goodwin, 27, also of Fish Hoek, agreed that Mr Momberg should resign, as his constituency had not been approached on his shift to the ANC.

"People here must have a say in what their MP does," he said.

Miss Christle Basson, 21, of Fish Hoek, criticised Mr Momberg's shift to the ANC, saying "the ANC stands for violence and will run the country into the ground".

Mr William Whitham, 21, said he would have preferred Mr Momberg to remain in the DP, as the DP was against violence.

"I am slightly anti-ANC because of their militancy," he said.

Mr Martin Friedman, 23, of Kenilworth, said it was "a pity" that MPs in the DP were shifting over, but approved of the ANC being "prepared to accept and negotiate with whites".

Mr Brett Williams, 19, said the move should not affect Fish Hoek constituency members too much. "If it does, someone will stand up to it.

"But we are ex-Zimbabweans and my parents say they've been through similar things. Politically its very tense in our house."

Mrs Sheilah White, 80, of Claremont, said Mr Van Eck's move "doesn't matter much because everyone will be mixed up in the end."

Samantha, a Hare Krishna, said everyone was a spiritual being and should live their lives as such instead of looking to politics for solutions.

# Cabinet not only experts

CT 22/4/92

**Political Staff**

**MEMBERS of the cabinet were not merely appointed because of their expertise, Mr F W de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.** (3044)

**"Cabinet members are public figures who serve as the political heads of departments and not merely on the basis of their formal or practical training and professional experience, but quite frequently on the basis of their general experience and skills," he said.**

**He was asked whether members of the cabinet were experts in respect of the portfolios held.**

# Comrade MPs

## ANC gains foothold in Parliament

(304A) CT 22/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE ANC gained its first formal foothold in Parliament yesterday when five Democratic Party MPs joined the "liberation movement".**

As DP leader Dr Zach de Beer acknowledged last night that he "could not be certain" that the rot had stopped, it emerged that some DP MPs were also putting out feelers to the National Party.

The rebel MPs, who were welcomed yesterday by a delighted ANC as "our five new comrades", form the hard core of a group of about a dozen DP caucus members who have been actively toying with the idea of joining the ANC in recent months.

The defectors are the former DP Western Cape chairman and MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, the DP's former chief unrest monitor

**CALL FOR REBEL MPs TO QUIT**
Report — PAGE 2

MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van , the former DP chief whip and MP Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, the MP Maritzburg South, Mr Rob Has- , and the MP for Greytown, Mr re Cro .

he five, who said in a joint statement read out at an ANC press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that they did not intend resigning their seats, will sit in the cross benches of Parliament as independents.

Dr De Beer said last night that he would "rather not finally pronounce" on whether the MPs should be honour-bound to quit their seats.

This was an issue to be resolved between each MP and his constituency committee, he said. Meetings are planned in all five constituencies in the next few days.

The five said yesterday: "We have acted with a clear conscience in the firm belief that the steps we are taking are in the broad interests of our constituents and also of all South Africans."

Both the DP and the ANC yesterday expressed the hope that the move would not harm relations between the two parties but it was still unclear whether the defectors would be able to take rank-and-file supporters with them.

However, in a step which is likely to test the cordial relations between the political competitors, the new ANC MPs yesterday called on "all who have fought against apartheid ... to reach out and take the hand of friendship extended by the ANC".

And as the embattled Democratic Party was looking towards its left flank for possible further defections, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged that "some members of the DP" were considering a home in the ruling party.

He said: "The leadership of the DP must rest uneasy knowing that there are some members of that caucus harbouring similar sentiments (of defection)."

Dr De Beer put a brave face on the loss of five of the DP's 33 MPs, saying: "On the whole, this may not be a bad thing. The DP generally feels that it can do better without these gentlemen, and at least in a symbolic sense the ANC may derive some advantage from their joining."

Although the ANC has not asked the rebel MPs to resign as members of the DP, Dr De Beer said his party would not tolerate dual membership and the five would be formally expelled from the DP.

Dr De Beer said their departure came as something of a relief to the DP as the five had had "a debilitating influence on the DP for a long time now and people are sick of it".

In their statement the rebels gave the impression that rather than jumping from the DP they had been pushed.

They claimed that senior party members had indicated at a special caucus meeting before the Easter recess that it would be "better for all concerned" if DP members who advocated a closer working relationship with the ANC left the party.

The defectors said the party hierarchy wanted the "parting of the ways to be managed properly and by mutual agreement".



**CARD-CARRYING MEMBERS** ... ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa with his organisation's newest members — who are also the first parliamentarians to join the movement — (from left) Messrs Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, David Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jannie Momberg in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: AP

## Defecting MP says voters not betrayed

CT 22/4/92

**CLAREMONT MP Mr Jan van Eck said he did not believe the MPs had betrayed their constituencies.**

**"We were elected for specific things which are broad principles, broad points of view which I believe the ANC accommodates in totality," Mr Van Eck said.**

**He added that although the five MPs had represented white constituencies, they had always represented them in the full belief in democracy and non-racialism "and all the things" that are now best espoused by the ANC.**

**The MPs felt there was considerable support in their constituencies for their decision to join the ANC.**

**Mr Jannie Momberg said he planned to call a public meeting within the next few weeks to explain his reasons for joining the ANC and give residents in his constituency the chance to praise his move or damn it.**

**Mr Van Eck said he had no immediate plans to hold a public meeting in his constituency.**

**Mr Momberg said last night that he would not resign from Parliament because he was still a member of the DP.**

**At a DP fund-raising function last year Mr Momberg said that he would resign his seat if he were to leave the DP, but added that he would not resign his seat if he was suspended or expelled from the party.**

**He said last night on his return from Johannesburg that he had not resigned from the party but had been expelled and therefore would still hold his seat.**

**"Parliament is in a transition, so why hold a by-election now?" Mr Momberg asked. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent**

**Man demands**

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Man demands

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

*For oral reply:*

*General Affairs:*

*State President:*

**Letter to foreign leaders: referendum**

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he or someone else on his behalf sent a letter to leaders of any foreign countries before the recent referendum in which he asked for support for his cause; if so, (a)(i) by whom and (ii) to how many leaders was this letter written and (b) what was the substance thereof; (304A)

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B471E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) No. As I indicated during the Referendum campaign, the media reports were incorrect.

(2) Falls away.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, does he deny outright the existence of a letter that was supposed to have been sent to foreign leaders in his name?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, I also explained it in the referendum campaign, namely, that a draft letter was submitted to me and that I did not approve the draft letter which was then represented as a letter from me, Through an administrative error it was that draft letter, the content of which was not approved by me and that was never sent, delivered or handed over to any person, any head of state, in the form of a letter. Indeed, there is another letter subsequently drawn up by me—I also said this in the referendum campaign—that was sent to 36 heads of governments of states that I met during my overseas visits, not to 70. The only aim of that letter was to inform them of the reason for a referendum being held amongst Whites, because it was represented by negative propagandists as an apartheid election that indicated a return to apartheid. No support at all was asked for in any way in that letter for the Government's case. [Interjections.]

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, the hon Minister of the Budget said here, in the House, that a letter had been sent by the Department of Foreign Affairs by mistake. I should like to know if the hon the State President can tell us whether there is any connection and similarity between the contents of the letter originally submitted to him and the one he eventually sent out, and whether just one paragraph was deleted from the original letter. [Interjections.]

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the letter was completely changed. It was dramatically curtailed, and while the other letter focused on a number of things, the letter that was sent out focused on the one matter that I have mentioned.

The draft letter was distributed to embassies, and that was a mistake. The whip was cracked about that mistake. [Interjections.] I was very upset and my colleague was very upset, because nobody has the right to assume that if a draft letter is submitted to me, I shall aprove it. [Interjections.] People that know me well, know that I quite often do not approve draft letters, because I like to determine the content of my own letters. [Interjections.]

That letter was erroneously sent to embassies, on the assumption that I was going to sign it, so that they would glean the information from it on time. [Interjections.] It was not conveyed to any head of state. [Interjections.] It was a mistake and corrective steps have been taken. [Interjections.]

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I want to ask him whether he is aware if there are historical records of a head of state of this country or of any other country in the world ever offering an explanation to other countries when he offered his own people a referendum or election. [Interjections.]

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, we are no longer living in isolation. We now have many friends abroad, and as a result of the insight generated by the contract made with them and the correct information passed on to them, these friends have taken decisions in the





interests of everyone in South Africa at key moments. [Interjections.] (304A)

I am not apologising for having changed the wrong impressions about South Africa to the correct impressions! [Interjections.] I am not apologising for having taken the pressure off the Government and that it is on the ANC at the moment, because they have connections with the SACP, their economic policy is contrary to and out of step with the whole world, and they still do not fully comply with the basic requirements of democracy. It is all in the interests of South Africa. I did not go hat-in-hand to explain. I armed our friends with information, so that they would not fall prey to slanted propaganda that we knew would be made of it and was already being made of it. South Africa now steps through the front door of overseas countries and no longer sneaks in the back door with secret messages.

Therefore we shall continue to normalise South Africa's position internationally. If those hon members are not proud with us of what has already been achieved, and do not rejoice with us because our sportsmen and women are playing on the fields once more, and are not glad with us that our agricultural products are being sold, and are not thankful with us that we have obtained foreign loans again, then they prove just where their loyalty lies. They do not put South Africa first. They put the CP first.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I should like to know if he is prepared to table a copy of the letter that was eventually sent.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, it is not customary to table such correspondence, but I am quite prepared to give a copy of it to the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition on a confidential basis.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, I want to ask him if he can tell us how the letter that appeared under his name in the *Sunday Times* happened to be in their hands. Secondly, I want to ask him if he can tell us whether it is customary for one department to draw up letters in his name and distribute them overseas.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, firstly, this happened at a particular embassy, where this document, which was intended as a confidential document, and which served as preparation of the embassy pending the arrival of a letter that I never sent and replaced with another letter, was erroneously regarded to be a document that was already official.

Secondly, it is absolutely customary that no State President or Prime Minister in the world has his own delivery system or communications system. He uses his embassies and his Department of Foreign Affairs.

Further, it is the established custom that he makes use of his specialized department for international communications for a first input when there is a need for communication.

*Ministers:*

*Question standing over from Wednesday, 1 April 1992:*

**Housing development schemes: retired persons**

*2. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

(1) Whether the regulations laid down by him for the management of housing development schemes for retired persons are at present applicable to all housing schemes, including those established before the promulgation of the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, No 65 of 1988; if not, (a) why not and (b) to what rules are such schemes subject at present;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B442E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY:

(1) Development schemes for retired persons can be operated by means of sectional development schemes, or share block schemes, or housing development schemes in terms of the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, 1988. Regulations 7 to 14 for the management of housing development schemes for retired persons which were promulgated by means of Government Notices R.1351 and R.1349 of 30 June 1989 and 14 June 1991, apply, to all housing development schemes for retired persons, i.e. inclusive

cont . . . >

of those schemes established before the promulgation of the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, 1988 (Act No 65 of 1988), with the exclusion of housing development schemes conducted as a sectional title development scheme or as a share block scheme.

(a) Separate acts apply to sectional title development schemes and share block schemes. The inclusion of these schemes under the said regulations would have resulted in two different acts applying to one scheme, which could have confused the issue.

(b) The control of sectional title development schemes and share block schemes is regulated by the Sectional Titles Act, 1986 (Act 95 of 1986) and by the Share Blocks Control Act, 1980 (Act 59 of 1980) respectively. Both acts mentioned provide for the control of the operation of the schemes in terms of these acts.

(2) No, a statement is not anticipated as the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, 1988, and the regulations promulgated in terms thereof are under continuous scrutiny, to establish possible amendments if necessary.

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*New questions:*

**Assistance to Bophuthatswana**

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether, with reference to the reply by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs to Question No 153 on 24 March 1992, any additional specific assistance was given to Bophuthatswana in the 1991-92 financial year; if so, what assistance?

B476E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

*(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):*

Yes.

A. *Direct financial assistance*

| | |
|---|---|
| Budgetary aid | R881 572 000 |
| Incentive scheme for industries | 23 044 857 |
| | R904 616 857 |

B. *Transfer payments*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tax compensation | R116 324 000 |
| Customs-union share | 868 411 000 |
| Common monetary area | 17 418 267 |
| | R1 002 153 267 |

C. *Loans from the RSA* (Project aid)

| | |
|---|---|
| Border posts | R34 026 |
| Community classrooms | 1 315 460 |
| Temba cell blocks | 148 488 |
| Thaba'nchu Magistrate Offices | 1 166 734 |
| Bophelong Hospital (X-ray unit) | 330 738 |
| Supreme court: Mmabatho | 4 609 097 |
| Police housing | 338 355 |
| Odi Prison agriculture project | 49 358 |
| Mmabatho medical store | 390 186 |
| Police stations | 7 420 886 |
| *Winterveld* (Grants) | |
| Mabopane housing | R6 033 713 |
| Clinics | 116 873 |
| Schools | 1 540 450 |
| Thaba'nchu Manpower centre | 5 316 593 |
| Kgomotso Police station and housing | 3 220 275 |
| Police riot control | 1 810 745 |
| | R33 841 977 |

D. *Technical and other assistance**

| | |
|---|---|
| Manpower provision | R17 631 367 |
| Technical assistance | 3 737 453 |
| Salaries of Judges | 504 280 |
| | R21 873 100 |

* No financial transfers in respect of item D were directly made to Bophuthatswana.

| | |
|---|---|
| Grand Total | R1 962 485 201 |

I observe that the hon member's question only deals with Bophuthatswana, but would nevertheless like to add that similar assistance was also rendered to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda as follows:

Transkei: R2 492 742 801





Venda: R743 854 601
Ciskei: R1 114 724 747

All figures are unaudited.

**White municipal elections: announcement**

*2. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether, at a meeting of the United Municipal Executive in Cape Town on or about 19 March 1992, he made an announcement to the effect that no more White municipal elections would be held in future; if so,

(2) whether the announcement also refers to and includes by-elections;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B480E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

(3) No. A comprehensive statement was issued after the conclusion of the meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs on 27 March 1992.

**SA officials deseconded: TBVC states**

*3. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether any South African officials in the TBVC states were deseconded during the past three months; if so, (a) what are the relevant details and (b) for what reasons were they deseconded;

(2) whether the TBVC state concerned was consulted beforehand in the matter in each case; if not, why not; if so, what was the attitude of that state in each case?

B481E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

The South African officials which were deseconded during the last three months as at 31 March 1992 in the TBVC-states together with the reasons for desecondment, are set out in the following schedule:

| *State* | *Post* | *Reasons for desecondment* |
|---|---|---|
| Transkei | State Advocate | At own request |
| Bophuthatswana | Senior State Law Adviser | Promotion to RSA Home Department |
| | Assistant Chief Auditor | At own request |
| | Magistrate | At own request |
| Venda | Teacher: Head of Department | At own request |
| | Teacher | Voluntary resignation |
| | Teacher | Afrikaans is no longer offered as a subject at this school |
| | Artisan | At own request |
| | Artisan | Misconduct |
| Ciskei | Senior Customs and excise officer | Withdrawn by Home Department |
| | 2 Assistant Control Officers | At own request |
| | Senior Specialist | Voluntary resignation |
| | Deputy Chief Engineer | Voluntary resignation |
| | Artisan Instructor | Voluntary resignation |

(2) Yes.

The need for continous secondment and/or withdrawal without replacement, as well as the abolishment of posts, was cleared with the relevant TBVC state.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know from him if the South African departments from which the officials concerned have been seconded, were consulted before the desecondment of these officials.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have replied to the question as put to me. If the hon member wishes to put consequential questions at a later stage, I am happy to reply to them. [Interjec-

cont —p




Changing allegiance . . . DP defectors Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jannie Momberg pose with ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa. Picture: Karen Fletcher

# Five DP rebels join ANC

STAR 22/4/92 (304A)

## Defectors to remain in Parliament as independents

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff and Sapa

Five Democratic Party members — four of whom were suspended from the party caucus last week — joined the ANC yesterday and immediately committed themselves to work for its ideals and help build the organisation.

Jannie Momberg (Simonstown), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and party chief whip Sandton MP Dave Dalling made the announcement at a press conference held at the ANC's Johannesburg head office moments after each paying their R2 joining fee.

Their membership was approved by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the five would be formally expelled.

The five MPs are an interesting acquisition for the ANC, meaning in effect that it will now have five representatives in Parliament, an institution which it criticises as non-representative.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said he saw no contradiction, saying "They will be in Parliament as independents".

Mr Dalling said: "I think the correct term is we'll be independents who support the ANC."

The ANC cannot be represented in Parliament because it is not a registered political party.

All of the five but Mr Dalling were suspended by Dr de Beer after recently holding discussions with the ANC about the possibility of joining the organisation to serve it in Parliament.

Mr Cronje said the five had decided to join the ANC because debate and negotiation on the "parting of ways" had become impossible after "Dr de Beer took the unilateral decision to suspend the four of us".

Mr Dalling said the five had decided to join the ANC to work for non-racialism, liberation and democracy.

"We join the ANC to promote non-racialism in practice. The ANC had succeeded in bringing into the organisation people from every national group and from all the corners of the country.

"The second liberation struggle will start now, that is to rid SA of the legacies of apartheid: racism, distrust, the breakdown of law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears," Mr Dalling said.

He added that the ANC had, in their experience, embarked upon a "creative" search for solutions to the needs of all South Africans.

Mr van Eck said the MPs had set no preconditions as to their position in the ANC.

He pledged that the "rebels", as they are now called in the DP circles, would help build the ANC "at a time when sinister forces are still destabilising the political process and emerging structures of the ANC in particular".

Mr Momberg said the MPs recognised "the role of the leadership and those prevented from participating in the political process — the many ordinary persons who had to bear the brunt of a most vicious and sustained onslaught of detention, harassment and even death during the apartheid years".

He warned that any "ganging up" against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of "contrived" constitutional models would have a polarising and negative effect that would harm the quest for democracy.

Accepting responsibility for the Sharpeville, Soweto, June 16 massacres and the death of Steve Biko — all of which occurred during his 30 years as Nationalist Party MP — Mr Momberg said: "I hope joining the ANC will help me put that right now."

Mr Haswell said they had no intention to resign from Parliament and had not been asked to do so by the ANC.

"We have acted with a clear conscience in the firm belief that the steps we are taking are in the broad interest of all South Africans."

Mr Haswell ended by chanting the first line of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Mr Ramaphosa and director of information Pallo Jordan were at pains to stress that having members serving in a Parliament which thousands of people had died opposing did not contradict ANC principles.

The MPs' decision, Dr Jordan explained, "Further enhances the non-racial approach of the ANC both within the organisation and in our commitment to a truly nonracial SA."

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC national working committee — which accepted the MPs' membership — had considered their status in Parliament.

A final decision in this regard would be made after discussions with ANC regional structures.

The new members would have to abide by whatever decision was taken.

Dr de Beer issued a statement minutes after the announcement of the five's defection, saying the news would surprise no one.

"On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said. The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might derive some advantage from their joining.

"I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed."

Cosatu last night applauded the five MPs' bold move in joining the ANC, saying they would go down in history as "Voortrekkers for the new South Africa". Cosatu added that it was known the men were no "Johnny-come-latelies" to democracy — unlike other politicians that could be named.

The five defectors would find little support for their actions in their respective constituencies, the National Party said last night, and added that the five would probably cause as much trouble for the ANC as they did for the DP.

# Homelands become area of disagreement

STAR 22/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A third major area of disagreement has erupted at Codesa — testing the will of homeland citizens on their reincorporation into South Africa.

Three of the four homelands yesterday told Codesa they were in favour of reincorporation but did not believe it was necessary to determine this by holding a referendum.

The Government said the views of homeland citizens needed to be tested democratically before reincorporation could be decided upon.

"While the South African Government has no objection to negotiate the reincorporation of any of the states, it will not exert any pressure on, or agree to any railroading of, any state and its people to choose either reincorporation or the retention of the status quo or any other constitutional alternative," the Government told the Codesa working group dealing with the future of the TBVC states.

A government source said race and ethnicity would not play a role in a referendum to test the will of homeland citizens, but votes would be counted separately on the basis of citizenship.

The Transkei Government delegation, who initially were in favour of testing the will of its citizens regarding reincorporation, said a meeting of 159 Transkei organisations "overwhelmingly" resolved on April 13 that "a referendum was no longer a requirement for the Transkei to join the new apartheid-free South Africa".

"Transkeians want restoration of their South African citizenship which they claim was taken away from them without consultation," the delegation said.

The position was supported by the Ciskei Government delegation who said it was "convinced that this course offered the best opportunity for a stable and sound economic development for the Ciskeian people and that it would not be necessary to hold a referendum amongst the Ciskeian people to confirm this course of action".

The Government source said yesterday that homelands wishing to take part in transitional arrangements had to forfeit their sovereignity and become self-governing territories.

The Venda Government told the working group that there was no reason to "descale" into a national state before participating in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

A second impasse exists in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements where the ANC and Government disagree on the powers of the transitional executive structure.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council with executive powers to oversee the tricameral Parliament and National Party Cabinet.

However, the Government has proposed several Preparatory Councils with advisory powers.

A specially appointed technical committee has been appointed by the working group to find a way out of the impasse. Members of the committee would not comment after its meeting yesterday except to say progress had been made.

The working group on constitutional principles yesterday disagreed on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed. The working group asked its steering committee to narrow the gap between different proposals.

The Government and ANC both agree on the need for an elected body to draft the new constitution. The ANC has proposed an elected constituent assembly and the Government has proposed a two chamber Parliament. The IFP, however, wants a Codesa-appointed convention to draft the constitution.

# Issue of leaders unresolved

STAR 221492 30CA

**Political Reporter**

The thorny issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa had not yet been finally resolved, management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

The chairman of the subcommittee investigating their participation, the Reverend T J Mohapi, however, earlier said a "tentative" agreement had been reached.

A major stumbling block for the continued participation of the IFP would be removed if the management committee ratified the subcommittee's proposal that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take part only if King Goodwill Zwelithini is given the same status as other Codesa participants.

The tentative agreement was that the Zulu king and traditional leaders would be admitted as full participants on a provincial basis.

Each province would be able to send 12 delegates and five advisers, said Mr Mohapi.

# State 'needs to fund parties'

Sowetan 23/4/92 (306A)

**SOME political parties would have to be partly funded by the State in the democratic elections, a report by the President's Council committee for constitutional affairs said.**

The committee, chaired by Mr Kleppies Heyns, looked at the need for a code of conduct for political parties and released the findings yesterday.

It recommended that parties be registered, certain funding be disclosed and a difference be made between political parties and political interest groups.

It said State aid for political parties in a first democratic election had to be considered to "level the playing field".

"The importance of a first election to lay the foundation for a multi-party democracy cannot be sufficiently emphasised. Timely and urgent attention should be given to the funding of political parties."

The committee said there should be few restrictions on fund raising campaigns.

Direct state aid could be given proportionately on the number of votes drawn or seats gained.

State contributions should be disclosed annually.

Indirect assistance could take the form of tax concessions.

Although the committee was opposed to foreign funding, it recommended that the source, amount of the donation and its purpose be disclosed.

Indirect foreign funding to parties should be controlled by the Electoral Commission while overseas funding for projects such as education and social welfare should be encouraged.

The formation, running and conduct of political parties should be controlled by the Constitution, the Electoral Act and legislation on parties.

The report urged that a permanent electoral commission - separate from the legislature and comprising jurists, experts and party representatives - be established to ensure that political parties act within the law.

The commission could be a subdivision of a constitutional court with final appeal to the Appellate Division.

The right of political interest groups to influence public policy was recognised by the committee.

Groups should uphold the democratic process and the rules of the political system.

Lobbying was also regarded as a legitimate political practice, and forums should be provided for liaison between government and lobby groups.

The establishment of front organisations "with the aim of subverting the democratic process" was unacceptable, as was violence and non-violent civil disobedience.

"In a democratic political system passive resistance, violence and intimidation are incompatible with the democratic process, since elections should be used to indicate preference for and rejection of public policy and conduct."

Trade unionism could not be divorced from political parties, and there was a possibility the distinction between the two could become blurred.

"Trade unions should ... be employees' organisations.

"Trade union leaders and members may be members of a political party, but party leaders and office bearers should not hold any office in trade union organisations."

Membership fees of trade unions should not be donated to political parties and donations by trade unions should be disclosed.

The historical differences, the wide diversity in living standards, economic capabilities and educational levels of different sectors of the population had to be evened out.

"Direct state funding of elections could include subsidising or repaying election expenses.

"State subsidies, which enable political parties to participate in a first election, should be given to parties who have not received foreign aid. This should help prevent any party being unreasonably disadvantaged."

Election expenses should be restricted in an effort to bring about a greater equality between parties.

The proposed Party Act should be part of a negotiated constitutional settlement and should be combined with a code of ethics.

Parties registering should sign a code of ethics which should include an undertaking that:

- The democratic political process will be maintained;
- Parties will honour a charter of fundamental human rights;
- Respect for the national symbols of the state will be shown;
- The necessity and role of all political parties will be acknowledged; and
- Political parties should be prohibited from encouraging racial hatred or violence or any form of racism. - *Sapa*



VAN ECK . . undertakings to resign

ARG 23/4/92 (3044)

# Rebels resigned, says DP

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

IN a late salvo, the Democratic Party insisted yesterday the five defectors to the ANC had effectively resigned.

And, at a meeting last night, Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck was called on by the DP constituency committee to resign his seat.

In a brief statement, committee chairman Mr Gerald Richman said the committee adopted a motion expressing the fullest confidence in the DP and its policies.

Both Mr Van Eck and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) gave undertakings to resign their seats if they left the DP.

But they say their summary suspension from the caucus and having been "driven out" of the party has relieved them of that obligation.

● The DP regional executive has endorsed the resignation calls. Executive chairman Jasper Walsh called on them to honour their promises — "They chose to join the ANC knowing that such action automatically excludes them from DP membership."

# Voice of ANC heard at last in parliament

304A

ARG 23/4/92

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

IN a remarkably modest moment of political history yesterday, the voice of the African National Congress was heard in South Africa's parliament for the first time.

It fell to one of the movement's most recent recruits, Democratic Party defector and MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje, to breach the barrier of racial exclusivity that, for 80 years, frustrated the ANC's yearning to reach the heart of political activity.

"It is with humility," Mr Cronje began, "that I stand here as the first member of the ANC to speak in the parliament of South Africa.

"That right, no more and no less, is what the ANC has struggled for for 80 years. What a waste of human energy and talent."

The House was attentive and quiet, except for the occasional muffled interjection, and two or three "vivas" offered more in jest than in solidarity.

Politically unthinkable even just a matter of months ago, the first ANC speech was subdued.

But in a measured voice, Mr Cronje conveyed his and his colleagues' conviction that the ANC embodied the non-racial ideal of the future and that it would be the vehicle for its achievement.

The ANC, he said, was the only organisation which had succeeded in bringing all South Africans together in one organisation, "illustrating to South Africa and the world that the notion of a single nation is not impossible and that it is possible to overcome the conflict between ethnic and national pride and national patriotism".

Furthermore the ANC was best placed to lead the second phase of liberation — liberation from the legacy of apartheid, racism, inequality and fear.

The ANC had embarked on a creative search for viable solutions to South Africa's problems.

Mr Cronje said continuing propaganda had created a false impression of the ANC and he and his colleagues would work to counter this negative image.

He warned that merely "ganging up" on the ANC because it happened to have wide black support would have a negative and polarising effect on South Africa's future.

"The sooner we get an elected constituent assembly the better."

The political timbre of Mr Cronje's historic speech moved the next speaker, DP leader Dr Zac de Beer, to remark that while some might wish to take issue with the content, "I doubt there is any member who will not express appreciation for the tone in which he said it.

"I hope we can always debate on that level."

# FW expected to deal with transitional rule

(304A) A24 23/4/92

**TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff**

PRESIDENT De Klerk is expected to deal with the government's proposals for a transitional government and for a new constitutional system when he speaks in parliament today.

This will be on the second day of the debate on his budget vote.

The government promised last month that draft legislation on a transitional constitution would be unveiled towards the end of April.

According to top Nationalist sources, Mr De Klerk will also deal with problems and a threatened deadlock at Codesa about transitional arrangements.

While the National Party is proposing a number of transitional councils without executive powers the ANC favours a supervisory body over the present government and a transitional system.

Mr De Klerk is expected to again reject the ANC proposals. Government spokesmen maintain that this amounts to a new super-government undermining the sovereignty of the present government.

He is also said to be critical of the way in which the ANC has presented some of the proposals for preparations for an interim stage as, in fact, part of that stage.

A large number of issues were dealt with on the first day of the debate.

For the first time a member of the ANC addressed parliament yesterday.

He was Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, who joined the movement this week.

He said that it was with humility that he spoke in parliament as the first member of the ANC after that movement had struggled for this right for 80 years.

He had joined the ANC to promote non-racialism in practice. The movement was the only political organisation that succeeded in bringing together people from every national group.

Speaking immediately after Mr Cronje, Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that many people could take issue with what Mr Cronje had said but he doubted whether there was any member who would not express appreciation for the tone in which he had debated.

Mr Piet Coetzer, Nationalist MP for Springs, welcomed the presence of ANC supporters in parliament. Although the movement had not yet become a political party its actions could now be debated in parliament.

Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht maintained that there was no such thing as an undivided South Africa. It was only a fantasy of the ANC which wanted to dominate the whole of South Africa and a demand from the United States.

The idea of one central government for different nations was contrary to modern political development and with political self-determination.

The idea of a non-racial South Africa in Codesa's declaration of intent was ridiculous.

Not acknowledging nations or ethnic groups meant being blind to the realities of South Africa.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, called on Mr De Klerk to "take the plunge" to a centrist party.

If he did that he would find wide support among all sections of the population.

# Fruits of talks 'will be seen'

STAR 23/4/92

By Esther Waugh (306A)

Sufficient progress will be made in the next three weeks before Codesa 2 to take the negotiation process a step forward, Codesa management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

He said that in the run-up to Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16, the fruits of the debates and deliberations of the four months since Codesa 1 would become visible.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Gordhan acknowledged that there was a perception that the pace of the five Codesa working groups had not lived up to expectations.

"However, there is a high level of optimism that the fundamental issues under consideration in the various working groups will have been discussed and agreements of substance arrived at by Codesa 2," he said.

It was to be expected that the negotiation process would be "difficult and tentative", with 19 organisations with diverse political views trying to find common ground on national issues, he said.

"There is a keen realisation that the public needs an assurance from the Codesa participants that the negotiation process is working and is effectively taking the country a vital step forward towards a democratic South Africa," said Mr Gordhan.

All delegates were aware of the high level of expectations, particularly among the disenfranchised, and were therefore committed that Codesa 2 would arrive at agreements which would signal to South Africa and the international community that negotiations were a viable peaceful option to solving the country's problems.

A number of matters, such as the implementation of agreements, would have to be resolved after Codesa 2 and the required structures and processes could only then be determined, he said.

The defecting DP rebels presage a fundamental realignment, writes **Patrick Laurence**

# Many MPs due to switch sides

STAR 23/4/92. (304A)

THE defection of five Democratic Party MPs to the African National Congress comes as a welcome boost the ANC at a low point in its ppeal to the white community.

The secession of David Dalling, annie Momberg, Jan van Eck, ierre Cronje and Robert Haswell ill counter the negative impact reports alleging that Winnie landela was implicated in the eaths of Stompie Sepei and Abuaker Asvat.

The already minuscule appeal of ie ANC in the white communi- — only 3 percent of whites will ote for them, according to the uman Sciences Research Council - is likely to have diminished even rther after the reports.

Mrs Mandela's apparent bid to alvage her leadership role in the NC by adopting a defiantly mili- nt stand at a rally in Richmond, atal, where she launched a verbal sillade at President de Klerk and hief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will ot have commended itself to hites.

The advent of the five MPs in ie ANC ranks may have helped eassure whites that the ANC is a abilising force committed to upolding democratic values in a vol- tile society in transition from one rder to another.

But the impact is likely to be inimal for the foreseeable future. he five MPs appear to be way head of present white public opinion in their relatively wealthy constituencies.

Initially, at any rate, they are likely to be viewed by a majority of their white constituents as apostates rather than pathfinders.

DP leader Zach de Beer has described the decision of the five former DP men to quit as the end of a "long, sad saga" which started when they joined an ANC march last year.

It actually goes back further. Its origins lie in the implementation by President de Klerk of his bold reformist programme shortly after his inauguration in 1989.

As former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has noted, Mr de Klerk "invaded" the DP's constituency and "hijacked" its liberal policies when he released political prisoners, unbanned outlawed organisations, demolished apartheid's main legislative pillars and initiated negotiations for a political settlement with black leaders who were once branded as terrorists.

Viewing the secession of the five MPs through the prism of recent history, it is clear that Mr de Klerk's initiative precipitated a crisis in the DP: its supporters began to ask themselves why they should continue to support the DP when Mr de Klerk, with far greater resources and significant Afrikaner support, was implementing what it advocated.

It requires no great prescience to see that Mr de Klerk had either captured, or was about to capture, the lion's share of the 25 percent of the white electorate which had theoretically been within the DP's reach after its formation almost exactly three years ago.



With the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa . . . Van Eck, Haswell, Dalling, Cronje and Momberg.

With the advantage of hindsight it is apparent that the DP divided into three factions: those who favoured an alliance or merger with the ANC; those who wanted the party to retain its independence; and those who saw the DP as part of an emerging political realignment which would bring it and the National Party together into a broad centrist alliance reaching well beyond the white community.

South Africa has witnessed the breakaway of the pro-ANC bloc. It poses the question: what next?

The boundary line between the remaining two factions in the DP — those in favour of pursuing an independent line and seeking to be part of a centrist alliance — is not clear cut.

The first faction recognises that, sooner or later, the DP, as a small party, will be forced to merge with larger parties as the electorate expands to include all races.

It, too, for all its talk about retaining its independence for the foreseeable future, is essentially in favour of realignment. The difference between it and the NP-leaning MPs is that the "independents" have not ruled out the possibility of some sort of eventual alliance with the ANC.

Significantly, both ANC information chief Pallo Jordan and Dr de Beer have stressed confidence that the defection will not affect relations between the ANC and the DP unfavourably.

Much, however, will depend on what direction the ANC's economic policy takes at next month's conference.

What is concentrating the minds of the DP MPs is the pending all-race elections, whether for a constituent assembly as the ANC wants or for a transitional parliament as the NP hopes.

Unless the DP can align itself with a stronger force, it is likely to disappear without trace.

It does not have the resources or experience or, perhaps, even the will to campaign for support in the numerically dominant black community.

Even if, as seems likely, South Africa's first non-racial election is conducted under a system of proportional representation, the DP cannot be assured of returning any MPs to a future parliament.

If parties are required to win at least 5 percent of the total vote to qualify for representation, the DP, which only won 20 percent of the white vote in 1989, is unlikely to qualify.

Extension of the franchise from the white to the black communities could increase the electorate from just over 3 million to 20 million.

Assuming a 5 percent cut-off level, and assuming the DP will be able to match or even improve slightly on the roughly 430 000 votes it won in 1989, it will still fail by a significant margin to win the 1 million votes required to qualify for representation in the envisaged transitional parliament or the constituent assembly.

The ANC is understood to be considering a lower qualifying level of 3 or 2,5 percent. But it is doubtful whether the DP can fulfil even a 2,5 percent qualifying mark.

Viewed in that light, the decision of the five MPs to transfer their allegiance to the ANC is but the first shift in an inexorable process of realignment.

To the extent that it helps to ensure that political cleavages do not coincide with racial divisions, it is a welcome and healthy development. □

# Way out of deadlock on transitional govt proposed

STAR 23/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (3044)

**A way out of an impasse between the Government and ANC on the powers of a transitional executive structure will be discussed later this week by a specially appointed Codesa technical committee.**

The eight-man technical committee was appointed by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements after the various parties could not resolve the issue in several meetings of the working group.

This committee has, in turn, appointed a committee, comprising Arthur Chaskalson, Dawid van Wyk and Fanie van der Merwe, which has drafted a proposal to resolve the impasse.

The drafting committee has identified 14 areas on which disagreement still exists.

The proposal, which will be discussed by the technical committee this week, stated that it agreed on a temporary transitional executive structure which would implement policies and measures to improve the political climate for the holding of free and fair elections for a transitional government.

This structure included a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) which would be legally constituted after agreement by Codesa.

The TEC would have four sub-councils — defence and law and order; regional and local government; finance; and foreign affairs — with specific responsibilities regarding the functioning of particular State departments or important areas in the preparatory phase of the transition.

The sub-councils will report to the TEC and their decisions will be subject to confirmation by the TEC.

"The TEC will have Cabinet status and its decisions will be binding on and implemented by the government," the proposal by the drafting committee said.

In addition to the TEC and the sub-councils, an election commission and media commission will be established.

After discussion of the proposal by the technical committee, it will be discussed by the working group on Monday.

The draft document would then be discussed by the delegates with their leaders before it would be referred to the management committee for a final decision.

Several areas of disagreement, however, still exist.

One of dispute was whether decisions of the TEC and subcouncils should be taken on the basis of total consensus or substantial consensus.

The impasse originated after the Government proposed several Preparatory Councils with advisory powers while the ANC proposed an Interim Government Council with executive powers to rule in the run-up to elections for a transitional government.

# Old DP men now dancing to the ANC's tune

B/Day 23/4/92

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**PATRICK BULGER**

B/Day 23/4/92

IF COMRADES Dalling, Cronje, Haswell, Van Eck and Momberg have betrayed party political allegiances in their switch from the DP to the ANC, the organisation itself has all but betrayed its long-standing antipathy to the tricameral Parliament.

Officially, the five erstwhile DP MPs will sit as independents, theoretically entitled to take whatever line in debate they feel apt. In practice, however, the perception that they are speaking on behalf of the ANC will be impossible to throw off.

"We will be sitting as independents who support the ANC," says David Dalling. "We will be guided by the principles of the ANC and consult the ANC leadership at every opportunity before we express ourselves."

Their embrace of the extra-parliamentary organisation does not come as a surprise. David Dalling, MP for Sandton and, one presumes, for Alexandra township, has long been an ANC sympathiser, and is in fact married to an ANC member.

Of the other four, Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, have long been involved in attempts at local level to stop violence in their respective areas — Natal and the Cape Peninsula. This entrée to grassroots political and civic movements has, perhaps, given them a more realistic perspective of the political challenges facing SA. In the '80s, for example, when a state of emergency attempted to suppress publicising of reasons for consumer boycotts, Van Eck used parliamentary privilege to set out the reasons for boycott action taking place at the time.

With Jannie Momberg, Cronje and Van Eck are Afrikaners whose relationship with a DP steeped in an English-speaking liberal past has often been under strain. They have been in the forefront of Afrikaner contact with the ANC and were among the Dakar trekkers of 1987.

DP reaction to their leaving has been one of relief bordering on glee. The DP's strength resides not in the number of representatives warming the opposition benches but in the principles it espouses. However, the DP's loss may not necessarily be the ANC's gain.

While the ANC is concerned that its lack of appeal to the white community acts as a brake on its ability to act as a unifying force across racial barriers, the presence of a number of senior parliamentarians in its ranks can be no bad thing. That, however, does not resolve the conundrum of how an organisation opposed to the tricameral Parliament can now express its "delight" at its new members being part of an institution it has done much to discredit.

The problem may be smaller than at first appears. The ANC hopes its embarrassment will be shortlived. As soon as an interim government is elected, the tricameral Parliament will be history. The parliamentary experience of the comrade MPs will be welcomed by the ANC. The organisation has already given Parliament tacit recognition in agreeing that Codesa's proposals be legislated by it.

The ANC has appointed a committee to examine what role the MPs will play. This committee could decide that the MPs — as loyal ANC members subject to its discipline — resign their seats. This is unlikely.

Instead, the appointment of the committee provides the ANC with a breathing space and allows its embrace of Parliament to go almost unnoticed in coming months. It can continue to describe the tricameral Parliament as unrepresentative and discredited while at the same time enjoying a national and privileged platform for its views.

In the meantime, the DP has been freed of what some caucus members describe as a "debilitating influence". It will now be free to pursue with vigour its liberal agenda and to play the role of honest broker in negotiations, which it has done thus far.

The MPs, meanwhile, say they will continue to represent their constituents — those who voted for them and against them and those who did not have the opportunity to vote. Already there are rumbles of discontent in their constituencies.

Dalling says he has received about half a dozen phone calls from constituents backing his move. Four of these were blacks. A white phoned to say he opposed it.

Whatever the deeper motives for their move, Van Eck, Momberg and Dalling, having switched political allegiances before, are no strangers to political musical chairs. Only this time the tune is Nkosi Sikelel-'iAfrika.

## LETTERS

# State aid mooted for political parties

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Making state aid available for political parties to ensure their "effective functioning" would have to be considered, said a President's Council report tabled yesterday.

The report, drawn up by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, said state aid might be necessary because of "historical differences" and the "wide diversity in living standards, economic capabilities and educational levels among different population groups".

It noted that a number of countries gave direct state aid to political parties based on an amount determined either according to the number of votes drawn in the latest election or the number of seats won.

The report recommended that a formula be drawn up for funding political parties and the total amount be published in the Budget. Tax concessions on donations to political parties should also be considered.

While foreign funding was "undesirable", if allowed, it should be restricted and the amounts, sources and purpose of the donation declared.

The council wanted statutory control over funding, with all parties submitting audited financial statements annually to the electoral commission. The sources of donations above a specific amount would have to be declared and funds used for the purpose for which they were given.

Legislation should be introduced to ban the allocation of funds to political parties "used for undemocratic practices and destabilisation of the state".

The report recommended establishment of a permanent electoral commission made up of experts, jurists and representatives of political parties, and proposed that it be separated from the legislature so that government and party influence could be limited. It could be part of the judicial authority.

Control of elections, registration of political parties, and control and administration of election funds — including foreign funds — would fall within the commission's ambit.

The report advocated the drafting of a code of conduct, to be "honoured on the basis of the convictions and acceptance of the community".

It proposed that political parties on registration sign a code of conduct binding themselves to maintain and extend the democratic political process; honour a charter of fundamental human rights; show respect for the national symnbols of the state; acknowledge the necessity and role of all political parties in SA's political system; accept a ban on encouraging racial hatred and respect statutory regulations for political parties.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Govt 'backed' race

GOVERNMENT indirectly contributed to the sponsorship of the SA Grand Prix earlier this year when it gave companies sponsoring the event tax breaks, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar told Parliament yesterday.

As the audited statement of the event was still being processed, Parliament would have to wait until the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had completed his work to establish how much revenue was forgone.

### Concession 'misused'

THE concession granted to churches and welfare organisations to import second-hand clothing might be withdrawn because of large-scale misuse, Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said yesterday. The alleged misuse was connected with a concession to sell some of the clothing to cover import and distribution.

### UN rumour scotched

DEPUTY Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach yesterday denied CP leader Andries Treurnicht's allegation that the SADF had been instructed to start preparing for the arrival of a UN task force in August. Treurnicht had claimed that the task force would monitor the composition and institution of an interim government.

REPORTS: Political Staff and Sapa

# Zach looks to the future

BIDay 23/4/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The new SA would need the DP, its values and its principles because the ANC and NP could not be trusted with the country's future on their own, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told Parliament that the DP's origins could be traced to when freedom, dignity, equality and the law were under attack from government.

"With full respect to the NP and to the ANC, is there anything in the record of either which gives confidence that they will apply pragmatic, realistic social market policies ... that they will truly escape from the economic dirigisme which went hand in hand with Nat authoritarianism and with ANC socialism in the past?"

The DP had to look to a new phase of politics and consider how best it could serve the country. There were remnants of apartheid that had to be eliminated and a great deal of convergence was required, but building a new SA was the next stage.

"To strategise for a new phase, one needs to revisit one's principles and then decide how the future can best be shaped around them — freedom, human dignity, equality under the law," he said.

Despite the steps that had been taken to return to these values, one could not be confident that they would thrive in a new SA. Economic freedom had been sacrificed on the altar of apartheid. "Can we be sure it will be safe in the future, from being sacrificed in the name of a new kind of social engineering planned to produce instant redistribution."

There certainly was a need for the DP, a party which had an unbroken record of upholding equal rights.

De Beer said: "Of course the DP will be in some danger in a forthcoming election, in which the perception will arise of the elephants fighting and the grass being trampled.... If there were no DP in the new SA, it would be necessary for someone to reinvent it.

"So while there are a few of our people who seek their salvation in the big battalions, the vast majority of democrats believe that we have a duty to uphold our principles and values in the new SA."

While there may have been errors of judgment, "it shall never be said of us that we sacrificed principle for expediency, or truth for personal advantage".

# DP steps up bid to attract blacks

BIDay 23/4/92

TIM COHEN

THE decision this week by five DP MPs to join the ANC yesterday resulted in the announcement of an intensified drive to woo black supporters to the party and calls for the MPs to resign their seats.

Of the five affected constituencies, Simon's Town's DP committee is the only one to have formally called for the resignation of its MP.

The remaining will meet before next Tuesday to discuss the positions of their MPs.

DP party workers said they were flooded with calls from members insisting the MPs resign.

Chairman of the Maritzburg South DP branch Peter Barnard said he had been inundated with telephone calls from the branch demanding MP Rob Haswell's resignation.

The regional DP structure would meet on Monday with members of the Maritzburg South and Greytown (MP Pierre Cronje) branches to discuss the issue, he said.

The Claremont branch met last night and will make its decision on MP Jan van Eck known today while the Sandton branch will meet at the weekend to discuss MP Dave Dalling.

Chairman of the Sandton branch Peter Jardine said he personally would not encourage his branch to demand Dalling's resignation for a variety of reasons, but primarily because the political scenario had changed so dramatically. (304A)

The MPs concerned could not have joined the then banned ANC at the time of the last general election.

Although he was not happy about Dalling's defection, Jardine said he sympathised with Dalling's reasons. Not a single SA MP had resigned following a change of party affiliation, he pointed out.

However, the branch could well decide that it should call for Dalling's resignation and he would be happy to go along with the decision.

DP MP Ken Andrew conceded yesterday that the five MPs did raise objections to the DP aggressively canvassing outside its traditional support areas.

But their departure would not result in any changes to DP policy. The DP had decided at its congress last year to actively seek support among all race groups, and this would continue, he said.


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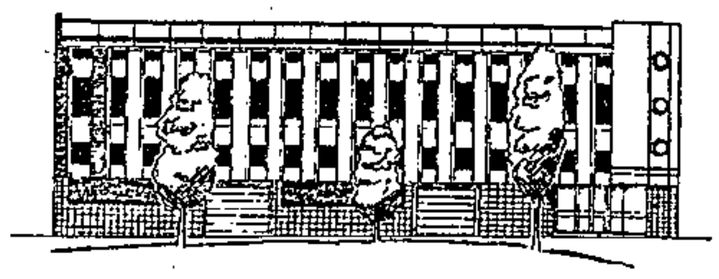

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# FW to unveil interim rule plan

Sowetan 23/4/92

THE State President, Mr FW de Klerk, is this week expected to present Parliament with an announcement or draft Bill setting out details of a proposed transitional constitution.

The proposal is likely to include details for ending the life of the tricameral Parliament system and the setting up of a two-chamber transitional legislature-cum-constituent assembly in its place.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, confirmed yesterday that an announcement would be made "within the next day or so" - a period dominated by the debate on the State President's vote.

Viljoen set the likely date and aim of such a Bill on March 23 when he said: "With a view to meaningful discussion, consideration and negotiation in Codesa, the Government will make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April."

"Good progress has been made and I suppose within the next day or so some announcements are likely to be forthcoming."

# It's viva! as ANC is heard in Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON (304A)
Political Correspondent

THE ANC was heard in Parliament yesterday for the first time in its 80-year history.

The "liberation movement's" entry onto the parliamentary stage was marked by both humour and seriousness of purpose.

The ANC MPs, who sat in the cross benches of Parliament as independents, were subjected to good-natured ribbing by MPs from other parties.

Simon's Town MP and former athletics administrator Mr Jannie Momberg, who gave a tentative black power salute when he entered the House of Assembly, was taunted by Nationalists who asked: "What does Zola say about your team?" ET 23/4/92

Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) sat close to Mr Koos Botha, the former CP MP who was also expelled from his party a few weeks ago for bucking the party line.

One of the leading members of the ANC bloc in Parliament, Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling, had to miss the excitement as he returned to his hospital bed after signing up with the ANC earlier this week.

The first ANC member to speak in Parliament yesterday was Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje, who strode to the podium in the Chamber of Parliament during the State President's budget vote amid shouts of "viva comrade!" from the Labour Party benches.

"It is with humility that I stand as the first member of the ANC to address the South African Parliament," he said.

He said the ANC was the only organisation which had succeeded in uniting South Africans of all races and had proved that the concept of a single nation in South Africa was indeed possible.

Speaking immediately afterwards, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said that while he might differ from the content of his former colleague's speech, he appreciated the tone in which it had been delivered.

However, Dr De Beer tried to make light of the loss of the five MPs which his party shed this week, describing the crisis as "this week's little fracas in our party".

● The CP and the DP will today hold crucial caucus meetings which MPs yesterday predicted could produce fireworks.

# ANC 'could gain 9m votes in open poll'

**Staff Reporter**

THE ANC could expect to gain nine million votes of a possible 18 million in the first non-racial election, Dr Peter Collins, senior lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at UCT, said last night.

Speaking at an Ottery meeting, Dr Collins said he estimated with an electorate of 18 million people, the ANC would gain seven million black votes with the balance coming from the other population groups.

He said an opposition coalition would capture four million black votes and three million coming from the other population groups.

Other black parties would gain one million votes. Parties from other race groups would also capture about one million votes.

While these figures assume a 100% turnout, which is unlikely, they may be a guide to proportional strengths, he said. CT 23/4/92 (3049)

# Barend 'won't retire'

3049 ET 23/4/92

Staff Reporter

**SPECULATION that Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis would be forced into early retirement through illness was rejected by a department spokesman yesterday.**

**Mr Du Plessis, 52, admitted to hospital 13 days ago, was recuperating at home yesterday after suffering extreme exhaustion which has been attributed to the demands of Codesa, the referendum and the budget.**

**The spokesman said there was no question of early retirement.**

**He said Mr Du Plessis' doctor had advised him to stay away from the office for "another week or two".**

**Mr Du Plessis was initially expected back at work on Tuesday, the spokesman said.**

**The minister was in daily telephone contact with the office, he added.**

**Dr Dawie de Villiers has been appointed acting finance minister in his absence.**

# The power behind the kitchen sink

Sowetan 23/4/92

**AS black and white wrestle for power in the new South Africa, half the population watches from behind the kitchen sink.**

Women, apart from Winnie Mandela and a few others, are South Africa's forgotten people.

The white minority government and black parties are thrashing out the framework of a new democracy which focuses on black rights after decades of denial under apartheid.

But women complain that their demands for equal rights are being overlooked by men of all colours and creeds.

"The debate on women has not yet begun," said Frene Ginwala of the ANC, announcing the creation of a Commission on Women's Emancipation.

"Women's subordination has been institutionalised in the law and in the customs and practices of all racial groups."

The litany of complaints includes unequal pay for equal work, sexual harassment and the absence of women in high places.

Women are basically equal to men under the law but are in practice paid and educated less, says lawyer Cathi Abertyn, an expert on sex discrimination at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University.

Women cannot open bank accounts or sign car purchase forms without their husbands' permission. Pensions for female civil servants are lower than for men and women state employees can lose housing subsidies when they marry.

Teachers and nurses are among the female professionals who are paid much less than men doing the same work.

"The notion of equality is new in South Africa," Albertyn said.

Subordinate status for women within marriage, the family and relationships spans the races from Afrikaners to Asians to Zulus.

Black women suffer the most, being discriminated against for both their gender and race.

Until only a few years ago black women were considered minors under African customary law and could not start a business or own land without their husbands' permission.

One women is raped every two minutes in South Africa and one in four beaten by her male partner.

## Rule

In politics, prominent women such as Winnie Mandela and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Suzman are the exceptions that prove the rule.

There is only one woman in the Cabinet - Health Minister Rina Venter - and just five women sit in Parliament. Most of the women at South Africa's democracy talks are secretaries.

The forum's management agreed that the absence of women at the negotiations was a problem and decided to set up an advisory committee on gender - but only after an embarrassing protest letter signed by 22 groups and individuals was published in a national newspaper.

Feminists say some of the worst sexists are in liberation groups such as the ANC, which has devoted energies to combating apartheid but has done little to promote women.

"We can't burn our bras because if we do we would be in deep trouble," said ANC member Barbara Masekela at the group's first congress inside South Africa, where calls for affirmative action abounded.

She said women were hemmed in by a society which expected them to be compliant and to give housework priority over political activism.

In an article called "The Lowdown on Lefty Lovers", the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan* took a dig at men whose democratic ideals are reserved for the picket lines and not the home.

"What does a girl do when a man can quote the Freedom Charter but can't pull on a condom? Or when he can't remember his child's birthday because he's too busy saving the nation?" the magazine grumbled.

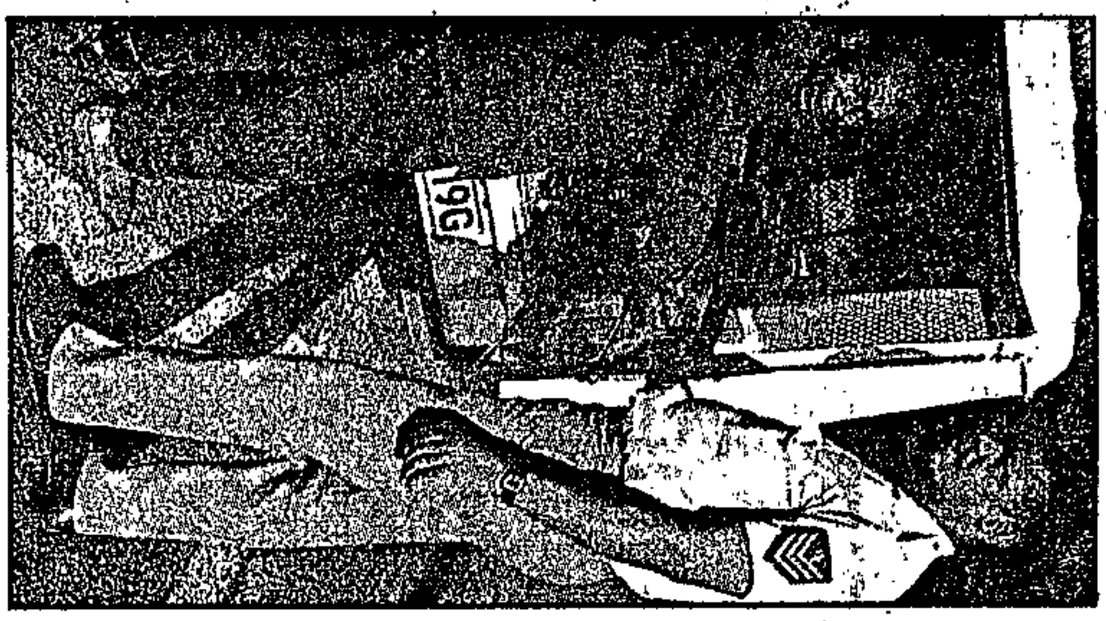
Several male leaders of the ANC, South Africa's biggest black group which hopes to form the first non-racial government, believe it is time to pay more attention to women's rights.

"We have to put our own house in order to have credibility," said Kadar Asmal, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. "The absence of women at decision-making levels has handicapped our struggle."

But, apparently oblivious to the irony, he then announced that the Commission on Women's Emancipation would be headed by a man. - *Sapa-Reuter*

# ANC's voice echoes in Parliament

## The face of defiance



Gabriel Mahakoe enters a police van as a prison warder stands by outside the Bloemfontein Supreme Court where he is facing four charges of murder. He has constantly refused to co-operate in his trial and has shouted at the judge and court officials since the case started on Tuesday. See story on page 2.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

**HISTORY was made yesterday when - for the first time ever - the ANC's voice echoed through the hallowed chambers of Parliament.**

Mr Pierre Cronje, the independent MP for Greytown who joined the ANC together with four other former members of the Democratic Party, delivered the organisation's first in Parliament during the State President's Budget debate.

Cronje walked up to the podium and said it was an honour for him to speak in Parliament as an ANC member.

To page 4

## ANC in Parliament

From page 1

ber.

"It is with humility that I stand here as the first member of the ANC to speak in the Parliament of South Africa.

"That right, no more and no less, is what the ANC has struggled for for 80 years.

"What a tragic waste of human energy and talent to have lost the contributions of leaders of that great organisation," he said.

The task of being the first ANC member to speak in Parliament should have fallen to John Dube, Pixley ka Seme, Albert Luthuli, Oliver Thambo or Nelson Mandela, Cronje said.

He repeated the statement the five DP MPs made on Tuesday after they formally joined the ANC.

He said the ANC was the only political organisation that had succeeded in bringing together people from every national group and from all corners of the country.

To be part of a non-racial and non-ethnic organisation was a "liberating experience", Cronje said.

Cronje said he wanted to work towards the liberation" of all South Africans.



# TBVC homelands: All could decide

Sowetan 23/4/92

304A

**WHITE South Africans and their black countrymen may have to join hands in a referendum to decide whether the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa.**

This was said by a senior Government official during a Press briefing on developments at the Codesa Working Group 4, charged with investigating the future of Transkei, Bophutha-tswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The date for such a referendum will be set in due course. The official, who declined to be identified, said the Government was right in insisting that the people of the TBVC states should show by way of a referendum that they wanted to be South African citizens again.

**By IKE MOTSAPI**

The Government was acting according to the rules and terms of reference agreed upon and adopted during Codesa 1 by all the 19 delegates.

He said the referendum would, however, involve "all people of South Africa irrespective of their race, colour or creed" who have to indicate whether they wanted these homelands to be reincorporated to South Africa.

"Every South African will now have to use his or her right to vote this time. It is true that whites and some blacks were not involved when homelands were created."

"Those were the days of apartheid. We are now work-

# The truth in surveys

Sowetan 23/4/92 (304A)

By MOKGADI PELA

HOW true are the results of surveys which the community have to live with?

The director of the Centre for Labour and Community Research, Mr Oupa Ngwenya, said most surveys were commissioned by groups with a vested interest.

British politician Benjamin Disraeli agreed and said there were three types of untruths: lies, damned lies and statistics.

"You do not have to be an academic to know that statistics can be made to lie," said Ngwenya.

"Statistics can be distorted to suit an end. Put differently, it can be said that very often the piper calls the tune in surveys."

Markinor deputy managing director Ms Christine Woessner said their surveys enjoyed the confidence of the community.

"In our socio-political surveys the interviewer has no influence on the interviewee. We take strong exception to allegations that our surveys are not objective," she added.

Asked about the procedure of selecting respondents and the validity of the results, Woessner said they used a random selection.

"This means neither the interviewer nor the respondent decides who will be interviewed, but statistical probability. This is crucial because interviewer bias cannot creep in," Woessner said.

Ngwenya said the credibility of most surveys on black politics was suspect.

"They are being conducted by white institutes which have a vested interest in the status quo. They will naturally promote those people who least threaten the establishment.

"So it is that you stay in Soweto and you have never heard any group of people saying they support FW De Klerk. The next thing you come across a survey claiming that 40 percent of Sowetans prefer De Klerk to any black leader."

He said opinion polls can give an indication of trends but they can never be a substitute for a true test of opinion.

# FW to give details of new govt plan today

CT 23/4/92 (3049)

Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is today expected to put flesh on the bones of the government's long-awaited proposals for a transitional constitution.**

**The plan is expected to include details of how the government plans to dismantle the tricameral Parliament and set up an elected, two-chamber legislature.**

**Mr De Klerk did not speak on the opening day of the debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, but Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Mr De Klerk would unveil the proposed transitional constitution "within the next day or so".**

**The government hopes its proposals will be taken up by Codesa.**

**Both Dr Viljoen and the government's official spokesman on Codesa were yesterday at pains to dispel suggestions that the current negotiations are facing deadlock.**

**Dr Viljoen said that while agreement had not yet been reached by Codesa on the status of traditional leaders, King Goodwill Zwelethini of the the Zulus held "a special and exceptional position even above other traditional leaders".**

# Taxpayers may have to fund parties

STAR 23/4/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Taxpayers could be forced to pay for the election campaigns of political parties because politicians might not raise sufficient funds themselves.

This is one of the recommendations in the report of the President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs on political parties which was released yesterday.

It also suggested that an electoral commission to ensure free, regular and democratic elections be set up, and that political parties sign a code of conduct that sought to stop any party from advocating racism or violence between groups or individuals.

At a press briefing on the report, committee chairman Johan Heyns said that the ban on racism would mean that the Conservative Party would not be able to register as a political party unless it opened its ranks to all race groups.

The most contentious issue for already hard-pressed taxpayers was that they be compelled to pay for the election campaigns of their political masters. The report said that recruitment and membership fees were still essential for parties, but "financial contributions by members are gradually forming a smaller percentage of party income".

Elections could not be successful unless political parties had the financial ability to reach and influence voters. Funds were required for the establishment and maintenace of a democratic party system.

"The importance of a first election to lay the foundation for a multi-party democracy cannot be sufficienty emphasised."

## Mobilise

The committee said it was important to try to level the political playing field. All political parties should have an equal opportunity to influence voters and mobilise support, so State help should be given to parties who did not receive foreign aid.

Strict statutory requirements for audited reports of expenditure would apply.

In the first election, the State should pay for the dissemination of political information on the role, rights and duties of voters, the report said.

"It is recommended that annual financial aid in accordance with an agreed formula be considered for registered political parties."

Funding would be made on the basis of votes cast for a party.

Aid to parties should be disclosed in the annual Budget.

Tax concessions on donations to political parties could be considered.

If foreign funding of parties was to be allowed, the source, amount and purpose would have to be disclosed.

The committee said a permanent, statutory electoral commission should be established, comprising experts, jurists and representatives of all political parties. It would monitor and be in overall control of elections to ensure they were fair and democratic. It should be separated from the legislative authority so that government and party influence could be limited as far as possible.

The commission could be be part of a constitutional court.

It would be responsible for registering political parties, and arbitrate in disputes between political parties.

The commission would monitor party funding, including foreign funding, to ensure the money was spent in accordance with statutory prescriptions.

The commission would function in terms of a Party Act and an Electoral Act.

# Crunch time for homelands

304A STAR 23/4/92

By Esther Waugh

Codesa delegates will on Monday try to resolve a deadlock on the future of the homelands after consulting with their leaders on whether the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation should be tested.

Should Monday's crucial attempt fail, the matter will be referred to the Codesa management committee, and if all attempts to break the deadlock falter, the future of the homelands will appear as an unresolved issue on the agenda of Codesa 2, a Government source said yesterday.

The main dispute in the working group dealing with the future of the homelands is whether a national refereundum should be held to, firstly, test the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation and, secondly, to determine whether South African citizens favoured reincorporation.

Three of the four homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — told Codesa on Tuesday that they were in favour of reincorporation but did not consider a referendum necessary.

The Government said the will of these citizens should first be democratically tested.

The ANC has rejected the Government's proposal: "The SA Government is asking Codesa to put the stand of legitimacy on a system that stands condemned by the entire international community."

The ANC proposed that Codesa 2 agreements should provide for the immediate restoration of South African citizenship to all homeland citizens.

The ANC identified the following steps as being part of the process of reincorporation:

- The immediate restoration of citizenship to homeland citizens.
- The participation of the homelands in transitional arrangements.
- Identifying the stage at which legal reincorporation should take place.

# DP rebels 'no longer members'

STAR 23/4/97

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party leadership announced yesterday that the five MPs who joined the ANC had automatically ceased to be members of the DP.

Dave Gant, chairman of the DP national council, said in a statement that the DP constitution made it clear that a person ceased to be a member of the DP when he or she joined another political organisation without the consent of the national council.

Since they had not obtained the consent of the national council, the five had therefore ceased to be members of the DP at 2.30 pm on Tuesday (when they said they were joining the ANC).

"Any contentions by the Members of Parliament concerned that they are entitled to retain their seats on the basis of their continued membership of the Democratic Party are therefore invalid."

Mr Gant's statement was clearly a response to moves by the five MPs to force the DP leadership to expel them.

The intention was to argue that they were entitled to retain their seats as they had not voluntarily left the DP.

● Many MPs wish to switch sides — Page 18

# Govt proposals likely today

B/Day 23/4/92 304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is today expected to put flesh on the bones of government's long-awaited proposals for a transitional constitution.

The plan is expected to include details of how government plans to dismantle the tricameral Parliament and set up an elected, two-chamber transitional legislature.

De Klerk did not speak on the opening day of the debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, but Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told a media briefing De Klerk would unveil the proposed transitional constitution "within the next day or so".

Government has indicated in the past it will make its plans for an interim government available in the form of draft legislation before the end of this month.

Asked about the status of government's proposals, Viljoen said yesterday: "Good progress has been made and I suppose within the next day or so some announcements are likely to be forthcoming."

Viljoen and government's official spokesman on Codesa were yesterday at pains to dispel suggestions that the negotiation process was facing deadlock.

The Ministers acknowledged that a number of sticking points remained on key issues, but noted that the rate of progress had slowed because Codesa's focus had shifted from procedural issues to matters of content and policy which were more difficult and time-consuming to resolve.

Delport said: "Progress will not be on a level line — there are bound to be hiccups and difficulties."

Viljoen emphasised that the Codesa II plenary session would serve as a platform for the working groups to present "interesting and meaningful" progress reports rather than final reports.

He said the 80-strong working groups were cumbersome and because Codesa was operating on the basis of consensus it often took a long time to thrash out agreements. However, government and other parties were striving to implement a transitional government "as soon as possible".

Viljoen said that while agreement had not yet been reached by Codesa on the status of traditional leaders, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini held a special position above other traditional leaders.

He suggested that it was traditional leaders "in the more general sense" that were making it difficult for a solution to be found to the tricky issue. He was optimistic that a solution would be found by next week, noting that significant progress had already been made on the issue.

# FW axes all secret projects

304A ARG 24/4/92

304A ARG 24/4/92

Political Staff

ALL special secret projects in the National Intelligence Service, the SA Police and the SA Defence Force had been ended, President de Klerk has announced.

A special Cabinet committee of four ministers under Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was now exercising control over secret funding, he told parliament yesterday during debate on his budget vote.

And revised legislation on secret funding was to be tabled in parliament soon.

He said the three security departments were now confining themselves to secret projects only within the limits of the line-function tasks entrusted to them by law.

Mr De Klerk pointedly did not refer to special secret projects in other departments and one MP called out "What about Foreign Affairs?" after his announcement.

Explaining the difference between the two kinds of secret projects, official sources said a line-function secret project could, for example, be police surveillance of revolutionaries. While a special secret project was something outside the department's normal jurisdiction such as the funding of political parties.

## Committee's task over

Mr De Klerk said the scaling down of secretly-funded projects had been confirmed by the special private-sector committee under Professor Ellison Kahn whi h he had appointed last year to investigate specia secret projects.

This comm tee had now completed its task and reported to him. It had found that the departments involved had ended or scaled down not only special secret projects but also some ordinary covert projects.

The committee had also found that the continuing secret projects complied with the guielines he had laid down. These stated that secret projects could not favour any political party, had to be in the broad national interest and had to play a positive part in promoting peace and combatting intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee had reported that all its recommendations for the ending of projects had been accepted.

It had also confirmed that departments which normally conducted covert actions should be allowed to continue to do so.

## Undertakings honoured

Mr De Klerk said the special Cabinet committee was now exercising control "over the content of every special secret project and overall control over covert expenditure in general".

He said the government was committed to keeping the political playing field level but that no individual party or group which engaged in political violence was exempt from the attentions of the NIS, the SAP and the SADF.

The government had now honoured his undertakings last year. These were:

- To limit secret projects to the minimum.
- To subject necessary projects to stringent financial control and firm Cabinet management.
- Not to allow secret funds to favour any political party.
- To revise secret funding legislation.

● More parliament reports, page 9.

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# FW shares job

# Chance for a black president?

(304A) CT 24/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday proposed that his job should be taken over in the next few months by a directly-elected multi-party executive council.**

The initiative could see South Africa's first black State President installed, albeit on a rotating basis, in less than six months.

Mr De Klerk told Parliament that the direct election of the three- to five-member executive in a non-racial poll could be done well in advance of the election of South Africa's first all-race Parliament.

"This proposal makes it possible to find a way to quickly, expeditiously and effectively let the people of South Africa decide who are the core of leaders that they want in this transitional phase to stand at the lead of the process of further change," he said.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night that the proposals amounted to "an acceptable short cut" to place the top levers of executive power in the hands of South Africa's most popular leaders "fairly swiftly".

If Codesa okayed the proposals, elections for the excutive council "could be done in about two to three months from the time that agreement is reached", he said.

Dr Van der Merwe said the plans could speed up the inclusion of black leaders in the very top echelons of government.

He said the proposal was designed to meet the ANC half-way on its demands for a share of executive power at an early stage of the transition from minority rule to a democratic order.

No immediate ANC reaction was forthcoming last night but reaction from parliamentary parties ranged from cautious to openly hostile.

The Democratic Party's constitutional expert, Mr Colin Eglin, said the latest plan was "interesting, novel but probably unacceptable" because it implied that a leader who won the vast majority of the popular support might end up with only one of the five positions on the executive.

Conservative Party front-bencher Mr Tom Langley accused the government of "shadow boxing" while surrendering power to the ANC. He said it would be impossible to rebuild South Africa on squandered white freedoms.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Desmond Lockey said the government proposals showed it did not believe that blacks were capable of governing themselves. "Nowhere in the world has a forced coalition worked."

## Nats won't fight for more seats

Report — PAGE 5

Announcing the new initiative which could act as a spur to negotiations, Mr De Klerk told Parliament during the debate on his budget vote that the proposed executive council would replace the functions of the head of state and the head of government.

He said: "We are now proposing that the executive council of the interim government should be elected directly by all South African citizens who will be entitled to vote on the basis of a new, negotiated electoral act."

Every party would be able to nominate one candidate and the three to five candidates with the highest number of votes would be elected on to the council.

## SA is bowled over and out!



crack of dawn

THERE IT GOES . . . Captain Kepler Wessels pulls West Indian bowler Phil Simmonds at the promising start of his second innings, but the tide soon turned and South Africa was all out for 148 — 52 short of the Windies total. Wessels admitted that he "thought we were going to win". Picture: AP



"Pity Dad nipped out to the loo. He missed the entire SA innings."

# Kepler praises Windies

**BRIDGETOWN. — South African cricket captain Kepler Wessels refused to blame the pitch — but praised the West Indian fast bowlers — after the team's sensational 52-run test defeat yesterday.**

**Having watched his side crumble to 148 all out in pursuit of a victory target of 201, Wessels, who contributed half South Africa's second innings runs, said: "I definitely thought we were going to win, but they didn't give up.**

**"I knew today would be difficult. When they get a whiff they bowl superbly — they gave us hardly any bad balls to hit."**

**He described his innings of 74 as one of the most difficult he had ever played.**

**"We didn't bowl as well as we could have," admitted Wessels, recalling the crucial West Indian last-wicket stand of 62 between Jimmy Adams and Patrick Patterson.**

**"You can't bowl one good ball and then four bad ones."**

**Senior batsman Peter Kirsten, who made 52, agreed that South Africa's bowling had been over-generous at times. "Perhaps we gave them 40 runs too many," he said.**

**West Indies captain Richie Richardson said victory was the perfect answer to the criticism they endured since the recent World Cup.**

**"Many didn't come out to support us so I'm extremely happy," he said.**

● SA blitzed out — Back Page

# DP backs calls for rebel five to quit

(304A) ARGUS 24/4/92

**Political Correspondent**

THE National Executive of the Democratic Party has thrown its weight behind demands for the five MPs who have defected to the ANC to resign their seats.

In a statement, executive chairman Mr David Gant said it was noted that the MPs had "joined a political organisation whose stated policies and views are different to and in certain cases directly in conflict with those contained in the DP manifesto on which the MPs were elected to parliament".

"In the circumstances, the executive believes that the MPs should resign their seats ..."

As the dispute simmered over whether the MPs were expelled or effectively resigned by joining another party, the second of the five to speak in parliament since the defection, Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, said he and his colleagues "will not succumb to the politics of mud-slinging".

"Our battle will not be with you," he told "friends and former colleagues" in the DP.

"We will continue to see you as potential allies of the broad democratic movement. If our absence will enable the DP to operate more efficiently and cohesively then our parting of the ways may indeed have been a positive development.

"And although our ways have separated, we hope that the different roads we will follow from now on will, at the end, still bring us to the same political destination."

The DP has in the meantime elected Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, as the new Chief Whip to replace defector Mr David Dalling.

# Time for petty politics over — F W

304A ANC 24/4/92

**TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Staff**

PRESIDENT De Klerk has urged political groups in the country to regard the referendum result as a new point of departure to develop the country's full potential.

Speaking in the debate on his budget vote in parliament, he also announced a major adaptation to the government's transitional proposals involving a directly elected executive council with a revolving presidency.

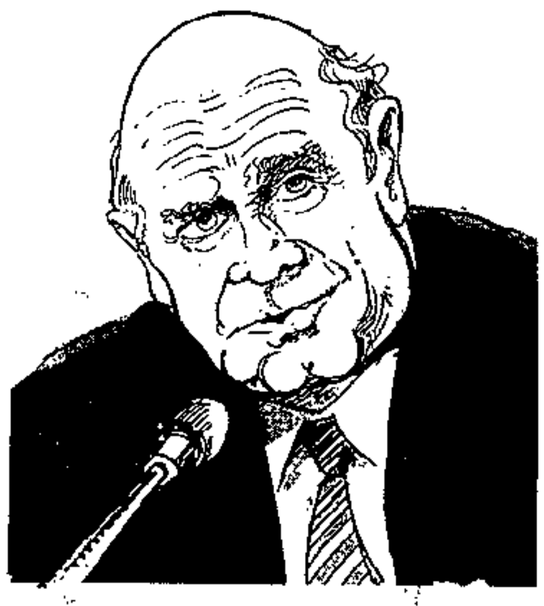
The debate was no longer on the question of whether a new and just order should replace the old, nor whether it should include all South Africans, he said. The focus was now on what the new dispensation should look like.

The rest of Africa wanted South Africa to develop to its full potential so it could play its important regional role; and the international world wanted to play a constructive role.

The time for petty politics was over, he said.

He dealt again with the government and National Party proposals for different phases on the way to a new constitutional system.

There should first be a preparatory phase to transitional government followed by the introduction of a transitional constitution through which an executive authority and parliament could be elected.



The preparatory stage did not entail a transitional government. Two central governments could not exist side by side. Only in the second phase would there be a transitional government.

The main points of view of the government on a new system were well known but would soon be submitted in greater details, he said. Draft legislation embodying these details were expected soon.

In the meantime Mr De Klerk announced what he described as a significant new element in the government's proposals — an executive council.

It would replace the present State President and carry out the functions of the head of state and of government.

The chairmanship of this executive council would rotate every six months in the transitional government.

The government was now proposing that this executive of the transitional government should be elected directly by all South African citizens.

The three to five candidates who received the highest number of votes would be members of the council.

He maintained that the most important advantages of the direct election of an executive council would be that democracy would be maintained and expanded; leaders with proven support would be identified and be directly responsible to those who elected them; and the separation of the legislative and executive authorities would be strengthened.

A phased approach in which the executive authority could be reconstituted reasonably rapidly at an early stage and apart from parliament would become possible, he said.

# Parliament 'another site of struggle'

ARG 2/4/92

30/4/92

**Political Correspondent**

PARLIAMENT was "merely another site of struggle" and the ANC's participation in it was not intended to strengthen or extend the life of "this illegitimate structure", Mr Jan van Eck said during debate.

Moving to clarify the ANC's role in parliament, Mr Van Eck, the second ANC MP to speak in debate, said he and his fellow defectors from the Democratic Party "are deeply aware of the great responsibility that rests on our shoulders as members of the ANC to ensure that the way in which we use parliament will in no way strengthen or extend the life of this illegitimate structure".

"On the contrary, our participation here must be seen as a declaration of intent to bring this body to an end as soon as possible and to replace it with a truly non-racial democratic parliament where the true representatives of the majority of our people will take their legitimate place.

"But although we are members of the ANC, we will not be and cannot be formal representatives or spokespersons of the ANC."

In a strong attack on the National Party, Mr Van Eck said the ruling party "cannot be trusted with the future and can never be allowed or trusted to lead the process of democratising our apartheid-ridden society".

# Cohen: FW is over-confident

T 24/4/92

HARARE. — President F W de Klerk was over-confident following his success in the referendum, according to United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

Ziana news agency reported Mr Cohen saying this yesterday when he briefed President Robert Mugabe on his (Mr Cohen's) visit to South Africa earlier this week. — Sapa

(304A)

# Document on Codesa jam

JOHANNESBURG. — A document proposing the creation of a transitional authority with effective executive power has been drawn up by a Codesa technical committee.

The committee was appointed by working group III dealing with interim arrangements to try to resolve the deadlock at the Convention on the nature of a transitional authority. In turn a three-man delegation was created to draft a proposal to resolve the impasse. — Sapa

ST 24/4/92




**WELCOME** . . . Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC's Western Cape chairman, yesterday welcomed two of the five rebel Democratic Party MPs into the regional organisation. With him is Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont) on his right and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) on his left. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

30417 CT 24/4/92

# DP rebels met 'much abuse', says Momberg

**FORMER Democratic Party caucus members who joined the ANC this week had since experienced much abuse from the world of white politics, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg said yesterday.**

**Mr Momberg told a Cape Town news conference they had found it "a very cold world out there in white politics" where they had met with much abuse since joining the ANC.**

**Mr Momberg and Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck were formally welcomed to the Western Cape ANC region on Thursday by its chairman, Dr Allan Boesak.**

**The MPs are two of a group of five DP MPs who joined the ANC on Tuesday.**

**Dr Boesak confirmed the views expressed by the DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, that his intention to expel the MPs would not harm the good relations between the DP and the ANC.**

**"I see no reason why the DP should not have good relations with the ANC. The ANC will not go out of its way to make things difficult for the DP."**

**Mr Van Eck said a public meeting would be held soon to explain their move to all their constituents.**

**Mr Momberg said he would call an additional meeting.**

**Meanwhile, the DP's national executive has endorsed the decision by Dr De Beer to suspend the five rebels and called on them to resign their seats.**

**The chairman, Mr David Gant, said after a meeting yesterday the executive had confirmed that the five had "of their own volition" terminated their membership of the DP because they had not received permission from the executive to hold dual membership before they joined the ANC.**

**As a result the executive believed they should resign. — Political Staff, Sapa**

## Rebels given time to move

**Political Staff**

THE five rebel MPs who joined the ANC this week will now not have to leave their parliamentary offices immediately.

The five are to get new offices in Marks building, but these will not be ready until next week.

The Democratic Party initially insisted that they immediately quit their offices.

If the DP had insisted on this, the five would have had to occupied temporary offices for a week before moving into their new offices.

# Nats won't fight for more seats

304A
CT 24/4/92

THE National Party will not take part in by-elections in the House of Assembly where seats had been won by opposition parties in the general election, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said party political rivalry within the current parliamentary dispensation was becoming less relevant by the day.

"This fact led to a decision by the National Party to refrain, as a general rule, from taking part in House of Assembly by-elections in which the seat had been won in the general election by members of the opposition. Naturally, we reserve the right to revise this decision in the light of new circumstances."

The situation in the House of Assembly, particularly after the referendum, had become so stabilised that participation in by-elections had become "cumbersome and unnecessary".

The situation in the House of Representatives, where there had been a change in administration and the NP still had to prove itself at the polls, was different.

New players coming to the fore were not waiting for a new dispensation — they were part of Parliament already.

"Through pro-ANC elements in the Labour Party and the five former honourable members of the Democratic Party who have joined the ANC, the scene has already begun to change."

Mr De Klerk said there were rumours of the ANC making offers to members of smaller parties.

● Mr De Klerk said the Conservative Party should meet the government in Groote Schuur-style talks on how to get that party back into the mainstream of South African politics.

He said there were indications that the CP was reconsidering its policies, and he welcomed these first signs, the "tapping on the shell" of new thinking.

● Mr De Klerk said demands for international involvement in maintaining South Africa's internal security were uncalled-for. He said that "insinuations" by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that a United Nations task force would come to South Africa later this year, and that the government or SADF would co-operate with it, were too far-fetched to react to.

He also said he was not prepared to restrict the security forces in their responsibility to ensure internal stability and law and order.

"South Africa is a sovereign state and it is the government's responsibility to ensure the safety of the state. Demands for international involvement in the maintenance of internal security are uncalled-for and are rejected by the government." — Sapa

# FW proposes 1 man, 1 vote to elect presidency

STAR 24/4/92

304A

**By Peter Fabricius**
**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — In an important move to try to break the deadlock in negotiations, President de Klerk has proposed that the whole South African population should directly elect a joint interim presidency.

Individual leaders would stand for election for this supreme executive body — although not more than one per party — and the three to five who won the most votes would serve on it.

The executive council — as it would be called — would reach decisions by consensus and the chairman — known as the president — would rotate every six months.

The executive council would become the head of state and government and would appoint a new Cabinet.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament during his budget speech yesterday that the elections for the executive council could take place much sooner than the more elaborate general elections for an interim legislature-cum-constituent assembly.

This meant a transitional government could be in place while the difficult issues concerning the structure of a transitional legislature were still being negotiated.

Government sources said Mr de Klerk's proposal could contain the seed of a resolution to the impasse at Codesa over the powers of the transitional executive during the first phase of transition.

The Government wants Codesa-appointed "preparatory councils" — with purely advisory powers — to prepare the country for the elections for an interim legislature.

The ANC and most other parties at Codesa want a Codesa-appointed interim executive with real power to prepare for and supervise these elections.

Mr de Klerk's proposals yesterday could offer a compromise because the fully representative executive council would be in charge at the time of elections for an interim legislature.

ANC sources reacted guardedly to the proposal last night, but said it was "interesting".

Political observers also noted that direct elections of individuals to an executive presidency would favour Mr de Klerk himself — whose personal popularity far outstrips that of the NP.

In a wide-ranging speech, Mr de Klerk also touched on other important matters:

● He announced that the National Party would for the time being not fight by-elections in the House of Assembly in seats held by opposition parties.

Mr de Klerk said that since the parties in Parliament would probably never fight each other again in a general election, the party-political rivalry in Parliament was becoming less relevant by the day.

This means that the NP will not fight the imminent by-election in Welkom, a seat held by the Conservative Party.

● He announced that the National Party had no intention of dissolving to form a new centrist party.

Mr de Klerk said the NP was the parliamentary party "with quite the strongest claim to being a national movement, with, in addition, a dynamic growth potential among all South Africans".

Mr de Klerk invited other parties to join the NP — or, if they wished to retain their identity, to enter alliances with it.

NP discussions in this regard, especially with extra-parliamentary parties, were developing well already, he added.

● Taunting Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer for insisting that the DP remaining independent, Mr de Klerk said there was no room for a "Sir Galahad" in SA politics, implicitly extending an invitation to the DP to join the NP.

● He called upon the Conservative Party to join the NP in a Groote Schuur conference to negotiate ways of bringing itself back into the political mainstream.



DP defectors ... Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jannie Momberg with ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaposa
Photo:KAY LEE

# There's no room for rancour in driftsands of the DP

wimail 24/4-29/4/92

30/4A

**ANTHONY HEARD**, *who broke the news of the Progressive split to the United Party leadership in 1959, suggests to the Democratic Party: this is no time for bitterness.*

POLITICAL parties mutate and fracture. That's how it goes. Individual politicians can turn unexpected hues. There was Britain's Winston Churchill and Ramsay MacDonald, our own Marais Steyn, Japie Basson and Dennis Worrall — even Harry Schwarz now serving ambassadorially masters he would not join politically.

Clive van Ryneveld has the record for hesitation at the crease; in 1959, after several attempted runs, he joined the Progs.

In the heat of change, some politicians brazen it out doggedly. Others pack it in. A few fight by-elections, and tend to lose as independents. Some boldly take the wave of history at the curl, surf on and get "locked in" to new times.

When the Progressives, prominent among them Colin Eglin and Zach de Beer, left the United Party in 1959, I (political reporter at the *Cape Times*) broke the news to UP leader Sir De Villiers Graaff in a late-night phone call. "Why do these chaps insist on making statements after dinner?" he intoned mournfully.

Later he called publicly for no "rancour or bitterness". That's a good guideline for now.

When it comes to party splits and mixed fortunes, Eglin and De Beer have seen it all. They have aligned with very alive UP reformists, with a stone-dead New Republic Party, with earnest ex-Nationalists and nifty Worrallites. They have seen light-hearted election campaigns, with balloons on Sea Point promenade, and super-charged ones which fizzled. They have seen setback and success (1987: disaster; 1989: recovery). They have emerged in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa with aplomb and respect.

They have been in and out of parliament and around the party leadership for a generation. They will surely respond to the changed situation with characteristic maturity and flexibility.

Early judgments about defections can be dead wrong. A seasoned Nasionale Pers commentator, since transported to PR, had this to say about the Progs as we walked together to the first Prog meeting in Cape Town: "*Doodgebore!*" Those were the days of revealed Verwoerdian certitude. Progs were dangerous upstarts.

Seeming to confirm this dismissive remark, all but one of the Prog MPs were slayed in the snap election of 1961, a lone and principled Helen Suzman clinging on by her eyebrows and her wits.

Those hard days seem ages ago. It took so long before nearly 70 percent of the white electorate finally vindicated the Prog stand of 1959. How many whites will one day back the African National Congress?

The important thing in the driftsands of politics is to tie sturdy principle in with good timing. The five Democratic Party men — Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South), Jan van Eck (Clairmont) and Dave Dalling (Sandton) — who have joined the ANC might have done the right thing at the right moment. Time will tell. Three years ago they could have been locked up for their trouble.

In these changing times no political party has a monopoly on morality or rectitude. Some, like the DP, have a better record than others in human rights. Look at the dastardly record of the National Party — death squads, destabilisation, secret funding of newspapers and parties, detentions, apartheid.

The ANC has had no chance to govern, to prove critics right or wrong. But it has stood consistently for non-racial universal suffrage — not a bad starting point in a shared land, and which the Progs, unlike the old Liberal Party, baulked at for years.

The ANC, moreover, has shown sensitivity to the pitfalls of nationalisation, and the need for uncensored public debate.

The new ANC members in parliament will have a lot to offer, in terms of their knowledge of procedure and their known respect for civil liberties. The ANC will have much to share with them, too. It will be a mutual learning curve the likes of which have never been seen before.

With an all-race election in prospect, there will be many political switches, surprises — many "alarums and excursions".

Some DP's feel a powerful urge to merge with the Nats. Maybe some have even discussed it with top Nats.

On television, De Beer described the DP as the most liberal party in South Africa. Arguably that is so, but he will surely concede that there are people within the ANC, and at least some in the NP, who are — or have become — as attached to fundamental freedom as most of his party.

Some of his own stalwarts, such as Worrall, were pretty unfazed about PW Botha's Draconian state of emergency when in office; and Wynand Malan was both a stalwart and a Broederbonder. With baggage like that, it's wise not to throw too many stones at others on human rights.

There is an assumption in the West that "other" cultures have no respect for freedom. For "other" read black. This is dangerously fallacious.

White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, notably the English-speaking variety, might have the veneer of civilisation, the "right" gentlemen's clubs and attitudes. But they can, with little conscience, close a great liberal paper like the *Rand Daily Mail*, fire a prescient editor like Laurence Gandar, and put up with migratory labour, single hostels and low wages for far too long — and operate less-informative public relations.

A bit of humility goes well with a real respect for human rights and individual worth. Freedom is not an exclusive possession.

When the Progs broke, there was plenty of rancour and bitterness, with angry demands to resign seats. They did not, of course. The DP should capture the spirit of transitory times and not be too shirty with those who feel their future is with the ANC.

The ANC, a former guerrilla movement, has held out its hand to mainstream whites — members of the South African parliament — risking severe criticism for having links with a fatally-flawed tricameral order. The move is historic; the generosity manifest.

It can only be hoped that the DP gives due weight to this, and discourages personal attacks, snide remarks and constituency breast-beating.

The DP has every right to play a continuing independent role, in or out of parliament.

Or it could itself in time consider an alignment with the ANC. If that were to mean losing those who seek their future security with the Nationalists, so be it.

●Anthony Heard is the former editor of *The Cape Times*.

# ANC takes 'shopping list' to Codesa II

(304A) (RD) May 24/4-29/4/92

By PAUL STOBER

DELEGATES to the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) are likely to be in the hot seats when they meet next month.

Sharp differences have emerged between the African National Congress and the government about what must be achieved at Codesa II for substantial progress to be made towards the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa.

Last week, the ANC released a "shopping list" of issues on which it wants Codesa II to reach agreement.

According to the ANC, this basket of measures would pave the way for an interim government to be in place within the next four months.

This would effectively wrest control of government from the National Party, and is the political priority of the ANC at the moment.

But Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen has said it is not likely Codesa II will produce final results.

"Codesa II will review progress reports and there will be other plenary sessions," he said at a press briefing on Wednesday. As the negotiators at Codesa usually do, he left the door open by adding: "Progress reports can be final reports."

Despite Viljoen's predictions, ANC national executive member Valli Moosa remained confident about the possibilities of breakthroughs before the second plenary session. Using the government's proposals on the first phase of the transitional process as an example, he said: "The government is not supported by anybody else and its positions are not sustainable. We are confident of about getting the government to move away from its present positions and towards agreement at Codesa."

He added that failure to reach agreement at Codesa II would be a result of "intransigence" on the part of the government.

The most important items in the ANC package are: the establishment of an interim government during the first phase of the transitional arrangements; the restoration of South African citizenship to the estimated 10-million citizens of the TBVC states; the establishment of an elected constitution-making body; and mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections.

However, with arrangements for Codesa II, to be held on May 15 and 16, already well underway, it is on precisely these issues that the government and the ANC seem to be the furthest apart.

● Working group two, which is discussing constitutional principles and the shape of a constitution making body, mandated its steering committee to suggest areas of discussion after it was unable to make any progress. The ANC has proposed that a single chamber constituent assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, draw up a constitution. The government has proposed a second house, representing regional and minority parties, which would have veto powers over the new constitution.

● The government is expected to announce draft legislation, which will enable it to enact an interim constitution, within the next few days. The legislation is expected to include details of how the government sees permanent closing of the tricameral parliament and creation of the constituent assembly/interim legislature.

All-race election for executive

# Nat proposals to speed up power sharing

Bloay 24/4/92

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

**CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday partly lifted the veil on government's proposals for transitional rule by recommending that an executive council be directly elected by all eligible voters.**

The executive council could come into being before elections for an interim legislature/government.

"This proposal makes it possible ... to find a way quickly, expeditiously and effectively to let the people of SA decide who are the core of leaders that they want ... to stand in the lead of the process of further change," he said.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote, De Klerk also announced that new security legislation would be introduced soon in an attempt to combat violence. In part its thrust would be to ban the setting up and training of private armies.

On the issue of the executive, the President said the chairmanship of the council in the transitional government would rotate every six months. "The member who is chairman will be known as the president and will also fulfil the ceremonial functions of the head of state".

The executive council could be voted in "without a general election and without the problem of agreeing whether we have constituencies or not, or other complicated aspects relating to the composition of a new parliament".

It would take the place of the presidency, as initially mooted, which would function through consensus.

"We are now proposing that the executive council of the interim government should be elected directly by all SA citizens who will be entitled to vote on the basis of a new negotiated electoral Act."

Each political party would be entitled to nominate one candidate and all who qualified for the franchise would have a single vote. "The three to five candidates who receive the highest number of votes will be elected (to) the executive council."

De Klerk insisted that the adjustment to government's proposals was "an honest attempt to find solutions to key problems".

Among the advantages of this phased approach was that democracy was maintained and expanded, leaders with proven support were identified and acquired direct responsibility to the electorate and the separation of the legislative and executive authorities was strengthened.

Because the next constitution would be a transitional one, it had to provide for more responsible government. It had to be a power-sharing one so that minorities could feel safe and have an equal voice in the planning and determination of constitutional development.

Government would publish further details on the proposals soon for discussion at Codesa.

Yesterday De Klerk also announced that the NP would not be contesting the Welkom by-election or any other House of Assembly by-elections it had not won in the 1989 general election. The situation in the House was stabilised and fighting such elections would be a waste of money and

☐ To Page 2

## Power sharing

Bloay 24/4/92

effort.

Party political rivalry was "becoming less relevant by the day" and other parties should work to redefine their missions. He invited the CP to Groote Schuur for a day-long summit to discuss how it could participate in the new dispensation so as not to leave the 800 000 people who voted for it in the referendum in the lurch.

He discounted any speculation of the NP disbanding by saying: "It is asking too much if the NP is expected to wind itself up and submerge itself in a new party. The NP is the political party inside Parliament with quite the strongest claim to being a broad national political movement with ... dynamic growth potential."

With reference to the planned security legislation, De Klerk said it was envisaged that it would ban the planning and organisation of private armies, and the possession of unlicensed arms.

A task force would also be assigned to the national peace secretariat to assist where socio-economic conditions were causing violence.

He said significant progress had been made with the ANC in terms of bilateral negotiations on the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Government was doing everything in its power to ensure that the conditions were right for the ANC to end the armed struggle and disband its underground structures before Codesa II.

De Klerk also said that following the Kahn commission of inquiry into secret funds, new legislation governing such funds was being drawn up. All secret projects that the commission had recommended should be ended, had been.

☐ Our political staff reports that NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said last night the transitional proposals amounted to "an acceptable short cut" to place the top levers of executive power in the hands of SA's most popular leaders "fairly swiftly".

If Codesa accepted the proposals, elections for the executive council "could be done in about two to three months from the time that agreement is reached".

The proposals were designed to meet the ANC halfway on its demands for a share of executive power at an early stage of the transition.

DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin said government's constitutional proposals increasingly sounded like something out of Alice in Wonderland, as they were becoming "curioser and curioser".

CP frontbencher Tom Langley accused government of "shadow boxing" while surrendering power to the ANC.

Labour Party spokesman Desmond Lockey said the government proposals showed it did not believe blacks were capable of governing themselves.

There was no reaction from the ANC last night.

304A

☐ From Page 1

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# De Klerk proposes new-style presidency

Sowetan 24/4/92 (304A)

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday proposed that an executive council be elected to serve as a presidency for the interim period of South Africa's transition to democracy.

This executive council - made up of three to five people - would be elected on the basis of one person one vote and in terms of a new Electoral Act to be negotiated and drafted by Codesa, De Klerk said in Parliament during his Budget Vote.

It would replace the present State President and carry out the functions of the head of state and the head of government.

In terms of De Klerk's proposals the transition of South Africa would be divided into two parts: a preparatory phase when preparatory councils would lay the groundwork and facilitate elections to a two-chambered assembly which would govern the country and write a new constitution.

The preparatory councils would be appointed by the presidency, the EC, which itself could be elected sooner rather than later, De Klerk said.

"We are now proposing that the executive council of the interim government should be elected directly by all South African citizens

To page 2

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# De Klerk proposes new-style presidency

Sowetan 24/4/92 (304A)

From page 1

who will be entitled to vote on the basis of a new negotiated Electoral Act," he said.

Each political party would nominate a person for whom party loyalists would vote in terms of the franchise agreed upon at Codesa.

The three to five candidates who received the highest number of votes would be elected as members of the EC, De Klerk said.

It is understood that elections for the EC could be held sooner rather than later, possibly even before the inception of the first phase - that of the appointment by the presidency of preparatory councils.

The preparatory councils would be nominated by Codesa and officially appointed by the presidency (the EC).

The councils would, among other things, see to the registration of voters and issuing of identity documents to smooth over this process, draw up electoral regions and boundaries and oversee elections to the interim government.

The EC would remain at the head of the interim government, which would sit in a legislature made up of two chambers.

# Leaders protest against violence

Sowetan 24/4/92

NINE community leaders who staged a sit-in at Spoornet's Johannesburg offices yesterday vowed to continue their protest against the parastal's apparent failure to curb the violence on Reef trains.

The protesters, who represent the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Community Party, Sarhwu, Cast and churches, embarked on the sit-in on Wednesday.

## Metal detectors

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, church leader Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa said it was apparent after a meeting with Spoornet and the police that the parastal did not have the capacity to end violence on the trains.

Spoornet's senior general manager Mr Gert Britz said his company, in conjunction with the security forces and the train owners, the SA Railways Commuter Corporation, had taken every reasonable step possible to curb violence.

Some of the steps were security fencing at stations, an increased police presence, and the installation of metal detectors.

But the protesters believe these security measures are not effective.

"Police have simply not done enough. There have been no significant arrests, or noteworthy convictions.

"Although we believe there are a number of people in the police force who seek to do their job, there are quite a number of policemen who are not committed to doing their job," said Mr Amos Masondo of Cosatu.

# Support grows for rebel MPs

30/4

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

SUPPORT is growing for five MPs who this week resigned from the Democratic Party to join the African National Congress. Sowetan 24/4/92

The support is particularly evident at the areas they represented as members of the Democratic Party.

At a meeting in Cape Town yesterday, the Western Cape leadership of the ANC formally welcomed Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Jannie Momberg to the region where they both hold seats.

Van Eck and Momberg were no strangers to the region, the Western Cape leader of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, said.

'Asked how they could further the ANC's cause, and whether it could be done through Parliament, Van Eck said: "We have always used Parliament and we will continue to use Parliament to further the struggle.'

He stressed, however, that five MPs were not ANC spokesmen in Parliament.

"We're independent MPs who happened to be members of the ANC. We don't have a mandate from the ANC membership," he said.

HEADLINES OK HEADLINES OK HEADLINES OK HEADLINES

# ANC demands full inquiry

**Political Staff** (304A)

THE ANC today demanded a public inquiry into a "police cover-up" in the Trust Feed massacre, as called for by the judge who found five policemen guilty of murder and attempted murder. ARG 24/4/92

ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus said an independent public inquiry was necessary "for the sake of peace in our country".

The ANC demand came in the wake of the police decision to launch a departmental inquiry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, chief of the Internal Stability Division, into the irregular actions of the investigating officers in the case.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday he had instructed General Smit to "launch a thorough investigation into this matter with the view to possible criminal and/or departmental steps".

General Van der Merwe said: "I will not tolerate or condone unprofessional investigations or any attempts at a so-called 'cover-up'."

## Woman[illegible] 8km: M[illegible]

A MAN has [illegible] the police aft[illegible] ing down a[illegible] dragged more[illegible] car.

Mr Edward[illegible] har, appeared [illegible] and was releas[illegible]

Early on A[illegible] Jack, 25, was [illegible] dragged her 8k[illegible] legedly drove o[illegible] Ms Jack, who [illegible] Hospital. — Cr[illegible]

# ANC to discuss latest proposal

3044
ARG 24/4/92

**Political Staff**

ANC policy-makers are today studying President De Klerk's proposals for a directly-elected executive council — or revolving presidency — as the first step in the transition to a new constitutional system.

The proposals are seen as an attempt to overcome a deadlock in negotiations on transitional arrangements.

As the government's latest position spurred fresh debate in political circles, it emerged that the proposals bore a remarkable resemblance to a proposal for a transitional executive council by a Codesa drafting committee.

The main difference is that Mr De Klerk has proposed one-person-one-vote elections for the executive council, while the drafting committee suggests a multi-party executive be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.

Key players in the negotiation process were hesitant today in commenting on Mr De Klerk's proposals.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation would respond to the proposed ban on private armies and Mr De Klerk's constitutional proposals after discussion.

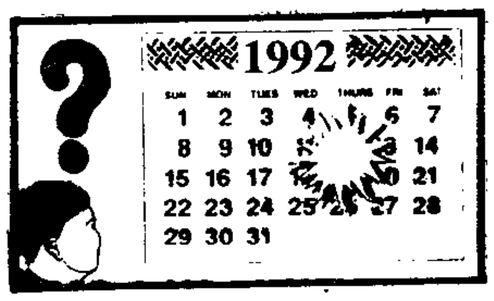
Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the proposal would be looked at. He could not find fault with the basic underlying democratic principle of people electing their leaders to such a council, but everything depended on how the ANC responded.

Mr De Klerk told parliament yesterday that an agreement on a directly-elected national executive could be reached before a general election for a transitional parliament and the whole population could take a quick and effective decision.

Mr Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, who is now a member of the ANC, said the proposal sounded like a recipe for a long, unacceptable transitional period, but could promote national unity.

Mr Colin Eglin, constitutional expert of the Democratic Party, said it was difficult to evaluate Mr De Klerk's proposal until the whole government package was known.

# CURRENT ISSUES




# Democracy and Electoral Systems: Systems of Proportionality

304A

New Nation [Learning Nation]

**During the last two weeks we have been writing about an interview Learning Nation had with Kader Asmal. This is our last article in the three part series on electoral systems.**

24/4 – 30/4/92.

**Learning Nation: Tell us about proportional systems.**

**Kader Asmal:** There are different kinds of proportional systems.

### The Irish System

The Irish system, which is the most complex, is thought to be the best system. The Law Commission proposes the Irish system.

It is a constituency-based system - a multi-member constituency system. If there are 5 seats, each party will put up three or four candidates per seat. But no party can ever win 5 seats. So if there are, say, 9 parties then you will have 30 to 40 candidates. You can vote 1 to 30. So if you have three candidates for the Main Party you can vote 1 ,2, 3. You can vote for Inkatha 4, 5, 6; the PAC 7, 8 ,9 and the National Party 10, 11 ,12. An intricate formula is then used to calculate a quota. They count the first choices, like in the Australian system and anybody who comes up to the quota is elected. There are some complications: if a person is above the quota, then you distribute his/her second preference. If no-one gets above the quota, you eliminate the last candidate and distribute the votes, until you have elected five people for the five constituencies.

It is a very complicated process and is exspensive. There is a close relationship, between the number of votes and the seats won. So in Ireland, the party which gets 48% of the votes will get between 48 and 50% of the seats. It usually works in a rurally-based society, so it is used in Ireland, Malta and Tasmania. Usually you find 2 or 3 members of the same party fighting each other to be re-elected. Its a personalised form of representation. This system , because of being personalised can lead to corruption. We want machinery where people can establish their rights.

### Namibia

Another form of proportional representation is the kind which was used in Namibia in 1989. In Namibia, a list system was followed. There were no candidates with names and you voted for the party and next to the party, the symbol, eg SWAPO's famous symbol, because of the high degree of illiteracy. In the first election it is really a national mobilisation. You could effectively vote anywhere in the country, you didn't have to vote in a constituency. SWAPO got 57% of the votes and so they got 57% of the seats. There was no cut-off point in Namibia, but there were only 84 seats, so you had to get 1 1/2 - 2% of the votes to get a seat.

### The ANC believe

We, in the ANC, believe, that our first election should be a countrywide election. We have to register voters. Whites, Indians and coloureds are already registered in their constituencies. We won't be able to register 15 to 16 million people within 15 months. Secondly, eligibility of voters will give us enormous problems. We can't do that. That is why the simplest system of voting, in which you can




THE ANC SAYS THAT THE SIMPLEST SYSTEM OF VOTING WILL BE THE BEST FOR DEMOCRACY

vote anywhere in South Africa, because you're voting for a party, will be the best. So if the ANC gets 50% of the votes then it will get 50% of the seats, if the Nats get 5% votes they get 5% of the seats.

One of the problems of the list system is that somebody has to draw up the list. The list should not be drawn up by the movement alone, because what would happen is, in the first election, there may be 400 candidates for the ANC, and if the ANC got 60% of the vote, then the top 60% of the candidates will be elected to the National Assembly. There will be a distance between the elected and the electorate.

In the subsequent elections we want some connection between the electorate and the elected, and that is why we are suggesting that, half of the list should be drawn up by the regions. Each region will be given the same number.

### The issue of minorities

In SA we have the obsession that there are only ethnic minorities. But there are other minorities. There are cultural minorities, religious minorities, and there are sexual minorities. Most societies have 10% gays. In conditions of repressive practices by the political parties, people may want to vote by reference to the interests they want to protect, rather than a political party. Under the "first-past-the-post" system no party, frankly, would choose a gay; under the Irish system you may choose a closet gay. But under this system, the party choosing its list may choose to win gay votes by having a gay on the list. The gays, themselves, could form a party and have a gay elected.

The other advantage is on the gender question. In Germany, even in a conservative society like Portugal, there are a higher number of women in parliament than in the "first-past-the-post" system. Also under the list system you don't have the bitter in-fighting as to who is going to stand in Soweto East, whether it is going to be a Xhosa speaker of a Zulu speaker. This leads to disillusionment and sectarianism. That is why the list system is a fairer system.

### The "first-past-the-post" system

I would have thought that the PAC or Inkatha would oppose the "first-pass-the-post system" because, in the fullness of time, that would guarantee that the National Party and the ANC would dominate. That is why it wrong to see the ANC's proposals of proportional representation with a list as protection of minorities. It is not minority protection, it is minority participation.

**Learning Nation: You have spoken about the problems of the "first-past-the- post" system and its tendency towards two parties. What about the fact that other systems lead to a proliferation of smaller parties. In the South African situation they can form a conservative coalition and prevent the ANC, as the majority party, from implementing its programme? Is this not a danger?**

**Kader Asmal:** Of course there is danger. This system lends itself to coalition and we must be aware of that. But that is a risk we have to take in our society. There is a cold, calculated reason for rejecting the "first-past-the-post system". We neither have the experience nor the capacity to be co-authors of the "first-past-the-post" system. We don't have the demographic information of South Africa, and the census of this year is a farce. The TBVC states must still be incorporated. We don't have enough confidence on the judiciary to be fair about delimitation. Also, most constituencies will be African, and it would be wrong not to have other constituencies represented.

For these reasons we are also calling for all elections to be conducted by an independent commission. Elections must not only be fair but must be seen to be fair. Yes, coalitions may be a tendency in the list system, but that may not be so much of a disadvantage in South Africa. Finally we must just see that we get 60% of the vote.

**This is the last in our series of interviews with Kader Asmal. Next week we continue our series on trade unions.**

# INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

## Nationalism 6

New Nation [Learning Nation] 24/4-30/4/92 304 A

# The National Question in South Africa

**This is the last article in our series on nationalism. In our previous articles, we addressed issues such as:**

- **national liberation as a current and international issue**
- **the concept of "nation" and its origin**
- **nationalist movements in East Europe and the collapsed USSR**
- **theories on national liberation and socialism**
- **the rise of right-wing nationalism**

**South Africa stands in a position in which nearly all of these issues are of importance in our struggle against apartheid.**

## The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa

In South Africa, a social system of apartheid-capitalism exists. It is a system in which the ruling capitalist class uses racism to exclude the vast majority of the black population from the South African "nation". Under apartheid-capitalism black people are denied democracy. On the other hand, the white minority in South Africa have found that their access to democracy is not complete and it is not applied consistently. For example, apartheid laws have also denied white people the right to freedom of association, freedom of the press and so on.

In opposition to the system of apartheid-capitalism, the liberations movements such as the ANC, PAC and AZAPO struggle for a new South African nation that is democratic, non-sexist and non-racist. It is this struggle to liberate South Africa from its undemocratic, apartheid version of nationhood, that puts us in solidarity with the many other national liberation struggles taking place across the world.

## National Liberation and Socialism in South Africa

The working class of South Africa has a long history of commitment to a socialist future. Presently in South Africa, the organised working class is still strongly committed to socialism despite the problems and bad name socialism has received because of Stalinism. This support for socialism can be seen from COSATU's most recent Economic Policy Conference which reaffirmed COSATU's support for a socialist future.

On the one hand we struggle for national liberation and on the other hand we are committed to a socialist future. What is the link between national liberation and socialist struggle?

In our first article of this series we saw that historically, it was the bourgeoisie who as a class led the struggle against feudalism for political power. In our fourth article we saw that debate within the socialist movement on the question of national liberation and socialism became a burning issue at the beginning of the 1900's. Today, in South Africa, we find on the one hand debates on whether we must engage in a struggle for national liberation **OR** a struggle for socialism. On the other hand, amongst those socialists who support the struggle for national liberation, we find further debates. **One of the key issues in these debates is the question of class leadership in the national liberation struggle.**

## Bourgeois or Working Class Leadership?

One view argues that national liberation belongs to the phase of bourgeois revolution. This view says that the programme for national liberation must limit itself to demands that the bourgeois class, as the ruling class, can grant. This view argues that national liberation must bring about a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist but **capitalist** South Africa. Only after this has been achieved will the working class put forward a socialist programme and lead the struggle to achieve this goal. This argument is often referred to as a "two-stage" theory of socialist revolution.

Another view exists which opposes the "two-stage" approach to national liberation and socialism. This view argues that capitalism in South Africa survives because apartheid gives it cheap labour. This view says that apartheid therefore cannot be destroyed and democracy cannot be guaranteed under capitalism. This view argues that the working class which desires national liberation **and** socialism will remain the most consistent fighters of apartheid and upholders of democracy. For this reason, this view argues for working class leadership of the national liberation struggle. The holders of this position point to situations in which bourgeois leadership of the national liberation struggles, turn against their commitment to democracy. Our article on the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union showed examples of how the bourgeois leadership in some of these movements are already acting in undemocractic ways.

The view which argues for working class leadership in the national liberation struggle was strongly argued for by Trotsky in the 1920's in his fight against the rise of Stalinism. The debate over which class should lead in the national liberation struggle in South Africa will continue to inform and impact on our day-to-day struggle for liberation.

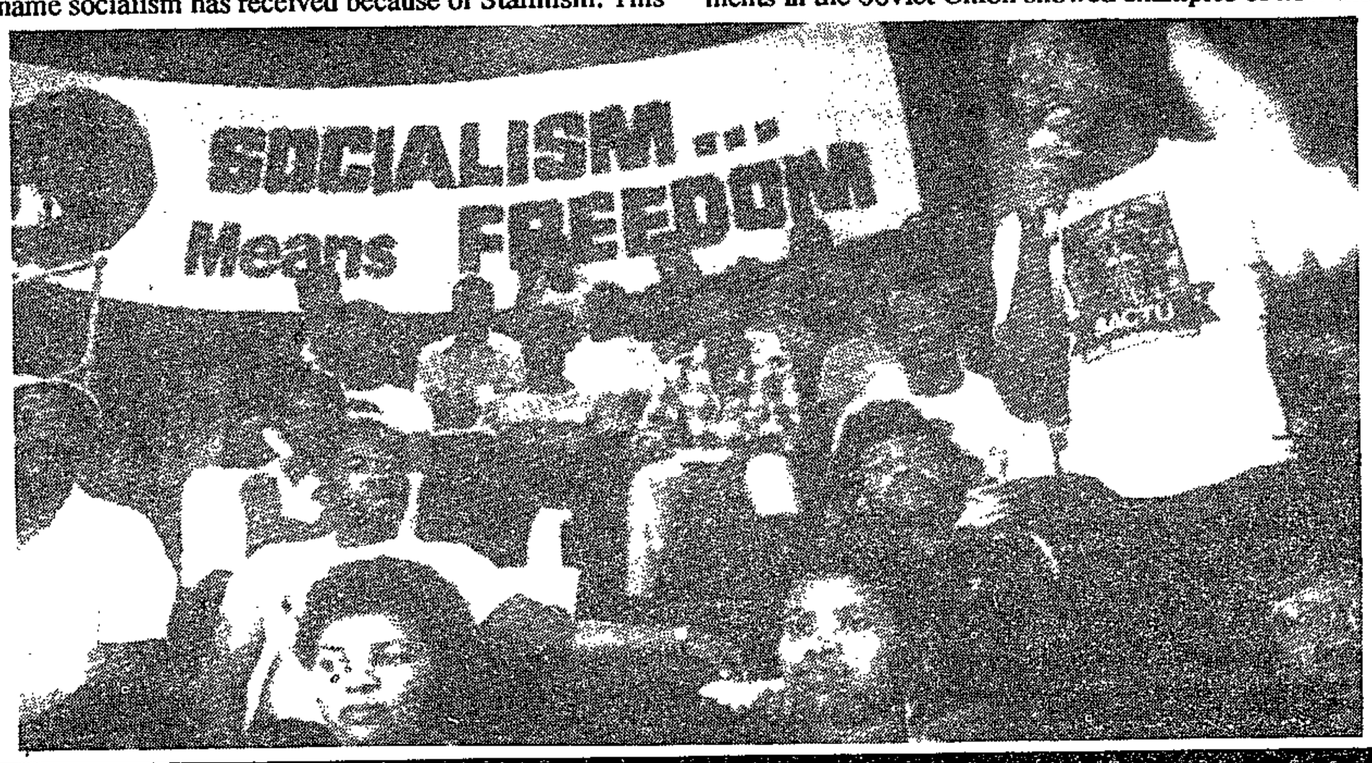
## Right-wing nationalism in South Africa




Last week we looked at the rise of right-wing nationalist tendencies in some of the leading capitalist countries across the world. We saw the link between a deepening economic crisis and the growing support for fascist policies.

The South African capitalist economy has also been hit with a severe recession. The working class experiences this daily through retrenchments, the rising cost of living and decreased social services offered by the state as it continues the campaign to privatise these services. An added feature in South Africa is the uncertainty in the current political situation. For the white working and middle classes, the certainty of minority (apartheid) rule with the privileges it offers them is no longer there. The white minority faces a possible situation of (black) majority rule. The same is true for the leaders and supporters of the bantustans and the tricameral system.

The combined effect of worsening economic crisis and possible loss of minority political power leads to growing support for the entrenchment of "minority rights". The whites-only referendum of 17 March 1992 gave majority white support to De Klerk's negotiations option to preserve apartheid in some new form rather than the more right-wing options offered by the CP and the AWB. However the danger does exist that worsening unemployment and poverty together with the growing political uncertainty can create conditions in which the racist divisions between blacks and whites as well as between blacks can widen. Fears that majority rule will mean the oppressive imposition of a single cultural tradition onto people could also lead to growing support for organisations like the AWB and the bantustan leaders.




## Conclusion

The broad liberation movement must show that its policies on winning and securing democracy and solving the economic crisis as well as its policies on the cultural diversity found in South Africa is not in conflict with the building of a unitary and democratic nation. These are some of the concrete issues that need to be taken up in our struggle for national liberation today.

# DP executive calls on defectors to resign seats

304A

BI Day 24/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The DP's national executive has endorsed leader Zach de Beer's decision to suspend five MPs who subsequently joined the ANC, and called on the five to resign their seats.

Chairman David Gant said after a meeting yesterday the executive had confirmed that the five had "of their own volition" terminated their membership of the DP as they had not received permission from the executive to hold dual membership before they joined the ANC.

Gant said the executive noted that the five were "publicly stating they had been expelled from the party", and were justified in retaining their seats because they had "not willingly" left the DP.

The five had joined a political organisation with stated policies and views different from — and in certain cases "directly in conflict" with — those contained in the DP manifesto on which they were elected to Parliament. As a result the executive believed they should resign.

The DP caucus moved yesterday to fill the gaps left by the five MPs.

Pinetown MP Roger Burrows replaces Dave Dalling as chief whip and Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur) becomes a whip in

**Political Staff**

place of Jannie Momberg.

Burrows had, until yesterday, served as an ordinary whip for the party.

Smuts was understood to be the first woman appointed as a whip in Parliament.

The party's other whip is Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North.

Sapa reports that Berea MP Denis Worrall told Parliament there was no place for white politics in the new dispensation, although there was room for white politicians.

In a debate on the President's budget vote, he said there would be a role for politicians from minority parties who decided to opt for nonracial politics.

Although he would like to see the five former DP MPs resign, Worrall said he understood that they had gone over to take their message to the black majority.

There was room for a party that spoke to the middle class across the spectrum.

South Africans valued their property, jobs and families, and politicians should be talking to these people.

□ The DP will hold its federal congress in Johannesburg on October 16 and 17.

# We represent everyone, says Van Eck

BI Day 24/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The MPs who joined the ANC this week always represented the whole of their constituencies, not just the registered voters, one of the MPs, Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

They had never spoken just for white people and had always reflected the broader aspirations of the community.

They were, therefore, answerable to total constituencies and not only to registered voters, he said at a news conference where he rejected calls for them to resign.

The news conference was called by the ANC in the Western Cape to welcome the five MPs into the organisation, particularly the two MPs from the region, Van Eck (Claremont) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's

**Political Staff** 304A

Town). The ANC's regional chairman Allan Boesak said members were very happy with the MPs' decision.

Expressions of support and joy had been received for their decision from ANC supporters throughout the region, including Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

Boesak said he agreed with a statement by DP leader Zach de Beer that he did not think his party's relations with the ANC would suffer in any way because of the decision of the five MPs.

Momberg said he would hold a public meeting in his constituency soon if he could find a venue.

# Report on interim govt nears finality

PATRICK BULGER (304A)

THE Codesa subcommittee on interim government meets again today to finalise a report that could usher in the first phase of interim government after Codesa II meets next month.

The eight-member technical committee, appointed by Codesa's working group 3 dealing with transitional arrangements, will deliver its report to the working group's steering committee.

The technical committee is being assisted by a three-man subcommittee which has listed points of divergence arising from participants' proposals.

One of the subcommittee's tasks has been to decide on the terminology that will be used to describe the organs of interim government. BIDay 24/4/92

A transitional executive council consisting of 30 members drawn from among all 19 Codesa delegations is being mooted.

"The council is not going to run state departments but it will monitor certain of them," a Codesa source said. Subsidiary councils dealing with security, the compilation of a single voters' roll in preparation for an elected transitional legislature, state-run media, foreign affairs and regional administrations will report to the executive council.

The council will also determine what role the international community will play in SA's transition and may be responsible for negotiating the reincorporation of the

☐ To Page 2

# Interim govt BIDay 24/4/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

TBVC states. In general, it will be responsible for levelling the political playing field.

"The TBVC states and the tricameral Parliament will still be intact by Codesa II. After that they will be dismantled when we have agreed on a date," one source said.

Another source cautioned against expectations of the first phase of interim government coming into being immediately after Codesa II. It would probably take place "some time after Codesa II".

He said several parties had proposed preconditions before they took part in interim government. The SA government is insisting that the ANC disband Umkhonto we Sizwe and abandon the armed struggle before it enters binding agreements. This problem, a source said, could be dealt with in the multiparty committee handling security matters.

The ANC's precondition that proposed multiparty committees be accorded executive status could be dealt with in part by an assurance from government that decisions reached by consensus in committees would be made into law.

A number of parties are insisting on knowing the shape of the second phase of interim government before taking part in phase 1.

CT 24/4/92

# Secret projects 'terminated'

THE National Intelligence Service, the police and the SADF had terminated all special secret projects, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He also said that sound and effective cabinet control had been established over secret projects, and that revised legislation on secret funds was being finalised. — Sapa

PARTY POLITICS FM 24/4/92

# Towards fair play (304A)

**With the** fervour so typical of recent converts, the Nat-dominated President's Council (PC) has proposed a package of reforms to engender a sense of ethics and fair play in party politics.

FM 24/4/92 (304A)

The proposals, in a report published this week, come 18 months after President F W de Klerk asked the PC to investigate "the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of SA political parties in terms of commonly prevailing democratic norms and guidelines."

Given that the PC has little credibility at the best of times and that its reports tend to end up gathering dust on some basement shelf, and also that the issue of political ethics will inevitably come under Codesa's spotlight at some point, there seems little need to give much attention to the latest report.



Politically, much of the comment and analysis is typical Nat hypocrisy. If, years ago, government had introduced and adhered to many of the proposals, the chances are we wouldn't be facing our current constitutional crisis.

But be that as it may, the report is an interesting academic exercise and could provide a good basis for a future government — depending on its disposition — to introduce and maintain ethical standards.

The PC's committee for constitutional affairs, chaired by Johann Heyns, investigated democracies and one-party states around the world and has provided a neat summary and information-packed tables of who-allows-what-and-why as far as political campaigning and party formation is concerned.

Its conclusion and recommendations will no doubt stir controversy in political circles that take these issues seriously. Those that don't will simply ignore them.

Among the committee's profound findings are:

☐ For democracy to succeed, there must be regular and free elections in which voters are able to make "meaningful" choices (something the Nats have never allowed);

☐ Political aims must never be achieved through violence, intimidation and "undemocratic methods";

☐ Donations to parties should be disclosed;

☐ Front organisations for political parties should not be allowed;

☐ Passive resistance (which the committee lumps together with violence and intimidation) is incompatible with democracy and should not be allowed;

☐ There should be some form of State financial aid for political parties, possibly including tax concessions; and

☐ A wide range of party activities should be determined by statute and monitored by the State. Punitive action should be taken if the law is broken.

The full PC was due to debate the report this week.

POLITICAL PARTIES

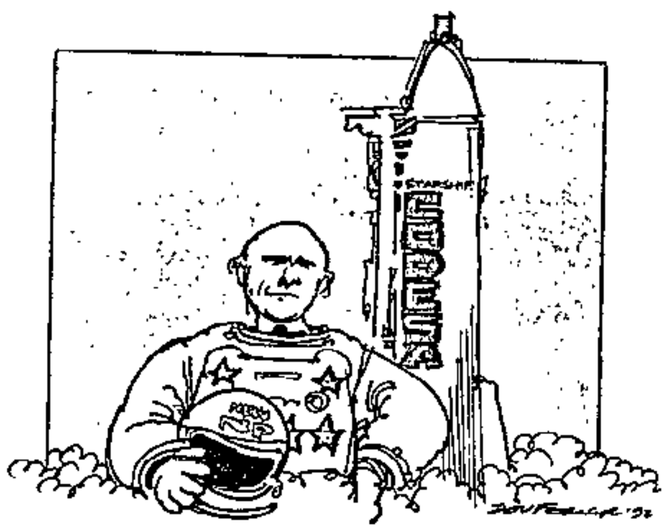
# The final pages

FM 24/4/92

304A

**Proposals for** fundamental constitutional changes to pave the way for a transitional government were expected to be made in parliament this week by President F W de Klerk.

As the *FM* went to press, De Klerk was preparing for what is widely regarded as the most important week of the current parliamentary session — the two-day debate on his Budget vote. Two issues in particular were expected to dominate: the establishment of a transitional government; and the future of



the National Party.

Though Codesa was deadlocked before the Easter break on details of the transition, there were indications this week that government and the NP would push ahead with plans to table draft legislation in parliament setting out proposals for a transitional administration. The draft was expected to be tabled first at Codesa.

Significant changes to the constitution will have to be made to accommodate a transitional government and are expected to be fiercely opposed by the Conservative Party. The massive "yes" vote in last month's referendum effectively means De Klerk will not have to test any constitutional changes in another whites-only poll, an undertaking he gave in the 1989 general election campaign.

If current obstacles in the way of agreement at Codesa on transitional arrangements can be resolved quickly, Nat leaders expect the legislation and necessary constitutional amendments to be approved by parliament before the end of the session in two months' time.

Following his successful, though chaotic, rally in Cape Town's Mitchells Plain earlier this month, De Klerk was also expected to spell out this week his views on the future of the NP. There is a strong move in the party to change the name and work towards the creation of a powerful moderate party, incorporating elements of the Democratic Party, more members of the crumbling Labour Party and parties in the House of Delegates.

Nats believe the new party would have the potential to attract not only the vast majority of white votes in a democratic election, but also a significant number of coloured, Indian and black voters.

The NP is well positioned to exploit crises in both the DP and the CP. Both parties are struggling to define their future roles and have been rocked by defections. The CP's pro-Codesa Koos Botha has been suspended from the parliamentary caucus and four pro-ANC DP MPs have been suspended from the DP caucus.

De Klerk was expected this week to make serious overtures to a group of DP MPs who believe the best course for the party is to merge with the NP and try to "liberalise" it from within. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## Exit, left

**The Democratic** Party (DP) closed ranks this week after five MPs broke away to join the ANC. Party leader Zach de Beer says he doesn't expect further defections.

The resignation of the five — Dave Dalling (Sandton), Jan van Eck (Claremont), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) — was generally expected. It followed the suspension of four of them from the parliamentary caucus last week after they had discussed their future with ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Dalling was not suspended because he was ill and did not attend the talks.

Though De Beer says the split came as no surprise, it's a serious blow to the DP, which is struggling to define its future role on the political scene.

The ANC welcomed the five. It said the move "formalises a long-standing relationship which has earned them great respect in our communities and among our members."

They will remain in parliament with the ANC's blessing, but will sit as independents because the organisation is not a registered political party.

All five have close ties with the ANC. Two of Momberg's sons, Dalling's wife and Cronje's wife are members. Van Eck has developed strong links with the organisation through unrest monitoring work in western Cape townships.

The future of the DP is now under serious threat. With the Nats effectively occupying the party's traditional middle ground, it has little hope of winning even one seat in a proportional representation election.

This has led to the emergence of three streams of thought in the caucus since last month's referendum. Some MPs, headed by the five who broke away, believe the DP has no future as a liberal standard-bearer and will serve its supporters better from within the ANC.

Another group considers some form of alliance with the Nats, possibly within a new party, as the best way to keep liberal values alive. But there's little likelihood of any of them splitting away to join the Nats. They propose instead to put their views to a party congress in the hope of winning support for the DP as a whole to merge with the Nats.

The third group believes the DP should remain independent and true to the values for which it and its predecessor parties have stood since splitting from the old United Party (UP) in 1959.

As the *FM* went to press, it wasn't clear whether the split would give new impetus to moves to join the NP. Some MPs believe the caucus will consolidate and that the split will, in the short term, strengthen the resolve of those who want to maintain DP independence.

In a statement explaining their action, the five rebels said that though a caucus committee was assessing the DP's post-referendum position and future strategy, it was clear that the three streams were irreconcileable.

There was a feeling in the caucus that MPs who favoured closer ties with the ANC should leave the party as amicably as possible. Their talks with the ANC last week were

cont →



**A new home** ... *Van Eck, Haswell, Cyril Ramaphosa, Dalling, Cronje, Momberg*



P.T.O.

FM 24/4/92



Buthelezi



Zwelithini

scribed the agreement on this sensitive issue as a breakthrough. However, it seems the agreement is subject to certain other submissions which have yet to be made to the subcommittee. In any event, it remains for the management committee of Codesa (which once before referred an "agreement" back to the subcommittee), to accept and formally announce details of the agreement.

Mohapi says it has been agreed that traditional leaders will be represented by four delegations, based on provincial lines. Each delegation will have 12 members and five advisers. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini will, it is expected, lead the Natal — that is, Zulu — delegation. It looks like an astute compromise that will offend neither the other tribal chiefs nor Zulu pride. Yet, again, details still to be resolved concern questions such as voting procedures of these mooted tribal delegations.

The consensus reached over the issue should be acceptable to Ulundi, since Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose was part of the subcommittee which included the ANC's Joe Slovo and the DP's Colin Eglin.

As full members of Codesa, says Mohapi, the four tribal delegations will have seats on the management and daily management commitees. They are expected to be present at Codesa 2, the plenary session scheduled for May 15-16. These points must still be resolved, says another Codesa source.

Tuesday also saw the resumption of the debate on interim government arrangements by a technical committee of working group three. Group chairman Ken Andrew of the DP said the committee would spell out areas of agreement and disagreement based on the various submissions it had received.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, representing government on the committee, this week, said good progress was being made. The technical committee was appointed recently after the working group apparently deadlocked on interim arrangements — specifically, a transitional executive structure and its powers *vis-à-vis* existing State authority. What will concentrate minds in the committee is the date for Codesa 2 in three weeks. ■

CODESA FM 24/4/92

## Chiefs, ahoy

**The thorny** issue of the Zulu king's participation in Codesa appears to be close to resolution. If so, it will remove one potential reason for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to pull out of the process altogether.

On Tuesday, the Codesa ad hoc subcommittee created to examine the question of participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders tentatively agreed that they should become full delegates at Codesa.

Jumping the gun somewhat, the chairman of the eight-member subcommittee, T J Mohapi of QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party, de-

# I'm now feeling quite old, admits veteran minister Pik

STAR 24/4/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Being the longest-serving foreign minister in the world made one feel rather old, Pik Botha admitted yesterday.

He assumed this mantle as Hans-Dietrich Genscher (65) announced this week he was stepping down as the German foreign minister after 18 years, saying he had held the post long enough. Chancellor Helmut Kohl has replaced Mr Genscher with Ms Irmgard Schwaetzer.

One of Mr Botha's first tasks as the world's longest-serving foreign minister was to accept the credentials of Mohammed Said Benriane, who is to head the office of interests of the kingdom of Morocco in South Africa and is the first represenative of a Muslim state in South Africa. Mr Botha described Mr Benriane (36) as an "eminent young person".

Morocco opened an interest office in South Africa in September after President de Klerk's visit to that country in 1990.

Asked how he felt about his new status, Mr Botha said: "Rather old."

Mr Benriane has studied international administration and diplomacy at the University of Paris. As a diplomat, he has served in Brussles and at the United Nations in Geneva. He has also served as head of Morocco's press information division.

Mr Botha said Mr Benriane's appointment showed the tremendous progress South Africa had made in its return to normal international life.

South Africa had a substantial Muslim population. "They are citizens of whom we are proud. They make a major contribution to our national life."

Expanding relations with the Muslim world was important for South Africa, Mr Botha added.

Mr Benriane said Morocco's presence in South Africa was an expresion of support for the democratic process developing in this country.

# Secret projects terminated – FW

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — All special secret projects in the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the SA Police and the SA Defence Force have been terminated, President de Klerk announced yesterday.

A special Cabinet committee of four Ministers under Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was now controlling secret funding, he told Parliament during debate on his Budget vote.

And new revised legislation on secret funding was to be tabled in Parliament soon.

He said the three security departments were now confining themselves to projects only within the limits of the line-function tasks entrusted to them by law.

Mr de Klerk did not refer to special secret projects in other departments.

Explaining the difference between the two kinds of secret projects, official sources said a line-function secret project could cover police surveillance of revolutionaries while a special secret project was something outside the department's normal jurisdiction, such as the funding of political parties.

Mr de Klerk said that the scaling down of secretly-funded projects had been confirmed by the special private-sector committee under Professor Ellison Kahn which he had appointed last year to investigate special secret projects.

This committee had now completed its task and had found that the departments involved had terminated or scaled down special secret projects as well as some ordinary covert projects.

The committee had also found that the continuing secret projects complied with the guidelines he had laid down. These stated that secret projects could not favour any political party, were in the national interest and had to play a positive part in promoting peace and combating intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee had reported that all its recommendations for the termination of projects had been accepted.

It had also confirmed that departments which normally conducted covert actions should be allowed to continue to do so.

Mr de Klerk said the special Cabinet committee was now controlling "the content of every special secret project and overall control over covert expenditure in general".

Mr de Klerk said the Government was committed to keeping the political playing field level but that no individual party or group which engaged in political violence was exempt from the attentions of NIS, the SAP and the SADF.

The Government had now honoured his undertakings:

- To limit secret projects to the minimum.
- To subject necessary projects to stringent financial control and firm Cabinet management.
- Not to allow secret funds to favour any political party.
- To revise secret funding legislation.

# CP to oppose code of conduct for parties

30(A)

STAR

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 24/4/92

The Conservative Party will oppose a proposed President's Council code of conduct for political parties which bans racism on the grounds that it is undemocratic.

The President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs chairman Johan Heyns said on Wednesday the ban would mean that the CP would not be able to register as a political party unless it opened ranks to all.

Dr Servaas Latsky, a CP President Councillor, said yesterday it would be undemocratic to prohibit a party from registering as long as its policy did not include violence.

He added that the ban was contrary to another proposed clause in the code of conduct which stated that all political parties should be given an equal chance to influence voters.

Dr Latsky said it would be undemocratic if the Zulu, Afrikaner or English people adhered to a certain ideology and it was prohibited to register as a political party on the basis of such an ideology.

Voters should be given the opportunity to decide whether a party's policy was "ridiculous", he said.

CP information chief Dr Pieter Mulder said it would be undemocratic to "just wipe a party's policy off the table".

# Parties face conduct code

**The African National Congress, the Conservative Party and some other groupings will find it difficult to adhere to a proposed democratic code of conduct for political parties. This is clear from discussions in the President's Council this week on a "blueprint for democracy", proposed in a key report from the council's constitutional affairs committee, reports FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.**

304m

ARG 25/4/92

OR the African National Congress, a recommendation that violence and intimidation in politics be outed will mean abandoning the ied struggle and disbanding military wing Umkhonto we we (MK).

nis would also apply to other politi- groupings on the left and right with ate armies or military wings.

the Conservative Party, a proposal d at prohibiting racism in politics could it would have to open its membership ll races, a move which, if enforced, would drive the CP underground or lead to ollapse as a "whites-only" party adhering rtheid principles.

ne President's Council's report is regardin some political circles as an important ument which could pave the way to a neiated code of conduct for political parties groupings based on Western democratic s and values.

ut doubts have been expressed by Mr Da- Gant, who represents the Democratic y in the President's Council, as to the y of political groupings "recently back the political wilderness" to bind themves legally to the norms of political behavonly recently adopted by sophisticated tern democracies.

e told Weekend Argus that because of h Africa's undemocratic past, a democulture should be allowed to evolve.

e also had misgivings about the fact that proposals came from a state-based instition dominated by the National Party se own record of ethics was "a rotten ".

ne report stresses that the legitimacy of code of conduct for political parties will end on the measure of support it receives broad society. Such a code should, therebe part of a negotiated settlement for h Africa.

On the issue of violence, the report says if an acceptable democratic constitution introduced, political interest groups will only have to accept the democratic process, but also maintain it by their actions.

"Violent action is therefore not compatible with this principle."

Parties guilty of such practices should be prohibited from registering as a political party.

Fierce opposition to this proposal came from the Conservative Party this week.

Dr Servaas Latsky, a CP President's Councillor, said it would be undemocratic to prohibit a party from registering while its policy did not include violence.

He added that the ban was contrary to another proposed clause in the code which stated that all political parties should be given an equal chance to influence voters.

Dr Latsky said it would be undemocratic if the Zulu, Afrikaner or English people adhered to a certain ideology and it was prohibited to register as a political party on the basis of such an ideology.

Voters should be given the opportunity to decide whether a party's policy was "ridiculous", he said. If the policy was "ridiculous", voters would reject it, Dr Latsky said.

CP information chief Dr Pieter Mulder said it would be undemocratic to "just wipe a party's policy off the table".

■ President F W de Klerk told parliament on Thursday significant progress had been made in discussions between the government and the ANC on terminating the movement's armed struggle.

He said discussions were also being held at cabinet level to "enrich and widen" strategies to counter violence in the country, reports Sapa.

The termination rather than the suspension of the armed struggle, and the dissolution of all structures involved in it were aspects that needed special attention to bring the violence to an end, he said.

The issue is taken further in one of the committee's key recommendations which says violence and intimidation are not only irreconcilable with democratic values, but political groups and parties engaging in such activities endanger the democratic process.

Violence and intimidation "should not only be addressed through legislation, but effective control has to be achieved both through continual political education of the electorate and by a mutual agreement reached by political parties before an election.

"It should be confirmed in public that violence and intimidation are not acceptable democratic practices."

A further complication for the ANC is a proposal that certain restrictions be placed on mass mobilisation which has been one of the ANC's key political strategies.

The report says the right of a group in a representative democracy to organise and mobilise "may never infringe on the freedom and rights of other individuals to form groups and to organise."

Practices that are not permissible also include intimidation, bribery, violence and public unrest, destabilisation, action as a front or surrogate of a political party, and enforced membership.

It is proposed that the signing of an ethical code for political parties and acceptance of the constitution should be requirements for registration as a political party.

For the Conservative Party the main problem will be a recommendation that political parties should be "prohibited from encouraging racial hatred between population groups and individuals".

# Matchers

## DP's five rebels 'only tip of the iceberg'

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

SIGNS of further political ferment in the Democratic Party have surfaced after this week's defection of five of its MPs to the African National Congress.

Observers predict more defections later on, but not now. Some say any others harbouring thoughts of moving out were likely to wait until after the dust had settled.

Mr Jannie Momberg, MP for Simon's Town and unofficial "whip" of the new ANC group in parliament, declined to comment on whether or not more DP members were likely to move to the ANC.

But speculation continues that the DP may lose more members to the left and the right. Others say the DP has an important, central role to play in the new political dispensation.

Mr Momberg told Weekend Argus his group would hold informal "caucus" meetings to discuss legislation and situations affecting them.

Mr Momberg emphasised they were not representing the ANC in parliament.

"We are ANC members who are sitting as independents. We are not there to state the ANC's viewpoints."

There would be liaison between the five MPs and ANC headquarters as well as with the organisation's Western Cape office.

The MPs would inform the ANC on legislation affecting them and handle issues which the ANC might wish to have raised in parliament.

Mr Momberg said his defection would not affect his work on behalf of all his Simon's Town constituents.

Meanwhile, there has been speculation about a further breakaway by some DP members in the Eastern Cape to join the ANC, but this could not be confirmed.

The DP's Mr Edward Trent, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, said the party's internal affairs should not be discussed outside.

He confirmed there had been a "working arrangement" between the DP and the ANC in the Eastern Cape, but this had been "well documented" in Press reports.

The working arrangement had been for the specific purpose of seeking to create a non-racial city with one tax base and a common voters' roll.

Mr Trent said it was also true that two "brain-storming sessions" had been held by the DP in the Eastern Cape during the Easter recess to discuss the party's position in terms of "the developing political scene".

Mr Rory Riordan, former Eastern Cape regional chairman of the DP who resigned from the party last October to join the ANC, said there was tension in the DP over its survival.

"The DP has an enormous amount of soul-searching to do . . . We all realise we are heading for a universal franchise election."

Mr Riordan said his information was that about three-quarters of DP voters had switched their support to the NP since the last general election.

Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, has described the DP defections — of which he is one — as "only the tip of the iceberg".

He told parliament in his first speech since joining the ANC this week that all political parties born in the "politics of yesterday" would be affected by the forces that led to the breakaway of the five MPs.

The other defectors are Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown).

Mr Van Eck told Weekend Argus the ANC group intended to focus strongly on certain controversial issues, including:

- Obstacles in the way of democracy;
- Violence, specifically the role of the security forces, their lack of protection for black communities, and "the virtual total breakdown" in relationships between black communities and the police; and
- Misuse by the government of state machinery such as the SABC, security forces and other agents in its election campaign against the ANC.

The group would also focus on the fact that the government had launched its election campaign against the ANC "before the playing field has been levelled", and was "manipulating the negotiation process at the cost of the ANC".

Mr Van Eck said these were among issues on which they could not take a strong stand when they were in the DP because of the DP's position between the ANC and the NP.

# Stop at Codesa 2, congress is told

304A

Sowth 2514 - 3/4/92

CODESA 2 should be the "last stop" in the negotiations process, an ANC speaker told the second regional congress of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) in Umtata last week.

Mr Mahlubandile Qwase said: "Codesa should be used to expose all those blocking progress within the negotiating process. It should come up with a clear definition of phase three — elections for a constituent assembly."

Qwase said Codesa 2 should be seen as a forum to dislodge the "present racist government".

Cosas treasurer-general Mr Xolani Mbutho called on President FW de Klerk to resign. He also told the congress that if it was the case that De Klerk had lost control of the security forces, an interim government should be established.

On the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said MK had been formed with a specific objective and that the people would decide whether it should be disbanded or not.

Mbutho attacked the authorities for unilaterally increasing examination fees from R54 to R71 at a time when the government was talking about the involvement of all in education.

The Transkei Department of Education was also criticised for a 50 percent increase in school fees.

A demand was made for a forum to negotiate all education matters.

— Ecna

# 'Long-distance liberal' finds his liberation

South 25/4 - 30/4/92 (304A)

From a Nat supporter in the 60s to an ANC member in 1992, ex-Democratic Party MP, Jan van Eck talks to **Quentin Wilson:**

**What experiences made you sympathetic to the ANC?**

JAN VAN ECK: The turning point for me was when I went to the funeral of four Cradock leaders who were assassinated under mysterious circumstances in 1985. It was Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. Until that moment, I was a white liberal politician who had no grassroots experience of black South Africa, I was always on the outside — a long-distance liberal campaigner.

We stayed with people there and I also went to a mass meeting about the killings that lasted the whole night. We were warmly welcomed and I felt liberated from all my white fears and my fears about the ANC.

It affected me very deeply, I was shown the human side of the black community and from that day on nothing could stop me.

Later, when violence erupted in the Cape, the PFP set up an Unrest Monitoring Committee which I chaired from the beginning. Working full-time in monitoring I was exposed to all the police brutality and all other repressive measures taken by the state — I got more involved in what was happening.

Its funny you know, at that time when all organisations were banned, nobody really told me which organisation they belonged to. When they were unbanned and they told me, I was amazed at how many people were in the ANC.

Another experience was when I became a teacher in East London in 1967. I supported the Nats before that and was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. I was asked by another staff member to go to the local Presbyterian Church and that was the first time I sat next to a black couple.

**How do you reconcile staying on in a racist parliament that the ANC wants disbanded?**

It sounds contradictory but in the six years I have served in parliament I have always tried to expose all atrocities against the people. I have only heard one request and that is to continue what I have been doing. To us, it has always been another site of struggle.

My break with the DP started when there was a march last year at the opening of parliament. I went on this march for a Constituent Assembly and people in the DP were outraged.

All hell broke loose and I was instructed not to take part in the march at the beginning of this year.

**Would you have left the DP if you had not been suspended?**

I could have. There was a great deal of tension around the party's strategy, particularly about forming alliances. We felt that if the DP was campaigning for the disenfranchised then it was logical that we should work more closely with the ANC. Unfortunately, the majority of the caucus is moving in the other direction. They actually encouraged us to leave and we started to look seriously at other options.

Had the new strategy brought the DP closer to the ANC and had they turned their back on the NP then it might have been a different scenario.

There were a number of us, more than the five that joined the ANC, who have been talking for more than a year about the viability of a small white political party in the future. There will probably be more DP MPs that join the ANC, I'm not saying how many though!

**Do you think that some of the DP MPs who join the ANC or NP are doing so to safeguard their personal political future?**

There has been a lot of talk about this but I honestly don't think so. The people that move from the DP now know where the real political battle is taking place — between the NP and ANC.



**ANC'S REPS IN PARLIAMENT: From left, Pierre Cronje, Rob Haswell, (in front) Jannie Momberg and Jan van Eck**

Photo: Eric Miller

# ANC mum on FW's presidency proposal

(30A) ET 25/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday declined to react to the proposal by President F W de Klerk that his job should be taken over in the next few months by a directly elected multi-party executive.

However, the ANC said Mr Nelson Mandela would respond today to Mr De Klerk's proposal when he speaks at the University of the North near Pietersburg.

The ANC president is being installed as the university's chancellor.

If it is accepted at Codesa, the proposal would mean that black leaders might be able to take seats in the rotating presidency in about six months.

However, the ANC is expected to baulk at the provision which stipulates that the three- to five-member executive council operate on the basis of consensus, as this would give an effective veto to leaders with limited popular support.

Both the ANC Youth League and Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday flatly rejected Mr De Klerk's proposal.

The youth league said the proposal was another attempt to delay the arrival of democracy.

General Holomisa described the proposal as "queer" and an "exercise in futility".

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would oppose an elected presidency if, in part, it was elected to establish an executive team to manage elections for a constituent assembly.

## Pik: Nats set to become SA's most popular party

**THE National Party was on its way to becoming the most popular political party in the country, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.**

**In Parliament Mr Botha claimed the NP had the support of 70% of whites and the majority of coloureds and Indians. He said the party was making inroads in the black community.**

**Mr Botha said: "If the ANC wakes up and goes into a partnership with us and the Inkatha Freedom Party, South Africa will be saved." — Political Correspondent**

# CP to rethink policy at secret Cape venue

(Sowt) CT 25/4/92

**Political Correspondent**

THE Conservative Party will hold a "bosberaad" at a secret venue in the Western Cape this weekend as part of a major review of party policy.

The rethink on policy and strategy comes in the wake of the ferment in the party following its humiliating defeat in the referendum.

Rebel MPs were planning to start resigning at regular intervals from this week in a bid to put pressure on the party's hardline leadership to change direction and join the negotiation process.

However, the current review process appears to have temporarily put these plans on hold.

The CP caucus has prepared seven documents dealing with key areas of party policy and strategy for discussion but it is not clear how long the evaluation process will continue.

If the party leadership is seen to be dragging out the process indefinitely as a way of avoiding a decision on negotiations, some of the more restless MPs could joint Mr Koos Botha of Wonderboom, who was thrown out of the party recently.

The Democratic Party is expected to consider a document outlining future options for the party at its regular caucus meeting next week.

Party sources said yesterday that the purge of the five ANC dissidents in the caucus had failed to clear up tensions within the party.

However, no futher defections — either to the left or the right — are expected while the DP is still involved with debating the document being drawn up by Mr Ken Andrew.

## CP will remain white, says Hartzenberg

**THE Conservative Party would remain an exclusively white party, despite National Party moves to prohibit single-race political parties, the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said yesterday.**

**He was reacting to a President's Council proposal for an ethical code of conduct for political parties, which would prevent any single-race parties from operating in the new South Africa. — Political Staff**

# Secret projects 'ongoing'

(3049)
CT 25/4/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE number of government secret projects in general had been reduced, but they had definitely not been closed down, the chairman of the Democratic Party's caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

It was important to note that secret projects would continue both inside and outside the line function of certain departments.

The secret projects would, in future, also not be subject to any functional control other than by the cabinet, Mr Eglin said.

He added President F W de Klerk's statement in Parliament on the secret projects was "far from satisfactory".

Indeed, R402,117 million has been allocated under the 1992/3 budget for "secret services" and a further R4,383 billion has been allocated for the secret Special Defence Account, indicating substantial amounts will be spent on secret projects.

In his speech, Mr De Klerk said there had been a drastic reduction in the number of special secret projects, "that is to say projects which fall outside the strict line functional terms of reference of departments, and in the expenditure of them".

Effectively, this does not mean that the three security wings will stop all secret projects, but it does mean that they will not be involved in secret projects which do not relate directly to their legally-defined functions.

Mr Eglin said in his reaction: "As long as secret projects are under the control of a single political party, the secret project system will be suspect."

# NEW BOY PIERRE CRONJE JOINED THE ANC FOR 'ITS REAL VALUES'

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

**PIERRE CRONJE, MP for Greytown, who this week became the first member of the African National Congress to address Parliament, says he is interested in liberation, not in liberalism.**

A civil engineer by training, Mr Cronje is not much given to discussing principles or even policy. What interests him is what he calls "the process".

"Of course I believe in the main tenets of liberal democracy — freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law," he said in an interview this week.

"But what I am more interested in is how you relate them to the people on the ground."

This reason, more than any other, is why Mr Cronje says he linked up with the ANC. He joined the organisation on Monday, Nelson Mandela having signed his membership card.

"These values are very real in the ANC," he said. "They are not something you sit on the toilet and contemplate; they are things that have to be struggled for."

Mr Cronje said he did not have any difficulty in reconciling his belief in liberal democratic values with being a member of a party in which his regional leader, Mr Harry Gwala, is a hard-line communist.

"Harry Gwala and I have a fantastic working relationship. He is a human being first, many other things besides, then only a communist.

"There are very creative people in the communist fold," he added.

Mr Cronje, who reluctantly describes himself as a social democrat — "if you have to; I hate labels" — has for years advocated a closer working relationship with the ANC.

In the late 80s he left the then Progressive Federal Party to link up with Wynand Malan in the National Democratic Movement for the same reason, only to rejoin his former colleagues when the PFP, the NDM and Denis Worrall's Independents merged to form the DP.

Mr Cronje would not be drawn on what policies he as an ANC member would advocate to address apartheid inequalities.

"I don't want to talk policy on any specific issue at this stage other than to say a healthy process involving people on the ground is taking place within the ANC." This would culminate in a major policy conference on May 28.

However, pressed to outline his views on economic policy, Mr Cronje was clearly more comfortable with the interventionist policies favoured by the ANC than with the free market policies advocated by former colleagues such as Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

"Even in the DP it was Harry Schwarz and I mainly who started pushing the party to get off its easy, easy privatisation kick towards a social market economy.

"It's always a question of where you draw the line. In South Africa you cannot privatise things like roads and the Post Office. To change government monopolies into private-sector monopolies makes no sense."

Mr Cronje said he agreed with the ANC that some nationalisation might be necessary, but had not applied his mind to the question of the extent to which the state should involve itself in the economy.

But he provided an indication of his thinking on the matter when he said: "Take iron ore. If left to the private sector, they will take ore out of ground, export it and we will end up importing stainless-steel forks from Taiwan. If the private sector cannot deal with it — business has a one-year outlook — if they don't make the right decisions, then maybe the state should intervene."

Mr Cronje said the right of individuals to own property should be protected. But he also believed that the debate on land matters had focused too narrowly on the question of ownership rather than the proper utilisation of land.

"If you merely talk of changing one black owner for one white owner, have you achieved anything for the eight million people who work that land? A lot more needs to be made of the right of occupation."

On the security forces, Mr Cronje said the ANC was correct to demand that they be subjected to multi-party control as soon as possible. He also favoured a role for an international monitoring body.

Asked what his response would be if questioned in Parliament about the conduct of Mrs Winnie Mandela, he responded: "Nobody says when PTC du Plessis (former Minister of Manpower) is in trouble that the NP told him to do what he did. It is outside the organisation."

On the question of sanctions, Mr Cronje said he believed the ANC was right in insisting that they only be lifted in a phased manner in return for political change inside South Africa.

"This was definitely an issue where I had to toe the line in the DP. I think sanctions assisted in bringing us to where we are."

Mr Cronje did not foresee he and his new ANC colleagues in Parliament having a greater role to play in the organisation than any other "good activist". The ANC, he said, did not need Parliament to make its views known.



PIERRE CRONJE: 'Values are real'

# Schools tax shocker

**A TOP government think-tank has recommended that town and city councils take over state schools and help pay for them through special taxes levied on residents.**

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

The proposals by the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government represent a major shift from the existing system where state authorities control the schools and help pay the teachers. The schools, in turn, are responsible for maintaining premises and facilities.

Under the new system, each local authority would manage the schools in their area through an Educational Directorate and would raise money from residents and ratepayers to pay for them.

These funds could then be allocated to various schools by the local authority. The school's budget could also form part of the local authority's budget. The central government, meanwhile, would continue helping to pay teachers.

The plan says only schools' curricula should be dealt with at the national level by a single education department.

A special committee of the co-ordinating council will meet tomorrow to review the plan.

Other proposals deal with the use of scarce facilities.

One proposal is that schools which are usually used for only five to six hours a day could be used for two sessions a day and that teaching devices like computers and audiovisual equipment could be shared between schools.

The document also hints that the days of each school having its own sports fields might be over. It suggests instead that regional recreational facilities should be established.

Schools could then concentrate on education and leave sports to clubs and other institutions, similar to community sports clubs in America.

"Parents will just not be able to maintain the luxury of own sporting facilities," the document states.

The document also moots "speciality schools", implying that children would make a choice of profession at a young age.

Speciality schools could include economics and business subjects; state and legal sciences; and technical subjects.

"Schools will then be more practical and job orientated, which will equip the matriculant entering the job market directly, better for his task,".

The proposals by the Co-ordinating Council on Local Government come at a time of increasing concern about the cost of Model C schools.

## Fees to rocket for Model C parents

By CHARLENE SMITH

**MODEL C schools have a shock in store for parents — fees will go up by as much as 700 percent this year, and could double again next year.**

More than 90 percent of schools under white education departments nationwide have opted for Model C, which allows parents to run the school through a governing body.

A survey of schools by the Sunday Times this week showed widespread confusion among staff and parents about the implications of the system.

Model C proposes greater autonomy for schools in the hiring and firing of staff but requires parents to pay for the costs of premises and facilities. The government is responsible for the salaries of only a certain number of staff.

Mr Alan Berkowitz, chairman of the management council for Emmarentia Primary School in Johannesburg, said his school's fees would go from R560 to R800 this year (one of the lowest fee increases recorded by the Sunday Times) and will rise to around R1 300 per child next year, as the full impact of the change takes effect.

"There is still no certainty about what the school will pay for and when the state will stop paying," Mr Berkowitz said.

Some schools are pinning their hopes on municipalities cutting their rates. But a spokesman for the Johannesburg municipality management committee said this was not yet likely and said their investigations were hamped by a lack of information from government.

Nonetheless, some small municipalities have waived rates and taxes on schools.

The deadline for the introduction of the system for the Cape is May 1, August 1 in Natal and Transvaal, and July 1 in the Free State.

A Transvaal Education Department spokesman said they would pay rates until the end of this year, but would stop paying all other bills on August 1.

The government has proposed a bursary scheme to help subsidise children from lower-income families. But the Sunday Times found that this too is the subject of confusion among parents and teachers.

## Teacher terror

By CHARLENE SMITH

**TEACHERS are suffering intimidation from pupils and militant unionists, says a new Institute of Race Relations survey.**

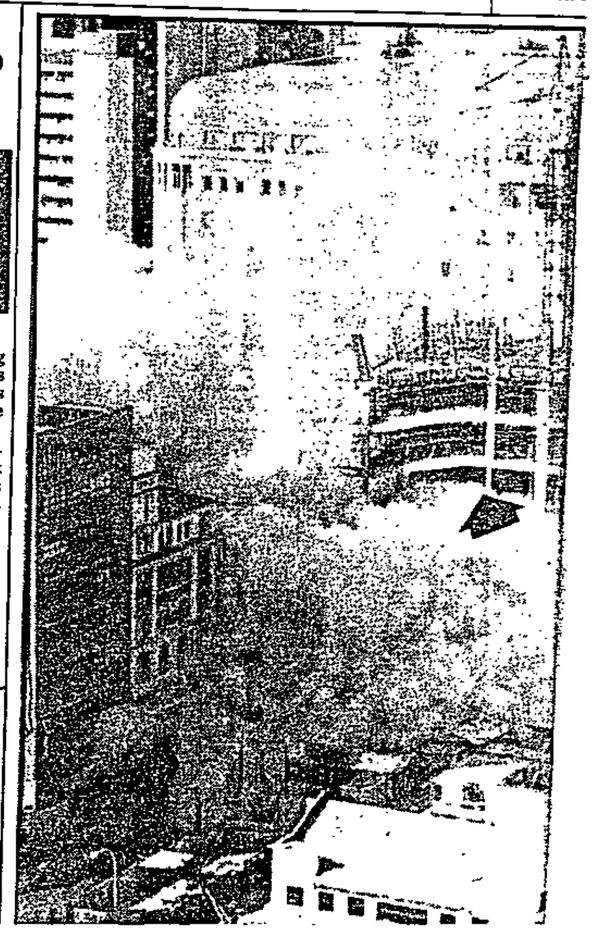
Former institute research manager Monica Bot says part of the problem is that teacher associations place unionism above professionalism.

She says during 1990 "many schooldays were lost due to teacher strikes".

This coincided with the birth of new "progressive teacher unions" like the SA Democratic Teachers Union.

Teachers were also often victims of violent pupil militancy.

Sadtu had also said it wanted principals to choose whether they were "employees or employers. If they choose the latter, Sadtu is going to start treating them like bosses — and is prepared to make life impossible for them".



# Black leaders slam rotating presidency

STAR 25/4/92. (304A)

**BLACK leaders yesterday fired damaging shots at the idea of a rotating presidency floated by the State President this week, and the African National Congress is likely to add its volley to the fusillade of rejection today.**

While the ANC delayed its reaction to the State President's proposal for an elected presidency, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled De Klerk's plan as "so sketchy and so full of ambiguities that it is difficult to comment on them at all".

### Rejected

In a statement from Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi said an elected presidency to "do we-know-not-what" must be opposed strenuously.

"An elected presidency to establish some kind of super adjudicating body for resolving disputes must also be rejected with everything we have."

De Klerk told Parliament on Thursday that an executive council of three to five members could be elected on a one person, one vote basis to replace the State President and carry out the functions of head of state, including preparing the country for elections.

Power would be shared among each of the three to five biggest parties after the election, with the presidency rotating every six months. This election would take place much sooner than the general election which would bring a new legislature or constituent assembly into being.

ANC reaction is expected today when its president, Nelson Mandela, speaks at the University of the North, where he will receive an honorary doctorate. Senior ANC leaders were closeted yesterday to hammer out the organisation's position.

Some foreign governments and National Party negotiators have expressed the hope that the ANC will not summarily dismiss De Klerk's proposals.

The ANC Youth League has already dismissed the proposals as unwieldy and designed to delay democracy.

Buthelezi said he was opposed to "an elected assembly becoming the country's constitution-making body". He would also oppose an elected presidency if it were put in place to manage elections for such a constituent assembly.

"Any proposals for establishing a constitution and holding elections should be presented to the voting public in a referendum for adoption or rejection. The IFP is totally convinced that anything short of procedures in which political parties negotiate a constitution which is then put to the voting public for testing in a referendum will be disastrous."



BUTHELEZI: 'Sketchy and ambiguous.'

## FW plan rejected as a road to disaster

MARTIN CHALLENOR
PETER FABRICIUS
and SAPA

### Details

Buthelezi said a free and fair election was not possible in South Africa now because all parties could not campaign with equal freedom in all constituencies.

Government sources were yesterday hoping that because the ANC had not instantly dismissed the idea, it meant they would take part in the election.

Their expectation is that the ANC will come back with a request for more details and a few ideas of their own, particularly that the transi-

● TO PAGE 2.

## Hundreds greet dog

HUNDREDS of enthusiastic fans turned out at Jan Smuts Airport last night to welcome back the South African cricket team.

They had turned up despite a last-minute plea by United Cricket Board managing director Dr Ali Bacher that the fans not go to the airport as the players were tired and wanted to go straight home.

Parents with placards and balloons, and wide-eyed kids with miniature cricket bats, waited patiently for their idols to emerge from customs.

And the eager young maidens were there too — they were more interested in discussing whether



(304A)

## FW plan

● FROM PAGE 1.

tional period be pegged to a stipulated length of time. STAR 25/4/92

There is a suggestion that the ANC does not want to work through more Codesa meetings after May 15, so there is hope in Government circles that the ANC would see the executive council as an acceptable compromise.

Other black leaders are already stacking up their objections.

Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa described the proposals as "queer" and an exercise in futility. He said the proposals had a "built-in mechanism" to delay the negotiation process. "Members of the Patriotic Front in Codesa view with disdain De Klerk's endeavours to co-opt them into executive positions with utter lack of accountability and legitimacy."

Holomisa said it was clear that De Klerk wanted to "carve a niche for himself in the corridors of power, now and in the future, regardless of his limited support base".

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha fired a first election shot in Parliament by saying South Africa would receive no meaningful foreign investment if the ANC governed alone.

"The ANC will be surprised by the number of African governments who said this to me, by the important governments in the Far East who say it, and by the American investors who say it. There is no escaping it."

Botha said the National Party wanted to be, and could be, the majority party in South Africa. But South Africa would only be saved if the ANC, IFP and the NP reconciled and ruled in partnership, offering policies acceptable to the world.

People in impoverished areas wanted jobs, Botha said, and in a future election the NP would tell voters that the ANC, because of the policies of its Communist Party allies, would not be able to provide jobs.

# IFP slams ANC over rebel five

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose yesterday branded the ANC's decades-long opposition to apartheid as a farce in light of its acceptance of five MPs as members. CT 25/4/92

Five former Democratic Party MPs joined the ANC on Tuesday. Dr Mdlalose felt the ANC's resultant representation in the tricameral Parliament was an act of political expediency.

He said the IFP was "stunned by the sudden ANC entry into mainstream system politics".

He called for the immediate resignation of the five former DP members from Parliament. — Sapa

# Why we quit DP for ANC

**FIVE white stalwarts of the Democratic Party have taken the plunge and nailed their colours, and careers, to the mast of the country's biggest political movement. Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling tell of the heart-searching that brought them to their momentous decisions.**



## Lusaka visit changed me

STAR 25/4/92 (304A)



JANNIE MOMBERG

As I sat at the press conference of the ANC on Tuesday, many thoughts crossed my mind. My whole life seemed to flash past me.

I remember as a small boy how upset my father was when Hitler died; how I helped to dig Dr D F Malan's grave as a stu-

Lusaka in July 1989 to meet with the leadership of the ANC for the first time. I met Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Tom Sebina, Gertrude Shope, Penuell Maduna and others.

For the first time I met people who have always been portrayed as terrorists, murderers, criminals and all the terrible things the Nat propaganda told

and blacks in their own laager of poverty and urge for liberation.

Unless whites and blacks can join hands and cross the divide of racial tension, mistrust, fear and hate, our country cannot survive a catastrophe.

We must learn the lessons of Zimbabwe. Whites painted themselves into a white corner and today they play an insignificant political role in a country

law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears.

I leave the DP with a great deal of sadness. I believe the DP has played a crucial role to bring us closer to a nonracial democracy.

I do not intend to get into fights with the DP. I believe that the DP will move closer to the ANC in the foreseeable future, and when that happens

**FIVE white stalwarts of the Democratic Party have taken the plunge and nailed their colours, and careers, to the mast of the country's biggest political movement. Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling tell of the heart-searching that brought them to their momentous decisions.**



# Lusaka visit changed me

STAR 25/4/92 (3044)



JANNIE MOMBERG

As I sat at the press conference of the ANC on Tuesday, many thoughts crossed my mind. My whole life seemed to flash past me.

I remember as a small boy how upset my father was when Hitler died; how I helped to dig Dr D F Malan's grave as a student, how I met Dr Verwoerd. How fond I was of Mr Vorster. How hard I worked for the National Party for 30 years.

I thought of my break with the NP in 1987 and the marvellous media campaign of Denis Worrall. I thought of my election as MP for Simon's Town.

## Propaganda

Now I, an Afrikaner and Dutch Reform Christian, have joined the ANC. People will ask why.

What changed my life finally was a visit Tian van der Merwe, Wynand Malan and I undertook to Lusaka in July 1989 to meet with the leadership of the ANC for the first time. I met Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Tom Sebina, Gertrude Shope, Penuell Maduna and others.

For the first time I met people who have always been portrayed as terrorists, murderers, criminals and all the terrible things the Nat propaganda told the people of South Africa. Suddenly I discovered that here were highly qualified, articulate, sincere people who love South Africa as much as I do!

When the ANC was unbanned in 1990, I could meet grassroots members more easily and I started to identify with them. I became friends with these people.

I joined the ANC because I believe that our country desperately needs to move away from the polarisation between whites and blacks. Astute Nat propaganda of 44 years has put whites into their own laager of fear and mistrust for blacks, and blacks in their own laager of poverty and urge for liberation.

Unless whites and blacks can join hands and cross the divide of racial tension, mistrust, fear and hate, our country cannot survive a catastrophe.

We must learn the lessons of Zimbabwe. Whites painted themselves into a white corner and today they play an insignificant political role in a country where they still play a crucial economic role.

I join the ANC because I believe that now that statutory apartheid has ended, the real battle begins — to rid our country of the legacies of apartheid, namely racism, distrust, the breakdown of law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears.

I leave the DP with a great deal of sadness. I believe the DP has played a crucial role to bring us closer to a nonracial democracy.

I do not intend to get into fights with the DP. I believe that the DP will move closer to the ANC in the foreseeable future, and when that happens we can be together again.

I believe the ANC and the DP should fight against the common enemy — the NP.

I conclude to say that I do not expect my people of Simon's Town to follow me or all to join the ANC. I just plead for their understanding.

# I'm at home with victims



DAVID DALLING

STAR 25/4/92

304A

HAVING fought racism throughout my career, I strongly feel the need to associate myself not with those who until recently imposed apartheid on SA, but rather with those who were oppressed by it.

Over the past months, the DP's image has become almost synonymous with that of the NP. The NP, while shedding support to the Right, has appropriated almost all of the DP's policy, and much of its support base.

I am uncomfortable with this, as I do not trust the people who destroyed democracy and the rule of law in South Africa to implement enlightened policies.

## Harmful

There are three camps in the DP. They are:

- Those who want to remain an independent party, speaking up for liberal values. This is not viable because "liberal values" are no longer the preserve of the DP. Nearly all the parties at Codesa espouse these values.

Secondly it would be harmful to our country if the political divide was also a racial divide, with nearly all the whites supporting one side, and most of the blacks the other. Finally, this is not viable as the DP will be crushed by the "giants" in elections.

- Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the NP. This is also not viable because any attempt to achieve this at national level would split the DP down the middle and tear the party apart.
- Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the ANC. This is not viable because, within the DP, too many members see the ANC as an enemy and not a political friend.

The result is that we have a stalemate. It is in this atmosphere of uncertainty that the DP has been operating recently. This has led to several clashes within the party.

Late last year Robin Carlisle MP proposed a vote of no-confidence in me as chief whip because I had attended an ANC fund-raising function in Stellenbosch addressed by Nelson Mandela. The fact that I had been granted prior permission by the DP leader to attend the dinner did not stop the motion being put.

More recently, I was criticised by two of my colleagues for saying in Parliament that my "yes" vote in the referendum was not a "vote for FW" or for the National Party, but rather a vote for negotiations and peace in our country.

These incidents, plus many other recurring unpleasantries, which I need not describe in detail, did little to make one feel at home.

Finally, Zach de Beer himself has often said that those who felt they belonged in the ANC should go now, rather than later — leaving a more homogeneous DP to continue with its work. There should be no complaint if some of us take him at his word.

I admire the ANC for the courageous struggle it has led in ridding SA of apartheid, oppression and intolerance.

I subscribe to its philosophy of a multiparty democracy free of racialism and sexism.

# Now for new guardian role

304A

ST Times 26/4/92

## Democratic Party leader ZACH DE BEER spells out his party's task following this week's defections of five members to the ANC

NOW that the DP has lost five members — some 15 percent of its party caucus — people are naturally asking questions about its future.

The DP is the successor to the old PFP. Its traditional task was to oppose apartheid. From 1959 until FW de Klerk became president, the party fought doggedly against apartheid and persistently proposed a set of alternative policies designed to bring about a non-racial democracy. The great Helen Suzman was the personification of these years.

In the end, the fight was won. On February 2 1990, the president in effect turned away from apartheid and gave notice that he was adopting the DP's policy. This was both good and bad news for us: good because our policies had triumphed, bad because we now faced a bigger and richer competitor saying much the same things as we. We had won the war of ideas: now we faced a battle for survival.

Fortunately, we had to some extent anticipated events. Following the general election of 1989, in which we had done well, we had appointed a strategy committee under Robin Carlisle. This committee had given us the word "convergence". Our policy was now to bring closer together the parties on our right and left — in effect the Nats and the ANC — so as to form a broad moderate centre. This decision was taken and announced before the president's famous speech.

Here again, our strategy has succeeded beyond expectations. The Nats and the ANC are working closely together — with help from us — in and around Codesa. Heaven knows, there is a lot more work to do in this convergence phase, but its end may be dimly in sight. There may be a functioning new South Africa within a year or two.

The "Gang of Five" who jumped into the ANC last week, thereby terminating their membership of our party, are backing the idea that the future will be shaped by a polarisation of politics between the Nats and the ANC. They have simply chosen their side. What are the rest of us to do now, in this crucial phase of our history?

We are liberal democrats. We believe in freedom, dignity, equality under law — human rights. We also — and this now becomes crucial — believe in a German-style social market economy, in which production is achieved through pragmatic free market policies, and expenditure follows social responsibilities for the upliftment of the poor.

Economic decline, unemployment and creeping poverty have been our lot during the past decade. This alone places our values in danger.

Economic freedom was sacrificed in the past on the altar of apartheid. Can we be sure that it will be safe in the future from being sacrificed in the name of a new kind of social engineering planned to produce instant redistribution?

Human dignity does not thrive in degradation, and it is hard for it to survive in the living conditions suffered by so many of our people today. Nothing violates human rights more than lawlessness and violence that are trampling upon the values we seek to uphold.

The ANC are not liberal democrats. At best, they are social democrats — they would manage the economy in a more or less socialist manner. The Nats now profess faith in the free market, but for decades they have interfered grossly in its workings. Neither of these parties has much of a record on human rights. As one expert put it: "I wouldn't trust either of them with habeas corpus on a dark night".

So the future task of the DP is to guard over and foster human rights and economic freedom. It must now expand its support base in the brown and black communities, to win the strength to give it adequate representation in the parliament of the future. Phase three begins now.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

# DP defection must set pace



WELL, well, well! It seems the old saying that a leopard never changes its spots is really apt.

Just when we thought the winds of change were blowing across our part of the continent, we find that resistance to change is still very much with us.

Some people just cannot adapt to change.

In our situation, the legacy of apartheid always seems to rear its ugly head, especially when we try to take a step forward.

## "Traitors"

Let us examine the furore surrounding the five members of the Democratic Party who this week crossed the floor to join the ANC.

Some sections of our community shouted "traitors" and "sellouts" and others were ready to crucify them.

Yet another section of the community questioned the integrity of white MPs joining a predominantly black political movement.

You can hear them asking how these respectable members of parliament could leave a decent white organisation like the DP – which has championed the cause of the underprivileged – to join the "commies and terrorists".

They are asking how these leaders can show such little concern for the constituencies which voted them into parliament by simply defecting to an organisation that is so different.

They ask how the "defectors" are going to reconcile the liberal concept of a free market economic system with the nationalisation embraced by socialists.

This left me asking these questions:

If the five had joined any other party would we have heard the same hue and cry?

If DP MP for Houghton, Tony Leon, had defected with like-minded people to the NP or IFP, would we hear the same cries? I doubt it. In fact, there would be more talk of a DP split.

But joining the ANC raised questions like: How genuine were the five during their term as DP members and what actually motivated them to move on?

I've heard ludicrous questions like: The ANC is operating outside parliament so on whose behalf are these members going to speak?

Have they forgotten who voted them into power?

We seem to have deliberately forgotten about the exodus of Labour Party members crossing over to the NP and we want to forget about those who resigned from their parties while in parliament to serve as independents.

What about those blacks who have joined the NP?

And what about those whites who hold dual membership? When it's convenient for them to vote they do.

It is just as well that the first MPs to defect to a liberation movement are members of the DP, the very organisation that has had double standards all these years.

The sooner they close shop, the better for all South Africans.

The NP has grabbed the ball of liberation from under their noses and they are running away with it.

DP members must either join the Nats, ANC, CP or the IFP.

## Ghettos

These new ANC members must also spend more time in the ghettos to experience the lives of the people they will be representing in parliament.

They must see firsthand what our people mean when they say they want work; when they say they want housing because they live in shacks; and when they say they want proper education because the DET is inferior.

I do not doubt their commitment to our struggle, but they must act and not just pay lip service.



# DP bids happy farewell to its Gang of Five

304A

ST Times 26/4/92

THE departure of the DP's Gang of Five brings to an end, one hopes, the period in which the party provided a haven for closet revolutionaries, Stellenbosch socialists, draft dodgers, homeless federalists from the UP, Afrikaans carpetbaggers and sundry political flotsam of the apartheid era.

The role of universal haven was forced on the "Progs" by the banning of legitimate political movements. Communists, after all, did not go up in smoke when the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated; they hid. Some hid in the universities, some in the law, some in the Prog youth movement.

From these bunkers they conducted guerrilla warfare on liberals, and on liberal ideas, turning the English universities into bastions of intellectual bullying and political intolerance, and making the "Prog" parties ambivalent and surreptitious in defending liberal ideas.

Helen Suzman, and at a later stage people like Colin Eglin, held them off in Parliament for many years, but in the end the party's liberalism was watered down by radical and socialist ideas, making easier the National Party's pernicious campaign to portray liberals and communists as the same breed.

Now it is respectable, even in the tricameral parliament, for people who are not liberals to show their true colours. The ANC, which calls itself a front, not a political party, offers a home to anybody whose principal concern is to see South Africa governed, any old how, by black people.

The most intriguing comment of the week was the assertion by David Dalling, the MP for Sandton who lives in Stellenbosch, that his switch of allegiance, if that is the right word, entailed no change of principles.

The implications are perplexing: are the principles of the ANC to be deemed identical to those of the DP? Or did Dalling not, as a member of the DP, subscribe to its principles? Or has he taken his principles intact from the UP to the Reform Party to the PFP to the DP and to the ANC, with nary an ethical wobble along the way?

As an exercise in simple logic it's fascinating, but it doesn't matter much. The fact is that DP members who wish to serve the ANC should go to the ANC, and DP members who are enchanted by President De Klerk, as Houghton's Tony Leon appears to be, should follow President De Klerk.

They are not, plainly, bound by liberal principle. Nor should they hesitate to switch parties and cling to their seats. The precedent of betraying voters has been well entrenched as a political tradition during the shabby period of apartheid, and is sanctified now by frequent repetition.

Anyway, the sooner they go the better. The way things are going in Codesa, we need the liberals of the DP as we have never needed them before. We don't particularly need a new battery of natives' representatives to carry on where Margaret Ballinger left off, speaking for people who can't speak for themselves. But if that's what turns them on, so be it.

What we do need, and need desperately, is a party which is devoted to the liberal principles which have been shown, around the world, to take countries to peace and prosperity. Both the ANC and the National Party pay lip service to that ideal, but, to judge from what leaks out of Codesa, neither of them understands the essential features of a democratic state, or is willing to sacrifice its own interests to a wider welfare.

THE Nationalists appear to me to have embarked on a most dubious enterprise to create an "interim" state in which the National Party will be enabled to block the will of the majority, and in which it will use that power to prevent for as long as possible the establishment of a liberal democracy.

The ANC, on the other hand, pays assiduous lip service to democratic ideas but appears to me determined not to have the power of the central government watered down in any serious way.

The National Party does not seem to grasp the dangers of thwarting the will of the majority, and the ANC does not appear to grasp the dangers of overriding powerful minorities. If both parties continue on their present paths, Codesa must surely deadlock, or it must end in the adoption of a defective constitution which will perpetuate rather than resolve conflict.

The DP, on the other hand, possesses a set of ideas which are uniquely suitable to divided societies, precisely because they set as their ultimate value the liberty of the individual — the right of every person to fulfil his own destiny, just so long as he does not in doing so violate the equal right of every other person.

THIS ideal, of the free individual as the centrepiece of the system, has moreover been successfully integrated with a set of economic principles which have generated wealth and make possible the solution, within reason, of any social problems. They provide for reasonable distribution, through taxes and regional transfers, of the available wealth; they offer the means of sustaining the poor or the workless, and of providing health care and education.

The members of the Democratic Party are well versed in these ideas, but they have been intimidated — often by their own members — from propagating their own beliefs. Those liberals who have tried to do so — John Kane-Berman and the Institute of Race Relations come to mind — have been vilified and attacked, very often by the socialist refugees hiding in liberal bunkers.

The result has been a timidity among DP members in spreading their message. Hardly one of them dares to say, with Friedrich von Hayek, that democracy is impossible without capitalism, although that is self-evidently true. They still pay a guilty homage to socialist ideas that empower the state, oppress the citizenry and enrich the bureaucracy.

The departure of the Gang of Five may restore their confidence in their own beliefs. The DP, freed of the fear of attack from within, of the stab in the back, may now face up more boldly to the totalitarian parties which are using Codesa not to tame the power of the state but to capture it.

**KEN OWEN**

# HoR Nats in talks at Ulundi

NATIONAL Party MPs led by the Chaiman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, this week met with their counterparts in Ulundi, capital of KwaZulu.
The Rabie delegation were received by KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthulezi, his full Cabinet and Deputy Ministers.
Mr Rabie said yesterday the purpose of the meeting was to explore matters of common concern like the need for co-operation on constitutional developments in South Africa.
There was also agreement that co-operation and cultural exchanges should be promoted between the two Ministers of Education and Culture.

## Trade show

THE State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, will open the Cape's premier industrial exhibition, the Cape Industrial Trade Show (CITS), at 8.30am on Tuesday, June 9, at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood.
Exhibition space is virtually fully booked, and CITS will be open from 9am to 7pm daily until Friday, June 12. It will open on Saturday from 10am to 2pm.

# Freedom of the media 'an unattainable goal'

**PEACE can only be achieved in the open marketplace of ideas, which should give both sides an opportunity to speak freely, the chairman of the South African Media Council, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, SC, said in Cape Town this week.**

By EVE VOSLOO

Professor Van Rooyen, a former head of the Publications Appeal Board which heard appeals against the (then) rigid censorship in force in South Africa, was addressing a meeting of the Media Council in the civic centre.

He said that during the past decade, the Media Council — set up by the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors — had played an enormous role in furthering the freedom of the media and maintaining high standards of journalism.

This would have been impossible, however, "without the assistance of a lively, active press, which, throughout the most difficult of times, never lost its independence and continuously fought laws which gave arbitrary powers to government as well as laws which criminalised acts which upheld nothing more than ideology", Prof Van Rooyen said.

Prof Van Rooyen said the Media Council recognised that absolute freedom of the media was an unattainable goal.

When however, laws granted unfettered discretion to government to ban newspapers, place people on a non-quote list, detain people without trial, prohibit or make virtually impossible reportage on public activity and in a state of emergency to close newspapers down for three months, seize films, banish journalists from unrest scenes, etc "the Media Council has made its views known to government by way of negotiation, proposals and a constant watch on arbitrary action".

"Although the laws referred to mostly had criteria referring to, for example, state security and peace and good order, it needs little argument to convince one that these wide and vague criteria are open to abuse."

Opposition to these laws by the Media council had led to the channelling of its proposals into amending and repealing statutes, said Prof Van Rooyen.

"We also have a promise that all the laws which inhibit a free media are being scrutinised at present. The remaining limitations must also be able to satisfy the requirements of a Bill of rights, which we most certainly will have under a new constitution."

He also said that in the past few months the Media council had made extensive proposals to the government on the Publications Act and the Section 25 duty of journalists to reveal their sources.

"Our proposals regarding the Publications Act accentuated the protection of children by way of age restriction and the freedom which adults should have to choose freely to see adult films and read books they want to read. We have not asked for the freedom to distribute pornography — and we believe this accords with modern Western thought — but proposed that vague criteria be scrapped.

In the case of films the Media Council had requested that the Supreme Court should have the final say, that the criminal courts should deal with pornography, and that statutory control — if it is to remain — should accentuate age restriction.

"An informed public will then make the choices concerning its children."

On the revelation of journalists' sources, the Media Council had requested absolute privilege as a starting point but failing that granting courts the discretion to decide when it will be contempt of court not to reveal sources.

Laws should not be a set of restricting and prohibiting rules, but rather a set of protecting and permitting rules, he said.

"Once one follows this approach, freedom of the media should be the rule which accords with the general open and free democratic air."

At the meeting a decision on a proposal by Mr J G Featherstone of the NPU that the Media Council's membership be cut from 30 to 11, that it move from Cape Town to Johannesburg, that the parties be barred from hiring lawyers and that the power of the conciliators be increased was postponed

Mr Featherstone said that expansion of the council's functions over the years and its size had made it expensive. Because of the recession the media had to look hard at the bureaucracies it had created and the NPU was not prepared to fund anything beyond what was absolutely necessary.




## DP Youth backs De Beer

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party Youth (Western Cape) has declared its backing for DP leader Dr Zac De Beer who wants the five rebel DP MPs who defected to the ANC this week to resign from the DP.

And Mr Dave Gant, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the DP, said the NEC also backed the demand that the defectors should go.

The five are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont); Mr Jannie Momberg (Simonstown); Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton); Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Reg Haswell, (Maritzburg South).

A spokesman for the DP Youth said yesterday it had taken a stand on the issue at a meeting held on Tuesday.

"We wish to stress that the executive unanimously agrees with steps taken by Dr De Beer on the issue and re-iterates the commitment of the youth to the DP as an independent party with liberal democratic principles."



OH BLAST! Part of the third block being built for Bank City tilts crazily (arrowed) after an implosion brought down adjacent Aiken House in billows of dust in Johannesburg's CBD yesterday Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

# Mandela rejects plan

304A S/Times 26/4/92

From Page 1

to be power sharing for a number of years.

The NP source indicated, however, that if agreement could be reached on the principle of shared executive power, then compromises could be made on the composition of the upper house proposed for the new legislature.

At present, the NP proposes that the three top parties in an election have equal power in the upper house — irrespective of the size of their vote. This the ANC rejects totally.

If the NP's position on the upper house is amended, it would bring its proposals for a two-chamber legislature roughly in line with what is being proposed by the ANC, the Democratic Party and others.

The government will spell out its detailed proposals for an interim government in a draft Bill which is now in its third draft and is likely to be released at the end of next week.

The draft Bill, they said, would include an Interim Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile, the Codesa technical committee charged with overcoming the impasse on transitional measures has made substantive progress, with the government at last conceding the principle of some real executive authority for interim governing bodies.

All parties at the talks have agreed that there should be a temporary executive structure whose primary purpose would be to implement policies and measures directed towards improving the political climate and the levelling of the political playing field to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections.

This structure would include a multi-party council which would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa and would be vested with effective executive powers.

The council would have sub-councils which would be given specific responsibilities in relation to the functioning of departments in the preparatory stage.

There would be sub-councils on defence and law and order; regional and local government; finance and foreign affairs.

NP sources said that if the proposals regarding the preparatory councils were accepted it would result in the councils having *de facto* power over their areas of jurisdication, but *de jure* power would reside in the government of the day.

The NP, they said, was prepared to accept the need for a council which would have overarching power over the sub-councils. But it could not accept that the council should be a body which had overarching power over the Cabinet.


# SINUSITIS ASTHMA, ALL

"I feel like a new person. I have suffered from sinusitis ever since moving to Johannesburg. After using the Eiger for one month I feel great, my nose is clear and I can breathe again, I can even smell and taste my food! By the way, I had a constant post nasal drip which has also cleared."

These are words from Michael Foster, a customer of Eiger Technologies, one of many testimonials from delighted and happy people.

The manager at Eiger Technologies, a Sandton research and development company, said: "We have over 4 000 customers who have experienced similar results from using the Eiger Air Purifier, and the sucess rate is extremely high. In the few cases where it does not have the desired effect we simply return every cent they have spent with us".

The greatest area of success is where a person has an allergy such as sinusitis, asthma, hayfever and migraines, in fact any respiratory related problem.



The Eiger cleaner whic irritants and breathing spa or bedroom. cess is emp chemicals or The results a ing.

If you feel try an Eiger experience th then give Eig Their number 1760.


member of her defence team — turned down his request for funding of legal costs for [illegible] kidnapping [illegible] I approached Mrs Mandela for funds two weeks ago, but she refused

children. Winnie used me and dumped me," he says.

Mr Morgan was never called to [illegible] "trial [illegible] trial" on the admissibility of his statement, his defence claimed it had been made under duress.

! Please stop these people !

# ANC rejects FW's 'super council'

304A S/Times 26/4/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

HOPES of establishing a government of national unity this year have been dashed with the blanket rejection by the ANC and Inkatha of the government's proposals for an elected executive.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday joined Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in dismissing the government's proposals for an executive council made up of three to five members directly elected by the public.

Mr Mandela's statement now sets the stage for the first major battle in Codesa on a substantive constitutional issue.

## Call

President FW De Klerk unveiled his proposal for the executive in Parliament this week.

Mr Mandela said at a graduation ceremony at the University of the North yesterday that his organisation rejected "outright" the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council.

The ANC's position, he said, remained unchanged.

"We call for elections for a constituent assembly which shall also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated."

Earlier Mr Buthelezi also rejected the proposals, saying the idea of an elected presidency to establish some kind of super adjudicating body for resolving disputes was not acceptable.

## Rapid

In terms of President De Klerk's proposals, the current presidency would be replaced by a directly elected executive council comprising between three and five members. Each party would nominate a candidate for executive council elections and the three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the executive council.

National Party sources said earlier this week they believed rapid movement could be made towards holding elections this year for an executive authority if the proposals were accepted.

The sharp rejection of the proposals by the other two key players, confirmed NP sources, now makes elections unlikely.

One top NP negotiator said the party's bottom line was that there would have

To Page 2

## 'Partnership will save SA'

THE country would not receive any meaningful or significant investment if the ANC wanted to govern on its own, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Friday.

"If the ANC wakes up and goes into a partnership with us and the IFP, SA will be saved," he said during debate on the Foreign Affairs vote.

# Mandela rejects plan

From Page 1

to be power sharing for a number of years.

The NP source indicated, however, that if agreement could be reached on the principle of shared executive power, then compromises could be made on the composition of the upper house proposed for the new legislature.

At present, the NP proposes that the three top parties in an election have equal power in the upper house — irrespective of the size of their vote. This the ANC rejects totally.

If the NP's position on the upper house is amended, it would bring its proposals for a two-chamber legislature roughly in line with what is being proposed by the ANC, the Democratic Party and others.

The government will spell out its detailed proposals for an interim government in a draft Bill which is now in its third draft and is likely to be released at the end of next week.

The draft Bill, they said, would include an Interim Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile, the Codesa technical committee charged with overcoming the impasse on transitional measures has made substantive progress, with the government at last conceding the principle of some real executive authority for interim governing bodies.

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To Page 2

# ANC hits at NP plans

C/Press 26/4/92

(304A)

By ZB MOLEFE and S'BU MNGADI

THIS week's transitional government proposals by President FW de Klerk mean that the NP would still be in power even if it lost an election, ANC president Nelson Mandela charged yesterday.

Addressing a ceremony where he was installed Chancellor of the University of the North, he said: "The National Party's desire to cling to power at all costs emerges even more sharply in the government's proposals.

Mandela warned that the NP proposals would result in an interim government that would not enjoy the confidence of the majority which would see it as "a slightly refurbished NP government".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the proposals were "an elaborate toy-telephone which only exposes the NP regime's inability to present meaningful, substantial and long-lasting solutions to the country's problems".

■ Sapa reports that the NP yesterday reacted to Mandela saying that the ANC – with its alleged record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action – should be careful about criticising the democratic proposals of other political parties.



MOR

Dancers

WHAT'S THE FASSIE?

Brenda furious over satellite snub

Page 7



DON LEARN

BAG BU SPOT COM

# Holomisa: 'FW is stalling' (304A)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's offer to hold the country's first one-person one-vote election and share his executive powers will not win approval at Codesa, according to Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa. Citizen 26/4/92

"There is no doubt that his proposals to Codesa have a built-in mechanism to delay and stall progress in the negotiation process," General Holomisa said on Friday.

De Klerk told parliament on Thursday that a three- to five-member executive council could be elected before agreement on an interim government.

# CP opts for talks about talks

304A

CT 27/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party took a significant step towards participation in constitutional negotiations at its secret "bosberaad" meeting held in the Western Cape at the weekend.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was cautious about the brainstorming session held in the light of the CP's referendum defeat, but allowed that "we are very pleased with the way things went".

He said the CP had decided to approach the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and the government's official spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delport, about his offer of bilateral talks with the CP "to see what he has in mind".

He said the party had opted for what amounted to "talks about talks" with the government, which is anxious to draw the CP into broader constitutional debate and the negotiation process.

A CP source who attended the marathon strategy review session claimed that the pro-negotiation faction in the party caucus emerged as the majority and "carried the day" at the crucial meeting on the future direction of the CP.

"It can be assumed that if we (the CP) are carefully handled, we can be brought into Codesa," the source said.

● **CP may accept FW's 'ice-breaker' invitation — Page 5**

# Heroes' welcome for DP five

(304A)

DURBAN. — The five Democratic Party MPs who joined the African National Congress were given a heroes' welcome by ANC supporters at a meeting in Imbali near Maritzburg.

The secretary general of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking at the meeting yesterday, said the five members would enrich the ANC with experience, reports Sapa.

The five are representing neither the DP or the ANC in parliament, but have said they will act as independent MPs who support the ANC.

ARG 27/4/92

Mr Ramaphosa said they would be grafted to all ANC structures.

He added that the continued participation of the five MPs in parliament was being discussed at a regional level and the matter would be referred to the ANC's 26-member national working committee.

● The Democratic Party's Sandton constituency yesterday called for the resignation of Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling, one of the five DP members who joined the ANC last week, reports The Argus Correspondent.

The call was made after a special meeting of the DP's constituency committee held in Sandton yesterday.

# Dalling tells Sandton DP 'I stay put'

STAR 27/4/92

By Mohen Govender 304A

The Democratic Party's Sandton constituency yesterday called for the resignation of Sandton MP Dave Dalling, one of the five DP members who joined the ANC last week.

The call was made after a special meeting of the DP's constituency committee held in Sandton yesterday.

But Mr Dalling said he would not bow to pressure.

Mr Dalling, Claremont MP Jan van Eck, Pietermaritzburg South MP Rob Haswell, Greytown MP Pierre Cronje and Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg joined the ANC last week.

DP chairman Peter Jardine said the committee believed Mr Dalling was morally bound to resign as he had joined a political organisation whose principles differed from those for which he had been elected.

"The committee endorses the principles and policies of the DP. We want to assure the people of Sandton that their parliamentary needs will in the meantime continue to be dealt with by the Sandton DP, with the assistance of other DP MPs," Mr Jardine said.

Asked to comment, Mr Dalling said last night: "I cannot resign because a committee wants me to. I have to take into account the hundreds and thousands of people in Sandton.

"If I were to resign, and if we include Alexandra in Sandton, there will be approximately 300 000 blacks in Sandton and surrounding areas who will not be represented."

[redacted]

# ANC suggests plan to air Codesa sessions

THE activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if "Codesa, the Radio Show" comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of SA and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa's working group 4 dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group's brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed "and especially to avoid misunderstandings".

Business Day 27/4/92

PATRICK BULGER

"The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states," an ANC submission to the working group said. (304A)

ANC negotiator Matthews Phosa said at the weekend the proposal was being considered but seemed an ideal way to keep the public informed of Codesa decisions.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.

This secrecy has irritated some participants, who argue that matters of national interest should be in the public domain. They are concerned that should Codesa continue to operate in secrecy its decisions will gain limited acceptance from the public.

● See Page 2

# Independent panel mooted by ANC

B/Day 27/4/92

TIM COHEN

THE ANC has modified its stance on a constitution-making body by suggesting the creation of an independent constitutional panel which would ensure that principles agreed at Codesa become enshrined in a new constitution.

This important concession, an adaptation of a suggestion originally made by the DP, goes some way toward satisfying the demand of other Codesa participants — notably Inkatha — that the constitution be agreed on before a new government comes into being.

The ANC's proposal, published in the latest edition of official ANC journal Mayibuye, is an addition to its more general proposals for the constitution-making body.

These are that the body be elected by proportional representation with a relatively small threshold for parties to qualify for representation and that it should take decisions by a two-thirds majority.

The ANC feels these measures would be sufficient to counter the argument that the ANC was trying to use its popularity to force a constitution unacceptable to some South Africans onto the country as a whole.

The powers of the independent constitutional panel to veto decisions of the constitution-making body are not described in the Mayibuye article.

Writing in Mayibuye, ANC constitutional committee member Albie Sachs says the ANC agrees that a constituent assembly should be as inclusive as possible, so as to produce a document acceptable to and binding on the whole nation.

But Sachs slates government's proposal that there should be a second house with equal powers to the elected constitution-making body to represent minority parties and regional interests.

This would result in a House of Winners and a House of Losers, each trying to face each other down. This would be the worst way of achieving the desired consensual result, he writes.

Discussing the constitutional principles discussed so far, Sachs says the impression that the ANC and government had come to agreement on power-sharing and on regional government was false.

## Balance

However, provisional and broad agreement had been achieved that there should be a balance between central, regional and local government and that minority political parties should be able to participate meaningfully.

The final formulations, which are subject to a Codesa plenary session, on both issues were left "open and vague.

"It should be said that the debates were rich and interesting, but the gulf between us and the government remains large," he says.

Key issues still to be discussed are economic systems, the role of traditional leaders, affirmative action in the bill of rights and self-determination, Sachs writes.

# Codesa faces crucial interim govt debate

CODESA faces a crucial debate today with the presentation of a report that could help finalise arrangements for the first phase of interim government.

B/Day 27/4/92

The eight-member technical committee will present its report, which includes about 30 recommendations, to Codesa's working group 3. The technical committee was set up to identify commonalities and differences on pre-election interim structures, following what one Codesa participant described as "a stalemate".

TIM COHEN

304A

DP MP and committee chairman Ken Andrew yesterday declined to comment on the contents of the report but said the group had made satisfactory progress.

The main issues up for debate are the powers of the interim government council and the variety of multiparty subsiduary bodies which would be established to "level the playing field".

# 5 tipped for Du Plessis portfolio

304A
Sowetan
27/4/92

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN,**
**Political Correspondent**

SOUTH Africa 's ambassador to the United States, Mr Harry Schwarz, is among at least five persons singled out as the likely successor of Mr Barend du Plessis, who is to retire as Minister of Finance this week.

Speculation of a likely replacement for the portfolio vacated by Du Plessis in a surprise resignation over the weekend includes: the present Minister of Tourism and Industry, Mr Derek Keys; the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, Mr Conrad Strauss, the Standard Bank chief; and the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Du Plessis resigned at the weekend citing "exhaustion" as the main reason behind his decision to step down.

His resignation could force President De Klerk to look beyond the National Party, existing Government officials and even Parliament for a replacement, senior sources yesterday said. Schwarz has been identified by political observers and persons in and around Government as the person who could be "sensitive to the economic and political expectations of the majority of South Africans" one MP said yesterday. He also said that Schwarz is known to be a conservative social democrat and an outstanding economist and would therefore be "a perfect Finance Minister for an interim government". "He would swing the Budget around to more of a people's Budget, as it is still very much an exclusively white Budget," the MP said. But following in the pattern established by De Klerk himself earlier this year - with the appointment of former Gencor boss Derek Keys - he might indeed replace Du Plessis with a person from the private sector.

Dr Dawie de Villiers has been dismissed by knowledgeable sources as a replacement as "he is too ambitious politically". On the other hand, Standard Bank chief Strauss and Reserve Bank governor Stals are among the private-sector persons around whom speculation centred yesterday.

The DP's spokesman on finance, Mr Ken Andrew, also believes that it would be wise for the President to "broaden the base of his Cabinet" beyond the NP and Government for a replacement for the vacant portfolio.

A spokesman from the President's office yesterday said that an announcement could be made sometime this week, but that it remained De Klerk's prerogative.

# Codesa's 'king size' issue to be solved

Sowetan 27/4/92

**CODESA'S management committee will today decide whether the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and other traditional leaders should be allowed as delegates at the negotiation table.**

By IKE MOTSAPI

And ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who is reported to be in favour of including the Zulu king, is expected to address the committee on the issue today.

A subcommittee elected by the management committee to investigate possibilities of allowing the king and other traditional leaders to take part in Codesa will also table its findings today.

However, it is expected that the management committee will rule in favour of the participation of the king and other traditional leaders.

A weekend newspaper reports that Mandela wanted to personally "support the inclusion of the king."

The chairman of the subcommittee, the Rev TL Mopeli, last week caused a furore when he announced that a tentative agreement had been reached by members of his committee on the issue. The management committee refuted this, saying the matter had not yet been resolved.

Mr Pravin Gordham, chairman of the management committee, said Codesa had "not yet resolved the issue of the participation of the king."

Gordham said he was hopeful that a solution would be found soon.

Mopeli said the committee recommended that the four provinces of the country should each be represented by 12 chiefs, kings and five advisers.

# Barend bows out after a long career

Sowetan 27/4/92

**MR BAREND Jacobus du Plessis, Minister of Finance for eight years, has retired after a meteoric political career.**

His career literally burnt out in the rarefied political ether where only the toughest live long enough to go on pension.

By his own admission, Du Plessis ultimately could not take the bruising pace that others like him - and the State President he came so close to becoming - endure for a living.

Circumstances of a radically changing South Africa also caught Du Plessis in a particularly nasty crossfire at the very moment that he would otherwise have secured for himself the historic honour of introducing Value Added Tax to South Africa.

Instead, by a combination of Du Plessis's own inflexibility and the tenacious onslaught of new extra-parliamentary foes such as the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, VAT became a major nightmare and a certain force in his final undoing.

Du Plessis himself points out that putting together a Budget in 1992, under the unprecedented pressures of a South Africa in transition and in a crimson economic nosedive, took too heavy a toll.

The Budget debate had scarcely ended before he was admitted to hospital for an as yet undisclosed malady, which was so serious as to end a political career at a relatively young age of 52.

Born the eldest of three children, the young Du Plessis was immediately exposed to politics by his railway worker father Hendrik, active in the National Party at branch level.

He grew up in Boksburg and went to Potchefstroom University

FOCUS

for his BSc degree which he obtained in 1960.

Then followed a colourful and wonderboy career which built enough momentum to catapult him, ultimately, to within a whisker of succeeding Mr PW Botha, his mentor and political patron, as State President.

He turned teacher first, passing through the teacher training college as chairman of the SRC and travelling abroad to meet other student leaders.

His first post was mathematics teacher at Helpmekaar Boys' High School and then at the Johannesburg Technical College.

His next career move was into the SABC in the chief engineer's department, where he helped to pioneer the data-processing department before being promoted to the director-general's office as administrative secretary.

## Computer skills

Du Plessis' newly acquired computer skills led to his next career switch, to IBM, where he expanded his interests into banking and attended the IBM Graduate School of Banking in Princeton, USA.

In 1966 he had formally joined the National Party and he now moved into public life by winning a seat on the Roodepoort City Council in 1972. The next year he was deputy mayor and a year later mayor.

The mayoral spell was shortlived, however, as he took the Florida seat from the Opposition United Party in the general election of that same year.

Once in Parliament, Du Plessis employed his by now substantial experience and flair for monetary matters by serving in the Select Committee for Public Accounts and serving as secretary of the National Party group on finance.

In 1982 he chaired a committee investigating his former employers' affairs at the SABC and the media, and in the same year became Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information. In the meantime he had accumulated the directorships of 12 companies.

## NP hierarchy

Du Plessis had a sparkling and refreshingly candid public style, which won him much favour with the media, which soon had him tagged as the most upwardly mobile young politician in the dour ranks of the NP hierarchy.

These attributes had been put to good use as NP information officer from 1977-81. He was now destined to try them out on a more difficult clientele.

On November 23, 1983, he was appointed to the Cabinet with the difficult portfolio of (black) Education and Training. He immediately applied his personal style to the problem of school boycotts, meeting student leaders and the SA Council of Churches' Secretary-General, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The problem was however too deeply seated in the country's apartheid past to arrive at quick-fix solutions and six schools were closed at Atteridgeville and Saulsville.

Undaunted, Du Plessis tried to overhaul the system of black education within the constraints of government policy, trying to get the black community more closely involved in their schools and cutting red tape obstructing access to his office. He also lifted the colour bar to appointment and promotion within his department.

When Mr Owen Horwood retired as Minister of Finance, Mr Du Plessis was promoted over the heads of senior Cabinet men who would traditionally have felt entitled to this most senior of posts.

Du Plessis was, however, the favourite of the leader, PW Botha, who was known to have picked Du Plessis as his successor.

Du Plessis persevered bravely and was suddenly faced with the prospect of awesome power and responsibility when an ill President Botha sprang his surprise resignation on the party caucus. Du Plessis came to within eight votes of winning against FW de Klerk in the final round of the contest for part leader.

In the end, Du Plessis proved not to be quite the liberal he gave himself credit for.

In the view of those who repeatedly faced him across the negotiating table at the Union Buildings and the HF Verwoerd administration HQ, Du Plessis was described as intolerant of their viewpoint, paternalistic and ignorant of the basic facts about blacks and their needs.

In Parliament, Du Plessis on occasion displayed some anger which, to a lesser degree, approximated that of his departed mentor.

It is perhaps this aspect of Du Plessis's make-up, the tension and the tendency toward highly animated debate, argument and action which may in the end have pulled him up short both mentally and physically.

Whatever career Du Plessis is to follow next, the record seems to show that he will likely end up at, or very near, the top again.

He and his wife Antoinette (born Van der Berg) have four children, Jean, Vanessa, Charl and Berno. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Wide spectrum of women to chart rights

(304A) CT 27/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Women from different political persuasions have agreed on a non-party political programme to draw up a women's charter in South Africa.

The Women's National Coalition, comprising 56 organisations and eight regions, met over the weekend at the University of the Witwatersrand here.

A statement issued yesterday said the coalition had agreed to campaign throughout the country for a charter of women's rights to be incorporated in the constitution of a new South Africa.

Such a charter was intended to correct historical inequalities in law, and traditional and social customs. Work on the charter is to be completed within a year.

The coalition said it plans to elicit the views and needs of all women — in rural and urban areas, in farms and factories, domestic workers, women in business and professions, and housewives. Information will be collated and experts asked to help formulate the charter. The document will be indigenous to South Africa, the statement said. — Sapa

# Walsh denies leaning towards NP link

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE Democratic Party's Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, yesterday dismissed as "totally incorrect" weekend reports that he favoured the formation of a new centrist party with NP links.**

**He was reacting to reports which tried to categorise the DP's remaining 33 MPs into three camps. Five DP MPs defected to the ANC last week.**

**The reports sketched three factions in the DP:**

- **A "hard core" of liberal democrats who want the party to stay independent.**
- **Those who have leanings towards closer ties with the ANC.**
- **Those who favour the formation of a new centrist party, possibly with NP links.**

**Mr Walsh, MP for Pinelands, yesterday said that efforts to lump him into the last category were "totally wrong".**

**He said in a statement: "I continue to believe, as I have always done, in the vital role that an independent liberal party needs to play in the unfolding tapestry of South African politics."**

**Mr Walsh said the "political baggage" of the NP made closer co-operation with that party an unacceptable option. He said this meant that he was inclined to closer co-operation with the ANC.**

CT 27/4/92

# Codesa to go on air?

(30449)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if "Codesa, the Radio Show" comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of South Africa and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa's working group IV dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group's brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed "and especially to avoid misunderstandings".

"The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states," an ANC submission to the working group said.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.

# CP may accept FW's 'ice-breaker' invitation

304A
CT 27/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE PARTY sources who attended the party's "bosberaad" in the Western Cape at the weekend said the latest initiative to put out feelers to the government's offical spokesman on Codesa, Mr Tertius Delport, came close to an acceptance of President F W de Klerk's offer last week to hold a Groote Schuur-type ice-breaking session with the CP.

This session would be aimed at bringing the party into the mainstream of political negotiations.

Mr Delport is Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht labelled the discussion which took place at the meeting, on seven policy and strategy documents proposing a new course for the party, "very, very fruitful".

He said the in-depth discussions on the specially-prepared documents would continue, but added: "We have no doubt about our future course — it's a matter of strategy."

CP sources said the entire atmosphere in the party had changed since the CP leadership muzzled the pro-negotiation faction at a head council meeting in Pretoria just a few weeks ago.

"Things are now looking healthy and there are indications that the CP is moving towards a commitment to the negotiation process and its outcome."

A leading member of the pragmatic faction in the CP, Overvaal MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, said at the weekend that greater unity and co-operation were necessary among Afrikaners to ensure their place in the sun.

In a frank interview in Rapport, he spoke of the need for a close working relationship with Mr De Klerk to ensure the defeat of the ANC.

# Thumbs down for NP plan

304A

CT 27/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION to the government's proposals for a multi-party, directly-elected executive council to take over the job of the State President snowballed at the weekend.

The plan, aimed at electing a new leadership core to direct the reform process during the transition to democracy, was rejected at the weekend by the leaders of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party and the Transkei government.

Last week the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party expressed serious reservations about the plan for a three- to five-person rotating presidency.

The plan was orignally aimed at breathing new life into the Codesa negotiations, which have shown limited progress in recent weeks, but has so far proved universally unpopular for different reasons with groups across the political spectrum.

The government hopes that a more detailed version of the proposals to bring the most popular political leaders into the top echelons of government will receive a more sympathetic reception when it is presented to Codesa parties for discussion today.

There was disappointment and anger in the Nationalist camp over the summary rejection of the proposals by parties both inside and outside Codesa.

Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC rejected "outright" the proposed executive council, adding that it was clear that the NP was still bent on clinging to power.

## "Vague"

He derisively dismissed the system whereby power would be shared equally by all leaders who made it on to the council as a "loser takes all" system.

Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi dismissed the proposals as too vague, and vowed to oppose them, saying that elections could not in any case take place until violence had been brought under control.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said at the weekend that Mr De Klerk's latest plan for power-sharing showed that the NP did not believe that black people were capable of ruling by themselves.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Homolomisa said the proposals were "strange".

The NP said it was surprised at the ANC's "simplistic" rejection of the proposals.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said: "With its record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action, the ANC should be careful about criticising the democratic proposals of other political parties."

# Renewal of closeness between Nats, IFP?

**Political Staff**

**THE National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party met in Durban at the weekend to discuss constitutional development in the region.**

**They are understood to have reviewed Natal/KwaZulu Indaba recommendations and appointed a working group to consider proposals.**

**The meeting of the two parties — the first in seven months — suggests a renewed closeness between them.**

**NP representatives included Natal leader Mr George Bartlett, deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport and deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Renier Schoemen.**

**The IFP delegation, led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, included Codesa negotiator Mr Walter Felgate.**

**A joint statement said discussions had "dealt mainly with constitutional development" and "structures for future government" in the Natal/KwaZulu region.**

**It had been decided to appoint a working group "to look into and investigate certain proposals" and report back "in the near future".**

# Barend: Keys the strongest prospect



Picture: JOHAN SCHRÖNEN, The Argus

...cts some of the damage after fire ...er Street in Bothasig yesterday. The ...ke and water damaged several oth... ...rted in a food outlet.

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The order was given to abandon ship.

Two divers stayed on board to burn off the towline with acetylene torches while the rest left in a lifeboat and a supply boat.

"Everybody watched from a fair distance, but when they saw it was not going down immediately they went back to ecover some salvage equipent."

They watched the ship sink he middle first, the funnel ...st touching the foremast. ...nt down in one piece, but ...t doubled.

...sappeared from view at The ship went very at the end, like a

...ham said it was not ...ow much salvage ...was lost, but the

**TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff**

MR Barend du Plessis's successor as Minister of Finance is expected to be announced by President De Klerk this week.

He is likely to consult National Party provincial leaders and the announcement could come after the Cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Du Plessis's shock resignation takes effect on May 1.

He announced at the weekend that that he was resigning from all political posts, including the Transvaal leadership of the National Party and his Florida seat, because of exhaustion.

NP and other political sources said there was nothing sinister about the move and no suggestion that Mr Du Plessis had been forced out.

A wide range of candidates has been tipped for Mr Du Plessis's key Cabinet portfolio with Minister of Trade and Economic Coordination Mr Derek Keys as the strongest contender.

Mr Keys is in Japan at present.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister for Public Enterprises, is acting Minister of Finance and he is being mentioned in political circles as one of the possible successors.

Other possible contenders are Standard Bank chairman Mr Conrad Strauss, Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals and Mr Harry Schwarz, former Democratic Party finance spokesman and now ambassador to the United States.

Some Nationalist and official sources believe Mr Keys would do better in trade and industry, which is more suited to his experience. Expanding exports is one of his main targets.

Mr De Klerk may therefore bring into his Cabinet another expert from outside politics. Inside the National Party one other possible candidate is Mr Amie Venter, Minister of State Expenditure.

Mr Strauss has worked closely with the government abroad and is widely respected in government and business circles.

Dr De Villiers, as Cape leader of the party, has the strongest political claim to the post, but he does not have a sound financial background.

During South Africa's transitional period it is thought wiser to have a politically neutral Minister of Finance.

Some observers think Dr Stals would be ideal because he would be seen as a technocrat outside the party political arena.

Successors are also being sought for Mr Du Plessis's political posts.

The Transvaal head committee of the party will meet on Saturday to choose a successor. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, senior NP vice-chairman in the province, is acting leader. Other vice-chairmen are Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan.

Some of the younger ministers, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Defence, and Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Local Government, are being mentioned as possible candidates.

Mr Du Plessis was clearing up his office in the H F Verwoerd Building in Cape Town today.

He said there were no personal or political differences between him and the party.

Referring to the by-election that will result from his resignation as MP for Florida, he said there would still have to be discussions on whether he would take part in the campaign.

## Schwarz silent on succession rumours

**The Argus Foreign Service**

WASHINGTON. — South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Mr Harry Schwarz, said today he was "surprised and shocked" by the resignation of the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, but declined to comment on speculation that he might succeed Mr Du Plessis.

Speaking from Sacramento, California, where he is holding a series of meetings with political leaders, businessmen and newspaper editors, Mr Schwarz said: "The news of his resignation came as a complete surprise to me and I was very sorry to hear of it.

"I realised he was shouldering a very heavy burden, serving in the cabinet and in Codesa, but his resignation from the cabinet as well as from all his political posts was a shock to me and I would like very much to wish him well and hope that he recovers soon."

Asked about speculation that he might succeed Mr Du Plessis, Mr Schwarz said: "I have read about the various names being mentioned with great interest." But he declined to discuss the possibility that he might give up diplomacy to take over from Mr Du Plessis. "I've got nothing to say about that, I'm afraid, nothing at all."

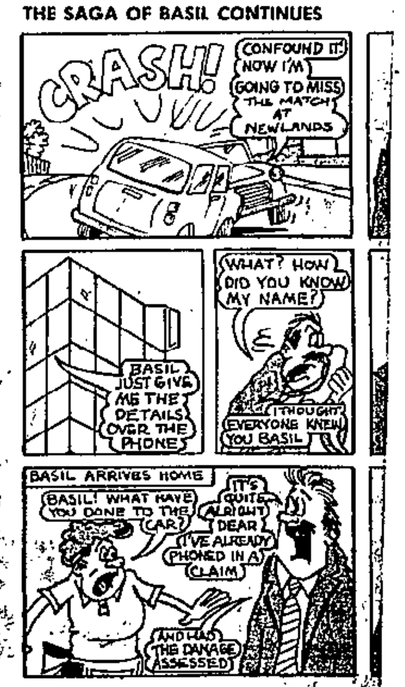
Ever since Mr Du Plessis was admitted to hospital earlier this month suffering from exhaustion, there has been speculation in Washington that Mr Schwarz might be one of those considered as a pos...

**By George!**




"Just a thought, Harry — have you had enough of Washington..?


THE SAGA OF BASIL CONTINUES

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ARG 27/4/92

# Bill Sewell — the first rebel

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**
**Political Staff**

THE first high-profile Democratic Party member to cross the floor from the comfort of establishment politics to the hurly-burly world of extra-parliamentary politics was not one of the rebel MPs.

It was former Western Cape DP chairman Mr Bill Sewell, whose move almost a year ago was not announced in a blaze of publicity.

Mr Sewell is not that type of politician; he works quietly and efficiently in a world far removed from the headlines.

Mr Sewell, who managed the DP's election campaign in the Western Cape in 1989, is a member of the ANC regional election committee.

He's quite a catch for the ANC, which is short on members with experience in running election campaigns.



**Mr Bill Sewell**

He said: "Right now we are developing strategies for constituent assembly elections. We are also preparing comprehensive training materials."

He said the ANC was not ready to enter elections — "but we are getting there and are preparing our members for a new form of struggle".

Raising funds to fight an election was a major problem.

"Businessmen might feel that they should keep money flowing into the National Party, but they must know that we can have stability only if the ANC is part of any settlement. We need their support."

He said he joined the ANC because "I want to play an active role in rebuilding the country and eradicating the ravages of apartheid".

Mr Sewell cut his political teeth in local government, winning a seat on the Randburg Town Council by seven votes for the Progressive Federal Party in 1982.

A move to Cape Town as general manager of a Cape-based furniture group strengthened his association with liberal political parties as he became Western Cape chairman of the DP.

Race wide open: decision likely on Wednesday

# Six contenders for Barend's job

304A STAR 27/4/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

**Barend du Plessis's shock resignation from politics at the weekend has left the race wide open for his successors as Minister of Finance and Transvaal leader of the National Party.**

Mr du Plessis announced on Saturday that he was resigning all his political posts — including his Florida seat in Parliament — from the end of the month because of exhaustion.

National Party and other political sources said there was nothing sinister about the move and no suggestion that Mr du Plessis had been forced out.

## Immense

Mr du Plessis was admitted to hospital two weeks ago, citing physical exhaustion as a result of his immense workload.

A range of candidates for Mr du Plessis's key Cabinet portfolio has been mooted, with Minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination Derek Keys the strongest contender.

However, the names of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, Standard Bank chairman Conrad Strauss, Reserve Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals and SA Ambassador in Washington Harry Schwarz have also been mentioned.

Some NP and official sources believe that Mr Keys would do better in Trade and Industry, which suited his experience.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce the new Finance Minister after Wednesday's routine Cabinet meeting.

Dr Strauss's name is also being mentioned in political circles. He has worked closely with the Government abroad, and is widely respected in Government and business circles.

Dr de Villiers, who has been acting Finance Minister since Mr du Plessis became ill, probably has the strongest political claim to the job because, as Cape NP leader, he leads the largest provincial caucus.

Speculation on a likely successor has been thrown wide open because of the transitional period that the country is undergoing.

In this time, traditional claims such as position in the party may well take sec ond place to wider political and technical considerations.

Ideally, the choice should be someone politically neutral to win the widest possible political support.

Some sources believe that Dr Stals would be ideal because he would be seen as a technocrat standing outside the party-political arena.

In some quarters it is being speculated that Mr de Klerk might choose a black person for the position, although his difficulty would be to choose someone of standing who would not re ject the job as "co-option".

The name of Dr Elty Links, the Finance Depart-

● To Page 3



Barend du Plessis . . . resigning because of workload exhaustion.

STAR 27/4/

## Six runners in race for Barend's job

304A STAR 27/4/92

● From Page 1

ment's head of mission in Europe, has been mentioned as a possible way round this dilemma. A former SA representative at the IMF, he is regarded as a brilliant economist whose appointment could help to attract blacks and especially coloureds to the NP.

Within the Transvaal NP, the choice of a new leader is also wide open with the most senior men, Gerrit Viljoen and Pik Botha, unlikely to want the job because of their already very heavy commitments.

Two younger Ministers are being tipped — Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels.

**Hugh Roberton** of The Star Bureau in Washington reports Mr Schwarz said yesterday he was "surprised and shocked" by Mr du Plessis's resignation but declined to comment at all on speculation that he might succeed him.

Speaking from Sacramento, California, where he is holding a series of meetings with political leaders, businessmen and newspaper editors, Mr Schwarz said: "I was very sorry to hear of it. I hope he recovers soon."

Asked about speculation that he might succeed Mr du Plessis, Mr Schwarz replied: "I've got nothing to say about that, I'm afraid, nothing at all."

His long experience in banking, his years of service in Parliament where he was the Democratic Party's official spokesman on finance, and his extensive international contacts have been mentioned as unique qualifications for the job.

American observers believe that one of Mr Schwarz's major triumphs in the US has been in the field of finance and economics, where he has established contacts at the highest level.



al groups at Turfloop hailed ANC leader Nelson
o towards setting the university on the road to

# Women join hands in struggle for rights

By Jo-Anne Collinge STAR 27/4/92

Women representing scores of organisations across the political spectrum surmounted ideological barriers at the weekend to prepare a broadly based "charter" of women's rights.

Nearly 250 delegates attended a Women's National Coalition workshop and elected a steering committee whose main task is to pilot a year-long campaign for a "charter" of women's rights.

Women taking part included NP and DP MPs and leading members of the ANC, SACP, IFP and Cosatu.

The Black Sash, Kontak, Union of Jewish Women, Women for Peace, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Legal Status Committee were among the 60-odd organisations represented.

Dr Frene Ginwala, deputy head of the ANC's emancipation department — elected co-ordinator of the coalition's steering committee to all-round acclaim — said the "charter", as many but not all termed the document of rights, had to address the needs of all women.

The intention of compiling a women's charter or convention was to ensure that broad constitutional guarantees of gender equality were actually realised.

Present signs at Codesa, where women were all-but excluded from the process, were an ominous warning of things to come, said Dr Ginwala.

She said the precise status of the "charter" — in relation to a Bill of rights, for instance — could be worked out in consultation with legal experts.

The point was to go to the root of gender discrimination. "We need to put into this document our most radical and fundamental demands," said Dr Ginwala. "We shouldn't tinker."

She urged delegates to "grow big ears", systematically to hear the demands of women around the country. "There is one weapon we can use, and that is the voices of millions of South African women."

Delegates took serious account of the parallel need to work within various political organisations and to intervene in the electoral process in a way that would win acceptance of a women's charter in the constitution-making process.

"When elections come we can use our issues. If no party stands for us, we don't give them our vote — finish and cut and klaar!" said one participant.

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# Barend quits: Keys front-runner

(304A)

CT 27/4/92

Political Staff

FINANCE MINISTER Mr Barend du Plessis' sudden resignation has given rise to massive speculation on who his successor will be, with Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination Minister Mr Derek Keys emerging as a clear favourite.

It has also presented the National Party with a tricky political test — fighting a by-election in Mr Du Plessis' Florida constituency.

Mr Keys certainly has the economic acumen to take up the reins vacated by Mr Du Plessis, but there have been reservations over whether he could tackle the Trade and Industry portfolio as well.

At the weekend the leading NP-supporting newspaper Rapport said Mr Du Plessis' "thankless task" would "in all likelihood" go to Mr Keys, appointed to the cabinet last year after a brilliant business career.

Mr Du Plessis' resignation — presented to the State President on Friday and made public the next day — will take effect on Friday and President F W de Klerk will announce a successor this week.

Another leading candidate is Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers — called in to act as finance minister when Mr Du Plessis succumbed to exhaustion and was hospitalised two weeks ago.

However, the former Springbok rugby captain is thought to be short on specific experience for the job and already has a massive workload as he tries to boost support for the NP in the Cape.

Also mentioned has been the ambassador to the United States and former Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz.

Although Mr Schwarz — who has a fearsome reputation for not tolerating incompetence or corruption — has some credentials for the job, it is generally thought that he may be a little old to take it on now.

In past weeks there has also been speculation that Standard Bank Investment Corporation chairman Mr Conrad Strauss may be called in to replace Mr Du Plessis, who had signalled that this year's bud-

To page 2

## TODAY

**Cloudy and mild**

— PAGE 2

**Winnie quizzed on TV**

Mrs Winnie Mandela refused last night to discuss a videoed statement in 1986 in which she appeared to come out in support of necklacing, saying she personally never had resorted to the practice.

— PAGE 2

**...it quake area**

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CP

# Du Plessis

CT 27/4/92

(304A)

get would be his last.

However, Mr De Klerk will probably be reluctant to bring in a second non-elected cabinet minister to join Mr Keys.

Mr Du Plessis' resignation followed a period in which he had taken on a massive workload as he prepared the budget and led the NP's Transvaal referendum campaign.

He had also been under pressure on VAT and at Codesa, where he often clashed with the NP's political opponents.

His resignation as finance minister had been expected some time this year but he was not thought to be planning to quit his Transvaal NP leadership and MP post as well.

However, at the weekend he said: "If I can be of service to our land in any other way or terrain, I will definitely be available."

There has been speculation that Mr Du Plessis, 52, had suffered something close to a nervous breakdown when he was admitted to hospital two weeks ago. A cabinet colleague said that shortly before his admission to hospital the finance minister had said he felt "like a bottle that is full right up to the top".

Mr Du Plessis served as finance minister for eight years after a phenomenal rise through the NP ranks. In 1989 he came within eight votes of succeeding Mr P W Botha at the helm of the country.

At the weekend the man who beat him in the race for that job, Mr De Klerk, said it was a great pity that circumstances had brought the outstanding political career of Mr Du Plessis to an end.

Most observers felt that the economic restructuring pursued under Mr Du Plessis in the past few years would take the political heat off his successor.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the economy was in a bad way but the new finance minister would find that "the only way is up".

A "reasonable" base had been built over the past few years and the basic trends could be maintained in spite of the political transition.

Saddled with the Rubicon rand, falling gold price and white elephants like Mossgas

# Early promise of glory turns to dashed hopes

STAR 27/4/92 (304A)

**The premature retirement from politics of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis could be ascribed to seemingly insurmountable obstacles plus his own nature working against him. By PETER FABRICIUS.**

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis, who retired from politics at the weekend, aged 52, was a victim both of political frustrations beyond his control and of his own personality.

His career, full of early promise, was caught up and eventually submerged in the turbulent and often ironic tides of a unique transitional era.

But the effects of fate were exacerbated by his own passionate and often rather volatile personality.

He was saddled with one of the hardest jobs in the Government at the hardest of times.

It would perhaps have been too much for anyone. But it proved certainly too much for someone of his temperament.

His mercurial nature was both a blessing and a curse. It lent passion to his courageous early crusades against racial injustice when he led the verligte campaign from the National Party backbenches to oust the verkramptes under Dr Andries Treurnicht. That passion also made him an effective political orator for the NP in one election campaign after another, especially against the Conservative Party.

And it brought him to within a tantalising eight votes of winning the leadership of the National Party when P W Botha resigned in February 1989.

But, ironically, it did not equip him well for the inevitable age of compromise that was the ultimate consequence of his own enlightened views.

When the time came to sit down and haggle with opponents about tough issues such as VAT and transitional government, Mr du Plessis's passion began to sour into something like ill-temper and intolerance.

His job was doubly frustrating. From his appointment as Minister of Finance in 1984, he struggled in vain to execute economic policy within the crushing political restraints of sanctions on the one side and President Botha's pork-barrel expediency on the other.

Saddled with the Rubicon rand, a falling gold price, an immense net outflow of capital, and the obligation to spend the little that remained on white elephants such as Mossgas, probably no one could have succeeded at the task.

Mr Botha's blatant manipulation of the public purse for political ends did not help.

One of the low points was when Mr du Plessis apparently heard from journalists in his hotel in West Germany during 1988 that Mr Botha had decided to overturn his policy decision to freeze public-service salaries, to help win the 1988 general municipal elections.

He later listed this as one of the principal frustrations of working under President Botha.

And then, just as he began to escape from the clutches of Mr Botha's residual national socialism, he ran into the anachronistic socialism of Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

It was probably Mr Naidoo, and his campaign against VAT, who did more than any other individual to precipitate the physical and nervous collapse which forced Mr du Plessis to resign.

VAT was something of a pet project which he had nurtured for years, the result of immense research by fiscal experts.

This was to be one economic project which would be executed in something like pure form.

But it ran into one political obstacle after another and he had to suffer the accumulative frustration of watching the pure conception whittled away like his plans of the P W Botha era.

At this point, Mr du Plessis's idealism began to harden into rigidity.

His frustrations over VAT seemed to sour him and rubbed off in Codesa where he was the Government's representative in the key working group on transitional government.

According to other Codesa delegates, Mr du Plessis became increasingly intolerant and intemperate about opposition to Government proposals.

Politically his career was fraught with frustration and painful irony.

When he stood for the leadership of the NP and the state presidency in 1989, he was considered the verligte candidate against the conservative Mr de Klerk. Yet he was also, rather incongruously, rumoured to be the choice of the recalcitrant President Botha.

But he then had to watch Mr de Klerk pick up the standard and run with it, perhaps further than he would have. Deprived of his political niche by a man of his own generation, the wunderkind's rise was thwarted and from then it was only a matter of time before he got out.

● Mr du Plessis was elected MP for Florida in 1974. In 1982 he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1983 Minister of Education and Training and in August 1984 Minister of Finance.

After Mr de Klerk became NP leader and State President, Mr du Plessis was elected leader of the Transvaal NP. □



Du Plessis . . . blessed and cursed with a mercurial nature.

# Koos and the CP: 'Now it's total war'

304A
ARGUS 28/4/92

**TOS WENTZEL Political Staff**

"TOTAL WAR" has broken out between maverick MP Mr Koos van der Merwe and the Conservative Party leadership which has expelled him.

Using this term today, Mr Van der Merwe said the leadership had declared its enmity towards him but it could not win as he was getting a constant stream of calls of support from CP supporters.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said Mr Van der Merwe was an undisciplined man and the National Party "can have him with the greatest of pleasure".

Treurnicht said he was "not interested in any way" in Mr Van der Merwe's challenge to him to have a television debate.

Mr Van der Merwe said he would stay on as an MP and would consider his position in the next few days.

He did not have a new political party in mind, but there could be a movement to get the Afrikaner to Codesa to state his case there. His main aim was to ensure a place in the sun for the Afrikaner without apartheid or racism.

The messages of support from party office bearers agreed with his view that the party was leaderless and without any plan. Fellow MPs had also telephoned to express their shock, but they would remain in the party for the present, he said.

Mr Van der Merwe's said that hardliners in the CP moved swiftly to expel him to prevent him from hijacking the party.

At a weekend caucus of the party he repeatedly clashed with Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the party.

Today he remained resentful that he had not been told about his expulsion before it was announced to the press. He said it was strange that he had been kept on as a whip through the years even though he was said to be so undisciplined.


The Argus

CAPE TOWN, MONDAY APRIL 27 1992

LATE FINAL

To Russia with love: Next on SA rugby menu?

CP axes Koos van der Merwe

Keys tops list as

PRIZE LINE

**FIRST WITH THE NEWS:** How The Argus broke the story yesterday.

Mr Le Roux and Dr Treurnicht said efforts had been made to contact Mr Van der Merwe until the announcement could no longer be delayed.

Mr Van der Merwe launched a blistering attack on the party leadership in a television interview last night, accusing it of having no plan and of leading its followers into a cul-de-sac.

He said the party was, in fact, leaderless and Dr Hartzernberg was "so verkramp that you can plough with him".

One of the reasons the leadership kept stalling about negotiations was because they had no plan.

The reason given for his expulsion from the party — that he had disregarded party discipline — was a smokescreen. The real reason for his expulsion was his criticism of the confusion in the CP, Mr Van der Merwe said.

Dr Treurnicht said today he did not plan to react to Mr Van der Merwe and he was not interested in entering into a debate with him.

Mr Le Roux said Mr Van der Merwe had tried to use the party as his own power base. This could be seen from the venom in his TV interview.

"He is an undisciplined person and the National Party can have him with the greatest of pleasure."

He confirmed that the final straw which led to Mr Van der Merwe's expulsion was a weekend newspaper interview.

# Deadlock over independent states

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa's divided working group four, which is discussing the future of the TBVC states, has submitted a report seeking a basis for consensus.

It recommended that governments of the TBVC states should be allowed to determine whether or not their people wanted re-incorporation.

Working group four has deadlocked because of a decision by Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and the ANC/SACP alliance that there was no need for the will of the people to be tested on the issue of re-incorporation.

The government believes that a referendum or election is essential before a decision can be made.

The report said that when independence was intially granted to the TBVC states the South African government had left it to the governments of the four territories to decide.

"It would be constitutionally anomalous for the government to decide what the people of the TBVC states really want, to attempt to implement or monitor any testing of the wishes of the people, or to decide how their wishes should be established," the report said.

The report said the parties' positions were so divergent that no consensus was possible unless all were willing to make concessions. — Sapa.

MRG 28/4/92 (3044)

# FW backs critics of Codesa's pace

(3044) ARG 28/4/92

PRESIDENT De Klerk has aligned himself with the misgivings of three black leaders about the pace at which Codesa is proceeding.

Mr De Klerk had talks in Cape Town with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu and chairman of the council of state of Ciskei Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

In a statement the three said most parties and goverments at Codesa were not being offered enough time to go back to the people with tabled proposals for the purpose of careful and rational decision-making.

They said the purpose of any democratic constitution should be to define the limits of the powers of the state.

Any constitution-making process entrusted to a popularly-elected assembly ran the risk of exclusively reflecting and entrenching the interests of the majority party.

The endemic violence in the townships had created a mood of defiance and intolerance.

The leaders said that never again must there be a government capable of gathering the kind of monolitic powers which successive National Party governments had acquired.

Mr De Klerk said the government's viewpoint was that the pattern of activity and the methods followed at Codesa at present inhibited proper communication because of a lack of time.

# SA's economic future at stake as candidates

STAR 28/4/92 (3044)

**The hunt is on to find a successor to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis following his weekend resignation. Many names have been forwarded as possible**



RESERVE Bank Governor **Dr Chris Stals** (57). Born in Germiston and educated at Germiston Afrikaans High and Pretoria University. Dr Stals was senior deputy governor of the Reserve Bank from 1976-85. Before that he was Reserve Bank general manager from 1975-76 and assistant to the governor of the Bank from 1967-75. He became Reserve Bank Governor in 1989. In 1985 Dr Stals was made honorary professor at Unisa's School for Business Leadership. Married with three sons and a daughter.



MINISTER of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination **Derek Keys** (60). Born in Johannesburg and educated at Wits University. A chartered accountant by profession, he was elected executive chairman of Gencor in 1986, before which he was self-employed. Also occupied positions as board member or chairman of companies such as Malbak, National Discount House, Price Forbes, Sappi and Samancor. Married with a son and a daughter.



STANDARD Bank Group chairman **Conrad Strauss** (56). Born in Upington and educated at Paarl Boys High. A PhD from Rhodes University followed by spells at Cornell and Harvard universities in the United States led to his appointment as senior lecturer in economics at Rhodes in the early 1960s. Dr Strauss, who is married with three daughters, won the Marketing Man of the Year award in 1989 and has been vice-president of the Institute of Bankers in SA since 1990.



PUBLIC Enterprises Minister **Dr Dawie de Villiers** (51). Born in Burgersdorp, educated at Bellville High School and a PhD from Stellenbosch University. Leader of the Cape National Party since 1989. A number of ministerial portfolios to his credit. Voted South Africa's Outstanding Young Man of the Year in 1971. Ambassador to London 1979-80. Springbok rugby captain from 1965-70 and South African Sportsman of the Year in 1968. He is married with a son and three daughters.



SOUTH African ambassador in Washington **Harry Schwarz** (67). Born in Cologne, Germany. Educated at Jeppe Boys. BA LLB cum laude at Wits University. South African Air Force navigator in WW2. Member of the Johannesburg City Council 1951-7. Member of the Transvaal Provincial Council from 1958-74. Practised as an attorney and advocate. Member of the national executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies. Democratic Party MP (Yeoville) and DP finance spokesman until Washington.

## Jockey for position

candidates for this key position, but five seem prime contenders.

# Keys the favourite, say govt sources

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk, confronted with a political or economic choice for a successor to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, was consulting his Cabinet colleagues before making his decision.

Most sources yesterday were leaning in favour of Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys, at present in Japan. It is understood De Klerk had a lengthy telephone conversation with him at the weekend after Du Plessis' announcement.

The possible alternative was Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

One very senior government source said the most logical option, which had already been discussed, was that Keys would take over the job as he had already been earmarked for it. He said the plan had been that Du Plessis resign the Finance portfolio at the end of the year. When Keys came into the Cabinet, it had been discussed that he would take over the task.

Another source said that it would be unwise to rule out De Villiers because he was an extremely senior Minister and a close friend of De Klerk's. Should he insist on getting the job, he would in all likelihood be given it.

Du Plessis has refused to be drawn on the question of his successor, saying it was the President's preserve.

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B/Day 28/4/92

(304A)

# Keys

B/Day 28/4/92

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

"He has several options open to him and he will choose a person that will best fill the role as he sees it," he said.

He said he could think of several people in the Cabinet who would be admirably suited to fill the position. "It has to be remembered that the task is not purely a technical one but a key political post, even in line function matters."

It is understood that Standard Bank Investment Corp chairman Conrad Strauss was in Cape Town yesterday but this was on business unconnected to the Cabinet post. Speculation in certain quarters has it that he could be considered to take over the Trade and Industry portfolio. It is understood that tentative discussions had been held with Strauss previously.

☐ SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that ambassador Harry Schwarz yesterday testily rejected DP leader Zach De Beer's assertion that he was too old to be Finance Minister, but hastened to add that he had never expressed any interest in the job.

He said Du Plessis' resignation had come "as a bit of a shock — I hope he's not seriously ill".

Schwarz, who will be 68 next month, referred to his busy schedule and said that "some people" were old when they were 50.

# Concern over HSRC accounts

B Idaily 28/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The accounts of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which employed capital of R106,7m and had an income of R95,3m in the 1990/91 financial year, have been strongly criticised by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

The council said in its annual report, which was released yesterday, that it had made adjustments, which were "at times dramatic and traumatic", and these changes would continue to intensify the impact of its activities.

In his report on the HSRC accounts, Wronsley withheld his audit opinion on the 1990/91 financial statements.

He said: "Due to deficiencies in the accounting systems, the systems of internal checking and control, the application of certain accounting principles as well as the potential actual effect of these deficiencies and shortcomings on the assets, income and expenditure as reflected in the financial statements, I am not able to express an opinion regarding the fair representation of the council as at 31 March 1991 and the results of its operations for the year ended."

Wronsley gave no further details, but his criticisms are bound to be raised in the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.

Political Staff

During the year, the HSRC received a parliamentary grant of R71,1 million, a 10,7% increase over the previous one.

Its self-generated income increased by 16,1% and its total expenditure from R79,7m to R89,2m.

HSRC president Dr Tjaart van der Walt said the increase in the council's financial transactions had placed an unprecedented burden on computer systems and personnel.

Special consultants were commissioned to conduct in-depth investigations and a plan to rectify internal control shortcomings was already under way, he said.

In his report, HSRC chairman Prof J P de Lange said the process of democratisation and the opening up of South African society had strengthened and accelerated the adjustment process within the council.

"If the HSRC is to be increasingly at the service of more communities and people, adjustments and changes are not only appropriate but also essential.

"That is why this process will continue," De Lange said.

During 1991, the number of HSRC personnel was reduced from 900 to 859 and five activities were transferred to other bodies.

## Report 'a basis for consensus'

B/Daily 28/4/92

**THE members of Codesa's working group 4, sitting on the issue of the future of the TBVC states, yesterday submitted a report they hoped would provide a basis for consensus in the deeply divided group.** (364A)

**It recommended TBVC governments be allowed to determine whether their people wanted reincorporation.**

**SA had left it to the four territories' governments to decide whether they wanted constitutional independence, so "it would be constitutionally anomalous for the SA government to decide what the people of the TBVC states really want, to attempt to implement or monitor any testing of the wishes of the people in an independent state or to decide how their wishes should be established", the report said.**

**A decision by the Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and the ANC/SACP axis that a referendum on the issue of reincorporation caused a deadlock in the working group.**

**The proposal could be accepted only if all parties were prepared to modify their positions.**

**It would be logical to restore SA citizenship to TBVC citizens. This would allow the people concerned to participate in the constitution-making process and in transitional arrangements. A constitution-making body would then be elected by all SA citizens, including TBVC citizens. — Sapa.**

# Codesa delegates reach agreement

Sowetan 28/4/92 304A

By IKE MOTSAPI

**THE ANC yesterday agreed to the imposition of the state of emergency and detention-without-trial laws while the interim government is in place.**

In a document submitted to Codesa Working Group 1, the ANC however said the state of emergency should only be declared on the advice of a multiparty interim executive authority, cabinet and interim council.

The ANC said it accepted that provision should be made for "the justifiability of the proclamation of a state of emergency or unrest area and any regulation issued in terms thereof."

The ANC said it was however opposed to the power allowing for a state of emergency to be proclaimed retrospectively.

Other issues that the ANC was opposed to included the right to life, the right to legal personality, the and the right to a legal remedy.

Reacting to the move, many delegates at Codesa described the development as a major concession.

## Procedures

The ANC said the following procedures should be taken into account during the state of emergency:

* Detainees must be informed of the reasons for their detention;

* An adult family member or friend of the detainee should be notified of the detention as soon as possible;

* The right to communicate with and or consult a lawyer of the detainee should be guaranteed;

* Detainees should be allowed visits by their families at all times;

* The names of detainees, dates and place of their detention as well as the laws under which they are held should be published in the Government Gazette promptly;

* Detainees should be entitled to be treated with humanity and respect; and

* The right of detainees to have a detention reviewed within 30 days of their detention should be guaranteed.

NEWS FLASH
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* The right of detainees to have a detention reviewed within 30 days of their detention should be guaranteed.

# CP expels MP Koos van der Merwe

(304A 60 weeken 28/4/92)

**ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Conservative Party has expelled its pro-negotiations MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, allegedly for "ignoring party discipline".

Van der Merwe was kicked out of the CP caucus and stripped of his party membership yesterday, according to a statement signed by the CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux.

Van der Merwe was not available for comment yesterday but it is believed he and another former CP MP, Mr Koos Botha - who was expelled earlier this month also for his pro-negotiations sympathies - may now form a rightwing group which could enter Codesa.

Van der Merwe's dismissal comes after a crucial weekend meeting in the Western Cape where the CP decided to explore an offer by President FW de Klerk to enter into first-round talks.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Sunday that the meeting between the CP and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, was exploratory.

"We have decided to make contact. We are not at this stage going to negotiate but we will ask him what he has in mind," Treurnicht said.

Political observers are baffled by Van der Merwe's expulsion, particularly in the light of the decision to engage the Government in first-round "talks about talks" - something which the maverick MP had campaigned for within the party.

# Decision on king today

Sowetan 28/4/92

304A

By IKE MOTSAPI

CODESA's management committee is today expected to formally announce the participation of the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and other traditional leaders in the negotiation process.

An announcement was to have been made last night but Codesa management committee chairman, Mr Pravin Gordham, said they had decided to issue a statement today.

Gordham said there had been favourable discussions and recommendations from various parties regarding the participation of the Zulu King and other traditional leaders at Codesa.

# FW clears air over proposals

3041

Sowetan 28/4/92

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday met three leaders of self-governing states for talks to clear up misunderstandings of the Government's views and constitutional proposals.

The talks were attended by KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei.

De Klerk decribed the talks as "productive".

He said "perceived and real misunderstandings" had been removed.

"On the broad principles, there were no fundamental differences between the South African Government and the three delegations," De Klerk said.

A joint statement said the three men had gone to the State President because of concerns that if progress was to be made, "we must take our people along with us.

"We need to talk and listen to our constituencies to find the deepest consensus, the very essence of Codesa."

De Klerk said the meeting was important in that it clarified perceived differences. The delegations had spoken out clearly about important arguments which needed the attention.

"We also focused on violence and the problem of private armies for political parties.

"The air was cleared and we exchanged views on fundamental aspects of problems in the country.

"This will contribute to greater understanding and enable us to reach broader agreement in the negotiation process." he said. -*Sapa.*

# Azapo no to funds

28/4/92 Sowetan 304A

**By DON SEOKANE**

AZAPO has rejected a proposal by the President's Council that political parties be partly funded by the State.

Azapo's secretary-general, Mr Don Nkadimeng, said because the council was "part and parcel of the racist tricameral Parliament", it was doubtful that parties which sought to bring it down would benefit.

He said the recommendations could be the Government's attempts to legalise its covert funding of parties whose sole aim has been to destabilise the liberation movement.

"The recommendation seeks to limit foreign assistance given to certain sections of the liberation movement and to boost the coffers of parties of convenience, some of which were formed in hotel rooms," Nkadimeng said.

# FW 'for Soweto'

3044

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk wants to "take on the black townships of the Transvaal" - and Soweto could be his first stop, senior National Party sources said yesterday. Sowetan 28/4/92

An NP spokesman confirmed yesterday that following the "success" in the Cape Town "coloured" township of Mitchell's Plain recently, the party would like to see him "take on the Transvaal's black townships".

The spokesman said "of course it has to be planned well".

"There are a lot of people who are claiming him, who are wanting him to come to them first. Of course we'd like to go to Soweto, but we'd also like it to be a success," the spokesman said.

De Klerk and the NP have started a national campaign to woo what they call "non-traditional" support - which means everybody who is not white.

# 'Valuable step' in transitional talks

(304A)

**Political Staff**

A PROPOSAL for a Codesa-appointed multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) and several sub-councils would take the discussion on transitional arrangements a valuable step further, said Codesa management chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan.

It is contained in a discussion document of a specially-appointed technical committee seeking to break the impasse in the working group on transitional arrangements on the powers of the body to rule the country in the run-up to elections for an interim government, which was placed before the group yesterday.

Mr Gordhan was confident the working group would resolve remaining areas of disagreement before Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16. ARG 28/4/92

The document, which would be referred to the leaders of the 19 parties taking part, proposed that the TEC be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa and would be a multi-party body with executive powers.

Mr Gordhan said yesterday that the CP, the HNP, the AWB, Azapo and the PAC would be invited to Codesa 2.

# FW's ideas are 'unworkable'

Sowetan 28/4/92 (304A)

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO TALKBACK

ONLY an elected body had the right to draft a constitution for the country, a senior official of the ANC told Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners last night.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa was responding to the Government's proposals for a rotating presidency which were announced by State President FW de Klerk last week.

Moosa said the Government had a "unique ability of concocting unworkable ideas".

Speaking on the same programme, Bruce Anderson of the IFP said the constitution should be written by a college of parties and referred to the electorate for consideration.

Anderson said an interim government should have power to address issues affecting the nation.

Siphiwe of Johannesburg said the idea was "undemocratic".

Vincent of Soweto said all parties at Codesa should have equal representation in the executive council provided it led to the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Themba of Durban said the idea was unacceptable and undemocratic.

Gladman of Uitenhage said it was clear De Klerk did not want to relinquish power.

Vusi of Soweto also rejected the proposals. He said the interim government should be given a short time frame.

# 'Put brakes on Codesa rush'

(304A) CT 28/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE anti-ANC faction at Codesa, comprising the government, Inkatha, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, yesterday called for the brakes to be applied to proceedings at the negotiations to end the "headlong rush" at the forum.

The push for a revision of the procedures followed at Codesa to give the participants more time to think, do research and consult their supporters and other parties follows a six-hour meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between the four parties.

The proposed slowdown comes just when the ANC and its allies have called for the process to be accelerated and amid warnings that the Codesa II plenary session slated for May 15-16 is in danger of becoming a "damp squib".

Delegations led by President F W de Klerk, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope,

## Anti-ANC faction calls for more time

and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo also reached consensus on the following issues at the marathon meeting:

● South Africa should be composed of a system of regional or federal states which have meaningful powers entrenched in a constitution "which cannot be withdrawn by any central government".

● The need for minorities to be effectively protected under a new constitution.

The homeland leaders, who initiated the meeting, said in a joint statement read by Chief Buthelezi afterwards that they harboured "deep concerns . . . about the headlong rush of Codesa into attempting to finalise transitional or interim arrangements before there were any final agreements on constitutional issues".

The three leaders claimed that the majority of parties and governments at Codesa were not being given enough time to go back to their people with tabled proposals for "careful and rational decision-making".

Mr De Klerk said the the government aligned itself with the criticism against the pace.

However, this did not mean that the government and the three other parties did not want to move swiftly towards a solution.

"We feel that if the logistical and practical way in which Codesa approaches matters could be revised, we might move more swiftly."

● The press conference planned by Codesa's Management Committee on the issue of the Zulu king for 6.30pm yesterday was postponed until today. No time has been given yet.

alive by presenting it myself — as Administ- of the Cape — in future."
Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, scheduled to take place).
"The members of his reply, but they declined t
Mr Van der Velde said he

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# Axed MP tells CP: Now it's war

304A
CT 28/4/92

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Conservative Party's hardliners yesterday threw down the gauntlet to the burgeoning reformist faction in the party by expelling its leading pro-negotiation advocate, Mr Koos van der Merwe.

The surprise purge has shattered the fragile unity the CP achieved following a special "bosberaad" at the weekend which saw MPs favouring constitutional negotiations gaining the upper hand in the caucus for the first time.

A bitter but unrepentant Mr Van der Merwe — the second rebel MP to be ditched from the caucus bucking "party discipline" in recent weeks — said last night his expulsion was a "panic move" engineered by party old guard nervous about the progress he had been making in "turning the party around".

The defiant MP for Overvaal told the Cape Times after returning from his Transvaal constituency last night: "They can expel me, but they cannot expel my ideas from the party."

Mr Van der Merwe said he regarded the decision to summarily boot him out of the party without personally informing him as "a declaration of war" and he challenged CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a TV debate on the "real reason" for his expulsion. Dr Treurnicht was unavailable last night for comment.

Mr Van der Merwe said the party under its current leadership was stuck in a "political cul-de-sac" as it was incapable of giving its one million supporters an idea of where it was going.

Mr Van der Merwe said he was "shocked" to be

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From page 1

informed by reporters at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday that he had been ordered to "voetsek out the CP" after 10 years of loyal support to the party.

His wife, who was with him at the time, had hardly stopped crying since hearing the news.

The decision, by the caucus executive, came only two days after a special caucus meeting had decided hold "talks about talks" with the government, which is anxious to draw the CP into the mainsteam of political negotiations.

It is understood that Mr Van der Merwe had a "flaming row" with deputy leader and arch-hardliner, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, at the weekend meeting.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said yesterday that Mr Van der Merwe's expulsion was "basically a disciplinary action" which followed "dissatisfaction with his conduct over a long period".

"The last straw which broke the camel's back was an interview he gave to Rapport newspaper in which he indicated he favoured assisting the National Party in its struggle with the ANC," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe said that he had not yet decided on what course of action he would take.

Mr Van der Merwe emphasised that he had been given no warning of his expulsion when he left Parliament yesterday morning en route for Johannesburg.

Mr Le Roux confirmed that the caucus executive had not personally informed Mr Van der Merwe but had left messages for him at his constituency office in the Transvaal.

TV footage of Mr Van der Merwe after landing at Jan Smuts clearly indicates that he was shocked and bewildered by the news.

Last night he said the way in which his expulsion was done was "to say the least, unbelievable".

"It was a complete shock. My wife is terribly distressed. She and I have devoted the best and most productive decade of our lives to the CP," he said.

CT 28/4/92
304A

# CP's Koos hears of expulsion from reporters

Friday 28/4/92. 3049

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The CP expelled maverick MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday, sounding a warning that no deviation from party policy would be tolerated.

A shocked Van der Merwe — who learnt of his expulsion from reporters on his arrival at Jan Smuts from Cape Town — told Sapa: "They can expel me and destroy my membership of the party, but the ideas that I stand for no one can take away from me. I will continue fighting for what I have always believed in. Racism is finished. We must negotiate and forget violence."

CP chief whip Frank le Roux had told the media he had been "relieved of his party membership" because he "continued to ignore party discipline".

It is believed the CP caucus executive — made up of hard-liners Andries Treurnicht, Ferdie Hartzenberg, Casper Uys, Tom Langley and Frank le Roux — made the decision at a meeting yesterday.

Van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, joins Koos Botha (Wonderboom) — expelled last month — in a temporary wilderness for advocating a negotiated settlement for a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

Van der Merwe was reportedly in high spirits after Sunday's caucus bosberaad at which the CP decided to hold talks with the NP on the issue of negotiating a smaller homeland. His expulsion follows the publication in a Sunday newspaper of his view that the CP should join the NP and others in an alliance against the ANC.

CP leader Treurnicht said Van der Merwe's expulsion had nothing to do with his views on a volkstaat, adding that intensive CP discussions on the issue were progressing well.

Joint body to prepare for elections

# Codesa plan for interim super cabinet

BIDay 28/4/92 (304A)

TIM COHEN

**GOVERNMENT, the ANC, Inkatha and other Codesa participants unveiled a plan yesterday for the first phase of interim government which will prepare SA for elections.**

A multiparty technical committee — consisting of all major players — recommended the creation of a super cabinet to be called the Interim Joint Council. The council, to be appointed by Codesa, would have a multiparty character and would have the primary purpose of levelling the political playing field.

The council would be backed up by several six-member sub-councils dealing with defence and law and order, regional and local government and finance. In addition, it would have an independent election commission and a media commission.

But the critical issue of the council's relation to the existing executive was not defined by the technical committee. The committee was also unable to recommend firmly whether the council should take decisions by total consensus, as proposed by government, or "sufficient consensus".

The committee said the resolution to this problem would be facilitated by clearly defining the powers of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils. This suggests that government would be prepared to agree to decisions being made by sufficient consensus if the tasks of the council and its sub-councils were definitely circumscribed.

At a news briefing yesterday, current working group 3 chairman Patrick Maduna said the committee had not discussed when the structure would come into operation, but said all participants regarded the matter as urgent.

President F W de Klerk's proposed elected interim executive was not discussed by the technical committee or by working group 3 yesterday, he said. NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said De Klerk's proposal referred only to the second stage of transitional government.

Labour Party delegate Peter Hendrickse stopped short of calling the development a breakthrough, but said it indicated significant progress.

The technical committee lists as one of its basic points of departure the requirement that the council be able to intervene in any issue which could adversely affect the levelling of the political playing field or the creation of a favourable climate for elections. "The terms of reference of the overarching bodies should be the levelling of the playing field and ensuring a climate for free political participation ... while the individual councils should have the same terms of reference, but in specific fields."

The committee identified several areas of responsibility for the sub-councils, although there was a difference of opinion as to whether a foreign affairs subcommittee was justified. Sub-councils on urbanisation, housing and economic affairs were specifically ruled out. The precise function of the finance sub-council was left over for subsequent discussion.

● See Pages 3 and 4
● Comment: Page 6

# The post-Barend challenge

After eight years holding the purse strings, Barend du Plessis is leaving the Treasury. His successor faces a host of problems, but could also reap the benefits of some Du Plessis policies. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

ARG 28/4/92 (304A)

THE layman is inclined to regard VAT as a mistake, but usually without realising this is largely a political rather than an economic judgment.

And it is not surprising that VAT, widely acknowledged by economists as a vast improvement on GST, is seen as the main reason for Barend du Plessis's downfall. Because, as an illustration, it aptly conveys the inseparable, and often conflicting, duality of politics and economics in the role of the Minister of Finance..

It is also naturally part and parcel of judging Barend du Plessis's legacy.

The political view is that his successor faces serious and difficult challenges. The economic view — or *an* economic view — is that his successor inherits a sound foundation on which to build, and that Mr Du Plessis deserves much credit.

Economist Rob Lee, senior portfolio manager for the Board of Executors sums up the economic view: "On balance, Mr Du Plessis has some significant achievements to his credit and economic policy is generally conducted much more sensibly than a few years ago. There is more of a long-term rather than a short-term view.

"In the circumstances, he was able to impose a reasonable discipline on government spending; he started a shift in economic policy away from being inward-looking, closed and protectionist to being outward-looking, promoting exports; he introduced significant tax reforms of which VAT was the most important (a much better tax than GST, and one with long-term benefits); and he respected the independence of the Reserve Bank and did not interfere in its decisions.

"This," Mr Lee says, "is what his successor will be building on.

"He will hopefully maintain discipline on government spending, and continue with long-term policy, rather than short-term expediency.

"The new Minister must maintain the thrust towards exports and continue tax reforms more aggressively. VAT was important, but there are others which need to take place. He must also maintain the independence of the Reserve Bank — under a new constitution we will need to guarantee the protection of the value of our currency."

Mr Lee acknowledges that Barend du Plessis made political misjudgments, and notes that, ironically, he is retiring "at a moment when the economy is just about to embark on an upswing".

"We have had a long recession — unfortunately extended by the drought — and, coupled with that, a lot of long-term decisions which have contributed to short-term problems.

"But this will pay off in the next three to four years. We think the upswing will start in the next few months and through 1993 and 1994 we could achieve a growth rate of between four and five percent. Much credit for this lies with Barend du Plessis."

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew's assessment takes in the broader socio-political spectrum.

He concedes that "some things" Mr Du Plessis has done are benefitting the economy, but adds: "It is important to recognise that in all government actions — and particularly in the case of the Minister of Finance — there are political, economic and social consequences.

"The great challenge of being a Minister of Finance is to be not only successful financially, but also in trying to weigh up the political and social aspects."

A graphic illustration of this, he says, is VAT.

"In terms of an economically purist view, Barend's attitude could be justified (and I think he was very heavily influenced by the IMF), but it simply did not take South Africa's political and social realities into account."

Furthermore, Mr Andrew says, on the narrowly defined front of the economy, with the exception of the balance of payments and money supply (more the responsibility of the Reserve Bank), "most of the other macro-economic balances are in a very poor shape".

"I think the new Minister of Finance will have to move quickly to get these balances under control — controlling government expenditure, reducing inflation and generating growth. These are the three immediate challenges.

"On the broader front, the government's problem is that it can no longer unilaterally do what it might want to do.

"In view of this, it is important to get an Economic Forum functioning so that there are regular opportunities for consultation and negotiation, and so that correct actions do not end up simply as another arena of controversy and struggle."

Such a forum, he advises, should be widely inclusive.

"It should involve political organisations, business and labour, but also other interest groups such as consumers and the unemployed. Without the last two, there's a great danger of the *haves* — business and labour — making deals which exclude consumers, the unemployed and the really poor."

Mr Andrew believes President De Klerk has something of a dilemma in choosing a new Minister.

"Barend's successor must have "clout" in the Cabinet, to stand up to other Ministers and preserve policy discipline.

"But, beyond that, it is not simply a question of finding the smartest economic brain around. You need somebody who has good antennae for the politics and sociology too."

## Purse-string pretenders

Pen pictures of the main contenders for the key cabinet post of Finance Minister after Mr Barend du Plessis's shock resignation.



**Minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination DEREK KEYS, 60:**

BORN in Johannesburg and educated at Wits University. A chartered accountant, he was elected executive chairman of Gencor in 1986 before which he was self-employed. Also occupied positions as board member or chairman of such companies as Malbak, National Discount House, Price Forbes, Sappi and Samancor.
Married with a son and a daughter.



**Standard Bank Group chairman CONRAD STRAUSS, 56:**

BORN in Upington and educated at Paarl Boys High. A PhD from Rhodes University followed by spells at Cornell and Harvard Universities in the United States led to his appointment as senior lecturer in economics at Rhodes in the early 1960s.

Dr Strauss, who is married with three daughters, won the Marketing Man of the Year in 1989 and has been vice-president of the Institute of Bankers in South Africa since 1990.



**Public Enterprises Minister DAWIE DE VILLIERS, 51:**

BORN in Burgersdorp and educated at Bellville High School. A PhD from Stellenbosch University, he has been leader of the Cape National Party since 1989 and has a number of ministerial portfolios to his credit. He was ambassador to London in 1979-80 and in 1971 was voted South Africa's Outstanding Young Man of the Year. Dr De Villiers was the Springbok rugby captain from 1965-70 and South African Sportsman of the Year in 1968. He is married with a son and three daughters.



**Reserve Bank Governor CHRIS STALS, 57:**

BORN in Germiston and educated at Germiston Afrikaans High and Pretoria University. Dr Stals was senior deputy governor of the South African reserve bank from 1976-85. Before that he was Reserve Bank general manager from 1975-6 and assistant to the governor of the Reserve Bank from 1967-75. He became Reserve Bank Governor in 1989. In 1985 Dr Stals was made honorary professor at Unisa's School for Business Leadership.
Married with three sons and a daughter.



**Ambassador in Washington HARRY SCHWARZ, 67:**

BORN in Cologne, West Germany. Educated at Jeppe Boys and a BA LLB cum laude at Wits University. An air force navigator in World War 2. A member of the Johannesburg City Council from 1951-7, and member of the Transvaal Provincial Council from 1958-74. Practised as an attorney and advocate, and is a member of the National Executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies. DP MP for Yeoville and finance spokesman until his Washington appointment.

# I pushed CP too far – Koos

STAR 28/4/92 (30 4A)

## Maverick 'flouted party line'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party hardliners moved swiftly yesterday to expel maverick MP Koos van der Merwe to prevent his hijacking the party.

This was Mr van der Merwe's intepretation last night of his expulsion from the CP caucus and the party.

He said that at a special CP indaba on Saturday, he had pushed the party too far towards his own belief in negotiations for a smaller Afrikaner volkstaat.

At the meeting, Mr van der Merwe told deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — acknowledged leader of the hardline camp — that his policies were an "intellectual embarrassment" and that he could no longer sell them to CP supporters.



Koos van der Merwe . . . slammed party leadership.

Mr van der Merwe believed the reasons for his expulsion were his clashes with Dr Hartzenberg, the general sympathy for his (Mr van der Merwe's) ideas at the meeting — and his articulation of those views in a Sunday newspaper article.

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht denied that Mr van der Merwe's expulsion had anything to do with the fact that he was a proponent of a volkstaat; it had to do only with his flouting of party discipline.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux confirmed that Mr van der Merwe's remarks in the Sunday newspaper article were the final straw in a series of breaches of discipline.

Mr van der Merwe criticised the party leadership for kicking him out without warning.

He said he had heard about it from an SABC reporter when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport from Cape Town yesterday.

His wife Annette was so shocked she had broken into tears, he said. Mr van der Merwe said he had seen members of the CP caucus executive who expelled him before leaving Cape Town but they "did not have the guts" to tell him.

Other volkstaters in the CP were in two minds yesterday about how to react.

Some felt the time had come for a decisive break with the party, while others felt they should carry on working within the CP.

Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, a prominent sympathiser of Mr van der Merwe's, said he would remain in the CP as he felt it was still a suitable vehicle for the volkstaat ideal.

He said Dr Treurnicht's statement yesterday had given him great encouragement.

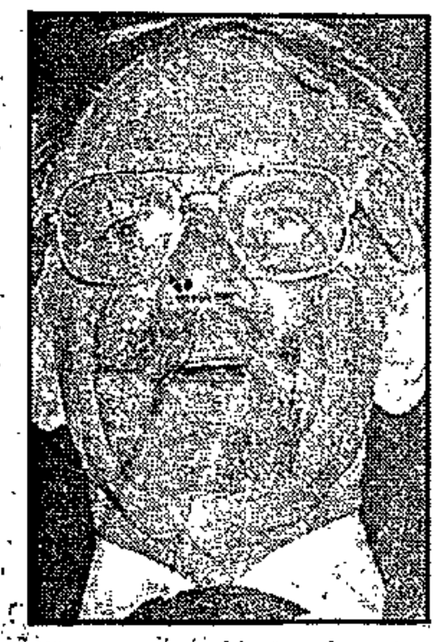
Dr Treurnicht said the party was now busy with intensive discussions about the ideal of an Afrikaner volkstaat, and the party's inquiry was progressing well.

A positive announcement could be expected shortly and this would be followed by a general congress.

It is clear that the aim of this congress will be to endorse any policy changes the caucus recommends.

At Saturday's special caucus meeting, the reports of seven special party committees on policy and strategy were discussed.

It is understood that no final decisions were made but these are expected soon.



Clashes . . . with deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Mr van der Merwe said last night he had not decided on his future plans but now felt free to express his views about the urgency of taking part in negotiations for a nonracist volkstaat.

Political observers said Mr van der Merwe had been conducting a strategy of brinkmanship to try to push the party in his direction without being expelled.

Finally he had gone too far and the hardline leadership clique had moved against him.

He was the second CP MP to be expelled within weeks as the party battles to find a new identity in the wake of its referendum defeat.

A few weeks ago another prominent volkstater, Wonderboom MP Koos Botha, was thrown out and now sits on the cross benches of Parliament.

# A highway into Africa

STAR 28/4/92 (304A)

**After years of sitting out in the cold, South Africa is now finding itself warmly accepted by most of the continent's countries in all spheres, including business, sport, culture and the academic world, writes GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service**

WHAT WAS once a rocky road to reacceptance in Africa has suddenly begun to look something like a five-lane freeway for South Africa.

This country is rapidly finding acceptance at the levels of government, business, sport, culture and academics.

A striking sign of this was the meeting in Pretoria last week of government representatives from Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to co-ordinate the transport of emergency maize shipments from South African ports.

It was the first time representatives of all these governments had sat down in South Africa with officials of a Government they had until recently spurned as a pariah. To some extent they were driven to the meeting by need made urgent by the drought. It was, nevertheless, the respectability bestowed on Pretoria by the waning of apartheid that made it politically and morally possible for them to attend the meeting.

Pretoria may have been tempted to exploit its neighbours' starvation by exacting a political fee for transporting their emergency maize imports, such as getting their agreement to establish a permanent regional organisation revolving around South Africa. If it was, it resisted the temptation and accepted the creation of a lesser body: a committee to co-ordinate emergency shipments.

The mere fact of the meeting was perhaps seen as enough of an advance, for it established the acceptability not only of meeting jointly with South Africa at government level but of doing so on its own turf. This is almost as good as restoring diplomatic relations, as several African states have recently done.

Other recent signs of the new order were the reopening of postal services to Angola after 16 years of boycott and the almost bizarre case of South African soldiers going back to Angola to help lift the landmines they and other combatants had strewn thickly during the war.

This week it is the business community's turn to demonstrate how smoothly the traffic of trade is now moving between South Africa and the rest of the continent. At the invitation of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto), businessmen from several African countries and representatives of trade and aid bodies will meet at the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg to discuss what Safto calls a new scenario for trade and investment.

The conference will have minimal Government and academic representation. The more than 20 speakers will include representatives of private corporations and of trade and development organisations from Africa and Europe, such as the African Development Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Even more notable will be the presence of three African bodies that once avoided South Africa like the plague: the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and Tanzania's Investment Promotion Centre.

Paul Runge, head of Safto's African operations, says the conference will "give other Africans a chance to pitch themselves at the South Africans, the multilaterals and the Europeans".

Like the inter-governmental meeting in Pretoria, the Johannesburg conference will bring together parties who have never met on South African soil before. Mr Runge says it is yet another example of how the positive vote in the white referendum has "opened the floodgates".

At the sporting level South Africa has been formally welcomed back into Africa in several fields. The country's weightlifters competed in Kenya, and South Africa took part in the African badminton championships in Mauritius. South Africans will return to the Davis Cup tennis competition this week in Tunisia. But the most dramatic return has been at the athletics meetings in Dakar and Germiston.

Academics have moved with some freedom in Africa despite the academic boycott, but the openness with which these exchanges can now take place is demonstrated by a conference on Africa that was to be opened by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at Potchefstroom University yesterday, with participation from African countries that include Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya.

Cultural traffic with Africa still tends to be a one-way affair, with South African artists performing in Africa rather than the other way round, although recently a top Kenyan pop group arrived in this country. But there now seems to be little other than personal choice or financial considerations to bar African artists from South Africa.

So the road to Africa seems to be wide open in all lanes. If there are any stop-signs they are economic rather than political. □

# Proposal may help crack Codesa logjam

STAR 28/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 3044

A proposal for a Codesa-appointed multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) and several sub-councils would take the discussion on transitional arrangements a valuable step further, Codesa management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

The proposal is contained in a discussion document of a specially appointed technical committee seeking to break the impasse in the working group on transitional arrangements regarding the powers of the body to rule SA in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

Mr Gordhan was confident the working group would resolve remaining areas of disagreement before Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

The document, which would be referred to the leaders of the 19 participating parties, proposed that:

- The TEC would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.
- It would be a multiparty body with executive powers.
- It would have Cabinet status and its decisions would be binding on and implemented by the Government, whose view was that this would be the case only if decisions were taken by consensus.
- The TEC would be appointed by the State President on the recommendation of the Codesa management committee.
- It would have several sub-councils, an election commission and media commission.
- Sub-councils have been proposed for defence and law and order, regional and local government, finance and foreign affairs.

The chairman of the working group dealing with transitional arrangements, Dr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandzo National Movement, said several areas of difference still remained.

The powers of the TEC and sub-councils had not yet been finalised, he said.

President de Klerk's proposal for an elected executive council was not discussed at yesterday's meeting.

Mr Gordhan announced yesterday that the CP, HNP, AWB, Azapo and PAC would be invited to Codesa 2.

- The Government yesterday supported a submission by the Inkatha Freedom Party that workable proposals which accommodated the widest possible convergence of views be placed before the working group dealing with the future of the homelands.

# Codesa plan for election

(304A)
CT 29/4/92

Own Correspondent

**OHANNESBURG. — A Codesa steer-ıg committee has proposed that an lected parliament draft a new South frican constitution.**

Working group 2, which is considering interim rrangements, proposed that Codesa decide on neral constitutional principles and agree to an terim constitution which will provide for a consti-tion-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution pro-ding for:

- An elected parliament which will draft a new nstitution and act as an interim legislature.
- The composition of and procedures to be fol-wed by an interim executive.
- Justiciable civil and political rights during the ansition.
- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elec-ons.
- Elections for the national assembly on the basis proportional representation, half the seats allo-ted through national lists and half through re-onal lists.
- Decisions on all matters relating to the constitu-on to be taken by a "special majority". A two-irds majority is envisaged.

## Regional power

Regional power forms an important part of the proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representatives and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

One delegate said there were representatives present who were smiling for the first time since the referendum.

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Codesa yesterday. However, Codesa sources said that when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns

To page 3

From page 1

## Codesa (304A)

the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Codesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions. CT 29/4/92

If Codesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 15 and 16 will be in a position to endorse major agreements.

"The critical hour has been reached," one Codesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday that it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant.

17.30: The Bold and the Beautiful
17.57: Devotion
18.00: Spectacular World of Guinness Records

...reene) n[illegible]
Also starring Pamela Bel.wood, Christianne Hirt and James Kee (1988).
23.00: Illusions: A murder mystery.

ALL MANUFACTURING WELDING "A REAL STEEL DEAL" (CSP2380?)

# It's 'difficult' being first ANC MPs, say defectors

CT 29/4/92 (304A)

By DANIEL SIMON

**WEEK one as the first ANC MPs had been difficult and even traumatic, two former DP members told a UCT audience yesterday.**

**Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) disclosed that they had faced disapproval from their constituencies and verbal attacks since their landmark decision to join the ANC.**

**Another DP rebel, Mr Pierre Cronje, (Greytown) was on the stage but did not speak.**

**Mr Van Eck told about 150 students that since he had left the DP he had received a "carbomb scare" and many derogatory telephone calls.**

**"My 12-year-old son has been threatened, and as for telephone calls, I have received quite a few nasties. But I have also had a large number of messages of goodwill," Mr Van Eck said.**

**He said it was "liberating" to be a member of the ANC.**

**Mr Momberg said his first week as an ANC member had been "very difficult and even traumatic".**

**"People in Simon's Town have reacted with disbelief since I took the decision.**

**"They don't understand my motives but I am heartened by the response from the townships," Mr Momberg said.**

New! Imported from France!

# SA problem violence — Mandela

CT 29/4/92

**JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.**

**In a speech released here Mr Mandela said the situation in South Africa compared with that of nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.**

**"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror, could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa," Mr Mandela said.**

**He asked the OAU for an international force to end "white-inspired" township carnage. — Sapa**

# Pik in line for top Nat job

3049
CT 29/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha last night emerged as the front-runner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

In a surprise development, Mr Botha is believed to have signalled his willingness and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Mr Barend du Plessis.

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Mr Botha dropping out the race.

At time of going to press, a spokesman for Mr Botha could not confirm that he had made himself available.

But it is known that a number of senior Nationalists visited Mr Botha in his office yesterday urging him to take up the challenge.

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were no longer in contention.

● Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Mr Du Plessis as finance minister today.

Mr De Klerk's decision is expected after today's cabinet meeting, but government sources have indicated that if the President has not reached a decision he may leave the portfolio in the hands of acting minister Dr Dawie de Villiers for some while.

Dr De Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises, has been tipped and stands a good chance of winning if Mr De Klerk opts for a purely political choice.

However, there has been growing consensus that the best available man for the post from within the cabinet is Mr Derek Keys, the Minister of Trade amd Industry and Economic Co-ordination.

## 'Old Pik' feels the years now

**THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he felt "rather old" since he heard this week that he will become the longest-serving foreign minister in the West when his German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, quits in May.**

**Mr Genscher has held his post for 18 years while Mr Botha recently celebrated 15 years on the job.**

**Mr Botha said: "I have only pleasant memories of him. But I feel rather old although I started young and there are a number of foreign ministers older in years than me.**

**"Mr Genscher made a major contribution to Germany during the period after the Second World War in expanding and constructing the new German foreign relations policy.**

**"He also worked extremely hard in his country's relations with Central Europe". — Sapa**

## SABC workers on strike

CT 29/4/92

Staff Reporter

MORE than 20 SABC workers based at the Sea Point offices decided yesterday to go on strike.

The employees, all members of the Media Workers Association of SA, took the decision as part of a national ballot which followed the collapse of pay talks.

Since the deadline for the ballot was 7pm yesterday the full results would only be made public today.

The SABC has offered a 7% increase plus a 4% merit component but this was rejected by the union which went on a one-day wildcat strike on March 17 this year.

## Distress at Koos ousting

CT 29/4/92

Political Staff

EXPELLED Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe faced his Overvaal constituency council last night amid signs that grassroots party supporters were distressed at the manner of his dismissal.

A CP source in Mr Van der Merwe's constituency said last night: "I don't think anybody is happy about how it happened".

Mr Van der Merwe's expulsion was announced while he was flying from Cape Town to Johannesburg yesterday and he first heard the news when confronted by newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport.

"If they are going to throw somebody out of the party at least they could talk to him about it," said the constituency source.

## Politicians step out

## TV TODA

TV1

05.55: Morning Mess
06.00: GMSA
09.00: CTV
11.30: Santa Barbara
12.00: Larry King
13.00: Headline News
13.30: Business Day
14.00: Young Artist
14.30: Teleschool
15.00: File under "F"
15.30: My Pet Monst
16.00: Bible Story
16.05: Zorro
16.30: Zapmag
17.00: Santa Barbara
17.30: Die Rustelose in English.
17.57: Compass
18.00: 6 on 1
18.30: The Van Dyke
19.00: Business Repo
19.05: Reap the Whir
20.00: Nuus
20.30: Agenda
21.00: St Eligius. Sim
22.00: Nuus
22.05: Arts on One
23.00: Die Maestro
00.35: Dossier
01.05: Gedagte van d

CC

11.00: Kideo
12.00: Young Artist
12.30: Images of Pro
13.00: Ngomgqibelo/K
14.00: 526
14.30: The Learning C
15.00: Biology and Sc
15.30: Concepts in Sc
15.45: Teacher Trainir
16.00: Quick Draw Mc English.
16.30: Popeye
16.40: Days of our Li
17.30: The Bold and
17.57: Devotion
18.00: Spectacular Wc

cords

By DANIEL

**WEEK one as the fi been difficult and two former DP me audience yesterday.**

**Mr Jan van Eck (C Jannie Momberg (S closed that they ha al from their consti bal attacks since decision to join th**

**Another DP re**



30/4 29/4/92

# An elected parliament may draft constitution

DAVID GREYBE of Sapa reports on Codesa group two having its "best day yet ...".

A Codesa steering committee has proposed that an elected parliament draft a new South African constitution.

The document was discussed during a meeting of Codesa's working group two on constitutional principles yesterday.

Delegates described the day's proceedings as "the best yet" since meetings began in February, adding that the proposal had not been rejected out of hand.

The working document will now be discussed by the principals of the 19 delegations at Codesa, with report-backs presented next Monday.

"There is therefore no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," Codesa's daily management committee said in a statement.

It was reliably learnt that a copy of the document had been faxed to Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday night and he had initially rejected it.

The IFP has to date refused to agree to any form of elected constitution-making body, as proposed in the working document drawn up on Monday. However, delegates attached importance to the fact that the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane also Kwazulu Health Minister, had been part of the eight-member steering committee.

Other members of the steering committee include Dr Tertius Delport, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party, and Mr Joe Slovo of the Communist Party.

Delegates said Dr Ngubane would further brief Chief Buthelezi before next week, and they hoped that the Inkatha leader would eventually support the proposal.

They also expected a lot of bilateral contact on the sensitive issue.

Some delegates maintained that the African National Congress-axis at Codesa had compromised on the form elections would take for an elected parliament by agreeing to greater regional emphasis as demanded by the IFP and government delegations.

The proposal states that elections for a national assembly or elected parliament would take place on the basis of proportional representation, "half the seats being allocated through national lists and half being allocated through regional lists".

The workin document begins by proposing that Codesa agree to "legislative instruments" that would make provision for a constitution-making body operating within the framework of an interim constitution.

"Codesa shall consult governments of the self-governing states and other interested parties in the drafting of the legislative instrumemt/interim constitution," it states.

Codesa would also agree on a set of general constitutional principles.

An interim constitution would provide for:

- An elected parliament with the power to draft a new constitution which shall not be in conflict with the general constitutional principles, and act as an interim legislature in terms of such special majorities and general constitutional principles which may be agreed to;
- The composition and procedures of an interim executive;
- Civil and political rights during the transition;
- The balance between the executive, legislature and judiciary according to the principles underlying a constitutional state;
- Regional boundaries for elections.

Decision-making on all matters relating to the constitution would be taken in eneral by a "special majority", the working document adds.

The chairman of the working group, Mr Miley Richards, also deputy leader of the Labour Party, told a Press conference at Codesa's headquarters, at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg, that the thinking in the group was for a two-thirds majority.

The document further states on an interim constitution:

"Decisions on matters relating to regional structures and the distribution of power between central, regional and local levels of government to require a special majority of the regional representatives in the national assembly in addition to a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly."

According to observers at Codesa, such proposals could meet the government's demand for a second chamber during the transition period to give meaningful participation for minorities.

The working document ends by proposing that Codesa agree on "special mechanisms" to ensure that the national assembly completes the work of drafting and adopting a new South African constitution within a specified ti[illegible]

# King Goodwill, traditional leaders can take part — agreement in principle

ESTHER WAUGH of The Argus Political Staff reports a breakthrough in the impasse over the Zulu king.

AN agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close Inkahta Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that unless the Zulu king was given full participation the agreement did not "mean much".

This means that unless Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, Kwazulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not take part in Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was "frustrated" at the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

"The most important thing that has to occur is agreement on what sort of participation," said Dr Mdlalose.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the issue could be resolved at [illegible]



King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus

the committee on Monday.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee agreed yesterday that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divided into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the Transvaal, and each would send two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided on: Full participation, limited participation on issues which affected them directly and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

Reports on progress at Codesa since the first meeting of the five working groups on February 6 have to be finalised next Thursday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee yesterday considered the applications of 17 organisations wishing to participate in the talks but its decision would only be announced today after the groups had been informed.

# FW's ideas are 'unworkable'

304A

Sowetan 29/4/92

By MOKGADI PELA

ONLY an elected body had the right to draft a constitution for the country, a senior official of the ANC told *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners on Monday night.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa was responding to the Government's proposals for a rotating presidency which were announced by State President FW de Klerk last week.

Moosa said the Government had a "unique ability of concocting unworkable ideas".

Speaking on the same programme, Bruce Anderson of the IFP said the constitution should be written by a college of parties and referred to the electorate for consideration.

Anderson said an interim government should have power to address issues affecting the nation.

Siphiwe of Johannesburg said he rejected the idea, saying it was "undemocratic".

Vincent of Soweto said all parties at Codesa should have equal representation in the executive council, provided it led to the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Themba of Durban said the idea was unacceptable and undemocratic.

Gladman of Uitenhage said it was clear De Klerk did not want to relinquish power.

Vusi of Soweto also rejected the proposals. He said the interim government should be given a short time frame.

David of Hillbrow said he favoured an interim government which would lead to a constituent assembly.

# New DP spokesmen announced

304A

STAR 29/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has announced its official spokesmen after the departure of five MPs who joined the ANC.

Dene Smuts replaces Jannie Momberg as the party's spokesman on home affairs and Andre de Wet replaces Mr Momberg as sports spokesman.

Tony Leon replaces Dave Dalling as spokesman on justice and Mahmoud Rajab replaces Mr Dalling as spokesman for correctional services.

Lester Fuchs becomes alternative spokesman for correctional services and replaces Jan van Eck as alternative law and order spokesman. Errol Moorcroft replaces Rob Haswell as alternative spokesman for regional affairs.

Mike Tarr replaces Pierre Cronje as public works spokesman and Mike Abrahams replaces Mr Tarr. — Sapa.

# Codesa: Big new advance 'on way'

BOLA

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff ARG 29/4/92

AN IMPORTANT breakthrough in negotiations for a new constitutional system is on the way in Codesa.

A working group of the negotiating body has decided that there must be an interim constitution providing for an elected parliament. This body will then draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature.

There were hopes in political circles today that this could bring about agreement soon on the way in which a new constitution should be drawn up. Recent fears of deadlock in the negotiations are beginning to shift.

The next plenary session of Codesa will be held on May 15 and 16. Although major agreements may not be announced, there is hope that at least substantial progress can be reported.

Representatives of the major parties in the working group now have to report back to their principals but substantial agreement on an important principle will be presented to them.

According to top government sources one important aspect of the new proposal is that it moves away from the ANC's plan for a constituent assembly which would virtually have had carte blanche for the drawing up of a new constitution.

The principle of having a new constitution being drawn up within a strictly legal framework was being accepted. It would, one source said, now be a question of changing existing arrangements instead of simply creating new ones.

The new proposal will not affect the government's proposals, full details of which will be made known soon.

● See page 31

# SA problem violence — Mandela

CT 29/4/92

**JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.**

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**"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror, could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa," Mr Mandela said.**

**He asked the OAU for an international force to end "white-inspired" township carnage. — Sapa**

# Pik in line for top Nat job

CT 29/4/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Mr Botha dropping out the race.

At time of going to press, a spokesman for Mr Botha could not confirm that he had made himself available.

But it is known that a number of senior Nationalists visited Mr Botha in his office yesterday urging him to take up the challenge.

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were no longer in contention.

● Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Mr Du Plessis as finance minister today.

Mr De Klerk's decision is expected after today's cabinet meeting, but government sources have indicated that if the President has not reached a decision he may leave the portfolio in the hands of acting minister Dr Dawie de Villiers for some while.

Dr De Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises, has been tipped and stands a good chance of winning if Mr De Klerk opts for a purely political choice.

However, there has been growing consensus that the best available man for the post from within the cabinet is Mr Derek Keys, the Minister of Trade amd Industry and Economic Co-ordination.

## 'Old Pik' feels the years now

**THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he felt "rather old" since he heard this week that he will become the longest-serving foreign minister in the West when his German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, quits in May.**

**Mr Genscher has held his post for 18 years while Mr Botha recently celebrated 15 years on the job.**

**Mr Botha said: "I have only pleasant memories of him. But I feel rather old although I started young and there are a number of foreign ministers older in years than me.**

**"Mr Genscher made a major contribution to Germany during the period after the Second World War in expanding and constructing the new German foreign relations policy.**

**"He also worked extremely hard in his country's relations with Central Europe". — Sapa**

# SABC workers on strike

CT 29/4/92

Staff Reporter

MORE than 20 SABC workers based at the Sea Point offices decided yesterday to go on strike.

The employees, all members of the Media Workers Association of SA, took the decision as part of a national ballot which followed the collapse of pay talks.

Since the deadline for the ballot was 7pm yesterday the full results would only be made public today.

The SABC has offered a 7% increase plus a 4% merit component but this was rejected by the union which went on a one-day wildcat strike on March 17 this year.

# Distress at Koos ousting

CT 29/4/92 (3049)

Political Staff

EXPELLED Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe faced his Overvaal constituency council last night amid signs that grassroots party supporters were distressed at the manner of his dismissal.

A CP source in Mr Van der Merwe's constituency said last night: "I don't think anybody is happy about how it happened".

Mr Van der Merwe's expulsion was announced while he was flying from Cape Town to Johannesburg yesterday and he first heard the news when confronted by newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport.

"If they are going to throw somebody out of the party at least they could talk to him about it," said the constituency source.

## TV TODA

TV·

05.55: Morning Mess
06.00: GMSA
09.00: CTV
11.30: Santa Barbara
12.00: Larry King
13.00: Headline News
13.30: Business Day
14.00: Young Artist
14.30: Teleschool
15.00: File under "F"
15.30: My Pet Monst
16.00: Bible Story
16.05: Zorro
16.30: Zapmag
17.00: Santa Barbara
17.30: Die Rustelose in English.
17.57: Compass
18.00: 6 on 1
18.30: The Van Dyke
19.00: Business Repo
19.05: Reap the Whir
20.00: Nuus
20.30: Agenda
21.00: St Eligius. Sim
22.00: Nuus
22.05: Arts on One
23.00: Die Maestro
00.35: Dossier
01.05: Gedagte van c

CC

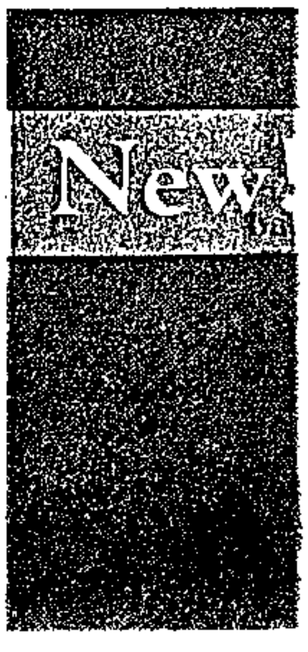
11.00: Kideo
12.00: Young Artist
12.30: Images of Pro
13.00: Ngomgqibelo/I
14.00: 526
14.30: The Learning
15.00: Biology and S
15.30: Concepts in S
15.45: Teacher Traini
16.00: Quick Draw Mc English.
16.30: Popeye
16.40: Days of our Li
17.30: The Bold and
17.57: Devotion
18.00: Spectacular W cords

By DANIEL

**WEEK one as the f been difficult and two former DP me audience yesterday**

**Mr Jan van Eck (C Jannie Momberg (S closed that they ha al from their const. bal attacks since decision to join th**

**Another DP r**




## Politicians step out

Bloan 29/4/92

# Pik favoured as NP's Transvaal leader

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha is a frontrunner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal. 304A

In a surprise development yesterday Botha signalled his willingness to be considered for the job, and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Barend du Plessis.

**Political Staff**

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Botha dropping out of the race.

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were not candidates.

President FW de Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Du Plessis as Finance Minister today.

Reform begins to take shape

# Accord fuels hope for new constitution

Business Day 29/4/92 (304A)

TIM COHEN

THE members of a Codesa working group have unanimously agreed to let their principals decide on a plan for a directly elected interim government which will draw up a new constitution.

Working group 2, which is considering interim arrangements, proposed that Codesa decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:

☐ An elected parliament which will draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature;

☐ The composition of and procedures to be followed by an interim executive;

☐ Justiciable civil and political rights during the transition;

☐ Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections;

☐ Elections for the national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists; and

☐ Decisions on all matters relating to the constitution to be taken by a "special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Regional power forms an important part of the proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representative and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

One delegate said there were representatives present who were smiling for the first time since the referendum.

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Codesa yesterday. However, Codesa sources said when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Codesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions.

If Codesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 15 and 16 will be in a position to endorse major agreements. "The critical hour has been reached," one Codesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant.

titled Education Renewal Strategy and/or the recommendations contained therein; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that decisions on this document will be taken; if so, what decisions;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B525E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No.

(a) In view of the comments received on the initial draft, the report has not yet been finalized.

(b) After the report is finalized—probably within the next month or two.

(2) No.

**Discussion document: Curriculum Model for Education in SA**

*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

(1) Whether the Government has taken any decisions on the proposals and/or recommendations contained in the discussion document entitled Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that decisions on this document will be taken; if so, what decisions;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B526E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No, the Government has not taken any decisions on the proposals and/or recommendations in the discussion document.

(a) The recommendations have not yet been submitted to the Government by the Committee of Heads of Education Departments (CHED).

(b) The recommendations in the model will be decided upon by the Government as soon as the document is submitted by the CHED. The CHED is still attending to the processing of comments, which have been received since the release of the document. Any decisions taken will be related to the recommendations submitted by the CHED.

(2) Yes, after the decisions have been made.

**Ballot-papers for referendum**

*3. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:† (3044)

How many ballot-papers (a) were printed for the referendum of 17 March 1992 and (b) were dispatched overseas for use in that referendum?

B530E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) 4,1 million.

(b) 67 450 to 68 destinations.

**Referendum: votes cast outside borders of RSA**

*4. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) How many persons cast their votes outside the borders of the Republic in the referendum of 17 March 1992;

(2) how many of these persons had the citizenship of any other country in addition to their South African citizenship when so casting their votes?

B531E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) 11 573

(2) This information is not available and can also not be determined as persons who voted abroad were not required to provide such information. Records of the Department do not contain such information either.

**SA citizenship through naturalization**

*5. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

How many White persons obtained South African citizenship through naturalization during the period (a) 20 February to 17 March 1992 and (b) 20 February to 17 March 1991?

B532E





†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) 24 487

(b) Only a total figure is available for 1991, namely 5 424 naturalizations. It is estimated that there are currently approximately 420 000 persons with permanent residence who qualify for naturalization but who have not done so yet.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him for the reason why the figures for 1992 are available but those for 1991 cannot be determined for the period in question.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is very clear that the member asked for information on White statistics. Obviously the statistics for Whites bears relation to the referendum and therefore it could be determined when it was issued, while there was not a referendum linked to a White electoral system the previous year and therefore statistics were not kept for that year. It will not be kept next year either except if it is done in respect of something for which being "White" is a specific requirement.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether he denies that it was possible for the purposes of the referendum, to determine the race of a person according to the same statistics that were already available, and that there is a method to determine the race of the persons for the corresponding period in the previous year.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, naturally it could be determined if one did a whole lot of research. It was not done for official purposes. The information for 1992 was especially linked to the referendum as such.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask whether we should accept that the hon the Minister could not determine how many Whites, Black people and members of other population groups were naturalized for any particular period in 1991, without it involving an extremely elaborate process.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I said very clearly that the statistics are not kept separately. It is as simple as that. The required information could be found by researching every form and calculating statistics. However, it is not being done because these statistics are not kept as such. It is logical.

**Naturalization with retention of foreign citizenship**

*6. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

How many White persons to whom South African citizenship was granted through naturalization during the period 20 February to 17 March 1992 retained their citizenship of any other countries on obtaining South African citizenship?

B533E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

This information is not available since statistics are not kept on the citizenship of persons applying for naturalization. South African legislation however contains no impediment against dual citizenship.

**Sasol: beneficiary of protection tariff**

*7. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:

Whether Sasol is the beneficiary of a protection tariff approved by the Government; if so, (a) (i) what formula is used for the calculation of this protection tariff and (ii) when was this formula instituted and (b) what was the total value of the protection tariff to Sasol during the 1989-90 financial year?

B534E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) (i) The present framework for protection is based on a derived crude oil floor price of USD 23/barrel. When the derived crude oil price decreases below USD 23/barrel Sasol receives protection. Between USD 23-28,70/barrel no protection is received and above USD 28,79/barrel 25% of all income above that level is paid to the Equalization Fund until all protection received since 1 July 1989 has been repaid. cont →

# Inkatha warns on king's participation in Codesa

STAR 29/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

An agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but, while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned yesterday that unless the Zulu king was given full participation, the agreement did not "mean much".

This meant that unless King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not take part in Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was frustrated by the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

"The most important thing that has to occur is agreement on what sort of participation," said Dr Mdlalose.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the issue could be resolved at the next meeting of the committee on May 4.



Vexing problem . . . participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee yesterday agreed that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divided into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the province, and each would send two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided upon: full participation; limited participation on issues which affected them directly; and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

A proposal for an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature was yesterday placed before the working group dealing with constitutional principles.

The working document, which is still to be discussed with the leaders of the 19 participating groups, proposed that such a body be included in an interim constitution, drafted by Codesa.

The interim constitution would provide for the body — an elected single-chamber parliament — to be elected on the basis of proportional representation with half the seats allocated on a national list and the rest through

● To Page 3

STAR 29/4/92

# IFP warns on king

● From Page 1

regional lists.

It would also provide for:

- The composition and procedures of an interim executive. STAR 29/4/92
- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections.
- Decisions are to be taken by "special majority".
- Decisions on matters relating to regional structures and the distribution of power between central, regional and local levels of government must require a special majority of the regional representatives in the national assembly in addition to a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.
- The new constitution should be drafted and adopted within a specified period of time.

Mr Gordhan said the proposal was an important advance in the working group's work. The group had reached a serious impasse on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government had earlier proposed an elected two-chamber parliament to draft the constitution and run the country while the ANC had proposed an elected constituent assembly to act as a constitution-making body-cum-legislature.

The IFP had proposed that a new constitution be drafted by an appointed convention.

Reports on progress at Codesa since the first meeting of the five working groups on February 6 have to be finalised by next Thursday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee yesterday considered the applications of 17 organisations wishing to take part in the talks, but its decision would only be announced today after the groups had been informed.

In times of dark pessimism, a heartening glimpse of rosier prospects

# Africa puts out welcome mats

STAR 29/4/92

304A



Allister Sparks

ONE of the most heartening features of the changing South Africa is the eagerness with which we are discovering that we are part of the African continent and the readiness with which we are being received there.

From the earliest days of white settlement, when Jan van Riebeeck planted a bitter almond hedge to seal off his little community from the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, white South Africans have tried to isolate themselves from the continent and create their own little enclave of Europe here.

That is what apartheid was all about, Van Riebeeck's hedge institutionalised in a thousand laws to exclude the black people of Africa and preserve the illusion that South Africa was really a "white" country.

Now as the stubborn old hedge gives way to the irresistible pressures of change, South Africa is beginning to venture forth to discover the continent of which it is part but from which it has cut itself off for so long.

Three weeks ago President de Klerk was in Nigeria. It was the 13th African country he has visited since he became leader of the National Party in February 1989.

His visits have included Kenya, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Zaire, Zambia, Mozambique and Madagascar. But Nigeria was the big one, Africa's most populous nation whose president, Ibrahim Babangida, is also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. In a burst of enthusiasm, the ubiquitous Pik Botha spoke about South Africa possibly joining the OAU.

Airline routes are opening up and trade talks are taking place. Twenty African speakers are attending a conference in Johannesburg this week organised by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation.

I have just returned from Cairo where I was one of seven South Africans invited by the Egyptian government to discuss the future role of our country in the African continent. The Director of the Foreign Ministry's Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Dr Ihab Sorour, described it as "a first step before the full recognition of South Africa by Egypt and the Arab countries".

Everywhere, the walls of isolation are tumbling down. Full recognition will not come just yet. As Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa explained, there will be no official contact, and certainly no question of South Africa joining the OAU, before an interim government is in place. But as this week's developments at Codesa indicate, that point may be only three or four months away.

There is a heady sense of expectation at what this new relationship may bring. To some extent, interests differ. For the South African Government the interest is primarily political. "The road back into the world runs through Africa," Pik Botha has often said, meaning that if the black states are prepared to accept a reformed South Africa's bona fides no-one else will gainsay them. Pretoria has therefore put a disproportionate amount of effort into scoring these diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa.

For Africa, the interest is primarily economic. This is a continent in crisis, and particularly since the collapse of communism deprived them of the benefits of Cold War rivalry many African countries have started looking to South Africa as the regional superpower that could pull them out of the mire.

There is a deep fear that the developed world is losing interest in Africa and the Third World generally; that not only aid but investment capital is going to be channelled to the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and that the Third World is going to be become more marginalised than ever.

Faced with this prospect of being abandoned, many African countries see the changes taking place in South Africa as a fortuitously timed hope of salvation.

Their hopes may be unrealistically high. At the Cairo conference, and at others I have attended, the South Africans present have warned against expecting too much, pointing out that although our economy is much larger and better developed than any other on the continent it is nonetheless an economy in trouble because of the distortions of apartheid that will take years to fix.

They talked of the terrible housing shortage, the unemployment rate, and warned that South Africa was likely to remain inward-looking, preoccupied with its own domestic problems, for a long time. It was going to be an aid receiver rather than an aid giver.

But the Egyptians were not deterred. Dr Mahmoud Aziz, the country's most senior banker who heads the Bankers' Association of Egypt, told me he foresaw exciting possibilities for economic interaction with South Africa — especially in tourism and agri-industry — and planned to come here next year with a view to opening a branch of his own bank, the Commercial Industrial Bank of Egypt.

"Once we are established there I'm sure we will be able to create many opportunities," Dr Aziz said.

Dr Mona Makram, a politics professor and opposition Wafd Party MP, was emphatic that South Africa could not only be an engine of growth for all of Africa but a role model for democratisation.

"Egypt in the Arab world and South Africa in Africa can perform that task," she declared.

In each case, she said, Arab and African countries had used scapegoating techniques to evade the issue of democracy and human rights in their own societies.

"Apartheid in South Africa united all of Africa and gave them an excuse to ignore their own malpractices. The Palestinian argument has had the same effect in the Arab world," Dr Makram said.

Now South Africa was breaking that pattern, which could make it a catalyst for political change.

Dr Makram described South Africa's desire to join the OAU as "most laudable", saying it would make the country part of Africa and force Pretoria "to espouse the problems of Africa".

South Africa's closer ties with the developed world meant it could act as Africa's interlocutor with the West in trying to get some of its crippling debts written off and generally helping to open it up as a viable market for South African exports.

In times of dark pessimism, when the relentless civil violence and news of police connivance and cover-ups seem to cloud our future prospects, it does good to break out of here and glimpse some of the rosier prospects that await us when we are through this morbid interregnum. □

# 'Big-party cartel' foreseen

STAR 29/4/92 (304A)

By Michael Chester

The current checkmate between political rivals in South Africa will be broken by the creation of a coalition government by 1995, according to new forecasts by the Human Sciences Research Council.

HSRC general manager Professor Lawrence Schlemmer predicted yesterday that the most likely scenario to unfold was what he termed the establishment of a "big-party cartel" to provide a compromise over divisions at political negotiations.

He was addressing a conference in Pretoria called to examine the outlook for South Africa in its transition phase.

"Because of the rapid pace of transformation ... South Africa's future is in a speed wobble," he said. "But there are patterns emerging that show the major players can still find solutions to the current checkmate."

Surveys indicated that no single political party would win an absolute majority if snap elections were held:

- The ANC and SA Communist Party would win 45 percent of the vote.
- National Party and Democratic Party — 32 percent.
- Inkatha Free Party — 12 percent.
- Conservative Party — 5 percent.
- Others — 6 percent.

Despite rhetoric by party leaders, none of the main parties could achieve their individual objectives without some form of co-operation. Neither the ANC, NP, nor IFP enjoyed the image of sufficient widespread legitimacy to govern alone in the foreseeable future.

Polls showed that the rank-and-file supporters of all the main parties favoured a period of formal or informal power-sharing, at least in the transition phase.

Professor Schlemmer said there were also strong pressures from overseas to achieve a moderate political settlement.

Nationwide surveys showed that well over half of supporters of all the main parties favoured a coalition. They favoured constraints on presidential power and wanted a second parliamentary chamber with powers of veto.

The alternative scenario — a schism in the ANC and an escalation in activism by ANC followers finding it difficult to relinquish the politics of resistance and so threatening to worsen the climate of violence — was considered possible but far less probable.

"Once major parties experience the responsibilities of power, competitive activism will decline," he predicted.

The probability of a coalition government, he said, was in answer to potential overseas investors who were still nervous about ploughing funds into South Africa.

Surveys showed that out of every 10 investment-fund managers in Britain, nine favoured dealings with South Africa, but six put SA in the medium to high-risk category of global choices.

Half reckoned it would take five years or longer to correct the imbalances caused by decades of apartheid.

However, survey results also showed that many fund managers were ignorant about the economic and political facts of the transition phase.

The positive basic features were that South African exports were likely to grow by between 8 and 10 percent between 1992 and 1994, with new loan capital and modest investments flowing in.

Also, the creation of a coalition government promised that by 1995 the average economic growth rate would be running far stronger at 3 to 4 percent a year, inflation would be down to 10-12 percent and overall confidence would be moderate to good.

"It may not be an ideal market-economy system," Professor Schlemmer said. "It could, however, provide a platform of relative stability from which later growth and economic restructuring could occur."

# I'll fight on — rebel MP

30 APR
ARG 30/4/92

## Botha: Arrest won't keep me from parliament or dampen Volkstaat ardour

**Political Staff**

REBEL MP for Wonderboom Mr Koos Botha said he was determined to continue his parliamentary career and his fight for an Afrikaner Volkstaat in spite of being arrested in connection with terror attacks in the PWV area.

Last night Mr Botha said he would abide by the bail conditions and obtain written permission to leave the magesterial districts of Pretoria and Pretoria North.

"I see no reason why my parliamentry career should not continue. I will be writing to the investigating officer in order to attend sessions in parliament," he said.

He refused to discuss his arrest and appearance in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday. But he said the police action had surprised him, although "they treated me very well, which I appreciate".

He said his priority was still to establish an Afrikaner Volkstaat.

Mr Botha said he did not want 87 percent of the country but only a small portion for the Volkstaat — and he hoped leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, would accept the idea.

● MPs have expressed shock and disbelief over Mr Botha's arrest.

Some expressed alarm that an alleged saboteur had been walking freely among them — and so close to members of the government, including President De Klerk.

"He could have done the same thing here," said one MP.

The general feeeling was of disbelief that the mild-mannered Mr Botha could be involved in such activities.

● Mr Botha was picked up by police at his home at about 12.35pm yesterday and appeared in court at 3pm.

He was not asked to plead and was released on R1 500 bail. The case was postponed to June 3.

Among the incidents being linked to his arrest are blasts at the old Hillview School in central Pretoria, at Cosatu House and at two post offices in the PWV area.

Police confirmed that Mr Botha's arrest was linked to an existing case in which several acts of terror were being investigated.

Mr Botha's name was added as the fifth accused in the trial of four members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — Mr Andries Stefanus Kriel, Mr Andries Cornelius Odendaal, Mr Dirk Jan Hattingh and Mr Petrus Jacobus Judeel.

The four were earlier released on R3 500 bail each and were ordered to appear in court on June 3.

Mr Kriel and Mr Odendaal have since disappeared and warrants for their arrests have been issued.

A condition of Mr Botha's bail was that he surrender his passport.

He must also report daily to the Wonderboompoort police station between 6am and 5pm.

Mr Botha was kicked out of the Conservative Party two weeks ago after a controversial speech in parliament.

He had apparently contravened party discipline by speaking in favour of a "drastically reduced" Volkstaat.

# Land the basis of liberty

(304A)

**Title: SA betrayal of a colonised people, issues of international human rights law.**
**Author: SEM Pheko**
**Publisher : Skotaville Publishers, R28,55**
**Reviewer: Mathatha Tsedu**

**IS the problem in South Africa a colonial problem, or a special colonial situation or simply a question of human rights violation in a sovereign country?**

These are the questions that Pheko sets out to answer in his 154-page book published recently.

Pheko, an obvious sympathiser of the Pan Africanist Congress, is a lawyer whose training is used to the full in both research and argument for his views.

He argues that those who push for anything less than defining South Africa as a colonial problem that needs decolonisation are inherently against restoration of full land and human rights to those dispossessed by the colonising marauders who landed at the Cape in 1652.

Referring to South Africa in its PAC and Black Consciousness name of Azania throughout the book, Pheko says the fact that Britain handed the country to another group of settlers without decolonising meant that South Africa remains a colony of Britain.

He has harsh words for those, like the ANC, the SACP and Western governments, who argue that South Africa was a sovereign State.

"International Law would be abetting Britain's colonialism and its consequences of apartheid, genocide and theft of African land if it were to lend any legal validity to the status of South Africa as an 'independent' State based on the abuse and manipulation of international law by Britain.

"The only time that South Africa will be an independent State in international law shall be when the vast dispossessed indigenous African majority has regained control of their country."

Pheko argues that land forms the basis for State independence.

"All nations or people fighting for liberation, against alien rule and seeking self determination are fighting for land."

The book is a welcome read, especially in the present political climate in the country, with different political organisations putting divergent views about the State and solutions of the problems of this country.

It is bound to become a controversial book judging by quotations and assertions made about the positions of several people.

## CODESA BRIEFS

■THE steering committee of working group two, which deals with constitutional principles and the constitution-making body, has proposed Codesa agree to an interim constitution which would provide for: an elected parliament to draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature, the composition and procedures of an interim executive and for decisions on the constitution to be taken by a special majority.

■REPORTS that three homeland leaders — Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu — had called on Codesa to slow the pace of negotiations, has been condemned. Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa said the three knew that they would not make it in national elections because their power bases were imaginary.

■THE Codesa management committee has rejected 15 out of 17 applications to join Codesa. A decision on the applications of the other two parties, the People's Progressive Party and the National Seoposengwe Party has been postponed until a later meeting of the Codesa management committee. The rejected parties include: the Afrikaner Party, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, the Pan African Congress of South Africa and the United Asian Front.

# A taste of the changes still to come

(304A)

w/mail 30/4-7/5/92.

By LINDA RULASHE

**FOR the first time in years, disenfranchised South Africans join their white counterparts in going to the polls next month — but votes won't be cast for a new government.**

**Instead, one group of voters will decide on whether they are in favour of the present direction of traffic flow in a Johannesburg residential area. Another will elect the first non-racially formed municipal structure in Kimberly.**

**Between the two extremes of triviality and significance lies a small vision of what the future South Africa might be like.**

**Adults above the age of 18 who live or work in the Yeoville, Bellevue and Observatory suburbs of Johannesburg will be asked on May 20 to say yes or no to the recently reversed direction of traffic flow on two major roads in the vicinity — Rockey/Raleigh and Hunter streets.**

**In order to vote, participants in the opinion poll will simply have to fill in and sign "a brief application to vote" form, stating their full names and residential or business addresses.**

**"This is an excellent example of the sort of public participation we are trying to stimulate in Johannesburg," said Yeoville councillor Martin Sweet, who has been seen as the villain of the piece. It was at his insitigation that the streets were reversed in the first place, leading to an avalanche of protest from residents and businesses.**

**Sweet said: "As far as I can make out, it will be the first totally open franchise vote of its sort in South Africa. It's exciting that our ward should be taking the lead in non-racial decision making in a way that could well become a model for grassroots democracy in the new South Africa."**

**The traffic direction has become source of great controversy since its inclusion in a redevelopment scheme in the area, said Sweet. However, residents and traders can come to "a balanced decision" about the matter after having experienced the finished scheme in its entirety for a few weeks before voting.**

**To furthur ensure voters make "informed decisions", Sweet will chair a public meeting a week before the opinion poll when council planning officials give a presentation on the project and "the pros and cons" of the new traffic direction.**

**Meanwhile in Kimberly, an announcement about the city's first non-racial municipal election is expected early next month**

**Twelve wards in greater Kimberly are to be contested, with two councillors representing each ward.**

**Kimberly City Council spokesman, Coenie de Swart, said last week that the council had suspended the 1974 Cape Municipal Ordinance No 24, thereby scrapping racial limitations on voters.**

**This follows a conference in January involving 50 organisations which included the council, civic associations, ratepayer organisations and local business groups to determine the future of the region's municipal administration.**

**Resolutions included the consolidation and rationalisation of all local authority organisations by the establishment of an interim joint local government committee.**

**In October 1990, the NP controlled council took over financial and administrative controls of Galeshewe township nearby but has retained two separate budgets in the interim.**

**A "one tax base, one administration" philosophy was also adopted.**

**The results, said De Swart, were "unbelievable": more than 78 percent of Galeshwe residents now regularly paid tariffs and rent.**

# Out of the cabinet (3044) Into the boardroom? w/m and 30/4 - 7/5/92

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

BAREND DU PLESSIS said on *Agenda* this week that his role model for life after politics was Chris Heunis.

Why anyone would willingly seek to emulate the portly former minister of constitutional development is a mystery, except that it might provide a clue to that other mystery — Du Plessis' premature exit from politics.

Heunis, in retirement, is a political agnostic. During the referendum, he was one of the few former cabinet ministers who would not endorse a yes vote for President FW de Klerk.

There are a number of similarities between Heunis and Du Plessis. Both were ambitious men who at some stage in their political careers glimpsed the pinnacle of power, but were never to attain it. Both were purportedly *verligtes*, an impression enhanced by Du Plessis' friendly manner and good relations with the press. But both in fact had close connections with the securocrats.

Though Heunis' political ambitions were put paid to by Denis Worrall, who came within 37 votes of removing the safe seat of Helderberg from under him in 1987, at the end of the day his fate was sealed by the demise of his mentor, PW Botha.

Du Plessis was Botha's choice to succeed him as leader of the National Party in 1989. He came within a few votes of defeating De Klerk, an outcome that would probably have spelled a very different future for South Africa.

Jan van Eck, the newly shifted African National Congress MP for Clairmont, claimed last year that Du Plessis was the leader of a "fifth column" of securocrat MPs inside the National Party who were opposed to De Klerk's reforms.

Whether or not that was true, Du Plessis — despite his seniority — was not one of De Klerk's inner cabinet who have been masterminding the reforms and the negotiating strategy of the NP.

In recent months, the one-time boy wonder has looked increasingly out of synch with the political process unfolding around him. His handling of the dispute with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other groups around the introduction of VAT was alternatively heavy-handed and weak-kneed and at the end of the day he came off poorly at the hands of Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

Equally poor was Du Plessis' handling of the slush funds side of the Inkatha funding scandal.

His leaking in February of the agreement at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on a transitional executive authority was ill-timed, and his interpretation of the contents strangely out of touch.

Even his going creates a headache for De Klerk. Having resigned his seat, he has put De Klerk in the position of having to fight one more by-election against the Conservative Party, in Du Plessis' west Johannesburg constituency of Florida.

South Africa is headed into new political terrain and there are only two types of Nats left who have any role to play.

There is the old guard such as Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee and Pik Botha who will see out the negotiations and help shepherd the country into the new order but will not go far beyond that.

There is the next generation such as Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels who know that if they want to have any political future in the new South Africa they must learn the rules of a whole new ball game.

Though he is still relatively young and falls between the two, there is no future in politics for Barend du Plessis. Even his own Department of Finance will be sharing power with a multiparty council that will be appointed by Codesa.

If the VAT dispute did not tire him out completely, the prospect of having to negotiate policy every day with a subcommittee with executive powers might well have been enough to drive Du Plessis from politics forever.

Any hope that De Klerk's reforms would collapse and that the securocrat and conservative backing in the party might have helped Du Plessis to power would have been finally shattered with De Klerk's morale-boosting referendum victory.

Of course, as a former finance minister he need not sink back, like Heunis, into the role of a small-town lawyer. He could follow predecessors such as Owen Horwood into the more lucrative fields of the private sector and on to the boards of companies, a far better proposition than remaining in politics.



Bridge or poker? ... President FW de Klerk says he is playing a game of intelligence, not a game of chance. Photo: GUY ADAMS

# No aces left up FW's 304A sleeve

wlmail 30/4 - 7/5/92

*If Codesa is a game of bridge, FW de Klerk has played his last trump card, argues*

**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

ON his best days, President FW de Klerk performs like a magician, drawing from his sleeve a card that no one expects him to play.

During his budget vote in parliament last week, he produced yet another plan: an elected rotating presidency to replace his own position of state president during the transition to the new order.

Taken at face value, the practical effect could have been Nelson Mandela or Clarence Makwetu or Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Tuynhuys by the end of the year — but hamstrung by having to reach consensus not only with each other but with De Klerk (and possibly Andries Treurnicht).

The lateral thinking took everyone by surprise, again, but this time few people were impressed.

Not even Buthelezi bought it and that was enough to send the proposal straight into an early grave.

It was, as Colin Eglin put it, curious. Essentially, De Klerk wanted to split up the second phase of the interim government — elections for an interim parliament cum constituent assembly from which the executive will be drawn — and move forward the elections for an executive.

The best that can be said of this is that it makes no sense and adds nothing to the proposals already on the table.

A rotating presidency drawn from the parties who win representation to the interim parliament could well be acceptable. After all, it is not — and should not be — the purpose of any party to seek exclusive power during the interim phase when the primary task is to draw up a democratic constitution.

If the proposal served any purpose, it was self-serving. De Klerk is more popular than his party, the polls indicate, so it may have been an attempt to produce the best possible showing in the first democratic elections.

If that is the motive it would not be the first time in which the National Party has attempted to rig the whole process — and set up new roadblocks — for a shifty piece of petty political advantage.

But even worse than that, De Klerk was inventing yet another interim phase to add to the general complexity and tedium that already burdens the transition to democracy and the whole Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) process.

Politicians might swagger around believing they have pulled another one from the fire, but the general population of South Africa — which should be delighted with this new dawn in our nation's history — is bored, in some cases restless.

That is the way of negotiations, one might say. You need the nitty gritty, the technocrats from all sides quibbling late into the night, drafting legal contracts, before you can pull out the drums and bugles and roll out the new flag.

Not always. We can reflect with some envy on the collapse of the Berlin wall and of the seeming blink of an eyelid that it took for eastern Europe to move from totalitarian rule to democratic elections.

They were spared this extended game of Chinese checkers, or poker, or whatever the appropriate metaphor is for Codesa. (De Klerk says he is playing bridge, a game of intelligence, not poker — a game of chance.)

The difference, of course, is that the forces of democracy in South Africa never decisively won the struggle and that communist regimes of eastern Europe were far less tenacious or crafty than the National Party when they realised that the game was up.

So they gave way to the will of the people.

Here, in South Africa, even those people who supported and held up Vaclev Havel as a hero don't think that the will of the people is such a good idea.

Majoritarianism, upon which all democratic systems are based, has become a swear word in South Africa.

In fact, the purpose of the whole process of negotiations is to build up defences against the majority and protections for the minority.

This is mainly because the majority is black and poor and has never had a say in government before and so the process has to address the fear of the haves that the have nots might seize control of the state and use it to start redressing the imbalances.

But because it is no longer polite to talk in terms of race the National Party claims to be protecting political minorities which, when all else is swept aside, is really the National Party.

De Klerk, for all his gamesmanship, has grown remarkably immune from the normal rough and tumble of political jousting. The referendum underlined that there is hardly an opposition newspaper left in the country.

There is still enough afterglow from the referendum victory. The crumbling of the white opposition and the fact that the diplomatic community and foreign governments appear to be eating out of his hand must all contribute to De Klerk's warm sense of achievement.

The ANC sends contradictory messages. Nelson Mandela preaches a far harder line from the public podium than the negotiators emerging from the darkened halls of Codesa. Into the vacuum of political leadership in the streets, where the violence never ends, steps Winnie Mandela.

While Codesa has made significant breakthroughs in terms of the first phase of the interim government — clearing the way for elections, the nature of which is still to be decided — it has only made incremental inroads into National Party power.

Perhaps all this helps sustain the illusion that "power-sharing", in which the NP seeks to retain a permanent veto in this country's affairs, is somehow or other a viable proposition.

As Nelson Mandela said in Arusha this week, De Klerk and the National Party mouth acceptance of one person, one vote but then "propose a constitutional dispensation that makes provisions to ignore the verdict of the electorate".

Who can blame the National Party if they feel nostalgic about the exclusive power they have cradled in their arms these past four decades and want to modify things just a little?

Unfortunately, no matter how much they protest, they will have to step aside. They were never put there by more than a tiny minority.

Avoidance of this reality is the only explanation why De Klerk — with everything seemingly going for him — only has jokers left to pull from his sleeve.

# DP raises query over Du Plessis

B1 Dav 30/4/97

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday demanded to know whether Barend du Plessis had resigned as Finance Minister because of the issues arising from the collapse of the Cape Investment Bank.

Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said during an interpellation in Parliament the Rail Commuter Corporation had lost between R249m and R270m.

Rail Commuter chairman Bart Grove and MD Kobus Nel had been demoted in the wake of the losses.

Carlisle said the amount of the deposits and their authorisation was "in conflict with Cabinet instructions".

The affair had the potential to be "the most serious financial scandal in SA's history" and the DP was demanding a full public inquiry, Carlisle said.

It was also learnt yesterday government was likely to announce a public inquiry into the collapse of the Masterbond group of companies next week. Among the issues that could be raised are whether government, and the Finance Department in particular, could have acted sooner and whether the relevant financial control measures were applied adequately.

As the political head of the department, Du Plessis may have felt responsible for government's role in the débâcles.

Carlisle said Cape Investment Bank had been placed in provisional liquidation on April 11 last year. Before this the Reserve Bank had advised the Rail Commuter not to remove its deposits with the bank, although the bank itself had done so. He said within four weeks of the release of a report to the Cabinet into the affair Du Plessis had resigned.

Further, he said, while all transactions

□ To Page 2

# Du Plessis

B1 Dav 30/4/97

□ From Page 1

were classified secret in terms of the Reserve Bank Act, there had been allegations of "collusion" between the bank and the Rail Commuter's board controlled by Prima Bank, which had since acquired Cape Investment Bank. This had been linked to accusations that the bank's "assets had been stripped by Prima before it was placed in provisional liquidation — an act which caused its insolvency".

Carlisle said there were concerns that the Bank may have "pumped millions into other banks in similar questionable deals.

"What is clear, is that suspect, if not criminal, activity has occurred and that the government owed the public answers to all of the questions raised."

Carlisle said this applied particularly to the question: "Did Mr Barend du Plessis resign as Minister of Finance as a result of these matters?"

Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed said the transactions had nothing to do with Du Plessis in his official capacity and his official relationship to the bank.

# Interim govt plan is 'put on ice' for Codesa

BD 30/4/92 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government was set to put its interim government plans on ice in favour of the Codesa working group steering committee proposals for drafting an interim constitution for an elected assembly.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport, speaking at a briefing on Codesa yesterday, said: "This is a very important document," in response to a question of whether it broke the deadlock.

He said government would temporarily shelve its plans to introduce draft legislation because it had been intended to put momentum into the process and this seemedto have been achieved by the steering committee proposals.

In terms of the steering committee's proposal that Codesa drafts an interim constitution, government believes that, even if agreement cannot be reached on the more sensitive details, Codesa would at least have made progress towards a more representative constitution.

Government's plan is to try and flesh out the interim constitution proposals to such an extent that the elected interim government, responsible for drafting the final constitution, would have to put only the finishing touches to the interim constitution.

The ANC, on the other hand, would like to see the interim constitution as general as possible to give the elected body greater leeway to determine the constitution.

This is likely to provide the major negotiating stumbling block as the interim constitution will not be able to be overturned easily. Part of the steering committee proposals states that the elected interim government would draft a new constitution "which shall not be in conflict with the general constitutional principles".

The document was clearly a compromise solution where government has had to forgo its insistence on equal weighting for regional representatives within regions and to a second house of parliament.

The steering committee proposals state that regional and national elections would be conducted on a proportional representation basis, and there is absolutely no mention of a second house.

It states there will be elections for a national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, "half the seats being allocated through national lists and half through regional lists".

However, Delport pointed out that this did not reject the possibility of a second house, but neither did it accept it.

"We have not softened our position on the protection of minorities or meaningful participation of minority political parties," he said, adding that "the extent of protection and participation still has to be resolved".

Government has also been manoeuvred into a position where the final constitution-making process cannot last indefinitely.

The proposals say Codesa will agree on mechanisms to ensure that the national assembly completes the work of drafting a final constitution "within a specified period of time".

# PAC turns down Codesa invitation

Sowetan 30/4/92 304A

**PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday reiterated his organisation's view that it would not have any dealings with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.**

The organisation received an invitation to attend Codesa 2 yesterday afternoon, shortly after Makwetu's arrival from an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

The PAC leader said Codesa could not deliver genuine freedom, adding that they would turn down the invitation in writing.

He said: "We will afford Codesa the courtesy of a reply, but we will definitely not be attending Codesa II on May 15.



MAKWETU

"Instead of agreeing to freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said in response to news reports that Codesa had agreed to a state of emergency and detention-without-trial regulations during the transitional phase.

"Instead of agreeing on the demand for an elected constituent assembly as the only forum to draft a constitution, Codesa yesterday agreed that an interim parliament should draft a constitution."

He said Tuesday was "the worst day in the life of Codesa".

Referring to violence, Makwetu said his organisation's interpretation of the political violence was gaining "unsurpassed momentum with the decision of the OAU ad hoc committee to call for international involvement to put an end to the violence".

He had put forward the view that a commission of African leaders be formed to investigate the violence.

The PAC has constantly insisted on international involvement to solve the country's political problems.

Asked whether the organisation was being pressured by various African governments, the PAC president conceded that OAU members had said they would prefer all political parties to engage in the Codesa process.

## Position

"But we explained our position excellently. And fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone - we are an independent political force."

Makwetu said he had various discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela while they were abroad - most matters centring on the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

"The PAC called for the direct participation of the OAU secretary-general in the reconvening and monitoring of the Patriotic/United Front," he added.

# The king and Codesa debate still rages

w/mail 30/4 - 7/5/92 304A

By PAUL STOBER

AN agreement in principle, allowing the Zulu king and other traditional leaders to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, has not brought the negotiating parties any closer to consensus on the issue.

Despite the apparent importance of the agreement, the main parties remain divided about exactly what form the participation of the traditional leaders will take. Without this, said Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Frank Mdlalose, the agreement "does not mean much".

Mdlalose warned that nothing less than full participation for the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, would satisfy the IFP. "We want full participation, not half measures," he said.

He indicated that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has refused to attend Codesa until the Zulu king is accorded full status, would not review his decision in the light of the latest agreement.

The agreement does not represent any change in the position of the African National Congress. The organisation is not opposed to the participation of the king at Codesa but has continually refused to consider granting him any special status at the negotiating forum.

According to sources at Codesa, the ANC is determined to prevent the king being able to block "sufficient consensus", the basis on which Codesa reaches decisions.

This effectively means it will not agree to full participation for the king and traditional leaders.

According to Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan, "because of limited time the management committee was not able to arrive at a final decision on the form of participation".

In a statement released at a press conference, the management committee outlined the different forms of participation for traditional leaders under consideration. These include: full participation for delegations at all levels of Codesa; full participation at the plenary sessions of Codesa and the right to participate in the working groups on issues affecting traditional leaders; or being granted full participation but not being counted as part of the majority required for reaching sufficient consensus.

The management committee is expected to reach a decision on the form of participation at its next meeting on Monday May 4.

The committee has agreed there is no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

The leaders will be represented by one delegation from each of the four provinces with each delegation consisting of 12 delegates and five advisers.

In Natal, there is one major traditional leader — King Goodwill. Delegates of traditional leaders from other provinces, for example the Transvaal, will be divided amongst the traditional leaders of the homelands and self-governing territories.



King Goodwill Zwelithini

# Bizarre turn in rightwing *broedertwis*

W|M auf 30|4-7|5|92. (3041)

*Yesterday's arrest of a former Conservative Party MP highlights the increasing complexity of rightwing politics.* **GAVIN EVANS** *reports*

THE arrest of Koos Botha for the 1991 Hillview School bomb blast brings home one of the more bizarre realities of the current conservative realignment — the *toenadering* between the "left" of the parliamentary rightwing and the extra-parliamentary extremists.

Botha, the independent MP for Wonderboom who was recently expelled from the Conservative Party for his pro-negotiations stance, was arrested at 1pm yesterday in connection with a charge relating to the July 1991 blast, which wrecked the school buildings set aside to house children of returning African National Congress exiles.

This is the same Koos Botha who was considered too leftist by far by his party's leadership, and whose ostensibly anti-racist stance so palpably thrilled his former enemies in the National Party benches.

Like his close ally Koos van der Merwe, who was booted out of the CP three weeks later for "breaking party discipline", Botha has argued for a "drastically reduced" Afrikaner (and not necessarily white) state.

He wanted to be part of the solution, not part of the problem, he said, adding that the CP had "no plan, no strategy, no vision".

"I felt that being reactionary to all the laws being scrapped didn't suit me. I want to be more positive ... I said to myself the CP is not going to change," he said earlier this month.

Without presuming his guilt, is it possible that this man, who has given a definite nod and a wink to participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), could also have participated in bombing a school for blacks in a white area?

Strangely, the answer could well be yes. As Pretoria political risk analyst Dr Wim Booyse points out: "The 'new order' guys within the parliamentary right, like Botha and Van der Merwe, have much closer links to the extreme right, and much more sympathy for their terrorist ventures, than the 'old order', partition guys like Ferdi Hartzenberg and Andries Treurnicht."

The reason for this appears to be a convergence over the question of a *volkstaat*, with the Bothas and Van der Merwes favouring the more modest version of this concept advocated by Professor Dries Raath of the University of the Orange Free State. Unlike the more ambitious *volkstaters* of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, they are looking at between seven and 15 percent of South Africa's land mass — a notion that is not far from that of the Afrikaner Volkswag's Professor Carel Boshoff.

Over the past year, a combination of political miscalculations and security police infiltration has left the extreme extra-parliamentary right in tatters. Booyse says his research shows 85 incidents of rightwing terror since 1990, none of them having occurred since last month's white referendum.

"The only possible incident was the limpet-mine blast at the Rand Easter Show, which was claimed by a non-existent group, the Wit Wolwe. My strong suspicion is that the motive for this was economic, and that neither the right nor the left were responsible," he says.

While the banning of rightwing private armies might precipitate a revival of the underground terror groups, for the moment the prospect of seizing power through the barrel of the gun is remote, to say the least, for the *volkstaters*.

The only serious option is one first articulated by Koos van der Merwe in last year's "Koos document", which incensed the CP leadership by advocating negotiations and suggesting the rightwing would lose a referendum.

The other major strand in the increasingly frayed right is that of Verwoerdian-style partition — a view fondly held by the majority of the CP parliamentary caucus, including Hartzenberg, Treurnicht, Casper Uys, Moolman Mentz and Louis Stofberg.

With the expulsion of Botha and Van der Merwe, the *verkramptes* are more likely to win the day in the short term, but they have had to agree to put the ideas of the "leftwing" *volkstaters* on the table in order to maintain unity. And, as the "legendary" Van der Merwe (as the SABC insisted on calling him) pointed out so effectively on *Agenda* this week, they have completely failed to define the boundaries of their white fatherland or to explain how it will remain white, given the country's demographic realities.

"We are busy with intense policy discussion following the referendum, and from that we'll make certain adaptions to policy which will then be referred to congress," the CP's Chief Whip Frank le Roux told *The Weekly Mail* yesterday.

"The spirit we're discussing it in is very productive, so there's no question of us reaching a cul de sac. It's an ongoing debate."

Le Roux said he expected "no more problems" in the caucus of the kind that led to last month's expulsions.

With the party committed to examining the two competing proposals, the rest of the CP's "new order" — which includes, in varying degrees of intensity, Pieter and Corne Mulder, Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, *Die Patriot* editor ZB du Toit and several other non-MPs in the party caucus — is aiming to remain within the ranks and to try to steer the party their way.

"I have no plans to leave," Pieter Mulder said yesterday. "Van der Merwe was not expelled because of what he thought, but because he couldn't abide by caucus discipline, and I don't think that others will be joining him.

"I feel that while the party is talking about strategy you must work from the inside, especially since the whole idea of an own state is now under consideration.

"What Koos will find difficult is to show how he is different from both the CP and the NP, and I'm not sure there's a big enough slot there for him."

Pretoria academic Professor Willem Kleynhans agrees that Van der Merwe is unlikely to attract a large, active following: "What can Koos offer his supporters? Unlike the CP, he doesn't have a party with an infrastructure and people tend to want to associate with growing parties, not just with a few individuals.

"What might well happen is that some people within the party become inactive rather than join him."

Kleynhans says that while it is correct to criticise the CP for its failure to spell out a clear policy, it is also true that the likes of Van der Merwe remain extremely vague about their plans.

"They will go to Codesa to talk about a homeland for whites, and people will listen and will ask where it will be located, and they won't be able to produce anything that will convince the other parties."

Kleynhans believes that, at least in the short term, the CP will reverse some of its referendum losses and will take the Florida seat from the NP in the forthcoming by-election.

Booyse — who was the only analyst to predict the referendum result accurately — argues that while the "new order" people are a minority in the caucus, they are articulating the views of the CP grassroots base far more accurately than the likes of Hartzenberg.

"At the moment the CP has no real policy at all, but it can't maintain this for too much longer. If it fails to entertain the idea of negotiations and sticks to Verwoerdian apartheid, then the 'new order' people will leave and the party will self-destruct. In the end — and it won't take too long — this is inevitable."

## EXPELLED REBELS

### VOLKSTAAT INDEPENDENTS

**So far includes:** Koos van der Merwe and Koos Botha (both expelled from the CP)

- ☐ Considering entering Codesa
- ☐ Advocates drastically reduced Afrikaner volkstaat
- ☐ Close ties to extra-parliamentary right

## CONSERVATIVE PARTY

### VOLKSTAAT 'LEFT'

**Includes:** Cehill Pienaar, Pieter and Corne Mulder and ZB du Toit

- ☐ Supports negotiations (including with ANC)
- ☐ Claims to oppose apartheid — agrees with NP that it is unworkable
- ☐ Advocates Afrikaner homeland
- ☐ Sympathy with goals of extra-parliamentary *volkstaters*

### APARTHEID 'RIGHT'

**Includes:** Ferdi Hartzenberg, Andries Treurnicht, Moolman Mentz, Casper Uys and Louis Stofberg

- ☐ Advocates old-style "separate development"
- ☐ Supports return to Group Areas Act, separate schools, etc, and maintenance of homeland system
- ☐ Say they will only negotiate with ethnic leaders they recognise
- ☐ Oppose rightwing terror groups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W|Mail 30|4 - 7|5|92

## Ciskei bodyguard 'was murdered'

By PHILA NGQUMBA

THE former chief bodyguard of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was "probably" murdered by Ciskei soldiers, the Bisho Supreme Court was told this week.

Advocate Marumo Moerane said during closing argument in the inquest into the death of Lieutenant Kadefunwa Qamata that suicide should be ruled out as a cause of death. He also said there seemed to have been a conspiracy to cover up the death. He pointed to testimony by a soldier who said he had heard about Qamata's death the day before the body was found on February 13 last year.

Qamata's partly decomposed body was found floating in the Sikobeni river near the base of Ciskei's Battalion 1, a few days after a confrontation between different factions in the Ciskei Defence Force.

Advocate WL Kingsley said when Qamata ran away from the base, he was armed with the pistol that was subsequently discovered in the vicinity of his body. There was no evidence to suggest that he was killed.

Mr Justice Michael Claassens reserved his finding. — Veritas

# On the brink of a 'big bang'

B1Daily 30/4/92 304A

**This week Codesa chalked up several important breakthroughs. Proposals have been drawn up, by delegates of all parties at the convention, on the critical areas of an interim government and how SA's new constitution should be drafted. TIM COHEN assesses the significance of this week's agreements and the work still to be done.**

SA's changing political circumstances have resulted in a spectacular array of historic moments, first visits, dramatic breakthroughs and a colourful assortment of poignant moments during the past two years.

In almost every field, politicians, sportsmen and businessmen have trumpeted historic developments of one kind or another.

However, the decisions political leaders around the country will have to make before next week have a special significance. For the first time, parties and organisations have been called on to decide not on what they want to happen but on what will happen.

Political organisations will have before them a framework for the first and second phases of interim government and for how the new constitution will be drawn up.

The decisions they make will influence SA's future to a greater extent than at any time before — and their decisions will probably stand for some time to come.

Even Codesa officials hardened by the often frustratingly slow pace of the discussions have been surprised at the progress made this week.

However, the achievements have been modest. The officials' enthusiasm possibly stems from relief at the fact that the deadlock situation which emerged on many issues at the beginning of the month has been breached.

Nevertheless, the proposal for interim government before elections (being discussed by working group 3) and the proposal for an interim legislature after elections (working group 2) provide a crucial focus for the debates to come. They provide the foundations for future discussions and a framework for the future political nature of SA.

The proposal on how the country will be governed before elections revolves around the premise that the political playing field is level and that the climate for political participation is free. All other proposals flow from this premise.

It is proposed that there should be a transitional executive council (TEC) made up of an interim joint council (a super executive) and a number of subcouncils. These bodies would be geared to ensuring that no party started off with any advantage over the others.

So, for example, the TEC's strucure would be of a multiparty nature, meaning that a Codesa-like structure would run affairs that could affect the outcome of elections. Separate subcouncils on defence and law and order have been proposed. Two other subcouncils are envisaged: one for regional and local government and another for finance. A foreign affairs subcouncil is possible, but subcouncils on urbanisation, housing and economic affairs have been ruled out.

Critical issues — such as what powers the councils will have, their relation to existing government structures and whether decisions will be made by unanimous or substantial consensus — have yet to be resolved.

Although the proposals appear so vague as to be almost meaningless, they do indicate a substantial convergence of opinion.

The proposals for the second stage of interim government are less vague. The long-term future of the country is dealt with in five points on a single page.

Point one says Codesa will agree to a legislative instrument (in effect an interim constitution) in terms of which a constitution-making body will be established.

Point two says Codesa will consult the TBVC states in drafting this document.

Point three says Codesa will agree on a set of general constitutional principals (many of which have been provisionally agreed upon at Codesa).

Point four says the interim constitution will draft a new constitution by a "special majority" (two-thirds is envisaged) and act as an interim legislature.

Point five says Codesa will agree on special mechanisms to ensure that a national assembly adopts a new constitution within a specified period of time.

Regionalism comes firmly under the spotlight, with half the seats being decided by "regional" elections and half by "national" elections. However, constitutional decisions can be made only with a "special majority" of both regional and national delegates.

One Codesa official describes the proposals as putting delegates on the brink of a "big bang".

Codesa, the official notes, has not taken firm decisions in a one-by-one fashion. He likens its process to "a blob of grey matter" confusing for delegates, never mind the public. The important thing is that the blob is growing, the official says.

The two working groups' proposals will now be discussed by the delegates' principals, who are expected to report back to Codesa next week — just two weeks ahead of the scheduled start of Codesa II.

It is likely that Codesa II will update what has been achieved rather than act as a final decision-making forum. A Codesa III is begining to look inevitable.

However, should parties find consensus on the proposals, progress should be made more quickly.

What has become clear is the nature of the alliances within Codesa, with the gradual emergence of an ANC group, a smaller but influential government group, and what some have been tempted to call an "anti-process" group consisting of the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and Inkatha.

How this last group handles the current proposals will be critical. It could force other parties to call their bluff. SA's future could rest on the decisions they take now.

# End in sight to Codesa logjam

STAR 30/4/92

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By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has expressed confidence that Codesa is heading for agreement on the contentious question of a constitution for an interim government.

This emerged yesterday when Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport briefed journalists on proposals for an interim constitution, drawn up by a steering committee on Codesa's working group 2.

The committee proposed that Codesa should draft an interim constitution.

Dr Delport disclosed that as a result of this agreement the Government would probably withhold its draft proposals for an interim constitution, pending further discussion about the steering committee proposals.

Asked if the proposals would break the deadlock in negotiations for an interim constitution, Dr Delport would not answer directly, but said the steering committee proposals were a very important document.

He said Codesa 2 would probably agree on the first phase of the transition (a Codesa-appointed transitional executive to prepare for elections) and give some indication on how phase two — an interim constitution — should look. He would not say how the proposals compared with the Government's previous position.

But it appeared as if the Government was softening its insistence on a second House of Parliament — representing minority interests and having veto powers over legislation — during the interim period.

This has been a point of disagreement between the Government and the ANC.

The steering committee's proposals significantly do not mention a second House.

● More reports — Pages 2 and 7

## Botha linked to AWB case

# Sabotage:

# CP outcast in court

STAR 30/4/92

**Pretoria Correspondent**

One of the Conservative Party's two expelled MPs, Koos Botha of Wonderboom, yesterday appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court in connection with several acts of sabotage and possession of explosives.

Mr Botha was picked up by police at his home at about 12.35 pm and appeared in court at 3 pm.

He was not asked to plead and was released on R1 500 bail. The case was postponed to June 3.

Among the incidents being linked to his arrest are blasts at the old Hillview School in central Pretoria, at Cosatu House and at two post offices in the PWV area.

Mr Botha told reporters from his home in Wonderboom before his arrest that he was waiting to appear in court.

"I am sitting here with my wife, making arrangements, and would not like to have the press around now.

"But," he added, "the case against me involves, among other incidents, the Hillview blast."

A police spokesman confirmed that Mr Botha's arrest was connected to an existing case in which several acts of terror were being investigated.



Koos Botha . . . forced to hand in passport and must report to police daily.

Mr Botha's name was added as the fifth accused in the trial against four members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — Andries Stefanus Kriel, Andries Cornelius Odendaal, Dirk Jan Hattingh and Petrus Jacobus Judeel.

The four were earlier released on R3 500 bail each and warned to appear in court on June 3.

However, Mr Kriel and Mr Odendaal have since disappeared and warrants for their arrest have been issued.

A condition of Mr Botha's bail was that he hand in his passport. He must also report daily to the Wonderboompoort police station between 6 am and 5 pm, must not leave his residential address, and must not leave the Pretoria or Pretoria North magisterial districts without the permission of investigating officer Major H Prinsloo.

Mr Botha was kicked out of the CP two weeks ago after a controversial speech in Parliament. He had apparently contravened party discipline by speaking in favour of a "drastically reduced" volkstaat.

He was last seen publicly when he took part in a debate on an interim government at the University of Pretoria on Tuesday.

● The Star's Political Correspondent reports from Parliament that there was a general feeling of disbelief among MPs last night that the mild-mannered Mr Botha could be involved in sabotage.

However, some MPs pointed out that Mr Botha had appeared on a public platform with the AWB in the past.

National Party MPs said they thought the incident would embarrass the Conservative Party, while others said they believed that the CP might have expelled Mr Botha earlier this month because it got wind of what he had done.

CP sources would not comment.

STAR 30/4/92

# Codesa rejects 15 bids to join

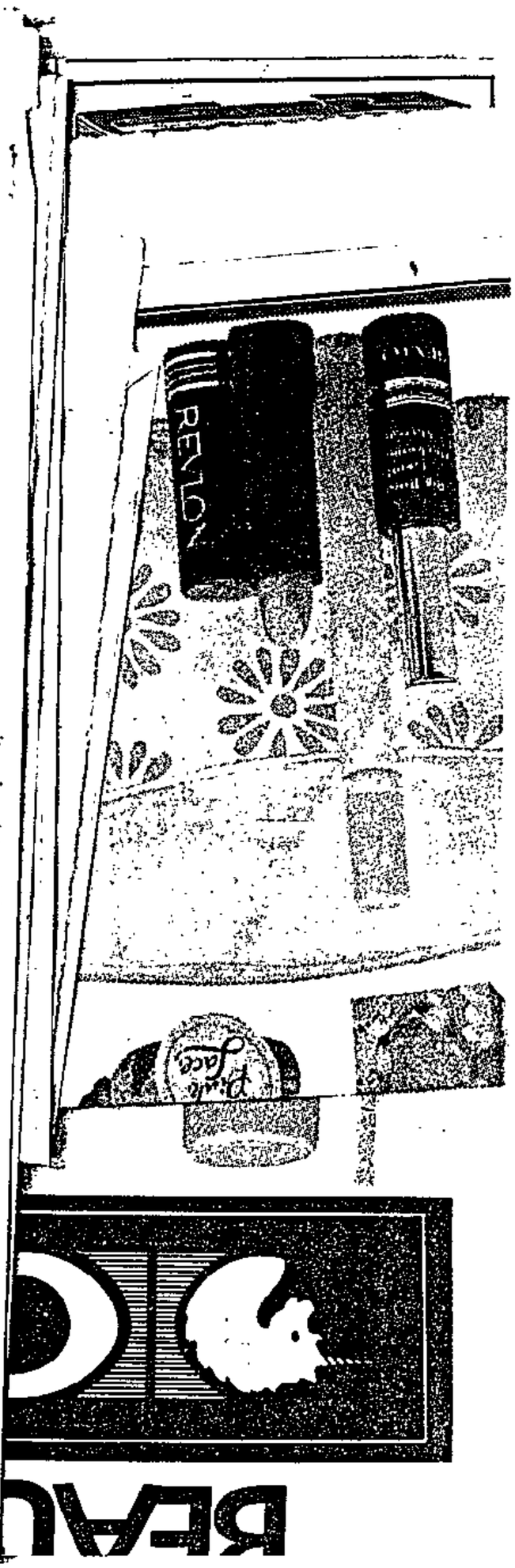
Fifteen organisations have had their applications to join Codesa turned down. (304A)

Codesa's management committee did not give reasons for its decision. However, it considered the applications after the applicants completed questionnaires and a report was commissioned on press coverage of these groups.

Applications which have been refused include those of three newly established right-wing parties — the Afrikaner Party, Boervolk, and Boerentia Party.

Other applications refused are the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance; Insika National Party; Freedom Party of South Africa; Merit People's Party; Mighty Sofasonke Party; the Pan African Congress of South Africa, a splinter group of the PAC; People's Party of South Africa; Reform Party of South Africa; United Conciliation Party; Venda National Party; Mnyamana Action Party; and United Asian Front.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said only the parties already attending at Codesa, plus the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB, the PAC and Azapo, would be invited to Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16. — Political Reporter.



# PAC rejects Codesa invitation

Star 30/4/92 (304A)

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

Despite mounting pressure from African governments to join the negotiation process, the PAC rejected yet another invitation to join Codesa yesterday.

PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu said an invitation to join Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16 was received yesterday afternoon, shortly after his arrival from the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa.

The meeting was held in Tanzania, on Tuesday.

"We won't attend," an adamant Mr Makwetu told a press conference at the organisation's Johannesburg head office.

Mr Makwetu said the Arusha meeting, attended by 13 African governments, had expressed a desire to see all South Africans join the negotiations process.

The PAC had explained its opposition to Codesa "excellently", he said.

"Fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone. We are an independent political force," Mr Makwetu said, responding to whether the OAU was pressing the PAC to join Codesa.

He said he had explained the PAC's position on the need for a neutral convener and venue in resolving the political problems of South Africa.

"This is necessary due to the dubious nature of the regime and its direct participation in the violence," he said.

The PAC, he added, remained convinced that Codesa could not deliver genuine democracy.

"Instead of agreeing on freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said, referring to a newspaper report that Codesa had agreed on the imposition of a state of emergency and detention without trial.

"Wednesday was the worst day in the life of Codesa," Mr Makwetu declared.

The Star, however, understands there was no such agreement at Codesa and the report had misrepresented the facts.

Regarding the continuing violence, Mr Makwetu said the PAC's demand for neutrality in the country's political situation had gained speed with the OAU's call for international involvement to end the violence.

Such action should take the form of a commission to investigate who was responsible for the "atrocities", he said.

The OAU meeting was also addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Questions are being raised about Cosatu's future role, writes **Mike Siluma**

STAR 30/4/92

# An alliance that may not last in a democratic SA

HOW long would the alliance between the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the ANC last in the event of the Nationalist government being replaced by a new, democratic regime?

The question, increasingly made relevant by the imminent constitution of a transitional authority through Codesa, is raised by leading labour relations expert Dr Duncan Innes in the latest issue of his journal, "The Innes Labour Brief".

In his forecast of developments in the union movement for the rest of the year, Dr Innes says recent actions by Cosatu suggest that the federation has committed itself to continuing to play a political role in the national life and to fiercely defend workers' rights under not just the present, but also all future governments.

Two key pointers of where Cosatu is headed, he writes, are its decision to apply for membership of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and its threatened plan of action in three months' time if its political and economic demands are not acceded to by the Government.

If Cosatu was admitted to Codesa, he argues, it would place new items on the agenda, relating to worker rights (including the right to strike and to co-determine national economic and human resources policy). Cosatu would possibly even demand such rights be incorporated in the new constitution in one form or another.

"These demands are aimed not so much at protecting workers from the present government as at protecting them from all future governments ... The present ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance is unlikely to survive very long after a new government is constituted.

"Even today, within Cosatu, the ranks of those who give unqualified and uncritical support to the ANC are dwindling. Furthermore, the idealism with which so many unionists embraced the SACP ... is also less pronounced than previously," adds Dr Innes.

Referring to Cosatu's demands, which range from the establishment of an interim government by June to the formation of a national economic negotiations forum (comprising labour, capital and the State), Dr Innes says they are aimed partly at expressing the federation's impatience with the pace of reform and partly at catapulting Cosatu back on to the political centre stage.

The basis for the latter aim, he argues, is Cosatu's fear that the ANC and the SACP "could be about to do a deal with the Government from which it is being excluded", and that such a dispensation would be at the expense of workers.

Despite Cosatu's potential power to disrupt the economy, as demonstrated by the anti-VAT protest five months ago, Dr Innes believes mass action by the federation to be unlikely. This is because substantial progress is being made towards meeting two key Cosatu demands — the establishment of interim rule by mid-year and the formation of the economic forum.

Regarding the first, indications at Codesa suggest that, despite disagreements between the Government and the ANC, an interim government may not be far off. In the economic field, Cosatu and the major employer bodies have already agreed in principle to form a forum to address the economic issues of the day, although the Government has, for the moment, declined to join such a body.

Turning to this year's wage negotiations, Dr Innes says they will be dominated by the recessionary conditions, forcing unions to seek increases which at least matched the inflation rate.

At the same time, unions will, in some cases, agree to moderate their pay demands in return for job security for members. Union concerns about recession-induced job losses have already been confirmed in sectors such as motoring, engineering and retailing, where unions are calling for a moratorium on retrenchments. □

# Homeland voters the prize in Codesa battle over reincorporation

ABOUT 5-million voters — most of them likely ANC supporters — were the subject of an intense battle in Codesa on the future of the TBVC states, Codesa sources said yesterday.

Reincorporation, and especially the date on which it takes place, could crucially affect the final tally of voters in elections for an interim government and an elected constitution-making body.

About 17-million voters — excluding TBVC citizens — would be eligible to vote, according to population studies.

If the four nominally independent states decided to reincorporate, their citizens would be eligible to vote in any national election in SA. However, should they not be reincorporated, their citizens would be given no say in SA's constitutional affairs.

This would decrease the ANC's chances of obtaining the two-thirds majority Codesa participants agree will be necessary to dominate constitutional negotiations.

The ANC, whose Border region is the organisation's biggest but whose members are mostly citizens of the Ciskei, stands to lose the most by the exclusion of TBVC citizens. It wants an immediate restoration of SA citizenship followed by reincorporation.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC chief negotiator on the TBVC issue Matthews Phosa said yesterday the ANC would not agree to an election excluding TBVC citizens.

The SA government is on record as demanding at Codesa that reincorporation takes place before TBVC citizens can vote in SA.

TBVC leaders had been given the option of reincorporating now and giving up their status and perks but they were refusing to take up the option, he said.

The ANC has proposed to Codesa that the SA citizenship of TBVC citizens be restored en bloc. However, the ANC is understood to want the present TBVC administrations to remain in place and has found common cause with Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa on the issue.

Both favour an eastern Cape region that would in effect be a greater Xhosa state incorporating Transkei, Ciskei, Border and East Griqualand.

SA government sources believe the ANC and Holomisa's about-face on testing the will of the people on reincorporation may be an attempt to secure the region as a de facto geographical entity, ensure Transkeians a vote in SA and retain an ANC-friendly administration in Umtata.

Venda has indicated it is prepared to reincorporate without a referendum. Ciskei wants to hold a referendum and Bophuthatswana wants to be involved in negotiations but not in an interim government. Once a new constitution has been negotiated, Bophuthatswana will ask its people to decide on reincorporation.